

A „HOLISTIC“ GRAMMAR OF MODERN EASTERN ARMENIAN

A multidimensional linguistic description of the current language of the

Republic of Armenia.

An Austrian research project

Jasmine Dum-Tragut

I. INTRODUCTION – BRIEF DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVE OF THE PROJECT

In a period of modern, technified linguistics it seems appropriate to present an individual language by means of modern linguistic and typological definitions and features following the demands for clearly formalized descriptions in so-called modern reference grammars.

Traditional grammars usually reflect the peculiar properties of a particular language familiar and usually stress rather morpho-semantic definitions than morphosyntactic ones. The essential requirements of "typological reference grammars" are (morpho)syntactic definitions and descriptions on the basis of synchronically observed properties of the currently spoken and even written language. Such a traditional grammar neither formulates the properties and features of a language in a universal nor in a language-specific way, i.e. a way that is really adequate. It refers rather to an almost invariable definition and categories of the classical Latin and Greek type. This orientation towards traditional Latin and Greek terminology and patterns proved to be incorrect and too narrow for most natural languages. The revision of the traditional grammars of particular languages is absolutely essential. Not only because linguistic terminology has fundamentally changed with the rise of typological and syntactical studies, but also in order to meet the modern requirements of precise and concise linguistic description and consequently to simplify cross-linguistic comparison. Has it not become a

general claim of modern linguistics and typology to provide "typological reference grammars" of natural languages?

The fact cannot be dismissed, that a well known and apparently thoroughly investigated Indo-European language like Modern Eastern Armenian is only presented by traditional grammars, which have remained unchanged for the last three decades and do neither comprise important syntactic features like word-order, serialization tendencies, focus principle, emphasized order patterns or specific syntactic constructions or new linguistic developments in contemporary Eastern Armenian. Eastern Armenian as spoken – and written – in the Republic of Armenia nowadays has obviously developed and even departed from its last "normative" grammar (Abrahamyan, Sergey: *Žamanakacic' Hayereni K'erakanut'yun*. "Grammar of Modern Armenian", Yerevan 1975 as well as *Žamanakacic' grakan Hayeren*, "Modern Standard Armenian", Yerevan 1981), particularly in its (morpho-)syntactic structures. This is another convincing reason to study today's Eastern Armenian language more precisely.

In addition to the synchronic observation of the spoken and written language by means of field work in Armenia and analyses of texts in public media, school books etc., it is essential for an "up-dated",

Modern reference grammar of Eastern Armenian to find plausible explanations for new or changed structures. Innovations and changes in languages are usually motivated by internal and external linguistic factors.

Changing or even fixed serialization of syntactic elements, the frequency's increase or decrease in the use of certain constructions as well as the introduction of new structures are internal factors which may be motivated by natural typological developments or tendencies in a natural language and which usually coincide with linguistic features and developments in linguistic area such as the Armenian Highland-Caucasus area. Of major importance, particularly for the linguistic situation in the Armenian Republic, are external factors, such as language policy, globalisation and language-contact. Since Armenia's independence in the year 1991 Armenian Language is subject to a rigorous, puristic language policy of the State Language Office (*Hajastani hanrapetut'yan karavarut'yann arēnt'er lezvi petakan tesčut'yun*) fighting for a "De-Russification" and "Re-Armenisation" of a wide range of former Russian domains, such as public administration, education or military. With the opening of the Republic Armenia to the Western Culture, the technical, political, economic terminology has often been "internationalised", in sensu stricto "anglicised". It is, however, striking, that major demographic changes in Armenia in the last 15 years, such as mass emigration, immigration of refugees from Mountainous Kharabakh and Azerbaijan, rural exodus and repatriation of Diaspora Armenians, have influenced Eastern Armenian language: various Eastern (above all Iranian-Armenian) dialects have caused a process of "dialectalisation" and the contact with Western Armenian has also left interferences – to a surprisingly high extent. This "Westernisation" can be regarded as a natural convergence of the two existing literary Modern Armenian varieties.

The planned study will primarily focus on a precise, concise and explicit description of today's spoken and written Eastern Armenian in the Republic of Armenia in order to provide a detailed, actualised two-parts "ho-

listic" grammar of Eastern Armenian which will also meet the requirements of modern general linguistics and typology. a) The *reference grammar* will be a helpful linguistic reference book not only for general and comparative linguists, typologists, armenologists but also for authors of Armenian school books and language learning aids and learners of Eastern Armenian. b) The new and altered linguistic, but not conventionalised properties and structures of colloquial Eastern Armenian will be collected in the "*Outline-Grammar of colloquial Eastern Armenian*". Secondly it will explain current properties and structures by showing possible internal and external factors. This will be done by analysing and applying given typological, syntactic and areal linguistic theories for internal factors. And by analysing linguistic phenomena caused by external factors such as language policy, language and dialect contact and sociolinguistic setting.

II. SCIENTIFIC QUESTIONS AND THE CURRENT STATE OF ART

II.1.1. Modern Eastern Armenian – a brief survey of the language history

With the political division of the language territory of Armenia into several parts, the Armenian language developed quite divergently from Middle Armenian varieties, towards Modern Armenian. In the early period of Modern Armenian, maybe from the 16th, but certainly in the 18th century, three Armenian varieties probably coexisted which were functionally distinguished: the prestigious literary language, Classical Armenian ("Grabar"), the local dialects ("Barbar") and a somehow conventionalised combination of these two, which functioned as lingua franca (in Schröder's words "lingua civilis") or in Armenian "Ašxarhabar", "worldly, i.e. secular" language between the speakers of various Armenian dialects and can be regarded as the

basis for the creation of new literary standards of Modern Armenian. Already at the beginning of the 19th century the "secular" language has gained in importance for a wide range of public functions and has thus ousted Classical Armenian from its prestigious position as the only and true literary Armenian language. Already in the first half of the 18th century the standardization of the colloquial language of the Western Armenian population was initiated in the Constantinople, whereas the development of Standard Modern Eastern Armenian was delayed on the one hand by repeated political and armed conflicts about the control over Eastern Armenia between Armenians, Persian Safavids, Ottomans and later also Russians and by a fierce linguistic controversy called "grapayk'ar". This "struggle for a literary language" was fought by the Armenian Church, claiming for Classical Armenian as literary language, and the language reformers, supporting a new, modern Standard Armenian.

Thus the main efforts for creating and standardizing the "secular language" Modern Eastern Armenian took place outside of Armenia only in the mid-19th century; in the Lazaryan-Institute in Moscow (founded 1815) and in the Nersisyan-School in Tiflis (founded 1814). The scholars and pupils of these institutes, who originated from different dialectal regions of Armenia, tried to create a new Armenian colloquial language. Finally Modern Eastern Armenian was conventionalised as a new literary standard on the basis of the dialect of the central Ararat plain, centrigon the town of Aštarak¹ The newly created literary Modern Eastern Armenian was however not accepted by the Armenian

¹ The leading role of these dialects made the variety of the Ararat plain central to Armenian culture. It was the very dialect of the founder of the Nersisyan-Institute in Tiflis, Nerses, which was finally the preferred variety: the dialect of Aštarak, the home town of Nerses.

political and church leaders, and for quite some time publications written in the new standard language have been forbidden and their authors often prosecuted. Although the first book in Modern Eastern Armenian, "The wounds of Armenia" by Xaç'atur Abovyan, was already published in 1840, it was only at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century that literary Modern Eastern Armenian was gradually accepted. Armenian writers such as Patkanyan, Nalbandyan, T'umanyan, Raffi, Nar-Dos and Isahakyan, have contributed with their journals, novels, poetry, folk tales but also school-books to a spread of the new literary language to a broader public and to the public life of Eastern Armenia. The position and situation of Eastern Armenia turned to the better with the political change in the twenties of last century, the takeover by Soviet Russia. In spite of a progressive russification, Modern Eastern Armenian became the national language of the later Soviet Republic of Armenia and as such a completely functioning language in almost all domains of life. The divergence from Standard Western Armenian and the freeing from the linguistic pressure of Classical Armenian were additionally intensified by means of an orthography reform in 1922.

It was only with the declaration of its independence in 1991 that Modern Eastern Armenian was entering a new linguistic stage, which is characterized by a renaissance of Armenian terminology, and puristic movements, but also by anglicisms and an extensive linguistic interaction with various dialects and Western Armenian.

II.1.2. Modern Eastern Armenian Grammars – a brief survey

The development of Eastern Armenian Grammars can be regarded as a reflection of the general development of grammars in the last centuries, starting from a) "comparative grammars", which mainly represents a com-

parison of the present formal properties with those of the classical source language (language of progenitors in GIL's words) and rather "morphological-historical grammars" b) "particular language grammars", which usually describe a particular modern language independent from its classical predecessor language, but still being mainly orientated on morphology c) the typical "structural, traditional grammars" of the 20th century, with the first description of syntactic regularities and properties of a particular language, but still using the traditional terminology based on Latin/Greek grammars and d) "reference grammars", typological grammars based on universal terminology and mainly orientated on the description of (morpho)syntactic properties of a natural language.

From the very beginning of the grammatical descriptions of Modern Eastern Armenian one can find all types of grammars, except the modernized reference grammars, which might be due to the scientific traditions in Armenia, which seem to have not yet reached the same scientific level and attitudes as European or American linguistics.

a) "Comparative grammars", which are usually called "*grabaratip*" (Grabar type) in Armenian:

- The first description of the colloquial language of the Armenians of the 18th century was written by J. Schröder in 1711. In his "*Thesaurus linguae Armenicae*" he names some features of the "civil language" of the Ararat plain and shows that this colloquial language differs in its inflection from Classical Armenian. Abovyan based his descriptive grammar of 1839/40 on the Schröder's work, defining the "civil language" by means of Classical Armenian and dealing with case syncretism, declensional classes, verbal voice and tenses and the use of participles.

b) "Particular language grammars", which are usually called "*ink'natip*" (original) in Armenian:

- In 1860 Mik'ael Nalbandyan has written a grammar of Modern Armenian without comparing its properties with Classical Armenian, but describing this new language as a separate linguistic system. Unfortunately his grammar is only left in some sections. In these sections he describes the nominal inflection, syncretism, the plural marking of nouns and the suffixed articles.
- The first concise grammar of Modern Armenian and linguistic signpost for further grammarians, however, is Step'annos Palasyan's "*Ēndhanur tesut'yun arewelahay nor gravor lezvi hayoc*" ("General theory of the new literary Eastern Armenian language"), written in 1870. His work book "*K'erakanut'yun mayreni lezvi*" (Grammar of the mother tongue), written in 1874 was used in Armenian schools until the year 1906. Palasyan has mainly contributed to the description of the nominal paradigms and attributes.
- Further concise grammars have been written by Manuk Abelyan and his successor H. Petrosyan at the beginning of the 20th century. It was above all Abelyan, who did not only provide the first detailed description of the Modern Armenian tense system but also introduced the term "transitivity" into the verbal forms and demonstrated the functions of the resultative participle in his publications: 1906 "*Ašxarhabari k'erkakanut'yun*" (Grammar of the Secular language), 1908 "*Ašxarhabari holovnerē*" (Declinations of the Secular language), 1912 "*Ašxarhabari šarhyusut'yun*" (Syntax of the Secular language) and 1931 "*Hayoc' lezvi tesut'yun*" (Theory of Armenian Language).
- c) The first structural grammars, dealing for the first times also with word formation and sentence patterns, appeared in the thirties, morphology, however, remained in the focus of grammatical interest.

- In the period of Soviet Armenia the following armenologists can be regarded to have a formative influence on Modern Eastern Armenian grammars with their traditional, preferably morphological and only marginally syntactic descriptions: A. Ľaribyan "Hayoc' lezvi k'erakanut'yan dasagirk'e" (Armenian grammar text book) 1934; G. Sevak "Hayoc' lezvi šarahyusut'yunē" (Armenian syntax) 1936; Ē. Alayan "Hayoc' lezvi k'erakanut'yunē" (Armenian Grammar) and "Žamanakacic' hayereni holovumē ev xonarhumē" (Modern Armenian declension and conjugation) 1967; H. Ačaryan "Liakatar k'erakanut'yun hayoc' lezvi hamematut'yamb 562 lezneri" (A complete Grammar of Armenian – compared with 562 languages) 1952-1967. Ľaribyan has studied the Armenian negation participle, SEVAK the functions and forms of the perfect participles and both have worked on the verbal moods. Alayan has tried to explain specific question about Modern Eastern Armenian declension and conjugation but also about word formation. And brilliant Ačaryan has compared the grammar of Modern Eastern Armenian with the formal properties of 562 languages. In addition to the publications mentioned above there is a wide range of studies and papers on various morphological and morphosyntactic features of Eastern Armenian, mainly written in the fifties and sixties.
- In 1975 Sergey Abrahamyan produced a precise grammar of Modern Eastern Armenian "Žamanakacic' Hayereni K'erakanut'yun", which bases on the findings of his numerous predecessors, the traditional terminology of his scientific surroundings and on the description of morphological rather than syntactic features. The later published book "Žamanakacic' grakan Hayeren" (Literary Modern Armenian) contains no essential new findings or a more detailed syntactic description. It is now this particular grammar of Abrahamyan, which can be regarded as the "normative" Gram-

mar of Modern Eastern Armenian, as it were the "Duden" for the Eastern Armenian. Indeed, it is complete regarding morphology, but provides scanty information about syntactic constructions. Its syntactic part is confined to the description of the various types of sentences, but there is absolutely no information about specific syntactic constructions, word-order and serialization of noun-phrase components, emphasized order patterns or focussing. As such it is not a reliable and concise reference grammar, the more, if one remembers that it is written in Armenian and thus not open to a general linguistic public and to language learners.

- Only a few Western linguists and armenologists have contributed grammars of Modern Eastern Armenian, that can mostly be regarded as simply teaching aids, except to more modernized grammars: Martiros Minassian's detailed but often criticized "Grammaire d'arménien oriental", 1980 and Natalya Kozintseva's too compact and little explanatory short grammar "Modern Eastern Armenian", 1995. These grammars can be regarded as first steps towards reference grammars, but they are still insufficient for mainly two reasons: First, the syntactic part of the grammar is still weak; it is not transparent enough and does not explain at all any syntactic constructions or serializations. Second, since Abrahamyan's grammars Eastern Armenian has undergone major developments. Today it shows structures and properties, which have not been considered in grammars so far, and which are still considered as "ungrammatical" or "wrong", by these traditional grammars, but which have been conventionalised in nowadays Eastern Armenian.

II.1.3. Modern Eastern Armenian – the linguistic Status Quo

In the current colloquial Eastern Armenian, but also in the rather "basilectal" written

Armenian of private use, one can find several morphological forms, syntactic constructions, serialization and emphasis patterns, that do not correspond any more to the Standard language of Modern Armenian Grammars. Some of them have been introduced into Eastern Armenian during the last decades and have been conventionalised by the native speakers. These new structures and properties are sometimes already so much conventionalised and regarded as regular expressions, that they have also entered a broader public and the "acrolectal" written Armenian, they are also present in the Eastern Armenian spoken and written in the media (newspapers, journals, radio, TV, above all in advertising) and even at schools and universities.

Among new lexemes in the current Eastern Armenian lexicon and some changes in the declension paradigms, one can find less obvious innovations and changes in the syntactic structures and patterns. The following examples will demonstrate only a few of such (morpho-)syntactic innovations and changes, also their linguistic significance for a possible further development of Eastern Armenian and will also emphasize the motivation of changing and introducing such structures and patterns by internal and various external factors.

1) Contact induced loan structures and loan patterns

Some new properties might be explained by extensive language contact, which is obvious in literal intake of complete structures. Such loan-structures are typical for "russified" Eastern Armenian, but occur only recently in "westernised" expressions, i.e. influenced by Western Armenian. Both affect the original Armenian word-order patterns and morphosyntactic structures.

- The use of the demonstrative pronoun *da* in sentences with subject and verbum substantivum in 3rd person (1) is obviously

based on similar Russian sentences (1a). In "Standard" Eastern Armenian the use of the demonstrative is not only redundant, but also regarded as "ungrammatical" (1b).

(1)

Erevan- ě'	da	Hayastani	mayrak'alak'-n	ě.
N/Nom-art	DEM/ Nom	N/Gen	N/Nom-art	V/Pres .3.Sg.
Yerevan-the	that	Armenia's	capital-the	is-it

"Yerevan is the capital of Armenia."

(1a) russ.

Erevan –	ěto	stolica	Armenii.
N/Nom	DEM/Nom	N/Nom	N/Gen
Yerevan	that	capital	Armenia's

(1b)

Erevan- ě'	Hayastani	mayrak'alak'-n	ě.
N/Nom-art	N/Gen	N/Nom-art	V/Pres.3.Sg.
Yerevan-the	Armenia's	capital-the	is-it

- Deviating or "wrong" serialization of nominal attributes in Armenian (2). In Standard Eastern Armenian all modifiers of the noun precede the head noun, even if these modifiers are adpositional or genitive phrases (2b). In Russian, however, the nominal attributes in oblique cases usually follow their head noun (2a).

(2)

mard-ě	Erevanic'
N/Nom-art	N/Abl
man	Yerevan

(2a) Russ:

čelovek	iz	Erevana
N/Nom	PREP	N/Gen
man	from	Yerevan

"(a) man from Yerevan"

(2b)

Erevanic'	ekac	mard-ě
N/Abl.	V/Part.Res..	N/Nom-art
Yerevan-from	come	man-the

Or even the following "russified" sentence taken from a newspaper in Yerevan:

(3a)

Sakayn	Salima-hayer-ě	mardik	en	ařanc'	k'alak'a-c'lut'yan
--------	----------------	--------	----	--------	--------------------

CONJ	N/Nomp-art	[N/Nom p	V/Pres 3.Pl.	PREP	N/Gen]
although	Salim-Armenians-the	people	are-they	with-out	citizenship

"Although the Salim-Armenians are people with citizenship...."

instead of the "standardized":

(3b)

Sakayn	Salimaha-yer-ë	aranc'	k'ala-k'ac'iu-t'yan	mar-dik	en
CONJ	N/Nomp-art	[PREP	N/Gen	N/No mp]	V/Pres 3.Pl.
al-though	Salim-Armenians-the	without	citizenship	people	are-they

- The use of a special dative form for pronouns in colloquial Eastern Armenian (4). This is clearly the influence of Western Armenian, Eastern dialects show no differing morphological forms for personal pronouns in semantic accusative (for direct object use) and semantic dative (for indirect object use) (4a).

(4)

k'ezi	talis	em
PRON/2.Sg.-Dat	V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.
to you	giving	am-I

"I give to you..."

(4a)

k'ez	talis	em
PRON/2.Sg.-Dat	V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.
to you	giving	am-I

The syncretism of dative and accusative in the (canonical) Eastern Armenian pronominal paradigm may complicate the perception of sentences and in some cases cause ambiguity. This might be a reason for this recent development.

- The co-occurrence of preposed attributive possessive pronouns and suffixed possessive determiner (5). According to Abrahamyan's grammar an attributive possessive pronoun can only co-occur preposed to the noun with the suffixed definite article on

the noun or the possessive determiner suffixed to the noun alone (5a,b). In current colloquial Eastern this co-occurrence, which is typical for Western Armenian and rather untypical for Eastern Armenian dialects, happens rather frequently.

(5)

im	tun-s
POSS/Nom	N/Nom-poss
my	house-my

(5a)

im	tun-ë
POSS/Nom	N/Nom-art
my	house-the

(5b)

tun-s
N/Nom-poss
Haus-my

"my house"

(2) (Morpho-)syntactic innovations and deviations (caused mainly by analogy)

- Genitive marking on personal pronouns 1. and 2. person in co-occurrence with the postpositions *het* (with), *hamar* (for), *pes* (like), *nman* (like), *vra* (on), *mot* (at) – instead of the expected normative dative. e.g. "for you", *k'o hamar* instead of *k'ez hamar*. This genitive marking may be due to linguistic analogy and economy: the pronouns 3. Person and all nouns are usually marked with genitive in co-occurrence with the given postpositions.
- The use of subjunctive (optative) in subordinate constructions governed by non-factive mental or volitional verb, if the subject of the main and subordinated clause coincide (6). In Standard Eastern Armenian such subordinate constructions must be generated with infinitive (6a). The use of subjunctive with these verb classes is, however, both canonical and common, if the subjects of the clauses are different and if the conjunction *or* (that) is used (7).

(6)

Uzum	em	gnam.
V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	V/Subj.1.Sg.
wanting	am-I	would go-I

"I want to go."

(6a)

Uzum	em	gnal
V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	V/Inf.

(7)

Uzum	em	or	Anuši	het	xoses.
V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	CONJ	N/GEN	POST	V/Subj.2.Sg.
wanting	am-I	that	Anuš	with	would speak-you

"I want (wish) that you speak with Anuš.."

- Replacement of "Standard Eastern Armenian" infinitive constructions by postpositional phrases in current Eastern Armenian (also in written). (8) Generally, there is a group of verbs which in infinitive constructions regularly assigns oblique cases to the infinitive, such as genitive or ablative. (8a)

(8)

Galis	em	k'o	het	xoselu	hamar.
V/Part.P res.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	[PRON/2.Sg.-Gen	POST]	[V/Inf-Gen	POST]
coming	am-I	of you	with	speak	for

"I come to speak with you."

(8a)

Galis	em	k'ez	het	xoselu.
V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	[PRON/2.Sg.-Dat	POST]	V/Inf-Gen
coming	am-I	to you	with	speak

(3) Special syntactic constructions, serialization patterns and word order

- Deranked or participial relative clauses are commonly used in Standard Eastern Armenian. The agent of such constructions is morphologically marked by the genitive (=possessor) case (11b). In current Eastern Armenian these constructions have developed to structures, which seem to be com-

mon for the whole linguistic area and are, thus, similar to the corresponding structures, e.g. in Turkish (11, 12): the pronominal agent can not only be marked by the preposed genitive form of the pronoun (which is also the possessive pronoun) but also by the suffixed possessive determiner (11a, 12a).

(11) Turkish:

git-tiğ-im	köy
V/part.-poss.1.Sg.	N/Nom
gone-my	village

"the village, I have gone to"

(11a)

gnac'ac	gyul-s
V/Part.Res.	N/Nom-poss
gone	village-my

(11b)

im	gnac'ac	gyul-ë
PRON/2.Sg.-Gen	V/Part.Res.	N/Nom-art
of me (my)	gone	village-the

Current colloquial Eastern Armenian has also taken a further, rather unusual step: in certain complex constructions, the pronominal agent may also be suffixed to the participle (12b). This structure can be regarded as parallel to the canonical Turkish structure. This Eastern Armenian structure is quite new and has not been investigated and even been revealed so far.

"Your house, that I have seen" would be expressed by Standard Eastern Armenian:

(12)

im	tesac	k'o	tun-ë
PRON/1.Sg.-Gen	V/Part.Res.	POSS/Nom	N/Nom-art
of me	seen	your	house-the

or (12a)

im	tesac	tun-d
PRON/1.Sg.-Gen.	V/Part.Res.	N/Nom-poss.2.Sg.
of me	seen	house-your

(12b)

tesac-s	tun-d
V/Part.Res.-poss.1.Sg.	N/Nom-poss.2.Sg.
seen-my	house-your

- The basic word order of verb and direct object in interaction with the direct object noun's definiteness, animacy and clear accusative marking. In Standard Armenian the basic word order is said to be OV, but as it is known – and almost not studied yet, except B. Comrie's effort (*Some Formal Properties of Focus in Modern Eastern Armenian*. Annual of Armenian Linguistics. 1984 5. 1-21.) – it is the functional sentence perspective expressed by focusing which rules the order of the elements. The basic order of object and verb seems also to depend on the definiteness of the direct object. The case-marking of the direct object depends on the animacy of the noun (animated morphological Dative, not-animated morphological Nominative). But it seems also that clear case marking (with morphological dative) also interacts with definiteness – and thus with word order. These Eastern Armenian word order features have not been investigated, only B. Comrie has mentioned this interesting linguistic phenomenon, which shows obvious structural parallels to Turkish. In Turkish linguistics such structures are usually explained by indefinite noun phrase-movements or order constraints by case marking or definiteness. It is quite possible that the incessant language contact with Turkish has influenced such structures in Eastern Armenian.

(13)

Ani-n	kanč'ec'	ir	bžški-n.
N/Nom-art	V/Aor.Ind.act.3.Sg.	[POSS/Nom	N/Dat-art]
S	V	O	
Ani-the	called	her	doctor-the

"Ani called her doctor." (SVO)

(Definite, animate and therefore morphologically marked direct object; definite object → VO?)

(13b)

Ani-n	[mi	bžšik]	kanč'ec'.
N/Nom-art	INDEF/Nom	N/Nom	V/Aor.3.Sg.
S		O	V
Ani-the	a	doctor	called

"Ani called a doctor." (SOV)

(Indefinite, non-specific object, not-animate and not morphologically marked direct object → OV?)

- The functional sentence perspective, as mentioned above, is not really studied in Eastern Armenian. Only the focus position, immediately left to the finite verb or auxiliary, as well as the changed order of auxiliary and infinite verb in compound verbal forms is given in all grammars of Eastern Armenian. It seems, however, that the focus positions and focussing itself are also subject to certain constraints and conditions in current Eastern Armenian. This very important syntactic phenomenon will also be thoroughly studied for the planned reference grammar.

4) Internal lexical-syntactic changes

Current Eastern Armenian shows also features, which can so far not be explained, which are absolutely not given in the various existing grammar and which are mainly caused by lexical changes or "lexical confusion". So far, the structure of current Eastern Armenian has not been affected by such changes, but it is likely to do so in some of the cases.

- A lacking semantic differentiation between the preposed cardinal number *mek* "one" and the preposed indefinite article *mi* "a". In Standard Eastern Armenian there is a clear difference in the meaning and use of the indefinite article and cardinal number (14a), which also seems to be logical – but not any more in today's colloquial Eastern Armenian. In most cases the indefinite article is used both to express indefiniteness and number (14), the real cardinal number *mek* is only used in emphasized expressions. There is absolutely no syntactic difference, and thus Eastern Armenian distinguishes from Turkish, in which also one lexeme is used for the meaning of both

indefinite article and number (*bir*), but with a syntactic difference in word order.

(14)

Mnum	em	mi	žam.
V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	INDEF/Nom	N/Nom
staying	am-I	a/onc	hour

"I stay one hour"

(14a)

Mnum	em	mek	žam
V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	NUM/Nom	N/Nom
staying	am-I	onc	hour

- The replacement of the Standard Eastern Armenian 3rd Person personal pronoun *na* "he, she, it", *nrank'* "they" by the emphatic pronoun *ink'e* "he, she, it" and *irenk'* "they". This replacement affects of cases and numbers of the 3rd person personal pronouns, but consequently also a change in the use of the 3rd person possessive pronouns from *nra* "his, her, its" and "*nranc*" to *ir* and *irenc'*. The latter has also semanto-syntactic consequences and may cause ambiguity (15), since the forms *ir* and *irenc'* represent reflexive pronouns in traditional grammatical terms, that are usually only used as possessive pronouns if they refer to the subject of the clause (15a, 15b).

(15)

Ani-n	sirum	ē	ir	amusnu-n.
N/Nom-art	V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.1.Sg.	rPOSS/Nom	N/Dat-art
Ani-the	loving	is-she	her	husband-the

"Ani loves her (own) or her (another's woman) husband."

(15a)

Ani-n	sirum	ē	nra	amusnu-n.
N/Nom-art	V/Part.Pres.	AUX/Pres.3.Sg.	POSS/Nom	N/Dat-art
Ani-the	loving	is	her	husband-the

"Ani loves her husband. (the husband of another woman)"

(15b)

Ani-n sirum ē ir amusnu-n.

"Ani loves her (own) husband."

II.2. CURRENT MODERN EASTERN ARMENIAN – THE STATE OF ART

II.2.1. Overview of "basic" and recent literature

The question of reference grammars

As already indicated in the preceding chapters, no existing grammar of Modern Eastern Armenian meets the requirements of a modern linguistic and armenological reference grammar, combining the latest general linguistic and armenological findings, typological methods, modern (universal) terminology and not at least simple "readability" (in terms of a broadly understandable "scientific" language – i.e. not in Armenian or Russian!) with a detailed synchronic observation of the current colloquial and written language in the Republic of Armenia. This means, that the existing grammars are

- not complete, i.e. lacking descriptions of morphosyntactic patterns, specific constructions, serialization, word order and emphasized order patterns etc.
- "theoretically" not up-to-date, i.e. methods of description, strictly morphological classification of the parts of speech, terminology, etc.
- "practically" not up-to-date, i.e. in the description of current language in Armenia, which also includes possible deviations and innovations.
- not explicit, i.e. sometimes grammars produce e.g. complex verbal or nominal paradigms, that are more difficult and less understandable than the language itself – one of the best examples is the case syncretism in Eastern Armenian!
- not explanatory or explanatory only to a small extent, i.e. special constructions, linguistic exceptions and deviations from the "rules" are hardly explained.

In the recent years only a few publications have dealt with description of struc-

tural phenomena in Modern Eastern Armenian. This might also be due to the fact, that Armenology is still more active in the field of historical linguistics and is rather concentrating on Classical Armenian and Dialectology than on the study of complex morphosyntactic properties of the current language. Only a few scholars have contributed to a better description and understanding of Standard Eastern Armenian features. There are only a few efforts to illustrate of word order features in Modern Eastern Armenian: Palek, B.: Dum-Tragut, J.: "Word order correlations and word order change: an "applied-typological" study on literary Armenian Variants", Lincom 2002; "Discourse in Armenian: item order approach" Actes du Sixième Colloque international des linguistique arménienne. SLOVO 26,27. 2002; Dum-Tragut, J.: "Free and rigid word order – a case study of literary Armenian standards". Proceedings of LP 2000. Prague 2001, 537-554; Dum-Tragut, J.: "A typological sketch of the Armenian noun-phrase". Actes du Sixième Colloque international des linguistique arménienne. SLOVO 26,27. 2002, 283-298. Kozintseva has mainly published articles on highly important and so far not extensively studied tense and aspect system in Modern Eastern Armenian: "Resultative, passive and perfect in Armenian" in Nedjalkov (ed.), Amsterdam 1988, p. 449-468; "Vremennaya lokalizovannost' dejstvija i eje svjazi s aspektual'nymi, modal'nymi i tak-sisnymi značenijami", Leningrad 1991. *The Tense System of Modern Eastern Armenian*. IN: Thierroff, Rolf. (ed) Tübingen 1995, p. 277-297. There are several articles, published in Armenia, that are mostly dating back to the 50ies and 60ies and are not regarded as decisive for the present study. Of interest are the few syntactic studies, such as: Parnasyan, Nvard: "Šarahyusakan homanišnerë žamanakakic' hayerenum." (Syntactic synonyms in Modern Armenian), Yerevan 1970; "Naxadasut'yan k'erakanakan kargerë žamanakakic'

hayerenum" (Grammatical categories of the sentences in Modern Armenian), Yerevan 1986. The latest publication dealing with problems of an adequate description of Modern Eastern Armenian is one of my own publications: "Word order correlations and word order change: an "applied-typological" study on literary Armenian varieties", Munich 2002, in which for the first time modern linguistic terminology and methods are applied to the description of Armenian, and in which I have also tried to give some thoughts about word order patterns, focusing and participial relative clauses in current Eastern Armenian.

The question of a description of current Modern Eastern Armenian

Regarding the development of Modern Eastern Armenian and some obviously changed, deviating or innovative structures, there are some publications, which will serve as basic literature for this project in addition to all the Modern Eastern Armenian grammars mentioned above: **Abrahamyan, Sergey:** "Hayoc' lezvi zargac'umë sovetakan šrjanum" (*The development of Armenian during the Soviet period*), Yerevan 1973; **Jahukyan, G.:** "Hayoc' lezvi zargac'umë ev karuz'vack'ë" (*The development and structure of Armenian*), Yerevan 1969. *Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun. (History of Armenian Language)*, Yerevan 1987; as well as the interesting but a little naive collection of so-called "grammatical errors" in nowadays Eastern Armenian by **Bediryan, P.:** "Hay lezun ev mer xosk'ë", (*Armenian language and our colloquial speech*), Yerevan 1999. An interesting article on the current use of the possessive determiner: **Poladian, M.:** "L'article possessif en arménien moderne". Actes du Sixième Colloque international des linguistique arménienne. SLOVO 26,27. 2002, 279-282.

The question of internal and external factors influencing current Eastern Armenian structures

There are only a few recent publications about Modern Eastern Armenian, and as far as I could investigate, no important publications about common areal linguistic developments in the Caucasus region, the dialectal or Western Armenian influence on current Eastern Armenian. There are, however, official efforts and discussions about a planned, artificially induced convergence of Eastern and Western Armenian in "State Language Office", in various conferences and diaspora meetings – but so far with any major communiqué or results. Such discussions and plans may also contribute to the explanation of "Westernisation" phenomena in colloquial Eastern Armenian, see **Zak'aryan, H.:** "The language law of the Republic of Armenia and problems of all-Armenian language policy", Proceeding of the 5th international Conference on Armenian Linguistics, Delmar 1996, 355-360; **Zekiyan, L. B.** "Hay irakanut'ean mej lezuakan k'alak'akanu'ean më anhražeštut'iw-në ew skzbunk'nerë" (The necessity and the principles of a language policy in the Armenian context), Harač, 1990/154, 4; "Ink'nut'ean xčankar" (Mosaic of identity), Beyruth 2001. The influence of demographic-sociolinguistic changes on Eastern Armenian was commented by Tumanyan, E.: "About immanent and social-determined changes in the Armenian language", Actes du Sixième Colloque international des linguistique arménienne. SLOVO 26,27. 2002, 381-384.

II.2.2. New methods and approaches

The main idea of this project is a description of Modern Eastern Armenian by means of different linguistic approaches and proceeding from different linguistic point of views. Language description in the form of a "grammar" usually means to objectively elucidate formal properties of a language (mor-

phology, syntax, even word formation, but no phonetics, phonology or semantics) and to state formal regularities. A grammar of a "modern" natural language implies also that the structural information provided is based on synchronically observed data. The "Grammar" of this project

- will use the recent typological/modern linguistic findings to specify and to "name" the formal properties;
- will include also special syntactic constructions and even pragmatic-syntactic aspects (focus!);
- will base on the "really" synchronically observed language;
- will thus provide information about innovative, newly introduced or deviating, even "borrowed" but conventionalised structures;
- will give structural, typological, areal linguistic, contact-linguistic and even sociolinguistic explanations about complex, new or little transparent (morpho)-syntactic peculiarities;
- will point out to possible future structural developments.

Thus Modern Eastern Armenian will be described by means of a "multi-dimensional linguistic" approach combined with "practical synchronic observation" methods. This multi-dimensional linguistic approach comprises grammar theory, typology, particularly word order theory, areal linguistic theory, contact-linguistic theory and sociolinguistic theory. In my opinion, a natural, currently spoken and written language can only be adequately described in a "grammar" in a holistic way: linguistic phenomena cannot be explained without a) examining their function ("functional grammar"), b) without considering universal typological properties and tendencies (*typology, word order*), c) without studying the linguistic area in which the language is embedded (areal linguistics, contact linguistics) d) without taking the political, historical and social setting of the language into ac-

count (*sociolinguistics*). A natural language is not an isolated and an invariable system of linguistic structures. So, why should the description, the "grammar" of the language be?

Modern Eastern Armenian is moreover a language which has not been thoroughly and concisely studied. Although it is grouped in the Indo-European language family, it shares a great number of properties with its non-Indo-European neighbours – particularly with Turkish and the South Caucasian language group. A holistic view of Eastern Armenian as part of this linguistic area will also help to understand "not Indo-European" structures and will also be a step towards breaking sociopolitical taboos in comparing and explaining properties of Eastern Armenian by means of its neighbouring languages, especially Turkish.

III. REALISATION OF THE EASTERN ARMENIAN GRAMMAR-PROJECT

III.1. Working methods and work program

As already mentioned above, the approach and methods of the present project will be based on the combination of various linguistic theories with field work in Armenia.

The inevitable first step will be to elaborate the given decisive literature: all important grammars of "Eastern Armenian", but mainly those of the 20th century, and publications about Eastern Armenian properties and structure and their change and development from Soviet Period until today as mentioned above. These publications, especially Abrahamyan's Grammars and the articles concerning structural properties published after 1975 form the basis, the given Eastern Armenian corpus, which will serve both as "source material" and as "standard of comparison" with the current colloquial and written Eastern Ar-

menian in the Republic of Armenia. This work will be done in the first year.

The field work in Armenia is one of the essential working methods of this project and requires several longer stays in Armenia. The field work itself will contain two subjects: the spoken, colloquial Armenian and the written Armenian. For written Armenian there will be done a close look both at the "acrolectal", i.e. the official written Eastern Armenian (newspapers, journals, Armenian language text and work books used at schools and universities) and at the "basilectal", i.e. the informal written Eastern Armenian. The latter will be investigated in the course of the study of colloquial Eastern Armenian. Spoken Eastern Armenian will be studied by means of questionnaires (to fill in and to answer orally) and by "just listening". The questionnaire will contain obvious deviating, new and borrowed structures, but will explicitly concentrate on word order (and focus), serialization and participial constructions.

The sit on classes of Eastern Armenian in elementary and secondary schools (both in the capital Yerevan and in villages) and on lectures in the State University Institute of Armenology and of pedagogics will also be of interest. It seems interesting to observe the teaching of "Eastern Armenian Grammar" and to gain the impression of what is considered as "grammatical" or "wrong".

It might also be a challenge to get into closer contact with the Republic of Armenia State language office to learn more about the official language policy.

The next step, after having elaborated the literature ("corpus L") and having collected a corpus of colloquial and written language in my first field work campaigns ("corpus F"), will be the comparison of these two corpora to filter out those formal properties, structures and constructions that are new, deviating from Abrahamyan or borrowed from Russian or Western Armenian. The

syntactic features, like word order or focus principle that are not mentioned in Abrahamyan's grammars or specified by later publications will also be added. Those properties and structures that have not changed since Abrahamyan's „normative“ descriptions will directly be written down for the reference grammar, of course in modernized terminology.

These "filtered out" features will afterwards be separated into two major groups:

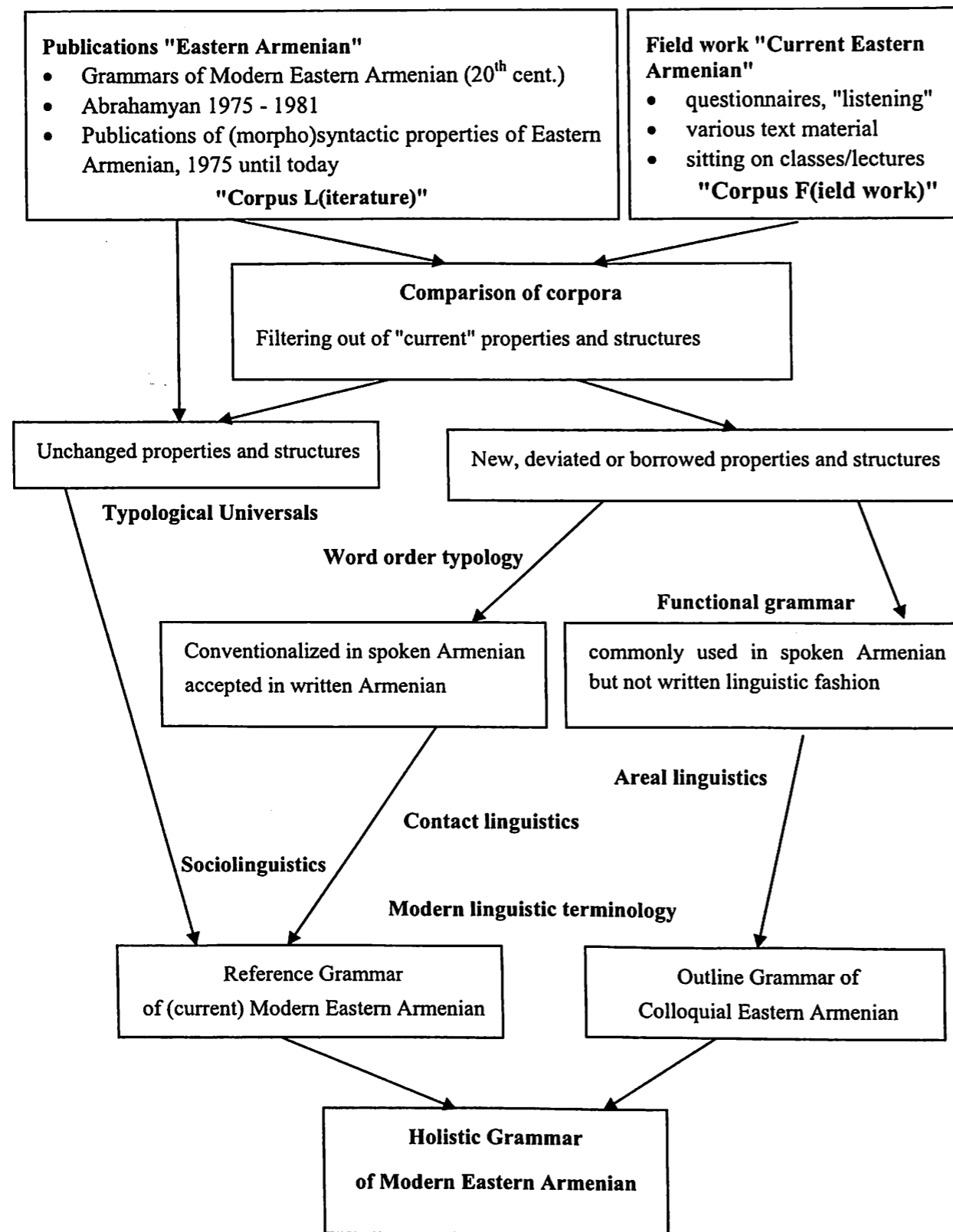
- a) a) Exclusively spoken current Eastern Armenian
- b) b) Also written current Eastern Armenian.

Features, that have been accepted in written language, can be considered as conventionalised and "grammatical" by their speakers.

The features will be described and explained according to their characteristics by corresponding approaches, e.g. word-order phenomena such as serialization of Verb and

direct object by means of typological word-order theory, typological universals, functional approach but also language-contact and areal linguistics. The separating, description and explanation of the features might begin in the second year and will continue until the first months of the third year.

The most problematic and without doubt the most difficult aspect of the project will be to decide, which features of current Eastern Armenian will have to be regarded as conventionalised and thus will have to be evaluated as a regular property of Modern Eastern Armenian and which are only "fashionable linguistic" elements. Such linguistic fashions ("youth language") or colloquial elements, which are not really conventionalised or do belong only to certain social strata, will not be a part of the reference grammar of Eastern Armenian, but will be included in the second part of the "holistic" grammar, the description of colloquial Eastern Armenian.



ԱՐՏԱԾԵՍ I-Ի ՎԱՐՉԱ-ՏԱՐԱԾՔԱՑԻՆ ԲԱՐԵՓՈԽՈՒՄՆԵՐԸ ԵՒ ՀԻՆ
ՀԱՅԿԱԿԱՆ ՊՐՈՖԵՍԻՈՆԱԼ ԲԱՆԱԿԻ ՀԻՄՆԱԻՈՐՈՒՄԸ

Յակոբ Յարութիւնեան

Հայ ժողովուրդն իր բազմադարեան պատմութեան ընթացքում ունեցել է մեծ թուով նշանաւոր գործիչներ, որոնք կարեւոր դեր են խաղացել մեր երկրի պետական-հասարակական կեանքում: Այդպիսի դէմքերից է Արտաշէս Ա-ն (թագաւորել է Ք.ա. 189 - մօտ 160 թթ.): Նա ոչ միայն մէկ պետութեան մէջ միաւորեց Հայկական տարածքների մեծ մասը, այլև վերականգնեց Մեծ Հայքի թագաւորութիւնը: Նա նաեւ դարձաւ թագաւորական նոր տոհմի՝ Արտաշեսեանների հարստութեան հիմնադիրը, որի ներկայացուցիչներից Տիգրան Բ Մեծը՝ Արտաշէսի թոռը, շարունակելով իր պայի գործը, կարողացաւ Մեծ Հայքը վերածել աշխարհակալ տէրութեան: Արտաշէսի գործունէութեան սկզբի վերաբերեալ տեղեկութիւններ համարեա չեն պահպանուել: Յայտնի է միայն, որ նա սերել է Երուանդունիների տոհմից, ծառայել է Սելեւկեանների թագաւորութիւնում՝ որպէս զօրավար (strategos) Անտիոքոս Գ Մեծի (Ք.ա. 223-187 թթ.) մօտ, եւ Հէնց վերջինիս անմիջական յանձնարարութեամբ էլ Արտաշէսը Հայաստանում տապալել է Երուանդունիների արքայատոհմի վերջին ներկայացուցիչին՝ Երուանդ Դ-ը Վերջինին (220-201 թթ.), որն իր քաղաքականութեամբ առաջ էր բերել Հայկական աւագանու ծայրայեղ դժգոհութիւնը: Գրեթէ նոյն ժամանակ էլ Մոփքում, կրկին Անտիոքոսի յանձնարարութեամբ, Ջարեհի կողմից գահնկեց է արուել Քսերքսէս արքան: Այսպիսով, Արտաշէսը Մեծ Հայքում, իսկ Ջարեհը՝ Մոփքում, նշանակուեցին որպէս ստրատեգոսներ(կառավարիչներ)՝ գտնուելով Անտիոքոս Սելեւկեանի գերագոյն իշ-

խանութեան ներքոյ: Վերոյիշեալ երկու ստրատեգոսութիւններից բացի, նոյն այս ժամանակ կային նաեւ Հայկական երկու թագաւորութիւններ՝ Փոքր Հայքի եւ Կոմմազէնէի պետութիւնները:

Արտաշէսի եւ Ջարեհի Հայաստանում եւ Մոփքում իրականացրած ձեռնարկումների վերաբերեալ պատմիչ Ստրաբոնը վկայում է. «Պատմում են, որ Արմենիան եղել է առաջ փոքր եւ մեծացել է Արտաքսիասի (Արտաշէսի - Յ. Յ.) եւ Ջարիագրէսի (Ջարեհի - Յ. Յ.) ձեռքով, որոնք նախապէս Անտիոքոս Մեծի զօրավարներն էին եւ նրա անկումից յետոյ թագաւորեցին՝ մէկը Մոփքի, Ակիսէնէի, Օդոմանտիսի եւ մի քանի այլ գաւառների վրայ, իսկ միւսը՝ Արտաշատի շուրջը գտնուող երկրի վրայ»¹: Այսպիսով, մինչեւ Ք.ա. 189 թ. նրանք կառավարում էին իրենց տարածքներում՝ որպէս Անտիոքոսի ստրատեգոսներ, այսինքն՝ գտնուում էին վերջինիս գերագոյն իշխանութեան ներքոյ: Ք.ա. 190 թ. շրջադարձային նշանակութիւն ունեցաւ վերոյիշեալ երկու Հայկական ստրատեգոսութիւնների՝ Մեծ Հայքի եւ Մոփքի համար: Այդ թուականին Փոքր Ասիայում գտնուող Մազնեսիա բնակավայրի մօտ տեղի ունեցած ճակատամարտում՝ Սելեւկեանների եւ Հռոմէական հանրապետութեան բանակների միջեւ, Անտիոքոսը կրեց ջախջախիչ պարտութիւն, իսկ նրա տէրութիւնը յայտնուեց կաթուածաւար վիճակում՝ ապրելով տեւական հոգեվարք: Միայն այս պահից սկսած՝ Արտաշէսն ու

1 The Geography of Strabo, (Loeb Classical Library), London 1960, XI, 14, 5.