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Armenian. Modern Eastern Armenian
by Jasmine Dum-Tragut

Armenian

Modern Eastern Armenian

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Foreword

The variety of Armenian familiar to the average Indo-Europeanist is Classical Armenian, the language into which the Bible was translated in the fifth century A.D. and which continues to serve as the ritual language of the Armenian Church. Students are taught that *erku*, the Armenian word for ‘two’ is, despite its unfamiliar appearance, a regular cognate of Latin *duo* and English *two* and that Armenian has borrowed so extensively, mainly from Iranian but also from Greek and Aramaic that loan-words came to predominate over the inherited vocabulary (for a lexical sample see section vi.) This is because, as a result of their geographical location and their political history, Armenians have throughout the ages been exposed to the languages of conquerors and neighbours, so that Armenian is now characterised as much by its lexical and structural borrowings as by its Indo-European heritage.

The present volume sets out to describe the grammatical structure of Modern Eastern Armenian, the official language of Armenia, a state which only attained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. Armenia is situated in the Anatolian highlands between Turkey in the west, Syria and Iran in the south and south-east, and the Caucasus in the north. Communities speaking varieties of Eastern Armenian are also found in Abkhazia, southern Georgia and Azerbaijan, as well as throughout the Armenian diaspora. Those communities who live in Turkey speak a somewhat different variety, known as Western Armenian.

The author, Jasmine Dum-Tragut, is Universitäts-Dozentin in Linguistics and Armenian Studies at the University of Salzburg in Austria and holds an honorary doctorate from the Armenian Academy. Her analysis combines the findings of traditional Armenian grammars with methods and insights drawn from more recent theoretical linguistics, in particular language typology. It is based on an extensive corpus of spoken and written material, a rich selection of Armenian sentences being presented both in the Armenian script and in Romanised transcription, all fully glossed and translated.

Armenian has a three-term plosive system which opposes voiced, voiceless aspirated and plain voiceless stops although a number of dialects have substituted ejectives (glottalised stops) for the latter. The noun has five cases, the dative incorporating the functions of a genitive and, in the case of human definite referents, also marking the direct object. Demonstrative pronouns have a three-term system paralleling the three persons. The verb distinguishes a present and an aorist stem, tenses other than the aorist being formed analytically by means of a participle and an auxiliary. Of the two perfective past tenses the aorist encodes witnessed events, the perfect unwitnessed ones.

The basic word order of Armenian is object-verb and verb-auxiliary, modifiers precede the governing noun while the definite article is suffixed to it. The order of the main constituents of the clause is to some degree flexible so that, under certain discourse-pragmatic conditions, the subject may follow the direct and indirect objects. The syntax of the verb

is described in terms of a universal framework of syntactico-semantic verb classes and of processes of transitivity and detransitivity which alter the verb's syntactic frame. The chief transitivity process is causative formation, which adds an additional participant to the verb frame in the form of a new subject, resulting in the demotion of the subject of the base verb. The main detransitive forms are the passive, anticausative, reciprocal and reflexive, all formed by means of one and the same suffix. The similarities and differences of these constructions are clearly set out and attention is drawn to areas of ambiguity.

A section entitled 'Special constructions' deals with structures which are seen as potential areal features shared with neighbouring languages. Thus it is noted that participial structures are found competing with finite subordinate clauses, especially adverbial and relative clauses. There are also alternative ways of forming the comparative of adjectives: either the ablative-marked standard of comparison may precede the base form of the adjective (Ararat-ABL high, 'higher than Ararat') or the adjective may be preceded by a comparative marker and followed by the nominative-marked standard of comparison which is itself preceded by a conjunction (more high than Ararat). What is clearly innovative is the use of a possessive pronoun suffixed to a participle in order to mark the agent of the action (painted-your portrait, 'the portrait you have painted').

A brief lexical section at the end contains sample vocabularies of kinship terms, of words for colours, for parts of the body, for the days, months and seasons, and for numerals. Although this was probably not the author's primary intention it serves to illustrate why it took so long for Indo-Europeanists to identify Armenian as being an independent member of the Indo-European language family.

Theodora Bynon

Preface

With the financial support of the Austrian Science Funds, the present reference grammar of Eastern Armenian was realised over a three-year period.

From the very beginning, this grammar was designed as a modern linguistic set of rules, combining the prescriptive traditions of grammars written in Armenia and modern linguistic approaches to descriptive grammars based on linguistic typology with extensive data from both spoken (colloquial) and written Eastern Armenian. The data and material used consist of two parts: the written corpus is composed of (a) written material excerpted from school text books, teaching aids, grammars used in Armenian schools and Institutes of Higher Education, and of (b) Armenian newspapers that are available online, e.g. AZG, Noyan Tapan, Arravot, Armenpress, Hetk', etc. The second part comprises my own records of colloquial Armenian.

For both corpora, linguistic field work in Armenia was of particular importance in order to observe the linguistic behaviour of native speakers in various settings, but also for systematic elicitation by means of questionnaires and interviews. Attending classes of Armenian language and Armenian literature in various elementary and secondary schools in rural and urban Armenia was efficient and inspiring.

This has been a massive task and I am deeply indebted to many for their valuable help, all of them native speakers of Eastern Armenian living in Armenia. These informants are widely dispersed across various age groups, social strata, educational levels and professions – to allow for a diverse linguistic knowledge and behaviour as much as possible.

Over the years numerous people, not only informants, have contributed to this grammar. I cannot name everyone here, but I would like to thank explicitly Prof. Bernard Comrie, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology at Leipzig, for his friendly and patient consultation regarding tricky linguistic issues. Thanks as well to those Armenian linguists, armenologists and their students of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, of Yerevan State University, State Pedagogical Institute and Linguistic Institute named after Bryusov for their willingness to discuss various questions. I am particularly grateful to the directors, teachers and pupils of the schools I visited in the last few years: School No. 5 named after Iŝxan in Yerevan, School No. 8 named after Puŝkin in Yerevan; School No. 55 named after Čexov in Yerevan, School No. 69 named after Saxarov in Yerevan-Šengavit'; School No. 1 named after N. Aŝtarakec'i in the town of Aŝtarak and community school in the village of Aramus.

Šnorhokalutyun!

Hopefully this grammar will be of service and help for general and comparative linguists, typologists, for armenologists and for all those interested in Modern Eastern Armenian.

Introduction

a. Modern Eastern Armenian

Modern Eastern Armenian belongs to the group of the Indo-European languages and is classified as an independent branch of this language family. Together with Modern Western Armenian it represents the two written (Standard) varieties of Modern Armenian, which have developed as separate standard and literary languages since the 18th century. The major division of the Armenian language into two major dialectal blocks, Eastern and Western, was not only caused by divergent historic linguistic developments such as, phonetic shift, morphological and syntactic changes, but is also due to historical and political factors in the history of the Armenian people.

Modern Eastern Armenian has evolved because of its constant exposure to and contact with the languages of both its neighbours and also its alien conquerors. Modern Eastern Armenian shares many linguistic features with the neighbouring languages of the linguistic area of Caucasus/Armenian-Anatolian Highland, i.e. modern South-Caucasian, Turkic and Iranian languages. Among these features are: a lack of gender distinction, ternary opposition in plosives and affricates (voiced, voiceless, voiceless aspirated), predominant left branching of noun phrase attributes (ADJ N, DEM N, QNT N, GEN N, N POST), unmarked V + AUX, morphological agglutination in declensions following the common order noun-plural-case-determiner; it distinguishes transitives from intransitives by means of morphology and syntax; widespread use of participle constructions (to avoid or to shorten subordinate clauses) etc.

Modern Eastern Armenian distinguishes five cases in two numbers; it has a suffixed definite article as well as possessive suffixes for 1st and 2nd person also conveying demonstrative and agentive meaning; it uses postpositions almost exclusively. There is a general humanness distinction in the noun class, triggering, in simple terms, the use of the dative case with (+human) and the use of the unmarked nominative case with (-human) direct objects. Indefiniteness, however, interacts with the humanness distinction in the morphological marking and the syntactic position of the direct object.

The verbal system of Modern Eastern Armenian is comparatively, relatively complex: it shows transitive and intransitive (including inchoative) verbs that can be morphologically detransitivised (by means of the multifunctional – i.e. passive/anti-causative/reflexive/reciprocal – suffix -v-) and transitivised (by means of the causative suffix -c'n-); a distinctive system of tenses (also regarding aspect and aktionsart) and of moods. Modern Eastern Armenian has two verbal stems - present and perfect (or aorist) - from which the tenses and moods are formed. The tenses, except the aorist, are generally analytically formed with participles and the auxiliary. Modern Eastern Armenian can express terminative vs. non-terminative, durative vs. stative, the habitual,

the ingressive, but not the progressive aspects/aktionsarten. The aorist also conveys evidential meaning.

Modern Eastern Armenian has five moods, of which the debitive is a mood specific to Eastern Armenian and does not exist in Western Armenian. Modern Eastern Armenian also offers the possibility to express various aktionsarten/aspect stative vs. durative (habitual) vs. processual vs. progressive in both tenses and moods, depending on the participle and the auxiliary used and on the context.

Modern Eastern Armenian generates its sentences on the basis of the functional sentence perspective rather than on a fixed basic word order.

Modern Eastern Armenian is the official state language of the Republic of Armenia, where it is spoken by the majority, i.e. 97.9% (Census 2001, est. 2008 %) of its 3.213 million (Census 2001), est. 2008 3.230 million inhabitants. It is also the official state language of the unrecognised Republic of Mountainous Karabakh, where it is spoken by 95% of the Republic's 137,737 inhabitants (Census Oct. 2005). Modern Eastern Armenian and its dialects are also used in the regions bordering Armenia, namely in the southern region of Georgia called Javakh, mainly inhabited by Armenians but also in the Georgian capital of Tiflis. Eastern Armenian dialects are also spoken in some regions of the Caucasus: in Abkhazia, the Krasnodar region, in Azerbaijan. Modern Eastern Armenian is also employed by the worldwide Armenian Diaspora.

This grammar exclusively describes Modern Eastern Armenian as it is written (Standard Modern Eastern Armenian) and spoken in the Republic of Armenia. It definitely does not refer to any other vernacular or dialect spoken in Armenia's bordering countries, particularly not to the Eastern Armenian as spoken in neighbouring Iran.

b. Outline of the history of formation of Modern Eastern Armenian

The history of MEA may be subdivided into four major periods¹ that reflect the historical, socio-political and the linguistic changes in Armenia from the 18th century to the 21st century. These changes can be described as linguistic changes proper, having affected the linguistic features of both spoken and written MEA, but also in terms of the altered status of functions of MEA throughout its development and in terms of language policy.

1. Formation period of Early Modern Eastern Armenian (beginning of 18th century until the mid-19th century)
2. Pre-Soviet period (mid-19th century until 1920s)
3. Soviet period (1920–1991)
4. Post-Soviet period (1991 to present)

1. Jahukyan 1969:49f.

Formation period

The first significant efforts to describe the spoken Armenian language, which was termed *Ašxarhabar* “civil language” (as opposed to the “church language”, the still used Classical Armenian “Grabar”), can be traced back to Bałdasar Dpir in the 17th century, and particularly to the German scholar Iohann Ioachim Schroeder. The latter published the “*Thesaurus linguae armeniacaе, antiquae et hodiernae*” in Amsterdam in 1711, a comparison of Classical Armenian and the spoken Armenian vernacular. Although relating all features of “Modern Armenian” to Classical Armenian, Schroeder’s work contains a glut of useful linguistic information about the “civil language.”

The formation of Modern Eastern literary and standard language only took place in the mid-19th century, whereas the vernacular of Western Armenian, as spoken in Asia Minor and in the urban Ottoman Empire, was, for the first time, codified in the first half of the 18th century in the “Grammar of Modern Armenian” by Mxit’ar of Sebaste in Constantinople.² Modern Western Armenian was conventionalised to its literary standard by another Mekhitarist father, Arsen Aytēnean in Venice in 1866.³

After the Russian-Persian war (1826-1828), the former Khanates of Erivan and Naxičevan were united to form the Province of Armenia under the Russian Tsarist government. The Łazaryan-Institute in Moscow, founded in 1815, and the Nersisyan-school in Tiflis, founded in 1814, became the centres of Eastern Armenian culture and language. The central dialect of Ararat Valley was chosen as the basis for the standard or written MEA.⁴ It should also be mentioned that the first publications in the new MEA standard developed by the Nersisyan-school in Tiflis were not broadly accepted and even prosecuted by public authorities of Tsarist Armenia; even new schoolbooks were banned from the classrooms. The first literary work in MEA, “Wounds of Armenia”⁵ was written by Xač’atur Abovyan, but it was also immediately forbidden and only published posthumously in Tiflis in 1858.

2. Mxit’ar of Sebaste was the founder of the Armenian-Catholic congregation called “Mekhitarists” in 1701.

3. Aytēnean, A. 1987 (reprint of 1866): *K’nnakan k’erakanu’t’yun ašxarhabar kam ardi hayeren lezvi*. Erevan: Erevani hamalsarani hratarakč’ut’yun. (Critical grammar of *Ašxarhabar* or Modern Armenian)

4. The leading role of the dialect of Aštarak belonging to the group of dialects of the central Ararat plain is usually explained by the fact that the founder of the Nersesyan-Institute in Tbilisi, Nersēs Aštarakeč’i, came from the small town of Aštarak.

5. The historical novel Վերք Հայաստանի *Verk’ Hayastani* “Wounds of Armenia” was the first Armenian secular novel dedicated to the fate of the Armenian people and its struggle for liberation in the period of Russo-Persian war of 1826–1828. Before writing the novel, Abovyan also tried to write a comparative grammar of Classical Armenian and the newly codified Modern Eastern Armenian in 1839–1490.

Pre-Soviet period (end of the 19th century)

This period, at the end of the 19th century, is characterised by the term “*grapayk'ar*”, i.e. the conflict between the revival of Classical Armenian and the rise of the newly created MEA.

Again it was in Tiflis that the first work in MEA appeared—in the weekly periodical ‘Ararat’ in 1850. It was Mik'ayel Nalbandyan, who first tried to describe the new standard, independent from the paradigms of Classical Armenian, in 1860; his grammatical treatises are, however, not completely preserved. In 1870, Step'anos Palasanyan published his seminal grammar “A general theory of the new literary Armenian language, Eastern Armenian”⁶. This grammar opened a new era: the triumphal procession of Modern Eastern Armenian and its unstoppable spread in Tsarist Armenia. This grammar, and the following school grammar “Grammar of the Mother Tongue”⁷ in 1874, remained the undisputed norm until Manuk Abelyan's progressive works in 1906-1912.

Establishing MEA was the main aim of the Armenian nationalists at the eve of the Armenian massacres in the Ottoman Empire. Armenians were not simply fighting for their political independence, but for their survival and for the maintenance of their main ethnic frame: their homeland, their people and their language.

One should keep in mind that the severe political demarcation of the 19th century in the Armenian settlements between Ottomans, Russians and Persians has also made an impact on the spread and the use of the newly developed MEA; i.e. the political demarcation line also gradually became a distinct linguistic border between the two literary standards of Modern Armenian. Linguistically, this period is characterised by the adoption of some features of MEA vernacular and even some dialects in the newly created standard, as in the changes in the plural paradigm or major changes in the verbal classes affecting tense formation, voice and mood. Through the grammaticalisation of these typical features of MEA, the existing divergence with MWA was additionally deepened.

Soviet period

During the Soviet era, Eastern Armenian was definitely shaped in the most significant and fundamental way: (a) by explicitly describing, defining and labelling the specific linguistic feature of MEA in manifold grammars (representing various, often differing linguistic approaches to MEA); (b) by obtaining new linguistic functions, particularly in new domains in political, scientific and economic life, but also in administrative and

6. Palasanean, St. 1870. *Ĕndhanur tesut'yun arewelahay nor gravor lezvi hayoc'*. (General theory of the new literary Eastern Armenian language), Tiflis. See p. 8

7. Palasanean, St. 1874. *K'erakanut'yun mayreni lezvi* Tiflis. See p. 8.

juridical matters and (c) by equalling the status of an official national, and thus state, language of the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

The constant strengthening of MEA as the main means of communication in Soviet Armenia was heavily disturbed and even undermined by a rigorous Russification policy by central Moscow. Despite the fact that MEA had assured its position as the national language of Soviet Armenia, in many crucial domains it was clearly endangered by Russian; particularly in the very sensitive domains of education, science, military and administration. Russian had become the second, almost obligatory, language in Armenia, and, until the end of the 80s, most ethnic Armenians were more or less bilingual. The educational system was in Russian, and a good command of Russian was the major precondition for higher education. Apart from that, speaking Russian was also regarded as having a high social prestige and of being up to date.

Russian has also strongly influenced many linguistic features of Armenian. Undoubtedly, it was particularly the lexicon that was influenced: a wide range of loans from Russian and several internationalisms transferred into Armenian through Russian and also many loan translations.

There were many changes in morphology and syntax – triggered by internal linguistic factors, such as typological tendencies, but also external factors such as language contact and the pro-Russian language policy.⁸

One of the most important changes during the Soviet period was the Orthography Reform. The Soviet Orthography Reform of 1922 disunited the written MEA and MWA by abandoning historical, (i.e. etymological) writing and the elimination of the classical letter *viwn*. Some of the mistakes of the early reform were corrected in the second reform in 1940, but the gap between the official orthography of Soviet Armenian and the Armenian literary languages outside of Armenia remain.

Post- Soviet period

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the political independence of Armenia declared in 1991, the Armenian language was brought to the fore by the Armenian leaders and intelligentsia. Armenian thus became the centre of attention not only of overzealous Armenian linguists, but also of historians and politicians. It is not surprising at all that the Armenian Language Law and the so-called State Language Office (*Hayastani hanrapetut'yan kařavarut'yan ařent'er lezvi petakan tesčut'yun*) were founded during the darkest period of Armenia's independence, in 1993: in the shadow of the armed conflict on Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia was not only confronted with tremendous economic and energy problems, but also with a

8. The features are described in the present reference grammar. See also: Abrahamyan S.G. (Ed.). 1973. *Hayoc' lezvi zargac'umě Sovetakan šrjanum*. Erewan: Haykakan SSH GA hratarakč'ut'yun. (The development of Armenian in the Soviet period)

major demographic change in Armenia caused mainly by emigration waves from Armenia capturing ethnic Armenians as well as non-ethnic Armenians.

It was important to encourage and strengthen the re-awakened ‘Armenianness’ by means of a rigorous language policy and language reforms: both led to the monopoly position of Armenian language in RA. Thus the first years of Armenia’s independence were characterised “De-Russification” and “Re-Armenisation” in a wide range of former Russian domains, such as public administration, education or military. With the opening of the Republic of Armenia to Western Culture, the technical, political, economic terminology has often been “internationalised”, in sensu stricto “anglicised”.

The Language Law of the Republic of Armenia, implemented in 1993, amended in 2004, defines in Article 1: “*The Armenian language, which serves all the spheres of life of the Republic, shall be the state language of the Republic of Armenia. The literary Armenian language shall be the official language of the Republic of Armenia.*”⁹

Linguistic purism and conservatism are often regarded as the basic principles of Armenian language policy. Starting from the first years of independence until now, purist leaders and linguists have been trying to either re-introduce archaic or obsolete Classical Armenian terms or to create odd loan-translations for many foreign words. Purism is also explicitly included in Article 3 of Law on Language: “*In official conversation, citizens of the Republic of Armenia shall be obliged to ensure the purity of language.*” The State Language Office also undertakes the responsibility to keep Armenian clean from foreign influences “*to preserve originality and to ensure free and unconstrained development.*”¹⁰

Linguistic conservatism is also a popular concomitant of the purist language policy. This is particularly observable in the gap between the currently spoken Armenian vernacular and the written standard. All text books and school grammars simply overlook the linguistic development of the last few years and are conservatively prescriptive in the truest sense of the word. Even linguists kept their conservative Armenian grammar tradition, not opening grammar to other description methods and approaches. Conservatism is particularly observable in school teaching, where children have to keep their spoken language clean from vernacular Armenian – and must not use “incorrect” forms. Everything deviating even slightly from the prescriptive rules as given by grammars is regarded as incorrect and bad language.

It is striking, however, that major demographic changes in Armenia since 1991 – such as mass emigration, immigration of refugees from Mountainous Karabakh and Azerbaijan, rural exodus and repatriation of Diaspora Armenians - have influenced Eastern Arm. lg: various Eastern (above all Iranian-Armenian) dialects have caused a process of

9. Language law 2004:5.

10. Zakarian 1996: 355–360.

“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.

c. *Outline of the history of grammars of Modern Eastern Armenian*¹¹

The development of Eastern Armenian grammars can be regarded as a reflection of the general advance of grammars over the last few centuries, starting from (a) “comparative grammars”, which mainly embody a comparison of the present formal properties with those of the classical source language 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 modernised reference grammars, which might be due to the scientific traditions in Armenia, which seem to have not yet reached the same scientific level and approaches as has European or American linguistics.

- a. “Comparative grammars”, which are usually called “*grabaratiḡ*” (Classical Armenian-type) in Armenian:
 - As already mentioned above, the first description of the colloquial language of the 18th century Armenians written by J. Schröder in 1711. Abovyan based his descriptive grammar of 1839/40 on 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 wrote a grammar of Modern Armenian without comparing its properties with Classical Armenian, but describing this new language as a separate linguistic system. Unfortunately only sections of his grammar remain; in

11. Jahukyan 1969: 49–90.

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 Palasanyan's "*Ĕndhanur 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. Palasanyan mainly contributed to the description of the nominal paradigms and attributes.
- Further concise grammars were written by Manuk Abelyan and his successor H. Petrosyan at the beginning of the 20th century. It was Abelyan above all, who not only provided 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'erakanut'yun*" (Grammar of the Modern Language), 1908 "*Ašxarhabari holovnerē*" (Declinations of the Modern Language), 1909 "*Hayčakan holovē mer ašxarhabarum*" (The Accusative Case in our Modern Armenian), 1912 "*Ašxarhabari šarahyusut'yun*" (Syntax of Modern Armenian) and 1931 "*Hayoc' lezvi tesut'yun*" (Theory of Armenian Language). Abelyan was the first Armenian linguist to explore the Armenian case system in detail (reducing the number of cases from seven to five). He also worked on declension, definiteness and on the tense system, particularly on the function of the resultative participle. In his later grammar, "Theory of Armenian Language" (1931), he tried to defend his approach, particularly of his five-case system. It was his idea of five cases that has initiated a major debate on the number and classification of cases in Modern Eastern Armenian, which continues today. His successors mainly focused on the tense system and on participles.
- c. The first structural grammars, also dealing for the first time with word formation and sentence patterns, appeared in the thirties; morphology, however, remained in the focus of grammatical interest. Some of the grammarians of the 30s denied morphological approaches, but tried to explain and describe Modern Armenian by means of semantics and functions of grammatical forms instead.
- Remarkable works among this "semantic" group are the grammars of A. Ęaribyan in 1934 "*Hayoc' lezvi k'erakanut'yan dasagirkē*" (Schoolbook of the Grammar of Armenian Language), of G. Sevak 1936 "*Hayoc' lezvi šarahyusut'yunē*" (Syntax of Armenian Language). Many Armenian linguists specialised in certain features of Modern Eastern Armenian: on declension and conjugation. Also famous linguists like H. Ačaryan ("*Liakatar k'erakanut'yun hayoc' lezvi `hamematut'yamb 562 lezuni*") (A Complete Grammar of Armenian – compared with 562 languages) 1952–1967) and E. Ałayan ("*Hayoc' lezvi k'erakanut'yunē*" (Armenian Grammar) and "*Žamanakacic' hayereni holovumē ew xonarhumē*" (Modern Armenian Declension and Conjugation) 1967) made

quite impressive contributions to MEA grammar. These armenologists can be regarded as having had a formative influence on Modern Eastern Armenian grammars with their traditional, preferably morphological and only marginally syntactic descriptions. Ľaribyan studied the Armenian negation participle, Sevak the functions and forms of the perfect participles and both have worked on the verbal moods. AĽayan tried to answer specific questions about Modern Eastern Armenian declension and conjugation, also about word formation. The brilliant AĽaĽyan 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*”, based 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) (1981) contains neither essential new findings nor more detailed syntactic descriptions. Indeed, it is complete regarding morphology, but provides only scant 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 serialisation of noun-phrase components, emphasised order patterns or focussing. All following grammar books published in Armenia are mainly based on the predecessors given above, such as e.g. Azatyan. Remarkable is that some of the grammatical methods of G. Jahukyan, mainly influenced by the Russian schools of linguistics, have definitely shown some new approaches.

It goes without saying, that the grammars used and published in Armenia were mainly written for use in schools and in institutes of higher education and are thus for native speakers. This fact may explain the apparent lack of general linguistic information, of modern linguistic explanations and of internationally standardised linguistic terminology.

Moreover, the many linguistic changes Modern Eastern Armenian has undergone, not only in spoken but also in written Armenian, are not at all contained in these prescriptive, often purist Armenian grammars. Even native speakers do not understand why the special linguistic features they frequently use are not even mentioned in recent Armenian grammars – and this has nothing to do with any dialectal or specific sociolectal forms in urban Yerevan.

Only a few Western linguists and armenologists have contributed grammars of Modern Eastern Armenian that can be regarded simply as teaching aids, except for more modernised grammars: Martiros Minassian’s detailed, but often criticized, “*Grammaire d’arménien orientale*”, (1980) and Natalya Kozintseva’s short grammar “*Modern Eastern Armenian*”, (1995). Kozintseva has written many articles about the special linguistics features of Modern Eastern

Armenian; her linguistic work and pioneering spirit in Armenian Linguistics has laid the foundation for modern linguistic approaches to Modern Eastern Armenian and has definitely also contributed to many chapters in the present grammar.

Transliteration of Modern Eastern Armenian alphabet

Ա ա	A a	Յ յ	Y y
Բ բ	B b	Ն ն	N n
Գ գ	G g	Շ շ	Š š
Դ դ	D d	Ո ո	O o
Ե ե	E e	Չ չ	Č č
Զ զ	Z z	Պ պ	P p
Է է	Ē ē	Ջ ճ	ǰǰ
Ը ը	Ě ě	Ռ ռ	Ř ř
Թ թ	T' t'	Ս ս	S s
Ժ ժ	Ž ž	Վ վ	V v
Ի ի	I i	Տ տ	T t
Լ լ	L l	Ր ը	R r
Խ խ	X x	Ց զ	C' c'
Ծ ծ	C c	Ռ ր	U u
Կ կ	K k	Փ փ	P' p'
Հ հ	H h	Ք ք	K' k'
Ձ ձ	J j	Լ	ew
Ղ ղ	Ł ł	Օ օ	Ō ō
Ճ ճ	Č č	Ֆ ֆ	F f
Ս ս	M m		

Abbreviations used

MEA	Modern Eastern Armenian		
SMEA	Standard Modern Eastern Armenian		
MWA	Modern Western Armenian		
1	first person	neg	negation particle
2	second person	NOM	nominative
3	third person	NUM	numeral
ABL	ablative	part	verbal particle
ADJ	adjective	O	direct object
relADJ	relational adjective	pass	passive suffix
ADV	adverb	PL	plural
antic	anticausative suffix	PN	proper noun
attr	attributive suffix	POSS	possessive pronoun
AUX	auxiliary	poss	possessive suffix
caus	causative suffix	PERF	perfect participle
CN	common noun	PRES	present participle
COMP	complementizer	PROH	prohibitive
COMPL	complement	PAST	past
COND	conditional	POST	postposition
CONJ	conjunction	PREP	preposition
DAT	dative	PTCP	participle
DEB	debitive	QUAL	qualifier
def	suffixed definite article	QNT	quantifier
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	wh	question-word
dem	demonstrative suffix	REC	reciprocal pronoun
DET	determiner	rec	reciprocal suffix
FUT	future	REFL	reflexive pronoun
GEN	genitive; Genitive attribute	refl	reflexive suffix
IMP	imperative	REL	relative pronoun
INDEF	indefinite article	RES	resultative participle
INF	infinitive	S	subject
INST	instrumental	SUB	subjective participle
INT	intensifier	SUBJ	subjunctive
INTERJ	interjection	SG	singular
IO	indirect object	TR	transitive
LOC	locative	V	verb
NEG	negative participle	Vpart	verbal particle

Phonology

Orthography and spelling of Armenian letters

Standard Modern Eastern Armenian (SMEA) has 39 graphemes. SMEA orthography is basically phonemic, with exceptions (a) of the schwa phoneme, which in certain positions is not reflected in orthography and, (b) some consonant realisations deviating from orthography. The orthography used in Armenia nowadays goes back to the Soviet orthography reform of 1922 and its revision of 1940.¹²

12. The main features of the orthography reform of 1922 were the neutralization of classical, etymological writing and the adjustment of phonetic realization and writing:

- a. \bar{t} \bar{e} and \bar{o} were completely deleted from the alphabet and were replaced by t e and n o .
- b. The initial n o [ʋɑ] and t e [jɛ] were written phonetically, i.e. with the initial glide, e.g. վորակ *vorak* [ʋɑrɑk] “style”, վոչինչ *vočincʰ* [ʋɑtʰɨntʰ] “nothing”, յերկիր *yerkir* [jɛrkɨr] “country”, յերես *yeres* [jɛrɛs] “face”. This rule has also affected the writing of the auxiliary “to be” when following a vowel, e.g. գնալու յեմ *gnalu yem* [gənalu jɛm] “I will go”, but գնում եմ *gnum em* [gənum ɛm] “I go”.
- c. The old letter w was replaced by the letter v (and also realized as such) as in նվեր *nver* < նուեր *nuer* “gift”;
- d. ea , eo were replaced by ya yo , as in սենյակ *senyak* < սենեակ *seneak* both: [senjak] “room”, յոթ *yot* < եոթ *eot* both [jɔtʰ] “seven” etc.
- e. iw was replaced by yu , as in արյուն *aryun* < արիւն *ariwn* both [ɑrjun] “blood”.
- f. oy was generally replaced by uy [uj]; it is only preserved in this writing, and is also realized as [ɔj], as in խոյ *xoy*[xɔj] “ram”.
- g. The initial y [h] was only written as h if also pronounced as such, as in հարմար *harmar* < յարմար *yarmar* both [hɑrmɑr] “comfortable”.
- h. The final, silent y was totally deleted, as in ծարա *caʁa* < ծարայ *caʁay* both [tsɑrɑ] “servant, slave”.
- i. $\bar{t}a$ $\bar{e}a$, $\bar{t}n$ $\bar{e}o$, $\bar{t}h$ $\bar{e}i$ were replaced by the phonetically written tja *eya*, tjn *eyo*, tjh *eyi* as in գրեի *greyi* < գրեի *grēi* “I wrote”.

In the 1940 revision of this orthography reform,

- a. \bar{t} \bar{e} and \bar{o} were reintroduced, but only in the initial position, and, in a few words, also in the final position. In the medial position the writing of these letters coincides with the t e and n o .
- b. The initial t (y) e and n (v) o , usually realized with a glide, were again written without the initial glide.
- c. In some complex words the etymological writing has been reintroduced too, as in անօգուտ *anōgut* “useless”, անորակ *anorak* “anorak”, աներկյուն *anerkyul* “fearless” etc.
- d. y y is only written across morpheme boundary with u a/n o and h i (particularly in inflection).

This is the alphabetic order of Armenian letters (from left to right) with the usual transliteration and their (isolated) phonetic value.

ա	բ	գ	դ	ե	զ	է	ը	թ	ժ	ի	լ	խ
a	b	g	d	e	z	ē	ě	t'	ž	i	l	x
[a]	[b]	[g]	[d]	[(j)ɛ]	[z]	[ɛ]	[ɔ]	[t ^h]	[ʒ]	[i]	[l]	[χ]
օ	կ	հ	ձ	ղ	ճ	ւ	յ	ն	շ	ո	չ	փ
c	k	h	j	ł	č	m	y	n	š	o	č'	p
[ts]	[k]	[h]	[dz]	[ɣ]	[tʃ]	[m]	[j]	[n]	[ʃ]	[(v)ɔ]	[t ^h]	[p]
ջ	ռ	ս	վ	տ	ր	ց	և	ք	ղ	օ	ֆ	
j	r	s	v	t	r	c'	u	p'	k'	ew	ō	f
[dʒ]	[r]	[s]	[v]	[t]	[r]	[ts ^h]	[u]	[p ^h]	[k ^h]	[jev]	[ɔ]	[f]

1.1 Phonological units – Sound system

SMEA has an inventory of 36 phonemes (with allophonic realisations) of which six are vowels and 30 are consonants.

1.1.1 Vowels

SMEA distinguishes six vowel phonemes with a vowel system which is much richer in back and open-mid vowels.

	FRONT	<i>near front</i>	CENTRAL	<i>near back</i>	BACK
CLOSE	i				u
<i>Near close</i>					
<i>Close mid</i>					
MID			ə		
<i>Open mid</i>	ɛ				ɔ
<i>Near open</i>					
OPEN				ɑ	

The back vowels [u] and [ɔ] are rounded, the near back vowel [ɑ]¹³ is unrounded.

SMEA has no distinctive quantity opposition and also has no difference in the opening of the vowels.

As given above, there is a positional difference in the phonetic realisation of some vowels, mainly in the initial position for the open mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ], as will be explained

13. Armenian grammarians and phoneticians clearly describe the open vowel as a back vowel, as Ařak'elyan, Xač'atryan, Eloyan 1979: 15. Abrahamyan 1981: 9.

in details below, and for the close back vowel [u] in colloquial/dialectal Armenian in the position following [j] as [ʈ], i.e. more centralised.

These positional allophonic differences are also expressed in orthography. Whereas the writing and pronunciation of the vowel phonemes *u a* [ɑ], *ի i* [i] and *ու u* [u] are the same in all positions, there are positional differences in the writing and spelling of *ե e* and *է ē* for [ɛ] and *ո o* and *օ ὄ* for [ɔ].

The difference expressed in having two graphemes for each of the two phonemes [ɛ] and [ɔ], namely *ե e* and *է ē* for [ɛ] and *ո o* and *օ ὄ* for [ɔ] is caused by the historic change from diachronic Armenian, by former distributional differences¹⁴ (the phonemes had been real allophones in diachronic Armenian) and by orthographical conventions.

1. The open mid front vowel phoneme [ɛ], orthographically expressed *ե e* and *է ē*
 - a. In the initial position [ɛ] is usually pronounced with a glide as [jɛ].

As stated above, the glide is not written; thus, in the initial position [jɛ] is written with *ե e* and, as for example in: *Երևան Erewan* [jɛrɛvɑn], *երազ eraz* [jɛrɑz] “dream”; *ես es* [jes] “I”;

 - The exception to this rule in the initial position is found in the present tense forms of the auxiliary, which are pronounced without the initial glide as [ɛ], as in *եմ em* [ɛm] “I am”, *ես es* [ɛs] “you are”, *ենք enkʰ* [ɛnkʰ] “we are” *եք ekʰ* [ɛkʰ] “you are”, *են en* [ɛn] “they are”. In colloquial Armenian, however, the forms of the auxiliary present tense are spoken with the glide [j] as is the case of the final vowel in the participle, e.g. *զնալու em* [gənalu.jɛm] “I will go”.¹⁵
 - There are only some words written with the initial [ɛ] pronounced without the glide as [ɛ], such as *էշ ēš* [ɛʃ] “donkey”, *էժան ēžan* [ɛʒɑn] “cheap”, *էջ էջ* [ɛdʒ] “page” etc. or loans such as *էպոս ēpos* [ɛpɔs] “epic”, *էլեկտրոն ēlektron* [ɛlɛktrɔn] “electron” etc. These words are written with the letter *է ē* [ɛ].
 - b. In the medial and final positions [ɛ] is realised as [ɛ].
 - There is, however, an exception to this rule of word formation in which the internal [ɛ] is pronounced with an initial glide as [jɛ]: in the case of words (compounds or with

14. According to historical linguistics, Classical Armenian exhibited a phonological difference between [ɛ], written as *ե e* and the diphthong-like vowel [e(j)] written as *է ē*, which only occurs in stressed syllables. It could have developed from an Indo-European diphthong [ej]. The grapheme *օ ὄ* was only introduced in the 12th century to replace the classical diphthong [ɑv], expressed by the digraph *աւ aw*, e.g. classical *աւր awr* versus medieval/modern *օր ὄr* “day”. The evidence for a pronunciation with the initial glide extending back to the classical period is unclear. Classical texts often transcribe Greek names beginning with epsilon or the alpha-iota diphthong with the initial *ե e*, whereas the Armenian word for “Jerusalem” written as *Երուսաղէմ Erusalēm* may indicate that the initial *ե e* was pronounced with a glide [jɛ]. The pronunciation of the initial [ɔ], written *ո o* as [ʋɔ] seems to be post-classical.

15. Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 4.

prefixes), in which a vowel, usually [a], precedes the second part with the initial [jɛ], as in the superlative forms with prefixes կիսա- *kisa-* “semi-; half”, հակա- *haka-* “counter-; contra-; against”, համա- *hama-* “all-; pan-” e.g. in ամենատերկար *amena-erkar* [amenəjerkʰɑr] “the longest” կիսատգրասիակիչ *kisa-ezrapʰakičʰ* [kisəjezrapʰakitʰ] հակատեղոցական *haka-eketeĉʰakan* [hakəjekeĉʰetsʰakan] “anticlerical” համատվրոպական *hama-evropakan* [haməjevrɔpakan] “all-European; pan-european” etc.

- If, however, a consonant precedes the second constituent with the initial [ɛ], this is usually spoken without the glide as [ɛ], as in ապերջանիկ *ap-erʃanik* [apɛrtʰanik] “unhappy”, գետեզերք *get-ezerkʰ* [getezerkʰ] “river bank, river side”, պարերգ *par-erg* [pɑrɛrkʰ] “dance song” etc.

There are major differences in the pronunciation of [ɛ] between SMEA and colloquial Eastern Armenian, particularly in two cases:

- In compounds where the second part starts with a [ɛ] and follows with a final consonant of the first part (i.e. C+e), this [ɛ] has to be pronounced without a glide in SMEA. In colloquial, and even in public/journalistic Eastern Armenian, however, it is usually pronounced with a glide as [jɛ]. This is particularly true for compound numerals where the second part is formed with the numerals երկու *erku* [jɛrku] “two” and երեք *erekʰ* [jɛrɛkʰ], such as e.g. տասներկու *tasnerku* [tasənɛrkʰu] versus colloquial [tasnəjɛrkʰu] “twelve”,¹⁶ քսաներեք *kʰsanerekʰ* [kʰsanɛrɛkʰ] versus colloquial [kʰsanjɛrɛkʰ] “twenty-three”.¹⁷
- In verb formations with the prefixes կ- *k-* of conditional mood and the negative prefix չ- *čʰ-*. In SMEA, the vowel has to be pronounced without a glide,¹⁸ such as e.g. կերգես *kergem* [kɛrkʰɛm] “I shall sing” as opposed to the colloquial Armenian which generally pronounces with a glide կերգես *kergem* [kəjɛrkʰɛm]; or Standard չերգեսի *čʰ-ergeci* [tʰɛrkʰɛtsʰi] “I did not sing” versus colloquial Armenian [tʰ(ə)jɛrkʰɛtsʰi].

The realisation with a glide, particularly in the verbal forms, seems, however, to prevail, and is highly conventionalized.

16. There are also other realizations of this numeral in colloquial Armenian, also [tasɛrku], i.e. without *-n-*.

17. (Łaragyulyan 1981: 59) and (Zakʰaryan 1981:173) regard the pronunciation of the medial [ɛ] in the word formation without a glide as normative and standard, whereas the pronunciation with the glide [jɛ] is given as colloquial. (Vaux 1998:14) additionally claims that the glide does not occur in compounds. (Minassian 1996:17) regards the glide realization as the common, i.e. conventionalised ones.

18. comp. Łaragyulyan 1981: 59, Zakʰaryan 1981: 173, Ałayan 1970: 43, Łaribyan 1960: 73.

In orthography, the grapheme *ե* *e* is mainly used in the medial and final positions, such as e.g. in բերան *beran* [bɛɾɑn] “mouth”, լեզու *lezu* [lɛzu], հերախոս *heraxos* [hɛɾɑxɔs] “phone”, բազէ *baze* [bɑzɛ] “falcon”, ոսկե *oske* [ɔskɛ] “golden” etc. The grapheme *է* *ē*, however, occurs in the medial and final positions only in a few words: դո՛ղերոցք *dolēroc’k* “fewer; malaria”, մանրէ *manrē* “microbe” and its derivations, հնէաբան *hnaēban* “palaeontologist” and its derivations, երբէ *erbewē* “sometime, ever”, որբէ *orewē* “any”, ովբէ *ovewē* “anybody”.

2. The Open Mid Back Vowel Phoneme [ɔ], orthographically expressed as *ո* *o* and *օ* *ō*
 - a. In the initial position [ɔ] is usually pronounced with a glide as [vɔ]. e.g. որրի *ordi* [vɔɾtʰi] “son”, որտեղ *ortel* [vɔɾtɛɛ] “where”; ոսկե *oske* [vɔskɛ] “golden” etc. The glide is not expressed in orthography (compare the orthography of [jɛ] as *ե* *e*).
 - The exception to this realisation with the glide as [vɔ] in the initial position are mainly the interrogative pronoun ով *ov* [ɔv] “who?” and its derivations such as ովքեր *ovk’er* [ɔvk’hɛɾ] “who?” (plural), ովկից *ovewic’ē* [ɔvɛvits’hɛ] “whoever”.
 - There are only some words which are pronounced without a glide as [ɔ], such as օր *ōr* [ɔɾ] “day”, օգնել *ognel* [ɔk’hnel] “to help”, օդանավ *ōdanav* [ɔtʰɑnɑv] “plane” etc. or loans such as օբյեկտ *ōbyekt* [ɔbjɛkt] “object”, օպերա *ōpera* [ɔpɛɾɑ] “opera” etc. In these words, the initial [ɔ] is represented by the grapheme *օ* *ō*.
 - b. In the medial and final positions [ɔ] is realised as [ɔ].

The same exceptions as above with the vowel [ɛ] also apply to the vowel [ɔ] in the word formation: the internal *ո* *o* is pronounced with an initial glide as [vɔ]: in such words (compounds or those with prefixes), in which a vowel, usually *ա* *a* [ɑ], precedes the second part of the word with the initial *ո* *o* [vɔ], as in the superlative form ամենաօղորմելի *amenaolormeli* [ɑmɛnɑvɔɾmɛli] “the most pitiable”. If a consonant precedes the second part of the word with the initial *ո* *o* [vɔ] [ɔ] is spoken without glide, as in e.g. անորսալի *anorsali* [ɑnɔɾsɑli] “unhunnable”.

Again, spoken Standard and colloquial Armenian differ in respect of realising [ɔ] with or without a glide in compounds (a) and verbal forms (b) with the conditional prefix *կ-* *k-* and negative prefix *չ-* *č’-*. Standard Armenian prescribes, in both cases, the realisation without the glide; whereas in colloquial Armenian realisation with the glide is common.

Stand. անորոշ *anoroš* [ɑnɔɾɔʃ] “uncertain” versus Coll. [ɑnɔɾɔʃ]

Stand. եղբորորդի *elborordi* [jɛxɔɾɔɾtʰi] “fraternal nephew; brother’s son” versus Coll. [jɛxɔɾvɔɾtʰi]

Stand. կորոշեմ *korošem* [kɔɾɔʃɛm] “I shall decide” versus Coll. [kəvɔɾɔʃɛm]

Stand. չորոշեցի *č’orošec’i* [tʰɔɾɔʃɛtsʰi] “I did not decide” versus Coll. [[tʰ(ə)vɔɾɔʃɛtsʰi]

The colloquial realisation with a glide is, however, very frequent and widespread and has even entered into public speech – it seems to be highly conventional.

The phoneme [ɔ] is represented by two graphemes ո օ and օ օ̄, e.g. ո օ appears in all positions, whereas օ օ̄ is restricted to the initial position in some inherited words of Classical Armenian.¹⁹

3. The schwa phoneme ղ ֛ [ə]

The Armenian schwa is realised as a mid central vowel.

The orthography of this schwa is, unfortunately, not clear.

The schwa is written in the initial position and in the final position if it expresses the allomorphic definite article -ը -֛. In most cases, however, the schwa is pronounced in consonant clusters to generate syllables, but not written, see below Ch. 1.2.2 “Consonant clusters”, p. 30f.

1.1.2 Consonants

The consonant system of SMEA comprises 30 phonemes.

The most interesting features of the consonantal inventory are:

- the tripartite opposition in the plosive and affricate series, voiced, voiceless and voiceless aspirated,
- the two contrastive rhotics: one tense trill [r] and one lax flap [ɾ],
- the presence of two uvular²⁰ fricatives, voiced [ʁ] and voiceless [χ].²¹

1. Plosives

	bilabial	dental	velar
voiced	b	d	g
voiceless	p	t	k
voiceless aspirated	b ^h	t ^h	k ^h

This is the most characteristic series of the SMEA consonant system. In some publications, the voiceless plosives are also defined as ejectives or glottalised. Glottalised plosives occur in various Armenian dialects and can also be found in the Eastern Armenian vernacular

19. Please note that the letter օ օ̄ is not of Armenian origin, but was introduced into Middle Armenian by foreign influence. It replaced the classical writing of աւ աւ [av] before consonants, post-classically realised as [ɔ].

20. In older and traditional grammars, these fricatives are usually given as velar. Also in Abrahamyan 1981: 15, Ařakelyan et al. 1979: 24. Vaux 1998 and others argue for uvular fricatives.

21. This seems to be a controversial approach in Armenian linguistics. Whereas in most traditional grammars and even in school grammars Standard Modern Eastern Armenian is said to represent velar fricatives [x] [χ] with the graphemes խ x and ղ l and thus also reflects the supposed Classical Armenian consonant system; newer Western grammars tend to see uvular fricatives as realizations of խ x and ղ l.

based on the Yerevan dialect, but according to normative grammars, SMEA shows no glottalised voiceless plosives.

Some minimal pair examples:

voiced : voiceless

բաղ <i>bad</i> [bɑd] “duck”	:	պատ <i>pat</i> [pat] “wall”
բահ <i>bah</i> [bah] “spade”	:	պահ <i>pah</i> [pah] “moment”
դատ <i>dat</i> [dat] “trial”	:	տատ <i>tat</i> [tat] “grandmother”
դեղ <i>deł</i> [dɛɾ] “medicine”	:	տեղ <i>teł</i> [tɛχ] “place”
գին <i>gin</i> [gin] “price”	:	կին <i>kin</i> [kin] “woman”
գետ <i>get</i> [gɛt] “river”	:	կետ <i>ket</i> [ket] “point; stop”

voiceless : voiceless aspirated

թաթ <i>tʰatʰ</i> [tʰɑtʰ] “paw”	:	տատ <i>tat</i> [tat] “grandmother”
թուր <i>tʰur</i> [tʰur] “sabre”	:	տուր <i>tur</i> [tur] “give!”
քար <i>kʰar</i> [kʰɑr] “stone”	:	կար <i>kar</i> [kɑr] “seam”
քույր <i>kʰuyr</i> [kʰujr] “sister”	:	կույր <i>kuyr</i> [kujr] “blind”
տաք <i>takʰ</i> [takʰ] “hot”	:	տակ <i>tak</i> [tak] “under”

voiced : voiceless aspirated

բակ <i>bak</i> [bak] “courtyard”	:	փակ <i>pʰak</i> [pʰak] “closed, shut”
դաս <i>das</i> [das] “class”	:	թաս <i>tʰas</i> [tʰas] “cup”
երդ <i>erd</i> [jɛrd] “roof”	:	երթ <i>ertʰ</i> [jɛrtʰ] “procession, march”
գդալ <i>gdal</i> [gɔdal] “spoon”	:	ցթալ <i>gtʰal</i> [gɔtʰal] “to have mercy”
գայլ <i>gayl</i> [gajl] “wolf”	:	քայլ <i>kʰajl</i> [kʰajl] “step, pace”

2. Fricatives

	labiodental	alveolar	postalveolar	uvular	glottal
voiced	v	z	ʒ	ʁ	h
voiceless	f	s	ʃ	χ	

The fricatives occur in all positions.

The labiodental voiceless fricative [f] is not a prototypical Armenian sound in the initial position; it was introduced into the Armenian consonant system in the late medieval, middle Armenian period. Nowadays mainly loans show this sound in the initial position, but it appears frequently in the final position.

Some examples for minimal pairs:

զարդ <i>zard</i> [zɑrtʰ] “ornament”	:	սարդ <i>sard</i> [sɑrtʰ] “spider”
զգալ <i>zgal</i> [zɔgɑl] “to feel”	:	սգալ <i>sgal</i> [sɔgɑl] “to mourn”
մազ <i>maz</i> [mɑz] “hair”	:	մաս <i>mas</i> [mas] “part”
ուժ <i>uʒ</i> [uʒ] “force, power”	:	ուշ <i>uʃ</i> [uʃ] “late”
նեղ <i>neł</i> [nɛɾ] “narrow”	:	նեխ <i>nex</i> [nɛχ] “rotteness”
վաղ <i>vał</i> [vɑɅ] “early”	:	վախ <i>vax</i> [vɑχ] “fear”

3. *Affricates*

	alveolar	postalveolar
voiced	dz	dʒ
voiceless	ts	tʃ
voiceless aspirated	ts ^h	tʃ ^h

Some examples:

voiced : voiceless

ծախս <i>jax</i> [dʒɑχ] “left”	:	ծախս <i>cax</i> [tsɑχ] “sale”
ծոռակ <i>jorak</i> [dʒɔrɑk] “small valley”	:	ծոռակ <i>corak</i> [tsɔrɑk] “tap, spout”
զանք <i>ank</i> [dʒɑŋk ^h] “effort”	:	ճանկ <i>čank</i> [tʃɑŋk] “claw”
ջութ <i>jut</i> [dʒut ^h] “jute”	:	ճուտ <i>čut</i> [tʃut] “chick”

voiceless : voiceless aspirated

ծիծ <i>cic</i> [tsits] “breast”	:	ցից <i>c’ic</i> [ts ^h its ^h] “stake”
ծառ <i>cař</i> [tsɑr] “tree”	:	ցար <i>c’ar</i> [ts ^h ɑr] “tsar”
ծծել <i>ccel</i> [tsɑtsɛl] “to suck”	:	ցցել <i>c’c’el</i> [ts ^h ɑts ^h ɛl] “to stick into”
ճաղ <i>čal</i> [tʃɑβ] “spoke”	:	ջաղ <i>č’al</i> [tʃ ^h ɑβ] “fat”

4. *Nasals*

bilabial	alveodental
m	n

The alveodental nasal [n] is usually realised as [n], but has several allophonic variants in assimilation, a palatal nasal [ɲ] preceding postalveolar affricates, as in աճճճելի *an’ɲjeli* [ɑɲdʒɑdʒɛli] “indestructible” and a velar nasal [ŋ] preceding velar plosives, as in աճկաբերի *ankareli* [ɑŋkɑrɛli] “impossible” or even as bilabial nasal [m] following bilabial plosives. See “Nasal assimilation”, p. 28.

5. *Rhotics*

	alveolar
flap	r
trill	r

In SMEA the flap r is much more wide-spread than its trill counterpart.

The flap [r] can be found in all positions, whereas the distribution of trill [r] is comparatively restricted.

The trill [r] seldom occurs in the initial position, with the exception of some words among that ռուս *rus* [rus] “Russian” and its derivations as well as of loans with initial trill [r], such as ռադիո *radio* [rɑdi(j)ɔ] “radio”, ռեալիստ *realist* [rɛɑlist] “realist”, ռեժիմ *režim* [rɛʒim] “regime”, ռիսկ *risk* [risk] “risk” etc. In medial position, trill r [r] occurs frequently as in թռչուն *t’rč’un* [t^hɛrtʃun] “bird”, կռիվ *křiv* [kɛriv] “battle”, հեռու *heřu* [hɛru] “far”, հառաչել *hařačel* [harɑtʃɛl] “to sigh”, մեռնել *meřnel* [mɛrnɛl] “to die”, խառնել *xařnel*

[χarnɛl] “to mix” etc. In final position trill r [r] is also found; also in some words which have lost their originally final n from Classical Armenian as in նուռ *nur* [nur] “pomegranate”, լե՛ր *leʹ* [lɛr] “mountain”, գառ *gar* [gar] “lamb” etc.²²

Some examples for minimal pairs:

սար <i>sar</i> [sar] “mountain”	:	սահ <i>saʹ</i> [sar] “cold, freezy”
լուր <i>lur</i> [lur] “news”	:	լուռ <i>luʹ</i> [lur] “silence”
սեր <i>ser</i> [sɛr] “love”	:	սե՛ր <i>seʹ</i> [sɛr] “sex, gender”
դեր <i>der</i> [dɛr] “role”	:	դե՛ր <i>deʹ</i> [dɛr] “still”

6. *Approximants*

labiodental	palatal	lateral
v	j	l

In SMEA, the labial approximant [v] occurs:

- as a glide with the initial *n o*, as in որդի *ordi* [vɔrdi] “son”, ոսկի *oski* [vɔski] “gold” etc.
- as a glide following [jɛ] in the lexeme *և ew* [jɛv] “and” and its compositions; and as a glide following [ɛ] in the medial position before other vowels as in Երևան *Erewan* [jɛrɛvɑn], երևի *erewi* [jɛrɛvi] “evidently”; and as a glide in the final position following [ɛ] as in e.g. որովհետև *orovhetew* [vɔrɔhɛtɛv] “because, since”, պարգև *pargew* [pɑrkʰɛv] “gift” etc.
- This phonetic combination of the vowel [ɛ] and the glide [v] is graphemically expressed by the graphemic combination *և ew*.

The palatal approximant [j] occurs as.

- as a glide with the initial *ե e* in [jɛ],
- in the initial, medial and final position in combination with vowels in so-called glide formation, or “unreal” diphthongs, such as in the initial position e.g. յասաման *yasaman* [jasaman] “lilac”, յոթ *yot* [jɔtʰ] “seven”, յուրել *yutel* [juɛl] “to oint”, յուրականյուր *yurakʹ ancʹ yur* [jurakʰɑntʰjur] “each” or in medial position մայր *mayr* [majr] “mother”, գայլ *gayl* [gajl] “wolf”, արբունյակ *arbunyak* [ɑrbunjak] “satellite”, սենյակ *senyak* [sɛnjak] “room”, ձյուն *zyun* [dzjun] “snow”, մյուս *myus* [mjus] “other”, կահույք *kahuykʹ* [kahujkʰ] “furniture”, or in final position as in հայ *hay* [haj] “Armenian”, բայ *bay* [baj] “verb”, տրամվայ *tramvaj* [tramvaj] “streetcar” etc.
- in the hiatus position between two vowels, particularly in inflection, word formation and derivation in hiatus of a/o/e and i, as e.g. ռադիոյի *radioyi* [radioji] “of

22. Please note that the position of a rhotic before alveodental nasal [n], does not automatically imply that this rhotic is realized as trill. This is particularly true for word formation, where flap [ɾ] meets [n] because of alternations, as in e.g. գարնանային *garnan-a-yin* “spring-like” > գարուն *garun* “spring” or with suffixed definite article *-n* in case of following vowel, e.g., Վարդանը նրա մեծ սերն է: *Vardan-ě nra mec ser-n ɛ*. “Vardan is her big love”.

the radio”, Անգլիայի *Angliayi* [aŋgɫiaji] “of England, England’s”, Աննայի *Annayi* [annaɟi] “Anna’s”, Մարոյի *Maroyi* [marɔɟi] “Maro’s”, ատոմային *atomayin* [atɔmajin] “nuclear”, հանքային *hank’ ayin* [hɑŋkʰajin] “mineral”, նայել *nayel* [naɟel] “to watch” etc.

The (alveolar) lateral approximant [l] occurs in all positions. It shows “dark” and “light” or palatalized allophones, particularly in colloquial Armenian. The dark allophone is realised with a raised back part of the tongue and is regarded as the more frequent and neutral allophone. Palatalized [lʲ], with the tongue arched against the soft palate, occurs particularly in the colloquial Armenian realisation of loans from Russian,²³ e.g. in the Russian loan ալբոմ *albom* [alʲbɔm] “album”.

1.1.3 Diphthongs

SMEA is often considered not to have “real diphthongs”.

There are, however, vowel combinations or glide-vowel combinations, which can be understood as diphthongs in a broad sense of definition.

The glide j y [j] combines with vowels and generates the following quasi-diphthongs in SMEA; i.e. rising [aj] [uj] [ɛj] [ɔj] and falling [jɑ] [jɔ] [ju], graphically expressed with the grapheme combinations այ *ay*, էյ *ey*, ոյ *oy*, ոյ *uy* and յա *ya*, յո *yo* and յու *yu*. The glide itself is spoken weakly.

Examples

հայր *hayr* [hɑjɾ] “father”

սայլ *sajl* [sɑjɫ] “cart”

գայլ *gayl* [gɑjɫ] “wolf”

այսօր *aysōr* [ɑjsɔɾ] “today”

պայքար *paykār* [pɑjkʰɑɾ] “battle, struggle”

թէյ *tʰey* [tʰɛj] “tea”

Չէյթուն *Zeyt’un* [zejtʰun] “Zeyt’un” (place name)

Սէյրան *Seyran* [sejɾɑn] “Seyran” (personal name)

խոյ *xoy* [χɔj] “ram”

Նոյ *Noy* [Nɔj] “Noah”

Հանոյ *Hanoy* [hɑnɔj] “Hanoi”

գույն *guyñ* [gujn] “colour”

հաճույք *hačuykʰ* [hɑtʰujkʰ] “pleasure”

լույս *luys* [lujs] “light”

կույս *kuys* [kujs] “nun”

23. In Russian, if the lateral is followed by a so-called ‘soft-indicating’ vowel, i.e. я *ja*, е *je*, ё *jo*, и *i*, ю *ju* and the soft sign -ь, it is spoken as “soft” or palatalized consonant [lʲ], as in e.g. воля *vo’lja* [vo’lʲa] “will, volition”.

թույն *t'uyɛn* [tʰujɛn] “poison”

սենյակ *senyak* [senjak] “room”

մատյան *matyan* [matjan] “book”

առավոտյան *aʁavotjan* [aravotjan] “in the morning”

արծաթյա *arcat'ya* [artsatja] “silvern”

անցյալ *anc'yal* [antsʰjal] “past”

հյութ *hyut'* [hjutʰ] “juice”

ճյուղ *čyut'* [tʃjuʁ] “branch”

հյուսիս *hyusis* [hjusis] “North”

ձյուն *jyun* [dzjun] “snow”

արյուն *aryun* [arjun] “blood”

In an unstressed position, in inflection or word-formation, diphthongs may be subject to alternations and monophthongization (see below).

1.2 Phonotactics

1.2.1 Writing and pronunciation of SMEA consonants

The phonetic realisation and the orthography of the consonants in SMEA diverge in some cases. This divergence is caused by some phonological changes.

Please note, that the “rules” of (a) devoicing and/or aspiration, (b) s-aspiration and (c) fricative voice assimilation given below are NOT strict and general rules in SMEA: they are only applied to one part of the lexicon (see below), whereas the other part is still pronounced without a devoicing or aspiration. In spoken, colloquial Eastern Armenian devoicing and aspiration are widely-spread due to analogy. There are also often doublets.

a. Devoicing and Aspiration of Voiced Plosives and Affricates

In SMEA there is, in principle, no terminal devoicing: voiced consonants in general remain voiced in the final position.

Terminal devoicing (and aspiration) as well as medial devoicing (and aspiration) may, however, happen with voiced plosives and affricates in special distribution:

– r-devoicing and –aspiration

If the medial or final voiced consonant follows the flap [r] [r], it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

որբ *orb* [vɔɾpʰ] “orphan”, բարդ *bard* [bartʰ] “complex”, երգ *erg* [jɛɾkʰ] “song”, փորձ *p'orj* [pʰɔɾtsʰ] “test, attempt; արջ *arj* [artʰ] “bear” etc.

դարբնոց *darbnoc'* [darpʰnɔtsʰ] “smithy”, արդեն *arden* [artʰɛn] “already”, երգիչ *ergič'* [jɛɾkʰitʰ] “singer”, դարձյալ *darjyal* [dartsʰjal] “again”, վերջին *verjin* [vɛɾtʰin] “last” etc.

Voiced plosives and affricates following the flap [r] are realised as voiced in the following cases:

- in loans from dialectal forms that have been included in normative MEA, e.g. դարդ *dard* [dard] “grief, care”, նարդի *nardi* [nɑrdi] “Nardi (Backgammon)”, բուրջ *burj* [burdʒ] “tower”, մարջան *marjan* [mɑrdʒɑn] “coral” etc.
- in some new loans
- usually in reduplicated forms such as e.g. գրգիռ *grgir* [gɛrgir] “excitement”, բարբառ *barbar* [bɑrbɑr] “dialect” etc.
- SMEA has adopted some words of colloquial or even dialectal Eastern Armenian in popular folk sayings. In the original dialects or colloquial forms the plosives and affricates appear as devoiced and aspirated, whereas in SMEA in quoting these dialectal/colloquial lexemes the plosives and affricates following [r] are realised as voiced. e.g. dial. [χɑrtʰɑχ] > խարդախ *xardax* [χɑrdɑχ] “crafty; cheat”, dial. [bɔrpʰɛl] > բորբոքել *borbokʰel* [bɔrbɔkʰɛl] “to kindle, to inflame”.
- *Preceding vowel devoicing and aspiration*

If the final voiced consonant follows a vowel, it may undergo devoicing and aspiration. If the medial voiced consonant appears between two vowels, it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

- օդ *ōd* [ɔtʰ] “air”, էգ *ēg* [ɛkʰ] “female”, օձ *ōj* [ɔtsʰ] “snake”, աջ *aj* [ɑtʰ] “right” etc.
- խաբել *xabel* [χɑpʰɛl] “to cheat”, անդադար *andadar* [ɑntʰɑtʰɑr] “unceasing”, հոգի *hogi* [hɔkʰi] “soul”, ոջիլ *oʒil* [vɔtʰil] “louse” etc.

- *Nasal devoicing and aspiration*

If the medial or final voiced consonant follows a nasal, it may undergo devoicing and aspiration.

- if a bilabial voiced [b] follows a bilabial nasal [m], as in համբույր *hambuyr* [hɑmpʰujr] “kiss”
- if the dental voiced consonant [d] follows the alveodental nasal [n], as in անդամ *andam* [ɑntʰɑm] “member”, խնդիր *xndir* [χɛntʰir] “problem, question”, կենդանի *kendani* [kɛntʰɑni] “alive; animal” etc.
- if the velar voiced plosive [g] follows the velar nasal [ŋ], as in the word անգամ *angam* [ɑŋkʰɑm] “times”

b. *S-aspiration of Voiceless Plosives*

Voiceless plosives may be subject to aspiration if they are followed by sibilants,²⁴ e.g. ապստանբել *apstambel* [ɑpʰstɑmbɛl] “to revolt”, ապշել *apʂel* [ɑpʰʂɛl] “to be surprised” etc.

24. see Aʿakʿelyan, Xačʿatryan, Eloyan 1979: 145 f. Xačʿatryan 1988: 106. Vaux 1998: 17.

c. *Fricative Voice Assimilation*

Consonant clusters with voiced fricative [ʁ] and plosives/affricates may undergo a devoicing and aspirating assimilation: both fricative and plosive or affricates are devoiced, but only affricates are also aspirated,²⁵ e.g. եղբայր *elbayr* [jɛχpɑjɾ] “brother”, շաղկամ *šalgam* [ʃɑχkɑm] “turnip”, դեղձ *deļj* [dɛχtsʰ] “peach”, աղջիկ *aljik* [ɑχtʰik] “girl” etc.

Divergences between Pronunciation and Orthography with Plosives and Affricates

Following these changes caused by assimilation, the following divergences between pronunciation and orthography can be stated:

1. A voiced bilabial plosive [b] is pronounced as [pʰ],²⁶ if:
 - it follows a flap [ɾ] [r] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): արբել *arbel* [ɑɾpʰɛl] “to get drunk”; դարբին *darbin* [dɑɾpʰin] “smith”, երբ *erb* [jɛɾpʰ] “when”, որբ *orb* [vɑɾpʰ] “orphan”, նուրբ *nurb* [nuɾpʰ] “fine, delicate”, սրբել *srbel* [sɑɾpʰɛl] “to clean”, ուրբաթ *urbat* [uɾpʰɑtʰ] “Friday”, հարբել *harbel* [hɑɾpʰɛl] “to drink, to get drunk”. In all other words written բ b is pronounced [b], as in բորբ *borb* [bɑɾb] “brightness, heat”, արբանյակ *arbanyak* [ɑɾbanjak] “satellite”, սերբ *serb* [sɛɾb] “Serbian”, կարբիդ *karbid* [kɑɾbid] “carbide” etc.
 - it follows a bilabial nasal [m] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) համբերել *hamberel* [hɑmpʰɛɾɛl] “to be patient”, համբույր *hambuyr* [hɑmpʰujɾ] “kiss”; in all other words it is pronounced [b], as in թամբ *tamb* [tʰɑmb] “saddle” etc.
 - it occurs between two vowels or follows a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): իբր *ibr* [ipʰɾ] “as, like”, արխազ *abxaz* [ɑpʰχɑz] “Abkhaz”, շաբաթ *šabat* [ʃɑpʰɑtʰ] “week, Saturday”, խաբել *xabel* [χɑpʰɛl] “to cheat”, հակոբենի *hakobeni* [hɑkɑpʰɛni] “winter cherry (tree)”, Հակոբ *Hakob* [hɑkɑpʰ] “Hakob”, Գաբրիել *Gabriel* [gɑpʰri(j)ɛl] “Gabriel”, Քերոբ *kèrob* [kʰɛɾɑpʰ] “Kèrob”. In all other words it is pronounced [b], as արեթ *abet* [ɑbɛtʰ] “tinder”, գուբ *gub* [gub] “ditch, hollow”, լոբի *lobi* [lɔbi] “bean”, հոբելյան *hobelyan* [hɔbɛljɑn] “jubilee”, Աբել *Abel* [ɑbɛl] “Abel” etc.
 - it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ], [b] is only pronounced voiceless but not aspirated [p] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) աղբ *alb* [ɑχɾp] “dirt”, աղբյուր *albyur* [ɑχɾjuɾ] “spring”, եղբայր *elbayr* [jɛχpɑjɾ] “brother”, ողբալ *olbal* [vɑχbɑl] “to lament”.
2. A voiced dental [d] is pronounced as [tʰ], if:
 - it follows a flap [ɾ] [r] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): արդար *ardar* [ɑɾtʰɑɾ] “fair, just”, արդեն *arden* [ɑɾtʰɛn] “already”, բարդ *bard* [bɑɾtʰ] “complex”, բերդ *berd* [bɛɾtʰ] “fortress”, բրդել *brdel* [bɔɾtʰɛl] “to crumble” բուրդ *burd* [bʉɾtʰ] “wool”, դրդել *drdel* [dɔɾtʰɛl] “to incite”, երդ *erd* [jɛɾtʰ] “roof”, երդում *erdum*

25. Vaux 1998: 18.

26. compare school book *Hayoc' lezu 4*, Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 10f.

- [jɛr^hum] “oath”, գարդ *zard* [zart^h] “ornament”, զերդ *zerd* [zɛr^h] “as, like”, լերդ *lerd* [lɛr^h] “liver; convolution”, լյարդ *lyard* [ljart^h] “liver”, կարդալ *kardal* [kart^hal] “to read”, կոկորդ *kokord* [kɔkɔr^h] “throat”, հաղորդ *halord* [haxɔr^h] “participating; social”, մարդ *mard* [mart^h] “man, person”, նյարդ *nyard* [njart^h] “nerve”, որդ *ord* [ɔr^h] “worm”, որդի *ordi* [ɔr^hi] “son”, ջարդ *yard* [dʒart^h] “slaughter”, վաղորդյան *valordyan* [vaxɔr^hjan] “in the morning, early”, վարդ *vard* [vart^h] “rose”, վարդապետ *vardapet* [vart^hapet] “master, Vardapet”, վրդովել *vrdovel* [vɔr^hɔvɛl] “to perturb”, օրիորդ *ōriord* [ɔri(j)ɔr^h] “Miss, maid”.
- An additional devoicing and aspiration rule applies to the suffixes -որդ -*ord*, -երո-ւրդ -*erord*, -րորդ -*rord* and -ուրդ -*urd*, as e.g. առաջնորդ *aʔajnord* [aradʒɔnɔr^h] “first; leader”, երրորդ *errord* [jɛrɔrɔr^h] “third”, ժողովուրդ *žolovurd* [ʒɔʃɔvur^h] “people”, արձակուրդ *arjakurd* [arɟzakur^h] “holiday, vacation” etc. and to some names, such as Նվարդ *Nvard* [Nɔvart^h], Վարդան *Vardan* [Vart^han], Վարդգես *Vardges* [Vart^hges], Վարդուհի *Varduhi* [Vart^huhi], Վարդուշ *Varduš* [Vart^huʃ] etc.
 - In some other words the voiced alveolar [d] is written դ *d* and pronounced [d].
 - It follows an alveolar nasal [n] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) անդամ *andam* [ant^ham] “member”, խնդիր *xndir* [χɔnt^hir] “problem”, կենդանի *kendani* [kent^hani] “alive; animal”. The same rule is applied in all words with the prefix ընդ- *ēnd-* e.g. ընդահնուր *ēndhanur* [ɔnt^hhanur] “general”, ընդամենը *ēndamenē* [ɔnt^hamenə] “in all, total”, ընդունել *ēndunel* [ɔnt^hunel] “to accept” and the name Սեդրակ *Sedrak* [Set^hrak].
 - In all other words written դ *d* it is also pronounced as [d] e.g. in ադամանդ *adamand* [adamand] “diamond”, ավանդ *avand* [avand] “deposit, investment”, թունդ *tʔund* [t^hund] “strong”, թինդ *tʔind* [t^hind] “noise, sound” etc.
 - It occurs between two vowels or after a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds): դադար *dadar* [dat^har] “pause, rest”, օդ *ōd* [ɔt^h] “air” and դադրել *dadrel* [dat^hrɛl] “to tire, to become tired”.
3. A voiced velar [g] is pronounced as [k^h]²⁷if:
- it follows a flap [r] [r] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) երգել *ergel* [jɛrk^hɛl] “to sing”, թարգմանիչ *tʔargmanič* [t^hark^hmanit^h] “interpreter”, կարգ *karg* [kark^h] “order, system”, մարգարե *margare* [mark^harɛ] “prophet”, պարգև *pargew* [park^hɛv] “gift” and proper names Գևորգ *Geworg* [Gɛvɔrk^h], Սարգիս *Sargis* [Sark^hhis], Սարգար *Margar* [Mark^har]. In all other instances it is written գ *g* and pronounced [g], e.g. բուրգ *burg* [burɟ] “pyramid”, գորգ *gorg* [gɔrɟ] “carpet” etc. it follows an alveodental nasal [n] in the word (and its derivations and compounds) անգամ *angam* [aŋk^ham] “times”.

27. Compare school books and orthography instruction material, just as Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004 :13ff.

- it occurs between two vowels or if it follows a vowel in the words (and their derivations and compounds) *ավագ avag* [avak^h] “elder, senior”, *զագս zags* [zak^hs] “register office”, *զուգել zugel* [zuk^hel] “to dress up”, *էգ էջ eg ek^h* “female”, *թագավոր t'agavor* [t^hak^hav^or] “king”, *ծագել cagel* [tsak^hel] “to rise, to origin”, *կարագ karag* [karak^h] “butter”, *հագնել hagnel* [hak^hnel] “to wear, to put on”, *հոգնել hognel* [hok^hnel] “to get tired”, *հոգի hogi* [hok^hi] “soul”, *ծագ jag* [dzak^h] “youngling”, *ծիգ jig* [dzik^h] “tight, stretched”, *ճրագ črag* [tʃrak^h] “lamp”, *մարագ marag* [marak^h] “hay-loft”, *մուգ mug* [muk^h] “dark”, *նորոգել norogel* [n^or^ook^hel] “renew, renovate”, *շոգ šog* [ʃok^h] “hot”, *պատարագ patarag* [patarak^h] “holy mass”, *սուգ sug* [suk^h] “grief”, *տեգր tegr* [tek^h(ə) r] “husband’s brother”, *օգնել ognel* [ok^hnel] “to help”, *օգուտ oğut* [ok^hut] “favour”, as well in the names *Գրիգոր Grigor* [Grik^ho:r] and *Գարեգին Garegin* [Garek^hin].
- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ɣ], [g] is just devoiced but not aspirated [k] in *շաղկամ šalkam* [ʃaɣk^ham] “turnip”.

4. A voiced alveolar affricate [dz] is pronounced as [ts^h], if:

- it follows a flap [r] [ɾ], as in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) *արծակ arjak* [arts^hak] “prose”, *բարձ barj* [barts^h] “cushion”, *բարձր barjr* [barts^hr] “high”, *դերձան derjan* [derts^han] “needleful, string”, *դերձակ derjak* [derts^hak] “tailor”, *խուրձ xurj* [χurt^hs] “bundle”, *համբարձում hambarjum* [hambarts^hum] “ascension”, *հանդերձ handerj* [handerts^h] “with; clothes”, *հարձակվել harjakvel* [hart^hsakvel] “to attack”, *որձ orj* [v^oarts^hs] “male”, *վարձակ varjak* [varts^hak] “singer; whore”, *վրձին vrjin* [v^oarts^hin] “brush”, *փորձ p'orj* [p^hoarts^h] “test”. In all other words it is pronounced [dz] e.g. *մերձ merj* [merdz] “near”, *արձան arjan* [ardzan] “statue”, etc.
- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ɣ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) *դեղձ delj* [dex^hts^h] “peach”, *դաղձ dalj* [daɣts^h] “mint”, *դեղձան deljan* [dex^hts^han] “yellowish; canary bird”. In all other words the cluster [ɣdz] is written *դձ* and pronounced [ɣdz] eg. in *զեղձ gelj* [gexdz] “gland”.
- in the word *ոձ oj* [ots^h] “snake” and its derivations and compounds.

5. A voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] is pronounced as [tʃ^h], if:

- it follows a flap [r] [ɾ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) *արջ arj* [artʃ^h] “bear”, *թրջել t'rjel* [t^hertʃ^hel] “to wet”, *վերջ verj* [vertʃ^h] “end”. In all other cases it is written as *ջ j* and pronounced as [dʒ] as in *շուրջ šurj* [ʃurdʒ] “around, about”, *խուրջին xurjin* [χurdʒin] “saddle cloth”, *մարջան marjan* [mardʒan] “coral”, *որջ orj* [v^oardʒ] “den, burrow”, *կամուրջ kamurj* [kamurdʒ] “bridge” etc.
- it occurs between two vowels, or follows a vowel in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) *աջ aj* [atʃ^h] “right”, *առաջ araj* [aratʃ^h] “before, in front of”, *առաջին arajin* [aratʃ^hin] “first”, *մեջ mej* [metʃ^h] “in”, *ոջիլ ojil* [v^otʃ^hil] “louse”, *քաջք kajk* [k^hatʃ^hk^h] “demons”. In all other words it is written as *ջ j* pronounced as [dʒ] as in *հաջորդ hajord* [hadʒort^h] “next”, *իջնել ijnel* [idʒnel] “to descend”, *միջին mijin* [midʒin] “middle”, *միջաս mijat* [midʒat] “insect”, *քրոջ*

k'roj [kʰəɾɔdʒ] “of the sister, sister’s”, ընկերոջ *enkeroy* [ənkerɔdʒ] “of the friend, friend’s” etc.²⁸

- it follows the voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) աղջիկ *aljik* [ɑχtʰik] “girl”, ամբողջ *ambotj* [ambɔχtʰ] “whole, entire”, ողջ *otj* [vɔχtʰ] “entire, whole”, առողջ *aʁotj* [ɑɾɔχtʰ] “healthy” etc. In other words written ջ *j* is pronounced as [dʒ], e.g. եղջերու *eljeru* [jɛdʒɛɾu] “deer”, գղջալ *zljal* [zɛʁdʒal] “to regret”, շեղջ *šelj* [ʃɛdʒ] “heap” etc.

There are also some other alternations that affect the pronunciation of consonants and which are not expressed in orthography.

d. *Nasal Assimilation*²⁹

The nasal [n] undergoes assimilation if followed by plosives/affricates:

- if followed by a bilabial plosive [b, p, pʰ] it may appear as [m], as e.g. անբիծ *ambic* [ambits] “spotless”³⁰
- if followed by a dental plosive [d, t, tʰ] it appears as an alveodental [n]
- if followed by a velar plosive [g, k, kʰ] it appears as a velar [ŋ], as in անգիր *angir* [ɑŋgɪɾ] “by heart”, սունկ *sunk* [sʊŋk] “mushroom”, վանք *vankʰ* [vɑŋkʰ] monastery etc.
- if followed by the postalveolar affricate [dʒ], it appears as a palatal [ɲ], as in անջատ *anjat* [ɑɲdʒɑt] “separate”.

e. *R-assimilation*

The flap [r] [ɾ] becomes a trill [r] before nasal [n].

This is orthographically not expressed in the following loan words: ինտերնատ *internat* [internat] “internat”, կոմիտերն *komintern* [kɔmintern] “komintern” and other words with ինտերնացիոնալ- *international-*.

In all other words the trill [r] is also written as ռ *r*, e.g. առնել *arnel* [ɑɾnɛl] “to take”, գարնուկ *garʰnuk* [gɑɾnʊk] “little lamb”, դառնալ *daʰnal* [dɑɾnɑl] “to become” etc.

28. (Minassian 1996: 26) argues that [dʒ] is pronounced as [tʰ] also in the case of the preposed alveolar nasal [n] and in the case of an ending -ոջ-*oj* of the -ոջ-*oj* declension. The same is mentioned by other Armenian authors in orthography schoolbooks, e.g. Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2002: 23. This means that devoicing and aspiration of written ջ *j* [dʒ] in the declension suffix ոջ-*oj* and in the position between or after vowels are more productive in colloquial Eastern Armenian. These assimilations do, however, not conform to normative rules of current Modern Eastern Armenian standard, which means that there are doublets in spoken Armenian.

29. Xacʿatryan 1988: 106; Vaux 1998: 18.

30. This alternation is particularly observable in colloquial Armenian. See Abrahamyan 1981: 27. He also quotes a popular assimilation in colloquial Armenian: if the alveodental nasal [n] is followed by the bilabial nasal [m], it is assimilated to the bilabial one, as in անսեղ *annemel* [ammɛɾ] “innocent”.

f. *Devoicing of Labiodental Voiced Fricative [v]*

The labiodental voiced fricative [v] undergoes devoicing to [f] in the following words (and their derivations and compounds) հարավ *harav* [haraf] “south”, ավտո *avto* [aftɔ] “auto-; car” and նավթ *navt* [nafth] “oil, petroleum”.

g. *Silent Glottal Fricative h [h]*

There are seven words (and their derivations and compounds³¹) in SMEA in which the glottal fricative following a flap [r] is written, but not pronounced: աշխարհ *ašxarh* [aʃxar] “world”, խոնարհ *xonarh* [xɔnar] “humble”, խորհուրդ *xorhurd* [xɔrurth] “advice”, ճանապարհ *čanaparh* [tʃanapar] “way, path”, շնորհ *šnorh* [ʃnɔr] “mercy”, օրհնել *ōrhnel* [ɔrnel] “to bless” The silent final -h -h [h] is particularly common in colloquial Armenian.

Some of the phonological alternations of consonants occur rather in colloquial and not in normative Eastern Armenian, very often pronunciation doublets coexist.

h. *Palatalisation of the Final Flap [r]*

Particularly in Eastern Armenian vernacular (and in some Eastern Armenian dialects as well) the final flap r [r] is palatalized to [rʲ].

i. *Non-realisation (loss) of the Flap [r] in Closed Syllables*

The flap [r] is often not spoken in closed syllables in colloquial Armenian, as in դուրս եկավ *durs ekav* [dus ekav] “he came out”, երբ *erb* [jɛp^h] “when” etc. This loss of [r] in closed syllables is particularly common in the last syllable in imperative 2nd singular forms of verbs in -ել -el, such as [gɛri] “write” < գրիր *grir!*, [uʂaki] “send” < ուղարկիր *ulakir!* These r-less forms of the imperative of el-verbs are already conventionalized and are used also in public language, and even in literature.³²

There are other deviating pronunciations of vowels, consonants, and particularly consonant clusters in colloquial Eastern Armenian, which are particularly caused by the long and still continuing influence of Russian in Armenia.³³

31. With exception of աշխարհայացք *ašxarhayac’k* [aʃxarhajat^hsk^h] “outlook”, in which [h] is not pronounced. In the word արհամարհել *arhamarhel* [arhamarɛl] “to despise, to scorn” only the first [h] is pronounced.

32. Լարաջյան 1981: 61.

33. Լարաջյան 1973: 427–543.

j. *Palatalisation of Alveolar Plosives Preceding Front Vowels*³⁴

A palatalised pronunciation of the sequence դի *di* դե *de*, տի *ti* տե *te* and of sequences of dental plosives followed by the approximant [j] can be observed in colloquial Armenian. This is particularly noticeable in the pronunciation of Russian loans such as դիպլոմ *diploma* [dʲiplɔmɑ] “diplom”, ակադեմիա *akademia* [akadʲemi(j)ɑ] “academy”, պարտիական *partiačan* [pɑrtʲiɑkɑn] “party; party member”, տեխնիկական *texnikakan* [tʲɛχnikɑkɑn] “technical”. In genuine Armenian words the palatalisation is not as productive, but may happen as an exception in some colloquial Armenian, e.g. տիեզերք *tiezerkʰ* [tʲi(j)ɛzerkʰ] “cosmos, universe”, դաստիարակել *dastiarkel* [dastʲi(j)ɑrkɛl] “to educate”.

The palatalisation of the aspirated, voiceless ք tʰ [tʰ] in the suffix -թյուն *-tʰyun* is also a typical feature of colloquial Armenian, and is also regarded as highly conventional and as being used by in public, journalistic language,³⁵ e.g. in ազատություն *azatutʰyun* [azatutʰjʉn] “freedom”.

k. *Palatalisation of Lateral Approximant*¹⁵

The Russian influence has also led to a palatalisation of the alveolar lateral l preceding consonants, in the pronunciation of Russian loans in colloquial Armenian, such as ալբոմ *albom* [ɑlʲbɔm] “album”, վալս *vals* [valʲs] “waltz”, ալմանախ *almanax* [ɑlʲmanɑχ] “almanac”, բոլշեվիկ *bolševik* [bolʲʃevik] “Bolshevik”, կուլտուրա *kultura* [kulʲtura] “culture” etc.

l. *“Pseudo-vowel Reduction” in Russian Loans*

Loan words and personal names from Russian are also often pronounced with “Russian-like reduced vowels” in colloquial Armenian (but with “Armenian” stress on last syllable), as in [pɑmidɔr] < պոմիդոր *pomidor* “tomato”; [kɔnfɛt] < կոնֆետ *konfet* “sweet, candy”; [Bɑris] < Բորիս *Boris*; [Viktɛr] < Վիկտոր *Viktor* etc.

1.2.2 Consonant clusters – Syllabification

In SMEA a syllable’s nucleus invariably consists of a vowel, codas contain two segments at most, compare below final consonant clusters. Consonants may be geminated in the intervocalic position, but not in the initial, preconsonantal position. Only in the final position is a germination of the trill possible.³⁶

A syllable is either open or closed; as in other languages an open syllable ends with a vowel, whereas a closed syllable ends with a consonant, e.g. ձու *ju* “egg”, կատու *ka-tu* “cat”, գինի *gi-ni* “wine”, շուն *šun* “dog”, մարդ *mard* “man, person”, գնդակ *gn-dak* “ball”, աշակերտ *a-ša-kert* “pupil”, ուսուցիչ *u-su-cʰičʰ* “teacher” etc.

34. This phenomenon shows social stratification and depends on the use of Russian as first or second language of Armenians in the Republic of Armenia.

35. Էարաջյուլյան 1981: 63. Հակոբյան 1981: 182.

36. Vaux 1997: 2.

SMEA is complex in its consonant clusters and the syllabification of initial, medial and final clusters. Schwa epenthesis is employed for syllabifying only in spoken Armenian, whereas this insertion of the schwa is not allowed in written Armenian syllables, except in line division.³⁷

The epenthetic schwas appear adjacent to sonority peaks, i.e. to original syllable nuclei. In general, one can distinguish consonant clusters in initial, medial or final position.

There are some general rules:

- a. Doubling consonants: if two same consonants co-occur in the same syllable or at the border of two syllables, they are usually spoken without schwa epenthesis, but with a longer “consonant”, as in ուղղել *ullél* [uɫɛl] “to correct”, մասսա *massa* [massa] “mass”, սողուններ *solunner* [sɔɫunner] “reptiles”, հետ տար *het tar* [het_tar] “take with (you)!”; մեծ ծով *mec cov* [mets_tsov] “big sea” etc.
- b. In the case that the co-occurrence of two same consonants is due to etymological consonant doubling (because of an unstressed vowel reduction or deletion in the word formation), a schwa has to be spoken between the two consonants, as in արձև *arččé* [artʃətʃɛ] “leaden” < արձիճ *arčič* “lead”, պտտել *pttel* [pətətɛl] “to swirl” < պտույտ *ptuyt* “rotation”, etc.³⁸
- c. In the initial position, the schwa is usually inserted after the first C; in the case of four and more Cs also after the 2nd or 3rd consonant, i.e. CCV = Cə-CV; CCCC = Cə-CəC-CV
- d. In the medial position, if one consonant appears between two vowels, then it forms a syllable with the following vowel, i.e. VCV – V-CV- as in Ա-պա-րան *A-pa-ran* “Aparan (town)”, նա-մա-նա-վանդ *na-ma-na-vand* “particularly”
- e. In the medial position, if two consonants appear between two vowels, then the first forms a syllable with the first vowel, and the second with the second vowel, i.e. VCCV = -VC-CV-, as in ու-րիշ-ներ *u-riš-ner* “others”, կա-նոն-ներ *ka-non-ner* “canons, rules”, ապ-տակ *ap-tak* “slap” etc.
- f. In the medial position, if the number of consonants is more than two, then the first two form a syllable with the preceding vowel, and the third remains in a syllable with

37. In general, line division reflects syllable structures. In the case of the spoken epenthetic schwa, the schwa is written in the line division according to the syllable structure, e.g. գըլ-խա-վոր *gəl-xa-vor*, շըլ-թա *šəl-tʰa*, կը-տըր-տել *kə-tər-tel*, Մը-կըր-տիչ *Mə-kər-tičʰ*, երբե-մըն *erbe-měn*. In the case of the causative suffix -ցն- -cʰn- the division line is preferred between -g- -cʰ- and -ն- -n-, as in մերկաց-նել *merkacʰ-nel*, մո-տեց-նել *mo-tecʰ-nel*. In the case of the verbal suffix -վ- -v- preceded by two or more consonants, the division preferred is before the suffix as in զըսպ-վել *zəsp-vel*, թըրջ-վել *tərj-vel*, տանջ-վել *tanj-vel*. In words with the initial consonant cluster sibilant+plosive, the epenthetic schwa is expressed in the line division in front of the initial sibilant.. The exception to this rule is personal names, such as Ստե-փան *Ste-pan*, Ստրաս-բուրգ *Stras-burg* etc. Compare: Sahakyan, Sahakyan 2004: 36–38.

38. Arakʰelyan, Xačʰatryan, Eloyan 1979: 115.

the following vowel, i.e. VCCCCV = VCC-CV, as in Աստ-ված *Ast-vac* “God”, սեղմ-ված *selm-vac* “pressed”, կանգ-նել *kang-nel* “to stand” etc.

Initial Clusters

a. Two consonants, CC

- The schwa is usually inserted between the two consonants to form a syllable CəC, e.g. գրել *grel* [gərel] “to write”, հպարտ *hpart* [həpart] “proud”, ժպիտ *žpit* [žəpit] “smile”, նկար *nkar* [nəkɑr] “picture”, տղա *tla* [təɬɑ] “boy” etc.
- If the initial consonant cluster consists of a sibilant [s, z, ʃ] and a plosive [b, p, p^h, g, k, k^h, d, t, t^h], the schwa is pronounced preceding the cluster əC-C, as in սպասել *spasel* [əs-pasɛl] “to wait”, ստանալ *stanal* [əs-tanɑl] “to receive”, սթափ *stap* [əs-t^hɑp^h] “sober”, զբոսնել *zbosnel* [əz-bɔsnɛl] “to walk”, զգալ *zgal* [əz-gɑl] “to feel”, շտապ *štap* [əʃ-tɑp] “urgent” etc.

If, however, this consonant cluster of sibilant and plosive is the result of a vowel reduction in the word formation or inflection, the schwa is inserted between the sibilant and the plosive CəC, as in ստել *stel* [sətɛl] “to lie” < սուտ *sut* [sut] “lie”, սգալ *sgal* [səgɑl] “to mourn” < սուգ *sug* [sug] “grief” etc.

The given pronunciation of the initial cluster of sibilant and plosive is a strict normative rule, which seems to have undergone changes already during the period of Soviet Armenia. Already in the Armenian Grammars of the seventies, the Armenian grammarians stated a much weaker pronunciation of the schwa preceding this cluster and they even mentioned vernacular pronunciation of such clusters without any schwa epenthesis as highly productive. It can almost be considered as convention in colloquial and in “sub-standard” written Armenian to realise these clusters without the initial schwa-epenthesis; sometimes, and with increasing frequency, also without an epenthesis between the first two consonants. This current – very strong -tendency to pronounce the schwa neither in front nor in between the consonants is due to a heavy influence of Russian.³⁹ A possible reason for this might be the range of Russian lexemes that have entered Armenian during the Soviet period and which are regularly pronounced with the initial schwa in Russian and, thus, also in Armenian, such as սպորտ *sport* [spɔrt] “Sport”, շտաբ *štab* [ʃtɑb], սկանդալ *skandal* [skɑndɑl] “scandal”, ստանդարդ *standard* [stɑndɑrd] “standard” as well as names such as Սպարտակ *Spartak* [Spartɑk], Սպինոզա *Spinoza* [Spinozɑ] etc. This is, of course, also true for later loans from English, such as սկաուտ *skaut* [skɑut] “scout”.

The pronunciation of the initial sibilant-plosive consonant cluster without the schwa epenthesis is a productive and even conventional feature of colloquial Armenian, and,

39. Լարայլյան 1973: 428. (Vaux 1998: 25) notes that sibilant + plosive clusters sometimes behave “differently”. (Աֆաֆեյան, Ջաճատրյան, Էլոյան 1979: 120) even argue that a pronunciation of this cluster without schwa epenthesis “has already become the norm”.

as such, it has now entered normative and written Eastern Armenian, as can be seen from the examples below. Thus, nowadays also in written Armenian doublets can be found.⁴⁰

In general, there is a strong tendency to pronounce all loan words with the initial two consonant cluster without any schwa epenthesis. It can be observed that this loan-word pronunciation has also a growing impact on the pronunciation of such clusters in Armenian words: the schwa epenthesis is very weak or even not employed at all.⁴¹

Examples for a regular SMEA realisation of the initial cluster sibilant + plosive as əCC:

- (1) Իլիհամ Ալիեւի խոսքով, իր երկրի համբերութիւնն սպառվում է:
 (Armenpress 20.1.2006)
- Ilham Aliew-i xosk'-ov ir erkr-i*
 Ilham Aliew-DAT word-INST his country-DAT
- hamberut'yun-n spař-v-um ē.*
 [...hamp^hεrut^hjun-n ə s-pařvum]
 patience-NOM-the runout-antic- PTCP. PRES. it is
 “In the words of Ilham Aliew, his country’s patience is running out.”

40. Please note that in colloquial, almost dialectal Armenian the schwa is also inserted between sibilant and plosive. There is one “cultural” word in Eastern Armenian, which conventionally uses this rather unusual pronunciation, the word սպաս *spas* [səpəs] “yoghurt-soup”. (Zak’aryan 1981: 172) even regards a deviating or more prescriptive realization of this cultural word as e.g. [əspas] or [spas] as being typical for speakers without “real Eastern Armenian background”.

41. One has to note that the growing frequency of the initial two consonant clusters spoken without any schwa epenthesis leads also to growing problems and deviations in morphology, particularly in the formation of the plural and the attachment of the definite article. As will be explained in detail in Ch. 2.1.1.2 “Number”, p. 63f., the choice of the plural suffix -եր *-er* or -ներ *-ner* depends on the number of syllables of the noun: if it is monosyllabic -եր *-er* is suffixed, if it is polysyllabic -ներ *-ner* is suffixed. Thus, if a two consonant initial cluster is not considered as own syllable, native speakers will probably attach the “wrong” plural-suffix. The same is true for the definite article suffix. The definite article -ը/-ն-ը/-ն *-n* is attached to the noun according to its final sound or the sound of the word immediately following the article. Thus -ը *-ə* is attached either to nouns ending in consonants or to nouns the following word which starts with a consonant. In contrast, -ն *-n* is attached either to nouns ending in vowels or to nouns where the following word starts with a vowel, e.g. Արամը գնում է քաղաք: *Aram-ə gnum ē k'alak'*. “Aram goes to town” versus Արամն է գնում քաղաք: *Aram-n ē gnum k'alak'*. “It is Aram who goes to town”. (comp. Asatryan 2004: 95) Thus, according to the normative rules, the article -ը *-ə* must be suffixed to a noun if it is followed by a word with initial sibilant-plosive consonant cluster. For example Մեկ շաբաթից արձակուրդն սկսվում է: *Mek šabat'ic' arjakurd-n sksvum ē.* “The holidays start in one week.” That this normative rule of SMEA is sometimes heavily “violated” because of the gradually disappearing schwa-epenthesis in sibilant-plosive clusters, can easily be shown by examples from daily newspapers, school books etc.

- (2) Նրանցից ոմանք արդեն այցելել են Երևան, մյուսների այցն սպասվում է մոտ ապագայում: (Armenpress 04.05.2006)

nranc'-ic' om-ank' arden ayc'el-el en Erewan
 they-ABL some-PL-NOM already visit-PTCP.PERF they are Yerevan-NOM
myus-ner-i ayc'-n spas-v-um ē mot
 other-PL-DAT visit-NOM-the expect-pass-PTCP.PRES it is near
 [ajts^h-n_əs-pasvum]

apaga-yum.
 future-LOC

“Some of them have already visited Yerevan, the visit of the others is expected in near future.”

- (3) Խորհրդարանական բոլոր ուժերն ստորագրեցին «Ուստրական օրենսգրքի» փոփոխությունների նախագիծը: (A՛ravot 08.04.2006)

xorhradaranakan bolor už-er-n storagrec'-in ěntrakan
 parliamentary all force-PL.NOM-the sign-AOR.3.PL electoral
 [uʒerⁿ_əs-tɔragɛts^hin]

ōrensgrk'-i p'òp'oxut'yun-ner-i naxagic'-ě.
 lawbook-DAT change-PL-DAT draft. NOM-the

“All parliamentary forces have signed the draft of the changes of the “Electoral law-book.”

- (4) Եվ Բաքվի իշխանությունների համաձայնությունն ստանալուց հետո կմեկնեն Նախիջևան:

ew Bak'v-i išxanut'yun-ner-i hamajaynut'yun-n stan-al-uc'
 [hamadzajnut^hjun-n_əs-tanaluts^h]
 CONJ Baku-DAT government-PL-DAT agreement.NOM-the receive-INF-ABL

heto kmekn-en Naxijewan.
 POST depart-COND. FUT.3.PL Naxijewan.NOM

“And after having received the agreement of Baku’s governments, they will depart to Nakhijevan.”

- (5) Տուժածը ստանալով առաջին բուժօգնություն՝ դուրս էր գրվել հիվանդանոցից: (A՛ravot 05.04.2006)

tužac-ě stanal-ov aʻajin bužōgnut'yun
 suffer-PTCP.RES.NOM-the receive-INF-INST first medical aid.NOM
 [tuʒats-ěstanalɔv]

durs ěr gr-v-el hivandanoc'-ic'.
 out he was write-pass-PTCP. PRES. hospital-ABL

“After having received the first medical aid, the sufferer was checked out of the hospital.”

- (6) Արմանը շտապում էր. (Hetk' 15.01.2007)

Aram-ě stap-um ěr.
 [arəm-ə_ʃtə-pum]
 Aram.NOM-the hurry-PTCP.PRES he was
 “Aram was in a hurry.”

- (7) Նկատենք, որ դատարանը ստիպված եղավ դատավճիռը հրապարակել աղմուկի մեջ: (Armenpress 20.01.2006)

Nkat-enk' or dataran-ě stip-v-ac etav
 [dataran-ə_stip-vats]
 note-IMP.I.PL CONJ court.NOM-the force-pass-PTCP.RES it has been
datavciř-ě hraparak-el atmuk-i mej.
 verdict.NOM-the promulgate-INF noise-DAT POST
 “Let us note that the court has been forced to promulgate the verdict in a riot.”

- (8) Հայերենը, որի բացառիկությունը զգալու համար բավական է հիշել համաքրիստոնեական գրքի անվանումը: (Azg 06.04.2006)

hayeren-ě or-i bac'ařikut'yun-ě zgal-u hamar
 [bats^hrikut^hjunə_zgalu]
 Armenian.NOM-the REL-DAT exclusiveness.NOM-the feel-INF-DAT POST
bavakan ě hiš-el hamak'ristoneakan
 sufficient it is remember-INF all-Christian
grk'-i anvanum-ě.
 book-DAT appellation.NOM-the
 “The Armenian language, for feeling its exclusiveness of which is sufficient to remember the appellation of the All-Christian book.”

b. Three consonants CCC and following V

According to a general rule, the schwa is spoken after the first consonant of a consonant cluster consisting of more than two consonants, that means:

- Usually the 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the schwa-epenthesis, the 3rd consonant with the following vowel, i.e. CəC-CV

տրված *trvac* [tər-vats] “having been given” (Participle Resultative passive)

գտնել *gtnel* [gət-nel] “to find”

կսկիծ *kskic* [kəs-kits] “bitterness”

նստարան *nstaran* [nəst-aran] “bench, seat”

կրճատել *krčatel* [kər-tʃatəl] “to reduce”

բռնել *břnel* [bər-nel] “to catch, to hold”

տնտեսություն *tntesut'yun* [tən-təsut^hjun] “economy” etc.

- According to normative MEA, if the 1st consonant is a sibilant and the 2nd a plosive, the initial schwa epenthesis forms a syllable with the first, and the 2nd consonant with

the schwa, a syllable with the 3rd consonant. əC-CəC-V. As explained above, these kinds of clusters are more productively pronounced without the initial schwa epenthesis, particularly in vernacular Armenian.⁴² They are more frequently realised as CəC-CV or CCə-CV. Loans as well as foreign name clusters, however, are pronounced without any schwa epenthesis:

Examples⁴³

սփրոց *sp'roc'* [əs-p^hər-ɔts^h] or preferably [səp^h-rɔts^h] “tablecloth”

սքթել *sk't'el* [əs-k^hət^h-el] or preferably [sək^h-t^hel] “to shrink from cold”

ստրուկ *struk* [əs-tər-uk] or preferably [stə-ruk] or even in colloquial [struk] “serf”

սկսել *sksel* [əs-kəs-ets] or preferably [skə-sel] “to begin”

շտկել *štkel* [əf-kət-el] or preferably [ʃtə-kel] “to repair; to straighten”

ստրատեգիական *strategiakan* [stratɛgi(j)akan] “strategical”

Ստրասբուրգ *Strasbourg* [Strasburg] “Strasbourg”

- (9) Բոլորն սկսեցին ծիծաղել: (Gyurjanyan, Hek'ek'yan 2002:123.)

bolor-n sksec'in cical-el.

[bɔɬɔr-n_əs[-k^həs-ɛt^hsin]

all.NOM-the start-AOR.3.PL laugh-INF

“All started to laugh.”

- (10) Իր ստեղծագործական ուղին Չեքիջյանը սկսել է Ստամբուլից:
(Armenpress19.01.2006)

ir stelcagorcakan uli-n ček'ijyan-ě sks-el

[T^hɛk^hidzjanə_ska-sel]

his creative way.NOM-the Ček'ijyan.NOM-the start-PTCP.PERF

ē Stambul-ic'.

he is Istanbul-ABL

“Ček'ijyan has started his creative way from Istanbul.”

c. Four consonants CCCC and following V

In general, four consonant clusters may behave in different ways, depending on the various consonants. The most frequent and representative cases are given:

- The 1st consonant forms a syllable with the epenthetic schwa, the 2nd and 3rd form another syllable with the inserted schwa, the 4th consonant with the following vowel: Cə-CəC-CV

42. This is also observed by various Armenian and Western grammarians (e.g. Vaux 1998: 25), as well as from native speakers and even from written corpus.

43. The first pronunciation is the strict normative one, the second the more frequent and “more natural”. The latter pronunciation is also observed by (Vaux 1998: 25).

- The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the inserted schwa, the 3rd forms another syllable with the schwa, and the 4th consonant with the following vowel: CəC-Cə-CV
- The 1st, 2nd and 3rd form a syllable with the epenthetic schwa, the 4th consonant with the following vowel: CəCC(ə)-CV
- In consonant clusters starting with sibilant and plosive, there is usually no initial schwa epenthesis.

Some examples:

բժշկութիւն *bžškut'yun* [bə-ʒəf-ku-tʰjun] “medicine”

մկրտութիւն *mkrut'yun* [mə-kəɾ-tu-tʰjun] “baptism”

սննդամթերք *snndamt'erk'* [sə-nən-də-mətʰɛrkʰ] “groceries, food stuff”

ծծմբաթթու *ccmbat'tu* [tsə-tsəm-ba-tʰətʰu] “sulphuric acid”

բզլտալ *bzltal* [bə-zəl-tal] “to buzz”

մտնել *mtc'nel* [mət-tsʰɛ-nɛl] “to bring in”

ճվտկել *čvtkel* [tʃəv-tə-kel] “to prune”

ճշգրիտ *čšgrit* [tʃəf-gə-rit] “precise, exact”

տրտմութիւն *trtmu'tyun* [tʰəɾt-mu-tʰjun] “sadness”

սլկվել *slkvel* [səlk(ə)-vel] “to slip”

ճնշվածութիւն *čnšvacu'tyun* [tʃənf-va-tsutʰjun] “depression”

մրջիւն *mrjyun* [mərɟʒ-jun] “ant”

ստրկացնել *strkac'nel* [stʰə-rə-katsʰnɛl] “to enslave”

սալխել *splxel* [sə-pəl-χɛl] “to slip”

- (11) Ադրբեջանի նախարարը սկզբում պատրաստակամութիւն է հայտնել, այժմ ասում է՝ ոչ: (Azg 03.03.2006)

Adrbejan-i naxarar-ě skzb-um patrastakamu'tyun ē

[... naxararə_skez-bum....

Azerbaijan-DAT minister.NOM-the beginning-LOC readiness.NOM he is

haytn-el ayžm as-um ē oč'.

declare-PTCP.PRES. now say-PTCP. PRES he is no

“Azerbaijan’s minister had declared willingness in the beginning, now he says no.”

d. Five consonants with a following vowel

As with three and four consonants, in general, the first consonant forms a syllable with the epenthetic schwa.

There are many variants in pronouncing a five consonant cluster; the most frequent are given below:

- The 1st consonant forms a syllable with the schwa, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th another syllable with a schwa and the 5th with the following vowel, i.e. Cə-CəCC-CV

- The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with a schwa, the 3rd and 4th another syllable with a schwa, and the 5th consonant with the following vowel, i.e. CəC-CəC-CV
- In consonant clusters starting with sibilant + plosives, again, the epenthetic schwa is not pronounced before the sibilant.

Cə-CəCC-CV CəC-CəC-CV

Examples:

ճմրթված *čmrt'vac* [tʃə-mərt-vəts] “crinkled, crumpled”

մխրճվել *mxc'čvel* [mə-xərtʃ-vəl] “to pierce”

սփրթնում *sp'rt'num* [sə-pʰərtʰ-num] “whitening, bleaching”

փռնգտալ *p'rngtal* [pʰə-rəŋg-tal] “to snuff, to snort”

տրտնջալ *trtnjal* [tə-r-təŋʒal] “to grumble, to complain”

բռնցքամարտ *b'nc'kamart* [bər-nəts-kʰamart] “boxing”

մշտնջենաբար *mštnjenabar* [məʃ-təŋ-dʒɛ-nabar] “everlasting, eternal”

գրգռվել *grg'čvel* [gər-gər-vəl] “to get excited, to be provoked”

մրմնջալ *mrnmjal* [mər-məŋ-dʒal] “to whisper, to murmur”

քստմնալից *kštmnalic* [kʰəs-təm-nalitsʰ] “gruesome, horrid”

սրսկվել *srskvel* [sərs-kə-vəl] “to be/get injected”

e. Six and more consonants with a following vowel

In SMEA, words with six and more consonants do not occur very often. Mostly, they represent reduplicated triconsonantal roots, where the common pronunciation is CəCC-CəC-CV, whereas in other words there are, again, various ways of pronunciation, the most common CəC-CəC-Cə-CV.

Some examples: մրմրթալ *mrt'mrt'al* [mərtʰ-mə-r-tʰal] “to mumble”; փնթփնթոց *p'nt'p'nt'oc* [pʰəntʰ-pʰən-tʰətsʰ] “growl”; զնգզնգոց *zngzngoc* [zəŋg-zəŋ-gətsʰ] “tinkle”; հրմշտկել *hrmštkel* [hər-məʃ-tə-kəl] “to jostle”.

2. Medial Consonant Clusters

a. Two medial consonants -CC-

Two consonants in the intervocalic position can be separated into two syllables with the preceding and following vowel, i.e. the schwa epenthesis is not employed. -VC-CV-, e.g. պատմել *patmel* [pat-məl] “to tell”, պարտեզ *partez* [par-tez] “garden”, կարմիր *karmir* [kar-mir] “red”, հագնել *hagnel* [hakʰ-nəl] “to wear”.

b. Three medial consonants -CCC-

- The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the preceding vowel, the 3rd consonant with the following vowel, i.e. VCC-CV, e.g. կանգնել *kangnel* [kaŋg-nəl] “to stand”, հարցնել *harc'nel* [hartsʰ-nəl] “to ask”, կարմրել *karmrel* [karɪm-rəl] “to turn red, to blush”.

- The 1st and 2nd consonant form a syllable with the schwa epenthesis, and the 3rd consonant with the following vowel, i.e. V-CəC-CV, e.g. ձեռնոտ *je'ntu* [dʒɛ-rən-tu] “profitable”.

հետաքրքիր *hetak'rk'ir* [hɛtɑ-kʰɛr-kʰir] “interesting”, երաժշտություն *eražštut'yun* [jɛrɑ-zəʃ-tutʰjun] “music”.

- The 1st consonant forms a syllable with its preceding vowel, the 2nd consonant a syllable with the schwa, and the 3rd with its following vowel, i.e. VC-Cə-CV, e.g. աղմկարար *atmkarar* [ɑʃ-mə-karɑr] “noisy”, վազվզել *vazvzel* [vɑz-və-zɛl] “to run around”, հագցնել *hagc'nel* [hɑg-tʃʰə-nɛl] “to dress somebody, to put on somebody”.

c. Four medial consonants

If a word occurs with four medial consonants, it is most probably a compound word, or a word with a prefix or suffix. In general, the employment of the epenthetic schwa in the original element does not change in derivatives or compounds. Examples: հանգստանալ *hangstanal* [hɑŋgəstɑnɑl] “to relax”, > հանգիստ + verbal suffix -անալ; անկրկնելի *ankrkneli* [ɑŋkɛrkneli] “unrepeatable” > prefix ան- + կրկնելի “repeatable”; դասագրքեր *dasagrker* [dɑsɑgɛrkʰɛr] “schoolbooks” > դաս *das* “class” + գիրք *girk'* “book” + եր -er (Plural)

3. Final Consonant Clusters

In SMEA final consonant clusters are more constraint than initial clusters. In general they can consist of, at most, three consonants, and the epenthetic schwa is only employed once.

The last consonant often represents the definite article *-n*, the possessive suffixes *-s/-d* as well as the personal/demonstrative suffix *-s/-d*. If these suffixes are attached to a word, the epenthetic schwa must be pronounced before these suffixes.

- Final consonants quite often form a syllable with their preceding vowel. -VCC, e.g. խումբ *xumb* [χumb] “group”, տոմս *toms* [tɔms] “ticket”, գիրք *girk'* [girkʰ] “book”, դրախտ *draxt* [dɛrɑχt], “paradise”, հաջորդ *hajord* [hadzɔrtʰ] “next”, դեպք *depk'* [dɛpkʰ] “case” etc.
- Two final consonants with the epenthetic schwa occur seldom in SMEA. These limited cases are mainly representing
- words with suffixes *-ն -n/-ու -s* or *-դ -d*. As explained above, the schwa has to be pronounced before the suffix, e.g. եղբայրս *elbayrs* [jɛχpɑjɾ-əs] “my brother”, տունդ *tund* [tun-əd] “your house”, գրածս *gracs* [grɑts-əs] “your writing”, ձեռքս *jeʃk's* [dzɛrkʰ-əs] “my hand”, խելքդ *xelk'd* [χɛlkʰ-əd] “your mind” etc.
- expressions *ևս ews* [jɛvəs] “also,too”, դեռևս *deʃews* [dɛrɛvəs] “still,yet”, թերևս *t'erevs* [tɛrɛvəs] “perhaps”, ոմն *omn* [vɔmən] “somebody”, անհիմն *anhimn* [ɑnhimən] “groundless”, այժմ *ajžm* [ɑjzəm] “now”, ըստ այսմ *əst aysm* [əst əjsəm] “according to this”, ըստ այնմ *əst aynm* [əst əjnəm] “according to that”,etc. These expressions employ the epenthetic schwa between the two final consonants.
- If the lexeme ends in consonants and the last one is the voiced uvular fricative, flap [ɾ] or trill [r], then this last consonant forms a syllable with the schwa, which is pronounced before this consonant, e.g. վագր *vagr* [vɑgɛr] “tiger”, ծանր *canr* [tsɑnɛr] “heavy”, ամենափոքր *amenap'ok'r*, [ɑmɛnɑpʰɔkʰɛr] “smallest”, արքայադուստր *ark'ayadustr* [ɑrkʰɑjɑdustɛr] “king's daughter”, արկ *arkl* [ɑrkɛʃ] “box”, պարտք *partk'* [partkʰ] “debt”, գամփոռ *gamp'ʃ* [gɑmpʰɛr] “Armenian sheepdog”, բարձր *barjɾ* [bardzɛr] “high”, աստղ *astl* [ɑstɛʃ] “star” etc.

1.3 Alternations

In Modern Eastern Armenian, alternations are conditioned by the phonological or morphological environment, i.e. by the change of the stress caused by the inflection or, more generally, word formation.

Alternations affect only the syllable nuclei, i.e. vowels, with the exception of the schwa *ë* and diphthongs: the high vowels [i] and [u] undergo an alternation with the change of stress, they are either absolutely deleted or “reduced” to schwa [ə]; diphthongs are reduced to monophthongs.

1. The Vowel [a] [ɑ]

- The vowel [ɑ] never underlies alternations in inflection.
- In word formation, however, [ɑ] may be deleted. This deletion is, nonetheless, an exception and has to be regarded as diachronic and, currently, unproductive: it goes back to Middle Armenian and Early Modern Eastern Armenian time and has affected only some words,⁴⁴ such as բերնակապ *bernakap* “muzzle” < բերան *beran* + կապ *kap*, there is the more frequent regular form բերանակապ *beranakap*, կոճկեկ *kočkel* “to button” < կոճակ *kočak* “button” + -ել *-el*, պատռել *patrel* “to tear, to rip” < պատառ *patař* “piece” + -ել *-el* etc.
- Both in inflection and word formation, the sequence of the final [ɑ] + vowel in morpheme boundary triggers the insertion of the glide [j], which is also expressed in orthography. The glide insertion is typical for a sequence containing a singly high [i] and a single non high vowel ([ɑ], [ɔ]),⁴⁵ e.g. տղա *tla* “boy” < տղայի *tla-y-i* DAT, տղայական *tla-y-akan* “boyish, childish”, տղայություն *tla-y-ut'yun* “boyhood”; Անգլիա *Anglia* “England” > Անգլիայից *Anglia-y-ic'* ABL; հսկա *hska* “giant” > հսկայի *hska-y-i* DAT, հսկայաբար *hska-y-abar* “giant; mammoth”, հսկայաբայլ *hska-y-akayl* “quantum leap” etc.

2. The Vowel [o] [ɔ]

- The vowel [o] [ɔ] never underlies alternations (reduction, deletion) in inflection.
- In word formation, the internal (interconsonantal) [ɔ] may be deleted in some cases. This is true for the same historical phenomenon for the vowel [ɑ] (see above); it is not productive any more, e.g. որկրամոլ *orkramol* “edacious, greedy” < որկոր *orkor* “womb; belly” + -մոլ *-mol*; ոսկրային *oskrayin* “bony” < ոսկոր *oskor* “bone” + ային *-ayin* etc.
- In inflection, the sequence of the final [o] + vowel triggers the insertion of the glide [j]. This glide is also expressed in orthography. Usually words ending in [ɔ] are loans or person or place names, e.g. Մարո *Maro* > Մարոյին *Maro-y-in* DAT, կինո *kino* > կինոյի *kino-y-i* DAT but: կինոսալարատ *kinoapparat* “cinematographic apparatus”; Օսլո *Oslo* > Օսլոյում *Oslo-y-um* LOC: Չիկագո *Čikago* > Չիկագոյից *Čikago-y-ic'* ABL etc.

44. Abrahamyan 1981: 25; Minassian 1996: 44.

45. A sequence of two non-high vowels is allowed to form a hiatus, as in բոս *boa*, կասո *kaos*, ամենազնիվ *amenaazniv*. Vaux 1998: 96.

3. The Vowel [ɛ] [ɛ]

- In inflection the vowel [ɛ] does not underlie alternations.
- In word formation, however, the vowel [ɛ] undergoes alternations caused by a change of stress:
- In the initial position, the vowel [ɛ] pronounced without the preceding glide [j] (thus graphically expressed with է *ē*) is changed to հ *i* [i] in some words in the word formation, e.g. էշ *ēž* “donkey” < իշուկ *išuk* “small/young donkey”, իշական *išakan* “donkey-”, էգ *ēg* “female” < իգական *igakan* “female, feminine” etc.
- In the medial position, the vowel [ɛ], written ե *e*, is reduced to [i] written հ *i*, if its basic form is monosyllabic, e.g. վեպ *vep* “novel” < վիպագիր *vipagir* “novelist” տեր *ter* “lord, master” < տիրական *tirakan* “masterful, imperious”; զենք *zenk* “weapon” < զինել *zinel* “to arm”; գեշ *geš* “monster, beast” < գիշատիչ *gišatič* “predator; predatory”, հրավեր *hraver* “invitation” < հրավիրել *hravirel* “to invite”, գրագետ *graget* “literate” < գրագիտություն *gragitut’yun* “literacy” etc.

In the medial position, [ɛ] remains, however, unchanged

- a. if the medial [ɛ] is followed by [k^h], as in անեծքատու *anec’atu* [anetsk^hatu] “cusser”, պետքական *petk’akan* [petk^hakan] “suitable, fit”, մեջքակապ *mej^hakap* [medʒk^hakap] “belt” etc.
 - b. if the monosyllabic word appears in compounds without a binding vowel -a- and as first part of the compound, as in օրենսդիր *ōrensdir* [ɔrensdir] “legislative”, մեջտեղ *mej^htel* [medʒtɛɬ] “middle, centre”, կեսօր *kesōr* [kesɔr] “midday, noon” etc.
 - c. if the monosyllabic word is reduplicated in the word formation, as in դեմաճեմ *demačdem* [demɑčdem] “vis-a-vis”, մեջընդմեջ *mej^hendmej* [medʒənt^hmedʒ] “sometimes, from time to time”, ստեպ-ստեպ *stepstep* [stɛp stɛp] “often” etc.
 - d. In general, in all compounds and derivatives from the word տեր *ter* [tɛr] “lord, master”, տերություն *terut’yun* “state”, տերունական *terunakan* “Lord’s; (state)” etc.
- In the final position, the vowel [ɛ] remains unaltered both in inflection and word formation. The final [ɛ] and the following initial vowel of a word, suffix or ending are pronounced with weakly spoken glide in between [ɛ] and the following vowel. This glide is however not graphically expressed. մարգարե *margare* [mark^harɛ] “prophet” < մարգարեի *margare-i* [mark^hareji] (DAT), մարգարեանալ *margare-anal* [mark^harejanal] “to prophesy”; բազե *baze* [baze] “falcon” < բազեի *baze-i* [bazeji] (DAT); բազեապահ *baze-a-pah* [bazejapah] “falconer” etc.

4. The vowel [ə] [ə]

The schwa does not underlie alternation, since it is the only syllable-forming vowel, which does not bear a prosodic stress. A change in stress in either inflection or word formation

does not affect the schwa. The only exception to this is the suffixed definite article -ը -՛ (see Ch. 2.1.4 “Definiteness”, p. 102f.).

5. The vowel [i] [i]

In both inflection and word formation, the vowel [i] shows alternation.

a. Initial position

- In inflection, in the initial position [i] remains unaltered.
- In word formation, in the initial position [i] is reduced to schwa [ə] in some monosyllabic words. This reduction is historical and thus unproductive nowadays, e.g. ինձ *inj* “jaguar”⁴⁶ > ընծուղտ *enj-ult* “giraffe”; իղծ *ilj* “longing, desire” > ըղծական *ěj-akan* “desireable”; ինչք *inc’k* “thing; possession” > ընչաքաղց *enc’-a-k’alc’* “greedy”

b. Medial position

- Both in inflection and word formation, in monosyllabic words (as well as in compounds of which last part is a monosyllabic) the vowel [i] is reduced to [ə], which is not expressed graphically, e.g. սիրտ *sirt* “heart” > սրտի *srt-i* (DAT), սրտեր *srt-er* (NOM.PL.), սրտացավ *srt-a-c’av* “heartache”; գիծ *gic* “line” > գծի *gc-i* (DAT), գծեր *gc-er* (NOM.PL.), գծել *gc-el* “to draw”; գիր *gir* “writing; letter” > գրի *gr-i* (DAT); գրեր *gr-er* (NOM.PL.), գրություն *gr-ut’yun* “note”
- Both in inflection and word formation, in monosyllabic words with final ք *k’*, which is historically or etymologically not explicable,⁴⁷ [i] remains unaltered, e.g. դիրք *dirk’* “position” > դիրքի *dirk’-i* (DAT), դիրքեր *dirk’-er* (NOM.PL.), դիրքային *dirk’ayin* “positional”, հիմք *himk’* “basis” > հիմքի *himk’-i* (DAT), հիմքային *himk’ayin* “basic” etc.
- Both in inflection and word formation, [i] remains unchanged in all other than the last syllable of polysyllabic words, e.g. դիտել *ditel* “to watch” < դիտմամբ *ditmamb* “deliberately”, դիտորդ *ditord* “observer” etc.

c. Final position

- In word formation – and only under certain morphological constraints also in declination,⁴⁸ [i] maybe deleted in the last closed syllable of polysyllabic words, e.g. դեղին *delin* “yellow” < դեղնուց *delnuc’* [dɛʁnʉtʰs] “yolk”, նկարիչ *nkarič’* “painter” < նկարչություն *nkarc’ut’yun* [nɛkɑrtʰjʉtʰjʉn] “painting”, ուսուցիչ *usuc’ic’* “teacher”

46. There is also a reduction in the older inflected forms of the lexeme “jaguar”, i.e. ընծի *enj-i* (DAT). They are not productive.

47. That means, that the final consonant ք *k’* does not originate in the Classical Armenian Plural morpheme -ք-*k’*.

48. see Ch. 4., “Word formation” p. 645f.

- < ուսուցչուհի *usucʻuhi* [usutʰstʰjuhi] “female teacher”, թշնամի *tʃnami* “foe” < թշնամական *tʃnamakan* [tʰəjnamakan] “hostile” etc.
- In word formation and only under certain morphological constraints also in declination, final [i] of closed syllables may be reduced to [ə], which is not expressed graphically, e.g. արձիճ *arčič* “lead” < արձձագույն *arčč-aguyn* [artʃətʃagujn] “lead-coloured”, մարմին *marmin* “body” < մարմնամարզիկ *marmn-a-marzik* [mɑrmənəmərzik] “gymnast”, նախագիծ *naxagic* “project; draft” < նախագծեր *naxagc-er* [nɑxagətser] (NOM.PL.) etc.
 - In plural formation, the open final [i] in polysyllabic words does not change, e.g. կենդանիներ *kendani-ner* “animals”.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is sometimes deleted if combined with the suffix -ություն *-utʻyun*. բարի *bari* “good” < բարություն *barutʻyun* “kindness, goodness”, գերի *geri* “captive” < գերություն *gerutʻyun* “captivity”; versus քաղաքացի *kʻalakacʻi* “citizen” < քաղաքացիություն *kʻalakacʻi-utʻyun* “citizenship”, արի *ari* “brave” < արիություն *ariutʻyun* “bravery”, etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] remains unaltered if it is combined with verbal suffixes -անալ *-anal*, -ացնել *-acʻnel*, or nominal suffixes -ական *-akan*, -ացում *-acʻum* and adverbial suffixes -աբար *-abar*, -ապես *-apes*, -որեն *-oren*, e.g. արի *ari* “brave” < արիական *ari-akan* “manly”, արիանալ *ari-anal* “to have courage”, արիաբար *ari-abar* “valiantly”; հասկանալի *haskanali* “understandable” < հասկանալիորեն *haskanali-oren* “understandable”, etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is sometimes deleted if combined with a following vowel, as in աղավնի *alavni* “pigeon” < աղավնատուն *alavn-a-tun* “pigeonry”.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is deleted if the adjectival suffix -ուտ *-ut* is attached, as in կեչի *kečʻi* “birch” > կեչուտ *kečʻ-ut* “birch (Adj)”, մորի *mori* “raspberry” > մորուտ *mor-ut* [mɔrut] “raspberry (Adj)” etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] is deleted if it represents (a part of) a suffix, as in կենդանի *kend-ani* “animal; alive” > կենդանական *kendan-akan* “animal, brute”, թերի *tʻeri* “incomplete” > թերություն *tʻer-utʻyun* “lack, fault”, խեցի *xecʻ-i* “earthenware” > խեցագործ *xecʻ-a-gorc*⁴⁹ “potter” etc.
 - In word formation and case inflection, the open final [i] is deleted if a suffix or an ending starting with the vowels [ɑ, ɔ] follows, e.g. քեռի *keři* “uncle, mother’s brother” > քեռայր *kʻər-ayr* “husband of sister”, փոշի *pòši* “dust” > փոշոտ *pòš-ot* “dusty”, գինի *gini* “wine” > գինով *gin-ov* INST etc.
 - In word formation, the open final [i] of polysyllabic words combined with following unstressed word formational *-a-* may trigger a sound change (i.e. across a morpheme boundary *-i + -a = -e-*), as in որդետեր *ordeser* “loving one’s children” > որդի-ա-սեր *ordi+a+ser*, ընտանեկան *əntanekan* “family, domestic” > ընտանի-ական *əntani+akan*, բարետես *baretēs* “good-looking, optimistic” > բարի-ա-տես *bari+a+tes*, բարեխիղճ *barexilč* “conscientious” > բարի-ա-խիղճ *bari+a+xilč*, ոսկեգործ *oskegorc* “goldsmith” > ոսկի-ա-գործ *oski+a+gorc* etc.

49. There is also a doublet form խեցեգործ *xecʻ egorc*.

- In word formation, the open final [i] of polysyllabic words combined with the diminutive suffix -ակ -ak may also trigger a sound change in the form of a glide formation: -ի -i + -ակ -ak = -յակ y-ak, as in կղզի *ktzi* “island” < կղզյակ *ktzyak* “little island” > *ktzi* + -ak, որդի *ordi* “son” < որդյակ *ordyak* “little son” > *ordi* + -ak., դավաճի *alavni* “pidgeon” < աղավնյակ *alavnyak* “little pidgeon” > *alavni* + -ak etc.
- In inflection, the open final [i] in a sequence with [-i-] inserts the glide [j] in pronunciation, but not in orthography. This happens with personal names or places names ending in -i e.g. Անի Ani < Անիի Ani-i [aniji] DAT.SG
- In monosyllabic words with the open final [i] followed by [u] – the prototypical Dative of the u-declination nouns -, again the glide is inserted in pronunciation but not in orthography, whereas in polysyllabic words with the open final [i] followed by morphological ending [u], the [i] is deleted,⁵⁰ e.g. ձի *ji* “horse” < ձիու *ji-u* [dziju] DAT.SG; մատանի *matani* “ring” < մատանու *matan-u* DAT.SG; գինի *gini* “wine” < գինու *gin-u* DAT.SG.

6. The Vowel [u]

a. Initial [u]

- The open initial [u] remains unaltered both in word formation and inflection, e.g. ուժ *už* “power” < ուժեր *už-er* NOM.PL., ուժասպառ *už-a-spař* “exhausted”; ուխտ *uxt* “promise, covenant”, < ուխտի *uxt-i* DAT, ուխտագնաց *uxtagnac* “pilgrim”; ուղեվոր *ulevor* “passenger” < ուղեվորներ *ulevor-ner* NOM.PL., ուղեվորություն *ulevor-ut’yun* “journey” etc.

b. Medial [u]

- Both in inflection and word formation, the medial [u] is reduced to [ə] in monosyllabic words, which is not expressed graphically, e.g. ցուրտ *c’urt* “cold” < ցրտի *crt’i* DAT, ցրտել *c’rt-el* “to freeze, to be cold”; շուն *šun* “dog” < շներ *šn-er* NOM.PL., շնիկ *šn-ik* “little dog”; սուր *sur* “sharp; sword” < սրեր *sr-er* NOM.PL., սրել *sr-el* “to sharpen”; հուր *hur* “flame, fire” հրի *hr-i* DAT, հրեղեն *hr-elen* “fiery, flaming”; գունդ *gund* “ball; regiment” < գնդեր *gnd-er* NOM.PL., գնդաձև *gndajew* “round” etc.
- Both in inflection and word formation, the medial [u] in polysyllabic words remains unaltered.

c. Final [u]

- Both in inflection and word formation, the closed final [u] of polysyllabic words is either reduced to [ə] or remains unaltered, e.g. գլուխ *glux* “head” < գլխի *glx-i* [gəlxɨ] DAT, գլխավոր [g(ə)ləxavɔr] *glx-a-vor* “main”; սնունդ *snund* “food” < սննդի *snnd-i* [sənəndi] DAT, սննդամթերք *snnd-a-mt’erk* “food stuff”; ժողովուրդ *žolovurd* “people”

50. Comp. Ch. 2.1.2.2 u-declension, p. 71f.

< ժողովրդի *žolovrd-i* [ʒɔɫɔvɛrtʰi] DAT, ժողովրդական *žolovrd-akan* “popular”; խանութ *xanut* “shop” < խանութի *xanut'-i* DAT, խանութապան *xanut'-a-pan* “shop keeper”; հանելուկ *haneluk* “riddle” < հանելուկի *haneluk-i* DAT, հանելուկային *haneluk-ayin* “cryptic”; թռչուն *t'rc'un* “bird” < թռչուններ *t'rc'un-ner* NOM.PL., թռչունաբույծ *t'rc'un-a-buyc* “bird breeder” etc.

- Both in inflection and word formation, the open final [u] of monosyllabic and bisyllabic words often becomes [v], particularly with a following vowel, e.g. ձու *ju* “egg” < ձվի *ju-v-i* [dzəvi] DAT, ձվածև *ju-a-jew* “oval”; չու *ču* “migration” > չվի *ču-v-i* [tʰʃəvi] DAT, չվել *ču-el* “to migrate”, չվացուցակ *ču-a-c'uc'ak* “migration’s list”; առու *a'ru* “creek” < առվի *a'v-i* DAT, առվակ *a'v-ak* “little creek”; մեղու *meļu* “bee” < մեղվի *meļv-i* DAT, մեղվաբուծություն *meļv-a-bucut'yun* “apiculture”; թթու *t't'u* “sour” < թթվի *t't'v-i* DAT, թթվասեր *t't'v-a-ser* “soured cream” etc. But if the final [u] belongs to a polysyllabic consisting of more than two syllables, [u] remains unchanged, e.g. վերարկու *verarku* “coat” < վերարկուի *verarku-i* [vɛɾɛrkujɪ] DAT; դասատու *dasatu* “lecturer” < դասատուի *dasatu-i* [dasatujɪ] DAT etc.

Diphthongs in Alternations

These days, diphthongs usually alternate only in word formation. There are only some exceptions in inflections, which are due to historical developments and are regarded as historical, even antiquated, forms. Diphthong alternation in inflection is thus unproductive.

a. Diphthong յա [ja]

- It remains unchanged in the initial position, e.g. յասաման *yasaman* “lilac” > յասամանաբույր *yasaman-a-buyr* “scent of lilac” etc.
- In the medial and in the closed final positions, յա [ja] may alternate with Է [ɛ]. This alternation is employed only in some diachronic word formation, this rule is unproductive nowadays, e.g. մատյան *matyan* “book” < մատենադարան *maten-a-daran* “library”, մատենանիշ *maten-a-niš* “bookmark”; ատյան *atyan* “tribunal, court” < ատենակալ *aten-a-kal* “magistrate, senator”; վայրկյան *vayrkyan* “second” < վայրկենական *vayrken-akan* “momentary” etc.
- In word formation, in the final position in open syllables, յա [ja] may alternate with Է [ɛ], e.g. գործունյա *gorcunya* “active” < գործունեություն *gorcuneut'yun* “activity”.

b. In word formation, diphthongs յու *ju* [ju], յո *yo* [jo] and այ *ay* [aj] remain unchanged if unstressed,⁵¹ e.g. յուղ *yul* “oil, fat” < յուղալի *yul-ali* “creamy”; արյուն *aryun* “blood” < արյունոտ *aryun-ot* “bloody”, անկյուն *ankyun* “corner” < անկյունաքար *ankyun-a-kar*

51. In some words with diphthong [ju] in historical and thus fossilized forms an alternation [ju] – [ɛ] can be observed. This alternation is unproductive currently, and many words show doublets; e.g. արենապարտ *arenpart* = արյունապարտ *aryunapart* “blood guiltiness”. Sometimes in historical

“cornerstone”; ձյուն *jyun* “snow” < ձյունագնդակ *jyun-a-gndak* “snowball”, յոթ *yot* “seven” < յոթանասուն *yot'-anasun* “seventy”; գայլ *gayl* “wolf” < գայլածագ *gayl-a-jag* “wolf’s puppy”, ձայն *jayn* “voice” < ձայնագրել *jayn-a-grel* “to record” etc.

c. The diphthong ույ *uy* [uj]

This diphthong remains preferably unchanged, both in inflection and word formation. There are however some antiquated, fossilised forms from historical Armenian which are still used in inflection – at the same time with newer doublets.⁵²

- In word formation, in closed syllables, [uj] often alternates with [u], e.g. գույն *guyn* “colour” < գունավոր *gun-a-vor* “coloured”; կառույց *karuyc* “building” < կառուցել *karuc'-el* “to build”; բույր *buyr* “fragrance, aroma” < բուրվար *bur-var* “censer”; բույս *buy* “plant” < բուսաբան *bus-a-ban* “botanist”, լույս *luys* “light” < լուսավոր *lus-a-vor* “luminous, bright” etc.
- In some words, [uj] is reduced to [ə], e.g. պտույտ *ptuyt* “rotation, turn, twist” < պտտվել *ptt-v-el* [pə-tət-vəl] “to revolve, to rotate” or absolutely deleted, e.g. կապույտ *kapuyt* “blue” > կապտել *kapt-el* “to turn blue” կապտավանք *kapt-a-vank* “Blue Monastery”; սառույց *saruyc* “ice” > սառցահատ *sarc'ahat* “ice-cube” etc.
- [uj] remains unaltered in all derivatives and compounds of նույն *nuyn* “same”.

Vocalic Alternations Caused by Syllabification

As already explained above, syllabification produces alternation between [u] and [v] and even between [i] and [j], where the final vowel meets a following vowel in inflection of word formation.

- [i] alternates with [j]

In the case of syllabification of a final vowel [i] with another following vowel, [j] is usually spoken between [i] and the following vowel. This vowel alternation (glide formation) is never considered in orthography, e.g. ձի *ji* “horse” > ձիու *ji-u* DAT, ձիուց *ji-uc* ABL, ձիեր *ji-er* NOM.PL., ձիուկ *ji-uk* “little horse”, ձիավոր *ji-avor* “rider”, ձիաբուծարան *ji-a-bucaran* “stud” etc.

- [u] alternates with [v]

In case of syllabification of the final vowel [u] with another following vowel, [v] is usually spoken instead of [u] but only in monosyllabic and bisyllabic words. In orthography this alternation is taken into account.

e.g. լեզու *lezu* “language, tongue” > լեզվի *lev-i* DAT, լեզվից *lev-ic* ABL, լեզվաբան *lev-a-ban* “linguist”, լեզվակ *lev-ak* “clapper”; ձու *ju* “egg” > ձվի *ju-i* DAT, ձվեր *ju-er* NOM.PL.,

forms [ju] appears also as reduced to [u] or even to [ə], as in ձնաթույր *jnat'uyr* = ձյունաթույր *jyunat'uyr* “snow-white, white as snow”.

52. These are the following words: հույս *huys* “hope” and լույս *luys* “light”.

ծվածեղ *ju-a-cel* “scrambled eggs” etc. but polysyllabic դասատու *dasatu* “lecturer, teacher > դասատուի *dasatu-i* DAT and one-and-a-half-syllabic գնչու *gnč'u* “gypsy” > գնչուի *gnč'u-i* DAT etc.

Hiatus /Syllabification of Sequences of Vowels

The following vowel combinations are, in general, to be found in simple words, across-morpheme boundary also in word formation,⁵³: a+a, a+e, a+i, [a+o], a+u; e+a; e+e, e+i, [e+o], e+u; i+a, i+e, i+i (only across morpheme -boundary), [i+o], i+u; [o+a], [o+e], o+i, [o+o]. Sequences with the schwa are possible in word formation (compounds), but not very productive.

Hiatus is only tolerated

- in loans e.g. քաոս *k'aos* [k^ha.ɔs] “disorder, chaos”; քոս *boa* [bɔ.a] “boa (snake)”; կոոպերացիա *kooperac'ia* [kɔ.ɔpɛrats^hijɑ] “cooperation”; աերոկլուբ *aeroklub* [ɑ.ɛrɔklub] “aeroclub”; Մաեստրո *maestro* [ma.ɛstrɔ] also [mɑ(j)ɛstrɔ] but also with weakly spoken epenthetic glide, e.g. ռադիո *radio* [radi(j)ɔ] “radio”; պոեզիա *poezia* [pɔ(j)ɛzija] “poetry”, գեոդեզիա *geodezia* [gɛ(j)ɔdɛzija] “geodesy” etc.
- and in some native low vowel sequences, i.e. in sequences of non-high vowels,⁵⁴ e.g. ամենաարդար *amena-ardar* [ɑ.mɛ.nɑ.ɑr.t^hɑr] “the fairest”, ամենաուժեղ *amena-užel* [ɑ.mɛ.nɑ.ʊʒ.ɛɛ] “the strongest”, հերուստալընկերություն *her'ust-a-ženkerut'yun* [hɛr.ust.ɑ.ɛŋk.ɛr.ut^hjun] “TV-company” etc.

As described above, in the case of syllabification of the final vowel [u] with another following vowel across morpheme boundary, [v] is usually spoken instead of [u].

Other hiatus inserts an epenthetic glide [j]:

- in general across morpheme (word) boundaries where two vowels meet as in

a+e նաև *na-yew* [nɑjɛv] “also”

e+a քվեարկել *k^hve-arkel* [k^h(ə)vɛjɑrkɛl] “to vote” etc.

e+e թեև *t^he-yew* [t^hɛjɛv] “although”

e+o պանթեոն *pant^heon*

e+u էություն *ɛ-ut'yun* [ɛ(j)ut^hjun] “essence, substance”

i+a միանալ *mi-anal* [mijɑnɑl] “to unite”, միասին *miasin* [mijasin] “together” etc.

i+u միություն *mi-ut'yun* [mijut^hjun] “unity”, հավաստիություն *havasti-ut'yun* [havastijut^hjun] “authenticity, trustworthiness” etc.

o+i ձյուդոիստ *judo-ist* [dzjudo(j)ist] “judoka”

53. The combinations not being productive in genuine Armenian words and more frequently to be found in loans, are marked with [].

54. Vaux 1998: 28.

- In monosyllabic nouns with final *-i*, when it is followed by the plural allomorph *-եր*, as in *ծիեր* *ji-er* [dzijɛr] NOM.PL.
- In words ending in a vowel at cross-morpheme boundary, when followed by a vowel. In the case of a sequence *a+i*, *o+i*, this is also expressed in orthography.
- *a+i* [ɑji], *a+e* [ɑjɛ], e.g. *տղա* *tla* “boy” > *տղայի* *tla-y-i* [tɾɑji] DAT, *քիմիա* *k’imia* “chemistry” > *քիմիայի* *k’imia-y-i* [kʰimijɑji] DAT etc.
- *e+i* [ɛji], *e+u* [ɛju], e.g. *եմ* *em* “I am” > *էի* *ēi* [ɛji] “I was”; *հասցե* *hasc’e* “address” > *հասցեի* *hasc’e-i* [hastsʰɛji] DAT; *կոմիտե* “komite” “committee” > *կոմիտեում* *komite-um* [kɔmitɛjum] LOC; *րոպե* *rope* “minute” > *րոպեում* *rope-um* [rɔpɛjum] LOC etc.
- *i+e* [ijɛ], *i+u* [iju], e.g. *միևնույն* *mi-y-ew-nuyn* [mijɛvnujn] “same”, *շարունակելի-ություն* *šarunakeli-ut’yun* [ʃɑrunakelijutʰjun] “continuation possibility”, *Սոցի* *Soč’i* > *Սոցիում* *Soč’i-um* [sɔtʰijum] LOC etc.
- *o+i* [ɔji], e.g. *Կամո* *Kamo* > *Կամոյի* *Kamo-y-i* [Kamɔji] DAT; *կինո* *kino* “cinema; film” > *կինոյից* *kino-y-ic’* [kinojitʰs] ABL etc.

In colloquial Armenian, hiatus is also tolerated in some genuine Armenian words, as in e.g. *միություն* *miut’yun* [mi.utʰjun] “unity”. More productively, however, is the deletion of the morpheme boundary in colloquial Armenian, particularly in a sequence of *-[i/ɛ]* and *[a]* to *[ja]*,⁵⁵ as e.g. [hjanali] > *հիանալի* *hianali* [hi(j)anali] “wonderful”, [dzɾjakan] > *ծրիական* *jriakan* [dz(ə)rijakan] “cost free, free”, [kʰvjɑrkɛl] > *քվեարկել* *k’vearkel* [kʰ(ə)vɛjarkɛl] “to vote” etc.

1.4 Intonation

1.4.1 Stress

In Modern Eastern Armenian, the stress lies on the last syllable with a full vowel-nucleus. The stressed vowel is characterised by greater loudness, higher pitch and (in general) greater lengths.⁵⁶

Some examples:

գիրք *girk’* “book”, *գրկ’* “book, DAT”, *գրկ’եր* “books”,
ընկեր *enkér* “friend”, *ընկրոջ* *enkroj’* “friend, DAT”, *ընկերներ* *enkernér* “friends”,
քաղաք *k’alák’* “town”, *քաղաքացի* *k’alákac’i* “citizen”, *քաղաքացիություն* *k’alákac’iut’yun*
 “citizenship”

55. Łaragyulyan 1981: 58.

56. (Abelyan 1971: 34) argues that under stress the syllable is also pronounced longer, whereas, comparably, the syllables following the stressed nucleus are spoken shorter and more weakly. von der Hulst. Hendriks. van der Weijer. 1999: 446.

իւնը *ině* “nine”, իններորդ *innerórd* “ninth”, etc.

In some cases, the stress lies on the penultimate syllable:⁵⁷

- If the vowel contained in the last closed syllable is the schwa [ə], as in կայսր *káysr* [káj̥sər], աստղ *ástł* [ástəɬ]
- In some words, the stress is on the penultimate rather than on the last syllable, e.g. որևէ *órewě* “any”, նույնիսկ *núynisk* “even”, նույնքան *núynk’an* “so much”, նույնպես *núynpes* “also, as well”, նամանապանհ *námanavand* “particularly”, որպեսզի *orpészi* “in order to”, քանիերորդ *k’anierord* “how many?”, որերորդ *órerord* “how many”, գոնե *góne* “if only”, գրեթե *grét’e* “almost, nearly”, այսօր *áysör* “today”, միթե *mít’e*, միգուցե *míguc’e* “perhaps” etc.
- Enclitic auxiliary forms of եմ *em* with the preceding participles or predicatives do not have the stress on their nucleus; երգում եմ *ergúm em* [jɛrkʰúm_ɛm] “I sing” etc.
- If the last consonant of a word is represented by a definite article-suffix ը -*ě*, or -ն -*n*, possessive suffix -ս -*s-*, -դ -*d-*, e.g. ծաղիկը *calíkě* [tsaɬíkə] “the flower”, ծաղիկս *calíks* [tsaɬíkəs] “my flower”, ծաղիկդ *calíkd* [tsaɬíkəd] “your flower” etc.
- The enclitic adverb էլ *ěl* “also; even” behaves with its preceding word like an enclitic, e.g. տղան էլ գնաց: *Tłan ěl gnac’*. [t(ə)ɬán_əl gnatsʰ] “The boy went as well”.

In some cases, the stress lies on the first syllable⁵⁸

- In vocatives; but not as a general rule.
- In hypocoristics.

In some cases, the stress falls on other than the ultimate full vowel syllable:

- In some loan words, especially proper names, a non-final syllable is stressed. In the oblique forms and in derivations of these loan proper names, however, the stress moves to the last syllable; e.g. Լերմոնտով *Lérmontov*, Լերմոնտովի *Lermontoví* (DAT.), Ասիա *àsia*, ասիական *asiakán* “Asian”, ասիացի *asiac’i* “Asian”, Ամերիկա *Amérika*, Ամերիկայի *Amerikayí* (DAT), ամերիկյան *amerikyán* “American” etc.
- In compound verbs, the first non-verbal component is stressed, such as ցույց տալ *cúyc’ tal* “to show”, ման գալ *mán gal* “to walk, to strove”, վեր կենալ *vér kenal* “to stand up”, աչքի ընկնել *ač’k’i ěnknel* “to differ from; to burst upon the eye”, բաց անել *bác’ anel* “to open” etc.
- In juxtaposed compounds with a second constituent որ *or* or թե *t’e*, the first constituent is stressed, as in ասես թե *asés t’e* “as if”, միայն թե *miáyñ t’e* “if only”, ինչպես թե *inč’pés t’e* “as, so”, հազիվ թե *hazív t’e* “no sooner; hardly”, երբ որ *érb or* “when, as”, հենց որ *henc’ or* “just when, as”, քանի որ *k’aní or* “since; insofar as”, etc.

57. A regular stress on the penultimate syllable is often found in Eastern Armenian dialects, such as in the Karabakh-dialect group.

58. Ačařyan 1971: 6: 283; 336.

- In prohibitive, the prohibitive particle մի *mi*, and not the verb form in imperative, is stressed.

Մի խոսիր *mí xosir* “do not speak!”, մի գնա *mí gna* “do not go!”, մի նայիր *mí nayir* “do not look!” etc.

There are also some proclitics that form a phonological unit with the word it precedes and are never stressed:

- the verbal particles պիտի պետք *piti/petkʻ* of Debitive mood and թող *tʰol* used in Imperative mood, e.g. պիտի գնաս *piti gnas* [piti_gə́nás] “you have to go”; թող գնա *tʰol gna* [tʰɔɫ_gə́ná] “let (him) go!” etc.
- the less productive prepositions ի *i*, առ *aʻ* and the more productive prepositions մինչ *minčʻ*, մինչև *minčʻew*, e.g. կայլ առ քայլ *kʻayl aʻ kʻayl* [kʰáj] ar_kʰáj] “step by step”, մինչ վաղը *minčʻ valě* [mɪntʰ_váɬə] “until tomorrow” etc.
- some adverbs such as e.g. ինչպես *inčʻpes*, as e.g. ինչպես մարդ *inčʻpes mard* [ɪn tʰpəs_márd] “as a human being” etc.

As a principle, all Armenian stressed words contain at least ONE full vowel. There are, however, a number of words that contain no full vowels and surface only with one or more schwas. Such words usually receive an initial stress, such as e.g. թրմի *tʻrmpʻ* [tʰrə́mpʰ] “crash! Sound made by something falling down”

SMEA and, for the most part, colloquial Eastern Armenian can be described as last-first systems: the stress falls regularly on the last syllable containing a full vowel, but, where there is no full vowel, on the first syllable.⁵⁹

In colloquial Armenian, the stress also lies principally on the last full syllable. Deviations such as the stress on the penultimate occur frequently in short, one-word expressions and in order to emphasize or contrast a meaning, e.g.⁶⁰

[gítɛm]	< գիտեմ <i>gitem</i> “I know”, meaning here: “yes, I do know”
[hérikʰ ɛ]	< հերիք է <i>herikʻ ē</i> “it is enough”, meaning “It is definitely enough. Stop! ”
[tʰúnɛm]	< չունեմ <i>čunem</i> “I have not”, meaning here “I do certainly not have”
[nóritsʰ]	< նորից <i>noricʻ</i> “again”, meaning here “yes, again. Definitely again.”

As explained above, changing the stress in word formation or inflection, deletion and reduction rules apply to unstressed syllables with high vowels. In dialectal, but also colloquial Armenian, a secondary stress is assigned to the initial syllable of the word, because of this vowel reduction/deletion.

59. von der Hulst. Hendriks. van der Weijer. 1999: 446.

60. Zakʻaryan 1981: 184.

That means that there are secondary stresses at the word-level, but also phrasal and sentential stresses. The stress types interact with each other and are subject to phonological rules like high-vowel deletion or so-called clash deletion.

No stress can occur adjacent to another stress: a word-level stress is not allowed to appear next to another word-level stress, and it is also not allowed next to a phrasal or sentential stress.

Thus in word-formation clash deletion occurs, where two word-level stresses meet: usually the second part of the word, the final syllable of the word is stressed.

e.g. բառարանագիտություն *bařaranagitut'yún* “lexicography” < բառարան *bařarân* “dictionary” + -ա- -a- + գիտություն *gitut'yún* “science”.

In general, in unmarked sequences, word-level stress (´) deletes adjacent to phrasal stress (underlined) in (a) or sentential stress (b). Phrasal stress deletes adjacent to sentential stress (bold) in (c).⁶¹

Before stress clash		Surface form	
(a) <i>sirún aljĭkě</i> →		[sirun aχtʰĭkə]	“the pretty girl”
(b) <i>méc cón ěr patél nrá ařxárhě</i>		[méis tsɔv ɛr patél nəɾá aχxáɾə]	“the great sea enclosed his land”
(c) <i>sirún aljĭkě</i> →		[sirún aχtʰĭkə]	“the pretty girl”

Sentential Stress

The new information given in an utterance is regarded as the focus of a sentence and is thus more strongly stressed than the remaining parts of a neutral sentence. In an unmarked sentence, the sentential stress usually falls on the predicate in declarative sentences, the polar in interrogative sentences, and most frequently also in exclamatory sentences.

(12) Վարդանը գնեց գիրքը:

Vardan-ě *gnec'* *girk'-ě.*
 Vardan.NOM-the buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
 “Vardan bought the book.”

In declarative sentences there may occur some adverbs and phrases that usually bear the sentential stress, such as e.g. միայն *miayn* “only”, նույնիսկ *nuynisk* “even”, մանավանդ *manavand* “particularly”, մինչև անգամ *minčew angam* “even”, etc.⁶²

(13) Վարդանը նույնիսկ գնեց գիրքը:

Vardan-ě *nuynisk gnec'* *girk'-ě.*
 Vardan.NOM-the even buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
 “Vardan even bought the book”.

61. comp. Abelyan 1932: 5: 25–28.

62. These are considered focus sensitive operators, see also Ch. 3.6.2.2 Marked “Pragmatic” Focus, p. 637f.

The sentential stress falls on the interrogative pronoun in content questions and also on the questioned information in the answer; on the negation marker (such as negative particles մի՛ *mi*, չ- *čʻ*- or negative words ոչ *očʻ*, երբեք *erbekʻ* “never” etc.) in a negated declarative sentence.⁶³ In the latter two cases the word order is also marked: the (new) information in focus is put into immediate preverbal position.⁶⁴

(14) Ո՞վ գնեց գիրքը:

ov *gnecʻ* *girkʻ-ě?*
wh-who.NOM buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
“Who bought the book?”

(14) a. Վարդանը (գնեց գիրքը):

Vardán-ě (*gnecʻ girkě*).
Vardan.NOM-the (bought the book).
“Vardan (bought the book).”

(15) Ի՞նչ գնեց Վարդանը:

ínčʻ *gnecʻ* *Vardan-ě?*
wh-what-NOM buy-AOR.3.SG. Vardan.NOM-the
“What did Vardan buy?”

(15) a. Վարդանը գիրքը գնեց:”

(*Vardán-ě*) *girkʻ-ě* (*gnecʻ*).
(Vardan) book.NOM-the (bought)
(Vardan bought) the book.”

(16) Վարդանը չգնեց գիրքը:

Vardán-ě *čʻ-gnecʻ* *girk-ě*.
Vardan.NOM-the neg-buy-AOR.3.SG book.NOM-the
“Vardan did not buy the book.”

(17) Վարդանը երբեք չի գնի գիրքը:

Vardán-ě *erbekʻ* *čʻ-i* *gn-i* *girkʻ-ě*.
Vardan.NOM-the never neg-he is buy-PTCP.NEG. book-NOM-the
“Vardan will/shall never buy the book.”

If the whole phrase is regarded as new information, then all the elements of the sentence are stressed in a comparatively similar way. This happens in declarative sentences conveying general, known information and in the beginning of stories and fairy-tales.

63. Ałayan 1978: 48.

64. Preverbal focus position refers to the position immediate before the finite verb form.

- (18) Գևորգ Դորոխյանը ծնվել է Դրիմի Սիմֆ քրոպոլ քաղաքում: (Grakanut'yun 6:100)

Geworg Doroxyan-ě cn-v-el ē Ērim-i
 Geworg Doroxyan.NOM-the bear-pass-PTCP.PERF. he is Crimea-DAT
Simferopol k'alak'-um.
 Simferopol.NOM town-LOC

“Geworg Doroxyan was born in the town Simferopol of Crimea.”

- (19) Պապիրո հայկական պատկանում է շուշանազգիների ընտանքին:

paplor haykakan patkanum ē šušanzgi-ner-i
 hyazinth.NOM Armenian belong-PTCP.PRES. it is liliaceous plant-PL-DAT
ěntanik'-i-n.
 family-DAT-the

“The Armenian hyacinth (*Muscari armeniacum*) belongs to the family of liliaceous plants.”

*Contrastive/Emphatic Stress*⁶⁵

A very important feature of the stress in Armenian is the contrastive and/or emphatic stress: it is placed on some element of an utterance to contrast it with other elements either in the utterance itself or in the whole context. In the emphatic stress, the stress is placed on a particular part of the utterance to draw attention to it.

Both stress types can co-occur with special syntactic word-order of preverbal focus (see Ch. 3.6.2 Focus, p. 629f.).

- (20) Անուշը կարդացել է այս գիրքը:

Anuš-ě kardac'el ē ays girk-ě.
 [անւժ kart^hats^hel _ε ajs girk^hə]
 “Anuš has read this book.”

In this sentence the subject Anuš is stressed: Anuš has read this book, and not somebody else. It was Anuš who read this book. This is a contrastive/emphatic stress.

- (20) a. Անուշն է կարդացել այս գիրքը:

Anuš-n kardac'el ē ays girk-ě.
 [անւժն _ε kart^hats^hel ajs girk^hə]
 “It is Anuš who read the book.”

Comment: This sentence is also syntactically marked as emphatic or contrastive by putting the stressed part of the utterance into preverbal focus. The contrastive/emphatic stress is also on Anuš.

65. In traditional Armenian grammars this stress is termed “grammatical or logical stress.” e.g. Abelyan 1971: 25.

Or

- (15) a. Վարդանը գիրքը գնեց:
Vardan-ě girk'-ě (gnec').
 Vardan.NOM-the book.NOM-the (bought)
 “Vardan bought the book.” (and not the newspaper etc.) Contrastive stress on
 “book”.

1.4.2 Intonation

In SMEA, intonation using pitch and possibly also additional prosodic phenomena as loudness, tempo and pause is used for several purposes:

- for marking grammatical boundaries (phrases and clauses)
- for signalling sentence types (declarative, interrogative, exclamative etc.)
- for conveying the speaker’s emotion (surprise, irony, anger etc.).

Following there is an outline on the intonation contours used in Modern Eastern Armenian.⁶⁶

In general, SMEA exhibits a falling tone (fall in pitch on the nuclear syllable) and a rising tone (rise in pitch on the nuclear syllable). The rising tone occurs in polar question and in non-final utterances, the falling tone in one-word utterances. The slowly falling tone is the most frequent, particularly in statements.

a. Declarative sentences⁶⁷

Declarative sentences in MEA generally exhibit a (rising-) falling tone. The nucleus of the sentence is stressed (highest pitch), but the tone after this nucleus stress does not fall abruptly, rather gradually or fades away. The stressed syllable is always the longest and most intense one.

- in one-element sentences there is an equally rising-falling tone in nominal one-element utterances and an evenly rising and slowly falling tone in verbal one-element utterances.
- simple sentences have a (rising-) slowly falling (fading) tone.
- Negative declarative sentences do not differ in intonation from affirmative sentences, the stress (nucleus) is on the negated form or negative word. They have the same (rising) – slowly falling intonation as affirmative sentences.

66. More detailed literature with studies of various sentence types, lengths etc. can be found in Hakobyan H.G. 1978. *Hnč'erangě ew šestě žamanakacic' hayerenum*.

67. Ałayan 1978: 12–75.

b. Interrogative Sentences⁶⁸

The most important feature of an interrogative sentence is its rising intonation pattern: the pitch abruptly rises on the nucleus, and after the nucleus the tone abruptly falls or is weakened.

– Polar Questions

The question intonation is independent from the syntactic surface of an interrogative sentence, i.e. the stress in polar questions may fall on each constituent of a polar question, independent of the word order and of preverbal focus position. In the case of a marked word order, i.e. use of preverbal focus, the auxiliary plays an important role in analytic tense forms: it is immediately following the stressed nucleus.

- (21) a. Անո՞ւշը գիրք կարդաց:
Anuš-ě girk' kardac'?
 [anúʃə girk^h kart^hats^h]
 “Did ANUŠ read a book?” = Was it Anuš who read a book?
- b. Անուշը գի՞րք կարդաց:
Anuš-ě girk' kardac'?
 [anúʃə girk^h kart^hats^h]
 “Did Anuš read a BOOK?” (Did Anuš read a book – or a newspaper, journal etc.?)
- c. Անուշը գիրք կարդա՞ց:
Anuš-ě girk' kardác'?
 [anúʃə girk^h kart^háts^h]
 “Did Anuš read a book?” (Did Anuš read a book – or did she write, buy, steal etc. a book...?)
- d. Անուշը գի՞րք է կարդացել:
Anuš-ě girk' ē kardac'el?
 Anuš-NOM-the book-NOM she is read-PTCP.PERF.
 “Has Anuš read a book?”
 (Marked word order, the item in the interrogative intonation is also in preverbal focus position)
- e. Անո՞ւշն է կարդացել գիրք:
Anuš-n ē kardac'el girk'?
 Anuš-NOM-the she is read-ptcp.perf. book-NOM
 “Has Anuš read a book? Is it Anuš who has read a book?”

68. Łukasyan. 1978: 76–170.

(Marked word order, the item in interrogative intonation is also in preverbal focus position).

The intonation contour depends on the position of the nucleus in the utterance:

- In neutral polar questions, the interrogative stress is always on the predicate, which appears in the sentence's final position, i.e. the sentence's last syllable that is stressed, thus the intonation contour is simply rising.

(22) Այս գիրքը հավանեցի՞ր:
ays girk'-ě havanec' ir?
 this book.NOM-the like-AOR.2.SG
 “Did you like this book?”

- The nucleus may occur in the medium position in the case of disjunctive questions, in assumptive questions, comparative and in neutral polar questions. In this case the intonation contour rises (on the nucleus) and falls after it.

(23) Երեխադ դեռ չի՞ քնել:
erexa-d deř č'-ĩ k'n-el?
 child.NOM-your yet neg-it is sleep-PTCP.PERF.
 “Your child has not slept yet?”

(24) Գյուղում ես ապրո՞ւմ, թե քաղաքում:
Gyul-um es apr-um t'e k'atak'-um?
 TOWN-LOC you are live-PTCP.PRES. CONJ TOWN-LOC
 “Do you live in a village or in a town?”

(25) Ավելի լավ չէ՞ մնանք, քան գնանք:
aveli lav č'-ě mn-ank' kan gn-ank'?
 more good NEG-it is stay-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL. than go-SUBJ.FUT.1.PL
 “Is it not better that we stay than we go?”

- Re-confirming interrogative utterances have a mixed intonation contour: the first part is prototypically declarative, i.e. falling, the second part is interrogative, i.e. rising.

(26) Անուշը գեղեցիկ կին է, չէ՞:
Anuš-ě gelec'ik kin ě č'ě?
 Anuš.NOM-the beautiful woman.NOM she is NEG-she is
 “Anuš is a beautiful woman, isn't she?”

The greatest length of the stressed nucleus in polar interrogatives was found in polar questions with a final nucleus and in re-confirming interrogative utterances.

Following a perceptual study by Volkskaya and Grigoryan,⁶⁹ these distinct patterns of intonation questions could be confirmed:

- a continuous rise within the tonic syllable, where the stressed syllable is in the final position
- a rise on the tonic syllable, followed by a fall on the post-tonic, unstressed syllable.

Final rises are the most observed patterns in Armenian intonation question.

In bisyllabic and polysyllabic words, the rise on the tonic syllable was followed by a fall in the post-tonic syllable.

Colloquial Armenian exhibits a remarkable difference in putting the stress and question intonation in the polar question. Whereas in SMEA, the question lies on the full last syllable of the stress bearing verbal form, in colloquial Armenian, more commonly, the stress and question intonation falls on the auxiliary. In colloquial Armenian the question stress may even fall on a final schwa-syllable.

Coll. Միասին ե՞ք գալու: *Miasin ek' galu?* [mijasín_ékʰ galu]

Stand. Միասին՞ն եք գալու: *Miasín ek' galu?* “Will you come together?”

Coll. Գնում ե՞ս գրադարան: *gnum és gradaran?* [gənum_əs gradaran]

Stand. Գնո՞ւմ ես գրադարան: *gnúm es gradaran?* “Are you going to the library?”

Coll. Սա ի՞նչ է: Վագ՞ր, թե՞ առյուծ: *sa inc' ē? Vagér t'é arjuc?* [sa ɨntʰ_a vakʰər thë arjuts]

Stand. Սա ի՞նչ է: Վագր, թե՞ առյուծ: *sa inc' ē? Vagr t'é arjuc?* “What is this? A tiger or a lion?”

- Content questions

In content questions the interrogative pronouns bear the main stress and rising tone of interrogative sentence. The *wh-* pronoun with its rising tone appears in preverbal focus position. The contour after the stressed nucleus with rising tone is falling.

(27) Ո՞ւր ես գնում:

úr es gn-um?

Where-NOM you are go-PTCP.PRES.

“Where are you going?”

In principle, the intonation contours of polar and content questions are the same, with a rising tone on the nucleus of the question and a falling tone after the stressed syllable.

c. Exclamatory Sentences⁷⁰

69. Volkskaya, Grigoryan 1999: 160–164.

70. Xaç'atryan 1978: 130–170. Ačařyan 1971: 6: 287–296.

The intonation of exclamatory sentences is usually spread on the whole utterance, but there is an intonational centre on a certain word in the utterance, which may coincide with the logical stress.

- (28) Ինչքա՛ն գեղեցիկ է այս աղջիկը:
inč'kân gelec'ik ē ays atjik-ě!
 [ɪnktʰkʰân gɛɛɛtsʰik_ɛ ajs aχtʰikə]
 “This girl is beautiful!”
- (29) Վա՛յ, ի՞նչ է պատահել քեզ:
vây inč' ē patahel kèz?
 [vâj ɪntʰ_ɛ patahel kʰɛz]
 “Óh! What has happened to you?”

The main intonational feature is the rising tone on the nucleus and the fall or the remaining on this tone after the nucleus. The stressed syllable in an exclamatory intonation is also spoken longer and more intensely than all others.⁷¹

The tone pitch however depends on the position of the stressed nucleus: if it occurs at the end of the exclamatory utterance, it is the highest pitch and also has the greatest length. If it occurs at the utterance's beginning, it is just a “little bit higher and longer” than the other syllables.

Thus:

- if the stressed nucleus is at the beginning of the sentence, the tone rises exactly on this nucleus and falls in the following syllables.
- if the stressed nucleus is at the end of the utterance, then the tone constantly, gradually rises.
- if the stressed nucleus occurs in the middle of the utterance, the intonation contour is rising-falling, i.e. the tone rises on the stressed nucleus and falls after it.

Exclamatory interjections or modal words bear the stress and thus the rising tone.

d. Imperatives and Prohibitives⁷²

A typical imperative/prohibitive sentence has a distinctive rise on the nucleus (usually the last syllable of the imperative verb form or the prohibitive particle *մի՛* *mi*), although the general intonation contour is much like a declarative sentence. The main intonational difference is the more actively spoken stress (the rising tone) on the nucleus in imperatives/prohibitives.

71. Abelyan 1971: 34.

72. Ałayan1978: 56–74.

(30) Գնա՛ տուն:

gná tun!
go-IMP.2.SG house-NOM
“Go home!”

(31) Մի՛ գնա տուն:

mí gna tun!
NEG go-IMP.2.SG house-NOM
“Do not go home!”

The stress of imperatives/prohibitives is also comparatively quicker and longer than the one in declarative sentences; even the schwa is more strongly articulated in an imperative intonation.⁷³

Excursus: Vocative.⁷⁴

A word conveys vocative functions only by intonation. The rising in tone on the nucleus and the falling of tone after the nucleus is prototypical for vocatives. But these intonation contours may differ in the flexibility of the rise: it may be abrupt; slowly rising; pronounced weakly or strongly – depending on the position of the vocative and on the number of elements in vocative functions.

- The highest pitch occurs in vocative utterances that consist only of the vocative element.
- In sentence’s initial position, and consisting just of one element, the vocative element shows the strongest and highest pitch. There is a clearly perceptible pause after the rising tone of the vocative element.

(32) Լիլիթ:

Lilit’
“Lilit’!”

(33) Տիկի՛ն, ձեր պահանջը կկատարվի:

tiki՛n jer pahanj-ě kkatar-v-i.
madam.NOM your request.NOM-the comply with-pass-COND.FUT.3.SG
“Madam, your request will be complied with.”

The intonation is even stronger, if the vocative element occurs in a directive.

73. Abeġyan 1971: 34.

74. Badikyan 1983: 227–290.

(34) Արամ, արի՛ այստեղ:

Arám ar-i aystel!

Aram.NOM come-IMP.2.SG. here

“Aram, come here!”

- If the vocative occurs in any other position than beginning of the sentence, it is comparatively weaker. If the vocative element follows an interjection, this interjection also intensifies the intonation contour of the vocative in a higher and quicker rising of tone.
- If the vocative occurs in an interrogative sentence, the centre of the sentence’s intonation is the questioned word, thus the intonation of the vocative is comparatively weaker and shorter than in other vocative expressions.

(35) Ո՞ւր ես գնում, պապիկ:

úr es gn-um papík?

wh-where you are go-PTCP.PRES. grandpa.NOM

“Where are you going, Grandpa?”

CHAPTER 2

Morphology

2.1 Nouns

The noun in EA falls into different classes according to its semantic, morphological and word formation features.

Semantic criteria, in general, divide nouns into

- a. concrete nouns: denoting concrete entities, i.e. accessible to the senses, observable or measurable and
- b. abstract nouns, which are typically non-observable and non-measurable.

Concrete nouns are further subdivided into

- a. proper nouns; including e.g. personal names, place names etc.
- b. common nouns; denoting objects, states of affairs or individual representatives thereof.

Nouns can also semantically be distinguished according to their “nominal aspect” and their countability.

- Individual aspect, [+shape], [-structure]: a countable, but not divisible, noun. Count nouns are syntactically combined with quantifiers, particularly numerals; count nouns appear in both singular and plural, as in երկու տուն *erku tun* “two houses” (lit.: two house), չորս երեխա *čors erexa* “four children”, (lit.: four child).
- Mass aspect, [-shape] [+structure]: not countable, but divisible nouns. Mass nouns usually appear only in the singular and never in the plural. They syntactically co-occur with classifiers as in երկու բաժակ ջուր *erku bažak ĵur* “two glasses of water” (lit.: two glass water).
- Collective aspect, [+shape] [+structure]: nouns expressing a group or set of several members in terms of a single unit. Collective nouns co-occur with quantifiers, especially numerals.

2.1.1 Semanto-Syntactic categories

2.1.1.1 Humanness/Animacy

MEA has no a gender distinction; natural gender is included in the lexicon entry; the grammatical gender can be changed by suffixing the female suffix *-ուհի -uhi* to the neutral (or inherently male) word.

MEA distinguishes the semanto-syntactic category humanness/animacy, i.e. MEA distinguishes between nouns denoting persons (+human) and nouns denoting objects, state of