Middle East and Beyond - Western Armenian at the crossroads : A sociolinguistic and typological sketch

Anaid Donabedian-Demopoulos

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1. Historical background

1.1. The origin and periodization of Armenian language

Armenian, a language testified since 5th century AC., is genetically classified as an independent branch of the Indo-European (I.-E.) family. As it is the case for all I.-E. languages, Armenian formed itself through the contact of proto-Armenian, a subdialect of proto-indo-european, with a substratum language -- namely Urartean, a language from the Hurro-Urartean group spoken between Van and Yerevan until the 7th Century BC in the Urartean Kingdom.

After the fall of the Urartean Kingdom, which was weakened by constant attacks of the Assyrians, Armenians begin to emerge in the historical sources, as they seem to have taken control of the area. Accordingly the emergence of the Armenian language happened in an environment of intensive contacts between proto-Armenian (I.-E.) and speakers of Urartean[1]. Non-native speakers introduced innovations into Armenian, which resulted of their incomplete acquisition of certain features, categories, morphological or syntaxic mechanisms of the language, or interferences with Urartean features that became standard because of their frequency.

This development explains the non-Indo-European features that occur in Armenian since the very first testimonies. The state of language first attested early 5th century AC, when the Armenian alphabet was created, is called Classical Armenian (henceforth ClArm), the first texts being the translation of the Bible, historiographical texts about the ethnogenesis of Armenians and their relationship to surrounding empires, philosophical, religious, patristic, grammatical texts, either originals or translations from Greek.

According to the commonly accepted periodization of the Armenian language, after Classical Armenian (5th-10th centuries) follows Middle Armenian, since the 11th century, and then Modern Armenian (since 17-18th centuries). Middle Armenian texts appeared in the context of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia[2], where Armenian was used for the first time as the language of the administration, the latter being Aramaic in the Persian Empire, and Greek in the Hellenistic period.

The wide use of Armenian for profane and non-literary purposes, and the willingness to make the new texts, especially the new corpus of laws, accessible to everybody (since ClArm '*grabar*[3]' was a

[1] It seems that Urartean population living on the Armenian Plateau was absorbed into the Armenian people, being probably most numerous than the Proto-Armenians in what became the Armenians. This is a typical situation of substrate interference as defined by Thomason & Kaufmann 1988

[2] The Kingdom of Cilicia, also called *Little Armenia* (1080-1375), was founded after the fall of the Bagratuni capital Ani under the Seljuk attacks, when a large part of Armenians moved from the Armenian Plateau to Cilicia, protected by Byzance and the Lusignan French dynasty.

[3] Strictly speaking, Classical Armenian is the language written during the 5th century, which gradually evolved after the Hellonophile school (6th century, a quasi-calque language under the influence of translations from Greek), with the emergence of profane topics in the literature (tales, courtly poetry, science and medicine), traces of dialects began to appear, but ClArm was still non intelligible for a non-educated speaker of Armenian. Some scholars use the term Classical Armenian to design this variant of language across history, until 19th century; others, however, prefer to use the Armenian term *grabar*, literally "written, literary language", which since the 18th century is opposed to the vernacular,

high-register language understood only by the elite), was an opportunity for the emergence of a written language closer to the colloquial Armenian spoken in this region. In fact, as shown by some features that are until now discriminating Western Armenian from Eastern Armenian (henceforth WArm and EArm), Middle Armenian documents the history of WArm, which will be standardized during the 19th century.

Since this period, several variants of written Armenian emerged, depending on different purposes and influences; especially the birth of Armenian book printing again enlarged the genres, the topics and the audience of written Armenian. The most prominent variants of Armenian are *Latinophile grabar*, which originated under the influence of Catholic missionaries after the Crusades, and the so-called *Civil Armenian* (Nichanian 1989), which was used as a cross-dialectal koine between Armenian merchants originating from different regions populated by Armenians, situated between Edessa (Urfa in SE Turkey) to New Julfa (Isfahan/Iran).

During the 18th century, the pressure of spoken Armenian on the written language increases. The evolution of the new concept of the nation state in Europe and the ideas of Enlightenment led to a movement in favor of a secular education in vernacular Armenian, implying the standardization of *ashkharhabar*. Modern Armenian is the result of this process. It was realized parallel on each side of the Ottoman-Russian border in the cultural capitals of Armenians of each Empire, such as Constantinople and Tiflis, on the basis of respective local dialects.

Thus, Modern Armenian is attested in two variants, EArm and WArm, both having developed a rich literary and pedagogical tradition, beside the vernacular one. While they are mostly mutually understandable in their written form, their vernacular forms require some adjustment from the speakers of the opposite variant. This is, before all, due to phonetic differences, the most salient of them being the inversion of voiced/unvoiced stops entailed by the change from the historical three level system of stops to a two-level system in WArm, and the larger amount of lexical differences or *faux-amis* in everyday vocabulary. Their grammatical differences are significant, in terms of categories (inventory of cases, of verbal tenses), as well as in morphology and syntax.

1.2. A sociolinguistic sketch

Due to historical political circumstances, the Armenian language has rarely been the official language of a state. During the post-medieval period, most of the speakers of Armenian were multilinguals, leaving in multi-ethnic imperial states. Some evidences are provided by the level of borrowed words of Turkish, Arabic, Persian origin in Middle Armenian texts, the spreading of printed Turkish texts written in the Armenian alphabet in popular literature since the beginning of the 18th century, and the amount of Iranian words in Eastern-Armenian dialects. If we consider the period since the Kingdom of Cilicia when the split between *grabar* and the vernacular became less radical, Armenian has continuously been a minority language, and moreover, a polycentric language spoken in different empires with various language-contact situations and developing in a centrifugal way.

As already mentioned, the first attempt to create a written *koïné* based on the vernacular was the so-called Civil Armenian, developed by Armenian merchants in 16th century[4]. At the beginning of the 19th century, the upholders of the *ashkharhabar* as the only language of education were facing a

called *ashkharhabar* "secular language, language of the world", the forerunner of Modern Armenian to be standardized during the 19th century.

[4] Nichanian (1989).

multicolored linguistic situation with a large spectrum of Armenian dialects: Adjarian (1909) enlists 20 different Armenian dialects; Jahukyan (1972) in his multicriteria classification of Armenian dialects identifies 120 variants of 35 different macro-dialects[5] (map 1).

Moreover, some Armenian settlements in the Ottoman Empire (especially in Cilicia) were deems Turkish-speaking, as members of the local communities themselves also maintain. But this assignation by the speakers could express nothing more than an antagonistic linguistic self-consciousness regarding normative Armenian, and hide another, more nuanced reality. It seems likely that in fact they were speaking a mixed language or their own local ethnic variant of Turkish with some Armenian lexicon or grammatical features. Unfortunately, those variants are not well investigated and documented, being neglected by both Armenologists and Turcologists as irrelevant to their domain[6].

Due to different ideological backgrounds, the standardization of Modern Armenian developed slightly differently in the Armenian-speaking regions of the Ottoman and the Russian Empires. On the Ottoman side, the standardization of WArm initially consisted of an attempt to normalize the grammar and the lexicon of the vernacular by discarding as many dialectalisms and borrowings[7] as possible. Consequently it combined koineization and re-actualization of some elements of *grabar*. After Garegin Srvantstiants's first ethnographic work (1974) and the formation of Armenian ethnography (Mouradian 1990), an interest in the Armenian provinces arose, which included their traditions, their oral literature[8], and their dialects. It was popularized by so-called rural writers like Tlgadintsi (1860-1915) or Zartarian (1874-1915). The rehabilitation of dialects was the soil from which the Mehyan movement[9] emerged. It promoted an integrative approach to the language, drawing language material from *grabar*, dialects and Standard Armenian as well. Most of the writers of this movement were among the intellectuals arrested and murdered on the 24th of April 1915, the same year when Armenian presence in the Ottoman provinces was uprooted.

Since then, Armenian dialects were condemned to become residual, in exile, to survive in the places where populations from the same province had chance to be compactly settled (mainly Yerevan, Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut), and hardly subsisted in their motherland[10] (map 2).

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[5] Artyal, Crimea, Rodosto, Constantinopolis, Nicomedia, Smyrna, Evdokia/Tokat, Ordu, Trabzon, Hamshen, Shabin-Karahissar, Sebastia, Arabkir, Akn, Malatia, Cilicia, Syria, Karin-Erzerum, Khodordjur, Harput-Erznga [note for CB : this is the Armenian name, followed by the actual Turkish name. Is it OK?]/Erzincan, Dikranagerd/Dyarbekir, Mush, Van, Astrakhan, Tiflis, Artvin, Erevan, Meghri, Agulis, Jugha, Karabagh, Havarik, Shamakhi, Khoy, Maragha.

[6] Pınar Karakılçık, a doctoral student at Inalco, recently documented the way they are still spoken in Lebanon.

[7] In fact, the ones that were perceived as such by contemporary bilingual speakers: some of them, phonetically integrated into the language remained. See Donabedian 2006 about the persistence of borrowings in colloquial WArm.

[8] Srvantstiantz's ethnographical data made possible the discovery of *David of Sasun*'s epic, by revealing convergences between the oral tradition of different Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The collection continued, as well in the Russian-Caucasian Armenian provinces, and was summed up in 1939 by Hovsep Orbeli, who proposed a reconstruction of the whole epic.

[9] Mehyan, meaning *Pagan temple*, was an ambitious and seminal literary movement, which published a manifesto and a literary journal, issued from January to July 1914. See Nichanian 2007 (in French) and Nichanian 2015 (in English).

[10] Nowadays the only remaining speakers of Western-Armenian dialects can be found in Anatolian villages or cities, in hidden Armenian families. There are only two exceptions: The Musa Dagh dialect, which still is vernacular on both sides of the border between Turkey and Syria: It is spoken in the village of Kessab in Northern Syria, now threatened by the war, and in Anjar in Lebanon, where a part of Kessab's population was settled during the French Mandate. The other location is Wakf (Vakıflı) in Hatay province in SE Turkey, where recently Armenian culture has been promoted as a folklorized touristic value. The second exception, in the eastern Black-Sea region, are the Hemshin dialect and its variants, an Armenian dialect whose speakers were Islamized in the 18th century and consider themselves as "Hemşinli" rather than ethnical Armenians.

After 1915 not only the dialects, but also Standard WArm itself became strongly threatened, due to the collapse of the intelligentsia, of social structures, of institutional, educational and cultural networks, as well as the territorial organization of the Armenian speaking communities.

For the first generation diaspora, the fate of Standard WArm was depending upon the possibility to restore an Armenian-speaking society in exile, where some dense settlements maintained colloquial WArm as a vernacular, and a wide network of educational and publishing institutions to improve the literacy among the community. This was the case in the Middle East and in the Eastern Mediterranean (Lebanon, Syria, and at some level Egypt, Jordan, Irak, Cyprus, Greece, Bulgaria), that is, in countries with a political system more or less inspired by the Ottoman *millet* philosophy. That explains why until recently, WArm was more likely to evolve in continuity of the Ottoman Empire in Syria and Lebanon, than in countries grounded on a Jacobinical nation state model, like Turkey or France. In fact these communities have been considered as an example of the success story of long-term ethnic and linguistic maintenance of a minority language (Migliorino 2008).

1.3. Current state of Western Armenian: An endangered language?

As for today, after one century of diaspora-based life, WArm is challenged even in the most successful communities of the world. As any minority language, its fate is very sensitive to local socio-political changes affecting demography, socio-economic profile, self-confidence and and self-esteem of the community, as well as interethnic relationships and policies toward minorities or communities in the surrounding society, including educational policies.

During the last decades even in Syria and Lebanon changes occurred; they affected the freedom Armenian schools enjoyed in defining their programs and educational priorities. In Syria, the changes were brought about by the State policy, in Lebanon rather through what we can call the "law of supply and demand". Since the mid-20th century, all community schools in Syria had the obligation to teach the official program; after 1967, the place of Arabic has been gradually reinforced[11], with an obligation to teach all official programs in Arabic, while minority languages, culture and religion are being taught in additional courses[12]. In Lebanon there is no legal obligation to teach in any specific language, as the country has no monolingual state ideology. Numerous schools, either community or private, are teaching their whole programs in foreign languages[13], thus giving access to foreign diploma (for example the French Baccalauréat) or to higher education abroad. In order to be competitive with those prestigious foreign schools, some of the 25 Armenian schools of the country choose to put emphasis on the perfect proficiency in English or French. In principle these European languages should be taught on the same level with Armenian, but in fact the teaching schedule attributes much less time to Armenian than to English or French (see al-Bataineh 2015:276). Some community schools, however, maintain Armenian as the central language of

[11] As Al-Bataineh 2015 (referring to Migliorino 2008:119) notes, during the academic year 1960-1961 primary Armenian schools schedule offered 8 to 12 hours of Arabic language per week, 0-3 of English, and 7-9 of Armenian. Maths and social or natural sciences were thought in Arabic (4 to 13 hours) and in Armenian (3 to 6 hours). Since 1970 the scope of Arabic was extended by the law, while Armenian was used only for Armenian language, history and literature, or extra-curricular activities.

[12] This is also the current system in Turkey, where Armenian language, history and literature are taught only in religion classes.

[13] Beside the fact that private schools that teach exclusively in French or English and follow European or American standards of education are in great demand from the middle and upper classes, even in public schools sciences are almost completely taught in French or in English.

education. Among these are schools managed by the Orthodox[14] Patriarchate, which are generally situated in more popular neighborhoods, such as the eight orthodox schools in the popular area of Bourj Hammoud. Yet they are less prestigious, rather on one level with Lebanese public schools, while other Armenian schools are presenting themselves as competitors of the most prestigious Lebanese schools.

In both Lebanon and Syria, WArm remained in use as a spoken language or vernacular. Outside the classroom, WArm is the main means of communication between children at school, as well as in the public space of the city -- which is an exception throughout the Armenian Diaspora. It seems that the constraints in the instructional programs establish a minor menace for the linguistic vitality of the Armenian Diaspora in those countries. More important is the way members of the community define themselves in the community and in the surrounding society, generation after generation. This implies the importance of factors like the effectiveness of the social control of the community on individual social strategies as matrimonial choices, school enrolment, territorialization, and more generally, socialization decisions that gradually affect the status of the language in the everyday life and the perception of its social utility. For the first generations of Armenian refugees in Lebanon, their socio-economic conditions did not allow a full integration in the country's society. Consequently members of the community were contributing to build a collective ideology, while at the same time they themselves became captives of this ideology. After some generations, when families' school selection strategies and long-term cohabitation with other communities in Lebanon had changed the perspectives, it became more and more difficult to draw a sharp outline of community's borders. As suggested by Kasparian (1992) and Al-Bataineh (2015), one may use the analogy of a biological cell to represent the organization of the community, with different concentric circles: a nucleus, assuming the reproduction of the DNA, and a cytoplasm, being the members of the community. These are defined by a range of expected social and individual behaviors, such as endogamy; proficiency in Armenian; affiliation to one of the Armenian churches (orthodox, catholic, or evangelical) and to one of the traditional political parties of the Armenian diaspora (Dachnak, Hnchak, or Liberal-Ramgavar); enrolement in an Armenian school; location in a compact Armenian-populated area; choice of appropriate names and surnames; last not least a strong self-defininition as Armenians, which does not exclude free-will claims regarding some of the admitted markers of belongingness to the community. Beyond the cytoplasm lies the cell membrane, which, as underlined by al-Bataineh, is not impermeable. It establishes rather a fringe than a border, and consists of persons whose definition as Armenians is questionable. It depends on the hierarchy of markers adopted by them, by the nucleus of the community and by the surrounding society, the minimal marker being probably a relevant level of ancestry. This model is not trifling, since the configuration of the community of potential speakers is highly relevant to the sustainability of a language, as stated by several language vitality theories (Landry-Allard 1996).

In 2010, the UNESCO classified WArm as an endangered language, based on a relatively small set of markers designed to measure language vitality at a given moment (Moseley 2010). According to this classification, WArm, in its Middle-East variant, is considered as "definitely in danger". The

[14] This is the term used by non-Armenians in Lebanon. In fact, the historical ethnic Armenian Church is named 'Apostolic Armenian Church' and separated from Byzantine Orthodox church as a consequence of the Chalcedonian Council (451), long before the so-called Orthodox schism.

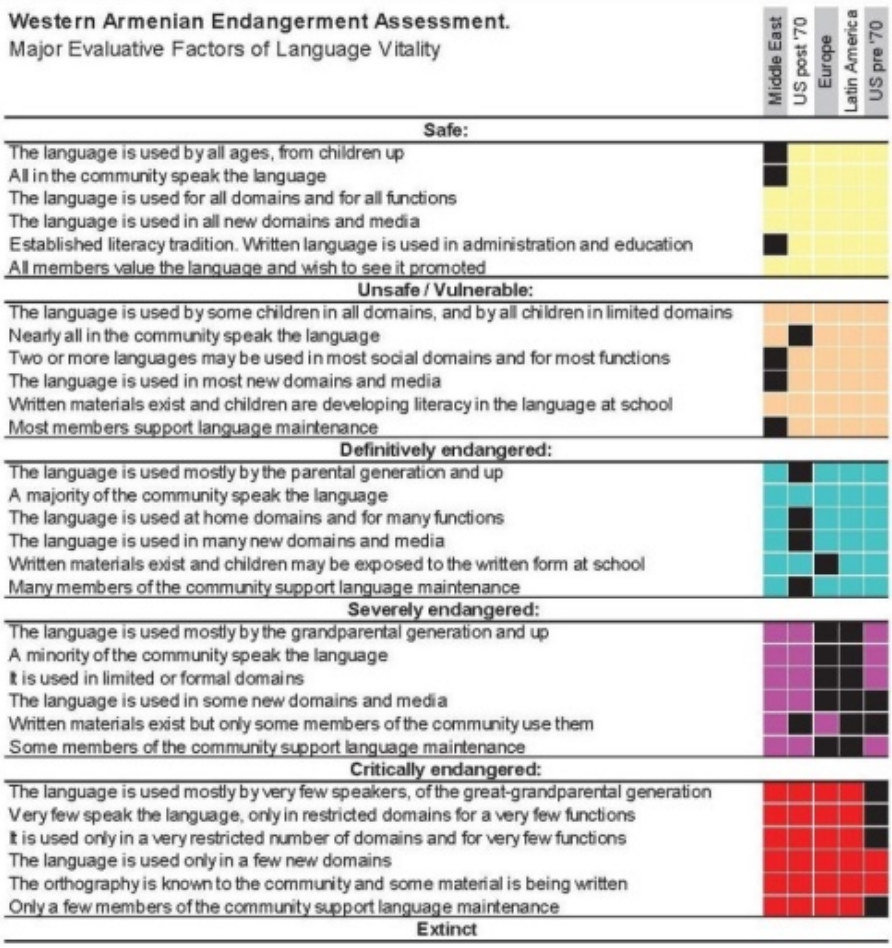
most salient factor defining this level of endangerment is that "children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home". Obviously the preliminary study submitted to UNESCO to support this classification (Gulludjian 2014[15]) shows a more complex situation, distinguishing different sub-parts of the Western-Armenian speaking diaspora. The data provided by Gulludjian in the two following tables show that according to the whole set of UNESCO's parameters, WArm's vitality is between "safe" and "vulnerable" in the Middle-East, and between "definitely endangered" and "severely endangered" in the rest of the diaspora; see tables no. (1) and (2) below.

Table 1: Variation of parameters of endangerment according to different community groups (Gullujian 2014)

	Middle East	**US, Can, Aus, Post-'70s immigr.**	**Europe**	**Latin America**	**US, Can, Aus, Pre-'70s immigr.**
Intergenerational Language Transmission	Vulnerable	Unsafe	Severely endangered		Critically endangered
Proportion of Speakers / Total Population	Safe	Unsafe	Severely endangered		Critically endangered
Shifts in Domains of Language Use	Multilingual parity	dwindling domains	limited or formal domains		highly limited domains
Response to New Domains and Media	robust/active	receptive	coping		minimal
Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy	4	4	3	2	2
Governmental & Institutional Language Attitudes & Policies including Official Status & Use	Passive assimilation	Differentiated support	Passive assimilation	Active assimilation	Differentiated support
Community Members' Attitudes towards their own language	Most members support	Many members support	Some members support		A few members support
Type and Quality of Documentation	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2: Western Armenian Endangerment Assessment according to Unesco grid (Gullujian 2014)

[15] Thanks to H. Gulludjian for allowing me to mention those data, presented in a conference, but still unpublished by him.



Obviously the authors of the *World Atlas of Languages in Danger* decided to classify WArm on the basis of the average of indicators for the whole diaspora, while references to the geography only consider the Middle East. Yet, the maintenance of the language as a high-level vernacular in a small part of the diaspora does not disprove the global endangerment of the language, but it is very significant for the future chances of vitality of WArm[16]. Consequently this situation is very different from what it would be with a uniformly "definitely endangered" status throughout the whole diaspora.

The total number of students enrolled in an Armenian every day community school in Lebanon is near 8000. In Syria, the same number was attested only in Aleppo in 2012. In Istanbul, they are at this moment 3000 students in 17 schools. If we add the remaining Syrian cities, Jordan, Iraq, Jerusalem, and Egypt, we can consider that before the war in Syria, more than 25000 children were enrolled in WArm schools in the Middle East, with proficiency in both vernacular language and in literacy. The political events occurring in the region since the 1970's triggered continuous migration waves to America (mainly Canada, US, and Argentina), to Europe (France, Belgium, Greece, or Cyprus) and to Australia. The migrants have been able to maintain WArm as a vernacular in some neighborhoods; there also exists a network of every day Armenian schools, whose staff mainly grew up and received their education in the Middle-East.

[16] The critical mass of speakers has an important impact on the balance between semi-speakers and fully competent speakers of a language and, consequently, for its characterization as an endangered language (Bert and Grinevald 2010).

We may conclude that 20.000 to 25.000 children are actually enrolled in every day Armenian schools of the Armenian Diaspora[17], what allows us to characterize WArm as a language in danger in relative terms.

WArm is indeed endangered, due to its very instable ecology. Cultural and educational structures in the Western diaspora were linguistically revitalized after the 1970's. Ever since, these structures have remained vivid and actively WArm speaking thanks to the flow of well-educated WArm speakers and intellectuals from the Middle East. The aggravation of the political situation of the Middle-East Armenian-speaking communities serving as a source of revitalization for Western communities, the danger of extinction of the Syrian-Armenian community[18], the severe demographic and intellectual decrease of the Lebanese-Armenian community since the beginning of the Civil War (1975-1990) and the psychology of decline reflected in the community discourse due to the difficult internal and regional political circumstances (Donabedian 2015) are challenging for those communities as such, but also for the maintenance of the language in the whole Western Diaspora[19].

2. Areal-typological overview

2.1. Introductory remarks on the typological shift from Classical to Modern Armenian

Distinctive features of WArm first appear in Middle Armenian, a state of language attested in the Kingdom of Cilicia since the 11th century, and first described by Josef Karst (Karst 1901). Beside a large amount of borrowed lexicon from Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Middle Armenian shows several salient features revealing a consistent typological shift. Some of these features can clearly be assigned to Turkic influence; others result from internal adjustment of the system. The main bulk, though, goes back to tendencies already existing in ClArm that are not typically I.-E., but ascribable to substratum interference from Urartean between 700 BC and the first attestation of Armenian, around 500 AC.

The extension area of Armenian covers a large geography between Caspian and Mediterranean seas. This area forms part of several linguistic *areals* of variable status: Don Stilo's Arax-Iran Area

[17] If we extrapolate the middle ratio of children at school of the global population in France (18,5%) to this amount of children attending Armenian schools in the Diaspora, we may conclude that the global population professing this high level of proficiency in both vernacular and literacy is around 125.000 in the world. It does not take into account 1) families having chosen to combine every-day public school or non-Armenian school with non-regular language courses (one-day courses, private courses, etc.), 2) families which maintain a high-level of vernacular proficiency, and some level of literacy without being enrolled into any kind of Armenian educational institution, and 3) families which enroll their children into Armenian school without being speakers of Armenian. This estimation should also be modulated by the fact that the level of proficiency can vary even in Armenian every-day schools depending on political, social and educational factors.

[18] We don't have updated information about the demography of Syrian Armenians at the day we are finishing this paper. Despite the efforts of the community to remain in Syria, a huge emigration process occurred since 2014, mainly to Armenia, Lebanon, Canada and Sweden. During the Conference dedicated to Syrian Armenians in May 2015 the dilemma between the strong will to remain in the community (especially in the very vivid community of Aleppo, but also in the village of Kessab, despite the incursions occurred some months ago) and the danger of massive human losses in case of a major battle in Aleppo were very salient among participants from Syria. Since then, in 2016, the situation in Aleppo indeed became tragic and the future of this community is as uncertain as is the faith of Syria itself.

[19] Recently studies showed (Donabedian and Al-Bataineh 2014, Al-Bataineh 2015), that even in every-day Armenian schools, in the Western Diaspora, Western Armenian is vernacular almost only for families newly arrived from the Middle-East. A small minority of long established families, who make it a priority, manage to keep and transmit Western Armenian as a vernacular.

(mainly Caucasus and Iran) does not involve Anatolia; consequently it concerns only Eastern Armenian dialects; similarily in Chirikba's (Chirikba 2008) Caucasian Sprachbund, Armenian is considered to be a peripheral member. Some authors propose more extended areas, as Friedman's (Friedman 1996) Balkan-Caucasus diffusion area. The most relevant model from our point of view is G. Haig's (Haig 2015) so-called East Anatolian *transition zone,* which coincides with the very epicenter for Armenian language diachronic and dialectological formation. If considering today's geographical extension of Modern Armenian as a vernacular, one should go as far as the Middle East with Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jerusalem, and Egypt. In our concept (Donabedian & Samvelian, to appear) we address West Asia as a natural continuum to study language contacts for many of the languages of the region, such as, for instance, Armenian, Neo-Aramean, Kurdish, Turkish, Circassian, Domari, Levantine Arabic, etc. In fact West Asia is the region involving the main linguistic areas that overlap in Eastern Anatolia's transitional zone, as defined by Haig.

Typologically speaking, ClArm is considered to be a quite conservative I.-E. language; it displays a rich inflectional morphology[20], prepositions, three-level deixis markers, subordination through conjunctions and relative pronouns, SVO dominant word order, case and number agreement of adjectives inside the NP. Modern Armenian, and particularly WArm, shows a number of non I.-E. features, which are generally considered as contact-driven. Among those are postpositions, preverbal non-finite subordination, mainly agglutinative noun declension, invariable adjectives, rigid AN order inside the NP and dominant SOV order. The typological contrast between ClArm and WArm is resumed in table 3, adapted from (Donabedian 2000):

Table 3: Summary of typological changes from ClArm to WArm

	Classical Armenian	Western Modern Armenian
Case morphology	7 morphological cases N., Acc., Gen., Dat., Inst., Abl., Loc.	4 (Noun) N.-Acc., Gen.-DAT., Inst., Abl. 6 (Pronouns) N., Acc., Gen ., Dat., Inst., Abl.
Flextypes	Nouns, adjectives and pronouns 5 noun flextypes (according to the thematic vowel): -i-, -u-, -o-, -wo-, -a-. some sandhi phenomena and hybrid flextypes	Nouns and pronouns (adjective is not inflected) 1 dominant noun flextype , 3 residual types Case morpheme do not change according to number (agglutinative tendency)
Noun Phrase	Prepositions Final deictic article –s, -d, -n Agreement in case, number, article Constituent's order: AN – NA ; GN – NG	Postpositions (residual prepositions) Definite / possessive articles –s, -d, -n No agreement inside the NPAN rigid order

In comparing ClArm and Modern Armenian we have to keep in mind the bias involved by the radically different status of available data for each of them. ClArm is documented only in its literary use, and the above mentioned features already become less and less pregnant in late ClArm; it is difficult to say to which extent this development depends on the diachrony (and thus, on the increasing contact with Turkish), or on the genre of the respective texts or the status of the language -- profane use of the language being more permeable to less prestigious features. Similarly, any statement considering word order of main clause constituents (SVO vs. SOV) cannot be complete without attention to intonation, which is not documented for ClArm. Nevertheless, the tendencies shown in this table are reliable enough to give an idea about the global typological shift in the diachrony of Armenian.

[20] As for Meillet (1962 (1897-98):53) « la langue a conservé la déclinaison avec une fidélité presque unique » (to i.-e.).

Which are the factors inducing typological change? How to define the respective weight of language contacts and internal tendencies at work in language change? Some of the changes we observed evoke atypical features of ClArm, which may already be considered as innovations in an Indo-European language; the most salient are:

a. Occasionally the morpheme of the plural nominative in *-k'* occurs like an agglutinative suffix at different points of the morphological system, such as, for instance, in the formation of the instrumental case of all nouns (resp. SG *-ov, -iw, -aw, -b*; PL *-ovk', -iwk', -awk', -bk'*) and in the formation of the 1st person of the verb conjugation (resp. SG *-em*, PL *-emk'*).
b. No grammatical gender appears in any form of attested Armenian, even in the personal pronouns paradigm: there is no he/she distinction, the only distinctive feature available in the pronominal system is the human/non-human one (*inč'ov* 'what/who'). According to Meillet (1962), the three level deixis system allowing agreement inside the NP bears a function for NP cohesion that is comparable to the one gender plays in other languages. Lamberterie overtly suggests that the morphology of Armenian, as well as the loss of grammatical gender, can be related to the contact with Hurrian and Urartian[21].
c. Agreement is not a strong syntactic feature in ClArm: Beside the lack of grammatical gender, which is one of the strong factors favoring agreement phenomena among languages, we observe that even case, number and determination agreement are not obligatory inside the NP. Some of the agreement rules (Meillet 1962:39 speaks about "complex and shifty" rules) seem to depend on the order of constituents. All this suggests that already in ClArm there were two competing models for the syntax of NPs. We may identify some revealing tendencies: In fact, NA/AN order are not totally distributed at random: NA is more frequent in translations. Original Armenian texts prefer AN order and do not require agreement, as morphological markers of the whole NP are incorporated the final N. Under these circumstances NA order appears to be rather "emphatic", and most often requires agreement, the final A repeating some of the morphological markers of the N. We can interpret these trends as a situation of two competing models, (1) the typical I.-E. one, fully inflectional and requiring agreement, and (2) a head-final system with no redundancy in grammatical markers inside the NP, what is the case in agglutinative SOV languages as Turkic, and at some level in Hurrian and Urartian, languages with whom Proto-Armenian has been in contact at its early stage of formation.

Even if most of the features characterizing the typological shift from ClArm to Modern Armenian can be considered as the result of intensive contact with Turkic languages, they also hint at internal potentialities, which allow innovations to anchor in the system and to be progressively adopted.

In the sections below, we examine in more detail typological features of WArm, emphasizing those that are convergent with *areal* features. But one has to bear in mind that the factors that allowed their evolution may be multiple and complex. We will put emphasis on phonetics and grammar rather than on lexicon, considering that they are less conscious, more constrained by the

[21] "Si le système verbal résulte d'une série d'innovations qui sont allées dans le sens d'une simplification, l'arménien a, en revanche, gardé une riche flexion nominale, avec sept cas, ce qui est surprenant pour une langue qui dans sa préhistoire a perdu les finales indo-européennes. Ce maintien d'une structure archaïque est peut-être dû à l'influence des langues environnantes, notamment celles du Caucase du Sud, qui ont une riche déclinaison; ce qui invite à chercher dans ce sens, c'est que l'arménien ignore tout autant que ces langues le genre grammatical, trait qui, pour une langue indo-européenne, représente évidemment une innovation." Charles de Lamberterie (1994:155).

system and thus provide more information about the dynamic of language contact[22]. Therefore, the following presentation doesn't pretend to be exhaustive, neither in terms of domains of description, nor in terms of features described for each domain.

2.2. Phonology

ClArm and EArm **vowels system** display 5 phonemes: *a, e, i, o, u,* with no length phonemic distinction in synchrony[23]. The status of ə (ը in the alphabet) is discussable. Most of the time it is an epenthetic vowel for syllable formation (see below), reason why Vaux (1998) does not include it in the phonemic inventory. Baronian (to appear) provides some cases where the schwa cannot have an epenthetic interpretation and has to be considered as phonemic in both EArm and WArm. In addition to these vowel phonemes, WArm, even in its standard form, has a front rounded [ü] (*հիւր* 'guest' WArm [hür]. EArm [hyur]). In non-standard (dialectal) variants of both EArm and WArm, [ä] and [ö] are also attested, in borrowed words, such as [gyäzär] 'carrot', and [böreg] 'pastry', but also as a positional variant of phonemes (environment-bounded, vowel harmony, etc.).

The consonants system of ClArm had a 3 level stops and affricate system, as for example /p/, /b/, /p^h/ (corresponding Armenian letters being *բ*, *պ*, *փ*) that is, beside voiced and unvoiced consonant there was also an explosive or aspirated stop. Three-way distinction in stop series is well-known as a Proto I.-E. feature (Clackson 2007:40), but it is also widespread in many non I.-E. languages. According to Stilo (2006), one of the characteristic features of Araxes area is a *three-way distinction in stop series, including glottalized or similar: b, pʔ, ph; d, tʔ, th; j, čʔ, čh; etc.* The phonology of EArm still exhibits the tree-way system, but in a reorganized way: there is no plain unvoiced stop, the unaspirated unvoiced range being realized as slightly glottalized, or tensed, or ejective (weaker than in Kartvelian languages, but in the same way). The situation (and the controversy about the nature of the unaspirated series) is quite similar to the one described in (Haig 2015) concerning three-way VOT distinction on bilabial, alveolar and dental for stops and affricates in Northern Kurdish. Haig (2001:199) suggests that this extra range of voiceless stops in northern Kurmanji dialects could be "borrowed from Armenian", and "is a feature typical of the Caucasus" (further discussed also in Haig 2015:7). In fact, in Modern Armenian only EArm displays this three range system, while WArm has shifted[24] to a two-way distinction. This could be a further argument characterizing Eastern Anatolia as a transition zone, distinctive features between WArm and EArm being iconic of the situation.

In comparison to ClArm and EArm, in WArm an inversion occurred between voiced and unvoiced (*պ* realized as [b], *բ* realized as [p] or [ph][25]); the distinction between soft unvoiced and explosive unvoiced faded out, *փ* being realized like *բ*, either explosive or not (but most frequently

[22] About lexical borrowings in colloquial WArm, see (Donabedian 2006). Being more obvious for the speaker, lexical borrowings are also reversible. Under the influence of the growing importance of literacy in the practice of WArm in the countries considered as the center for WArm (Lebanon and Syria), lexical borrowing from Turkic has decreased in contemporary standard WArm. Grammatical features, on the other hand, are less obvious and carry implicational relationships; they are less accessible to language policy. As already mentioned (see also Haig 2014 p. 3/27), sociolinguistic factors play an important role in contact induced change.

[23] The distinctions է/ե (e:/e) and o/ո (o:/o) reflected in the alphabet and in the traditional orthography are no more active in this regard.

[24] If we suppose that it remained the same historically throughout dialect areas.

[25] As observed in some Anatolian variants of Turkish: [panga] for /banka/.

explosive) without phonemic distinction. Again there is a controversy about the nature of the unvoiced stops, some linguists (Vaux 1998) considering them aspirated[26]. In fact they are often realized as aspirated, but the point is that aspiration bears no phonemic distinction, and the realization can vary depending on the context or the bilingualism of the speakers (actually aspirated in the Middle East, in America, but not aspirated in France). In tables no. (4) and (5) below, the only phonemes where corresponding graphemes are specified are those who show an alternation between the two standards. The symbols +V/-V and +A/-A refer respectively to *voiced* and *aspirated* (explosive) features.

Table 4: Eastern Armenian consonant phonemes[27]

30 consonants[28]		bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular
plosive	+V	b (բ)		d (դ)				g (գ)	
	-V -A	p (պ)		t (տ)				k (կ)	
	-V +A	p^{c} (փ)		t^{c} (թ)				k^{c} (ք)	
fricative	+V		v	z		ž		γ	
	-V -A		f	s		š		x	h
affricate	+V			j (ջ)		ĵ (ղ)			
	-V -A			c (ծ)		č (ճ)			
	-V +A			c^{c} (ց)		č^{c} (չ)			
nasal		m			n				
lateral					l				
trill					ŕ				
liquid					r		y		

Table 5: Western Armenian consonant phonemes

24 consonants[29]		bilabial	labiodental	dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular
plosive	+ V	b (պ)		d (տ)				g (կ)	
	- V	p (փ բ)		t (թ դ)				k (ք գ)	
fricative	+ V		v	z		ž		γ	
	- V		f	s		š		x	h
affricate	+ V			j (ծ)		ĵ (ճ)			
	- V			c (ց)		č (չ)			
nasal		m			n				
lateral					l				
liquid					r (ր ռ)		y		

Consonant clusters are frequent, but at the onset (word or root) they require an epenthetic vowel when they don't result from morpheme junction. The place of the epenthetic vowel may vary from dialect to dialect for a given word, and in some position, the differences are obeying to a rule: initial

[26] Even if this range of consonants is mainly realized as aspirated, considering the fact that there is no alternation between aspirated and unaspirated plosives, I find more economic to consider this feature as a phonetic one, and therefore not to reflect it in the phonemic table below.

[27] In these tables, as in any typological generalization concerning both EArm and WArm, we use an adapted version of Hubschmann-Meillet-Benveniste's transliteration (with ĵ and ŕ replacing approaching transliterations not available in standard keyboards). In examples provided below the transcription accounts for the phonetic shift occurred in WArm, and may not match with the transliteration.

[28] As for Vaux (1998:13) there are only 28 consonant phonemes in Standard Eastern Armenian. Vaux considers that the semi-consonants <j> and <v> are allophones of underlying /i/ and /u/, showing that the case of /v/ is debatable. He includes /v/ in the table of phonemes of WArm, but not of EArm.

[29] They are 23 as for Vaux 1998:16, See previous footnote.

[sp], [st], [šp], [št] are realized without any adaptation in EArm, but require epenthetic schwa in WArm ([ᵊsp], [ᵊst], [ᵊšp], [ᵊšt]) (see Vaux 1998:66 sqq.). The phonotactics and syllable structure in Armenian are well accounted in Vaux (2003), and some issues discussed in Baronian (to appear).

As most of the languages of the areal, Armenian is a **stress-final** language (with secondary initial stress, Vaux 2003), with rare enclitic particles, and unstressed enclitic auxiliaries in synthetic verb tenses. Many dialects show penultimate stress, but they all belong to Eastern groups of dialects (Ararat, Lori, Karabagh).

The **echoic reduplication** schemes described in (Matras 2009) and (Haig 2001) and shared in the whole area, are represented in Armenian: the m- reduplication meaning "and all related things" as in *P'ariz-Mariz*, "Paris and such places" (echoic expressive as for Haig 2001:208), and the intensive first-syllable reduplication of adjectives with coda consonant (*s* or *p* in Armenian) cf. Arm. *lec'un* 'full' > *lep-lec'un* 'bombed out' as in Turkish kara 'black' > *kap-kara* 'all black'. Coda consonant choice is more restricted in Armenian than in Turkish, since only [s] or [p] are allowed, and not [m]. Consequently the dialectal borrowing from Turkish *düm-düz* 'all flat, straight ahead' (also attested in Turkish as *düpedüz*) is borrowed in Armenian dialects only as *düp-düz*. Intensive reduplication is used in both EArm and WArm without structural differences; however, its use is more extended in WArm.

2.3. Inflection and agglutination: a continuum with multiple parameters

As one can expect from an I.-E. language, ClArm is inflectional, and generally this is still true for both variants of Modern Armenian. Nevertheless, during the history of the language, we can observe an increasing number of agglutinative features, in both dialectal bunds[30]. Parts of speech are unequally affected by this shift, and in fact, it results rather in a continuum involving several other parameters, including stylistic ones (when both forms are available, the inflectional one is more literary), semantic ones (more compositional semantics involve more agglutinative forms), grammatical ones (related to the nature of the categories involved and their semantic processing), with the cursor placed at different levels for EArm and WArm, as shown in following schemes. Figure no. (1) below represents the general tendency:

Figure 1: Scale of fusionality/agglutination according to POS and dialectal bounds in Modern Armenian

more fusional ---------- > less fusional
Pronoun --- > Verb --- > Noun *Eastern Armenian ---------- > Western Armenian*

Pronoun inflection is remarkably stable across the history of Armenian from a typological point of view. The example of the 1SG personal pronoun in table no. (6) below demonstrates that even if case markers have changed, the structure of the paradigm remains the same.

Table 6: Paradigm of 1SG personal pronoun in WArm and in ClArm

	WArm	ClArm
Nominative	[y]es	[y]es
Accusative	zis	is[31]

[30] It would probably lead to surprising results to measure the level of agglutinativeness in different Armenian dialects.
[31] Also serving as a locative, in ClArm only.

Genitive	im	im
Dative	inci	inj
Ablative	incmê	inên
Instrumental	incmov	inew

The agglutinative innovation related to the pronoun consists of the nominalization of possessive forms, as *im* 'my' > WA *im-ø-s* [coll. *im-in-s*]. *i*, *im-in-i-s*, *im-in-ê-s*, *im-in-ov-s*. (NOM.-ACC., GEN-DAT., ABL., INSTR., indicating *mine*, *to/of mine, from mine, with mine)*; in EArm, respectively, the forms are: *im-ø-ə/n*, *im-i-s*, *im-ic'-s*, *im-ov-s*. In colloquial EArm, some additional forms converging with WArm are observed.

Verb inflection is globally less agglutinative than noun inflection and the status of different markers vary depending on the category they express; see figure no. (2) below:

Figure 2: Scale of Verb fusionality/agglutination according to morphosyntactic parameters

more fusional ---------- > *less fusional*
deeply grammatical categories ---------- > *quasi-derivational categories* *person/number/tense* ---- > *aspect* ---- > *diathesis (passive, causative)*

Noun inflection became agglutinative at various levels depending on several parameters. Some inflectional classes became agglutinative (the regular ones), other remained inflectional (irregular classes are either semantically or morphologically defined). The continuum of patterns is summarized in figure no. (3) below.

Figure 3: Scale of Noun fusionality/agglutination according to lexical and semantic parameters

more fusional ---------- > less fusional		
irregular semantic classes,		regular nouns
kinship terms, abstract nouns derivative patterns, collective nouns, time-measuring nouns…	-- > irregular monosyllabics -- >	borrowed words, primary neologisms…
adjective-like cases (ex. Gen., Abl., quasi-collocations) adverbial-like cases (ex. Inst.)	---------- >	referential (specific) arguments or case-marked circumstants
Eastern Armenian ---------->	literary/archaic W. Armenian	---------- > Western Armenian

The noun is the most agglutinative POS in Armenian. Plural has become almost fully agglutinative in Modern Armenian, with the exception of some semantic classes (cf. kinship terms, abstracts nouns and others in figure 3), or of some collective plurals. The plural marker, formerly *-k'* in ClArm (and until now in several dialects) is *-er/-ner* (resp. with monosyllabic and polysyllabic nouns) in both EArm and WArm standards, and is placed after the root and before the case morpheme: *dun-er* 'houses'; *namag-ner* 'letters'[32]. The resemblance of Armenian *-er/-ner* and Turkic *-lEr*, sharing the same meaning and the same morphological behavior, is challenging. Yet, despite the appearance of a total formal innovation in Armenian (and thus, of a possible borrowing

[32] See discussion about the interpretation of this alternation in (Baronian, to appear).

from Turkic[33]), this morpheme may also result from the phonetic evolution of a specialized plural morpheme in ClArm, *-ear* (with collective plural meaning). The evolution *-ear* > *-er* is totally predictable, and, as well as the use of epenthetic *-n*, it is widespread in Armenian morphology. The fact that one of the available morphemes was phonetically close to the Turkish equivalent morpheme certainly played a role in the selection of the morpheme[34], as well as the syllabic structure of the *-er* morpheme, more compatible with the agglutinative shift.

The wide range of nominalization phenomena expands the importance of agglutination in Modern Armenian. Nominalization occurs through simple adjunction of an article and/or nominal declension markers. Only a few invariable parts of speech are not nominalizable: pure adverbs, conjunctions, particles, discourse words. Some inflected forms are nominalizable as such, what we called over-declension above. Apart from the case of possessive pronouns (in fact the Genitive of the pronoun) *ir* 'his' > *ir-ə* [var. *ir-en-ə*] 'his one' (and the full paradigm of a regular noun, singular, plural, and all case forms), this phenomenon concerns all genitive-inflected forms: *Aram-i* 'Aram's' > *Aram-i-[n]ə* 'Aram's one', where [n] is an infix between the genitive case morpheme and the definite article *ə*. All those phenomena (including nominalizations) are more widespread in WArm than in EArm.

2.4. Noun morphology and grammar of the NP

Western Modern Armenian shows a more restricted **case inventory** than EArm. The noun paradigm displays 4 cases, while the pronoun paradigm is based on a 6 cases system. Locative case exists only in EArm, and has no equivalent in WArm, see table no. (7) below.

Table 7: Noun morphology

	Pronoun (2SG 'you')	Noun (regular productive) singular	Noun (regular productive) plural
Nominative	tun	baduhan	baduhan-ner
Accusative	kez / [coll. kezi]		
Genitive	ku	baduhan-i	baduhan-ner-u
Dative	kezi		
Instrumental	kezmov	baduhan-ov	baduhan-ner-ov
Ablative	kezme	baduhan-en	baduhan-ner-en

Nominative/accusative and genitive/dative show complete syncretism for the noun paradigm. In term of syntax, WArm has 6 cases, as indicates the distributional equivalence with the corresponding pronoun depending on its syntactic role. The substitution of a noun by a pronoun makes it possible to discriminate between nominative and accusative or genitive and dative, if one intends to identify the rection of a postposition or a verb, see figure no. 4 below:

Figure no. 4: Commutation between pronoun and noun to identify the syntactic case corresponding to a position

Aram-i-n	namag-ə	vs.	ir	namag-ə	'Aram's letter' vs. 'his letter'
Aram:GEN-DEF	letter-DEF		he:GEN	letter-DEF	
Aram-i-n	k'ove	vs.	ir kovə		'Near Aram' vs. 'near him'
Aram: GEN-DEF	near		he:GEN near		
Aram-i-n	hamar	vs.	iren	hamar	'For Aram' vs. 'for him'

[33] In many Anatolian Turkish and Azeri dialects, {+nEr} is an allomorph of {+lEr} (C. Bulut, personal communication).
[34] Although certain dialects also in contact with Turkish kept the ClArm -k' plural.

Aram: DAT-DEF for he: DAT for

In standard EArm, the case system was normalized early 20th century by the systematization of new morphosyntactic rules based on existing tendencies. Accusative syncretism was disolved by a differential object marking rule (nominative for humans, dative for non-humans) and dative syncretism was distinguished by a rule on the distribution of definite article (genitive excludes definite article, while dative requires it). This is not the case for formal WArm, where the distribution of the article is not syntactically defined[35], and the direct object of transitive verbs is always marked by accusative case as an empty morpheme. Nevertheless, in informal colloquial WArm, differential object marking is generalized, with dative case for animate direct objects, and accusative for inanimate objects[36].

The **NP is head final**: grammatical modifiers of the noun pertaining to the whole NP (such as number, case, article, circumstantial postposition) are placed after the final head noun.

As a rule, lexical modifiers (epithets or genitive determinants, which may be preceded by their own modifiers), and a set of grammatical items (numerals, deictics, possessives and indefinites), are placed before the noun.

(1) ays p'oɣoc'-i-n yerek mej-akuyn šinut'iun-ner-ə mer
DEM street-GEN-DEF three big-super construction-PLUR-DEF POSS1PL
hamalsaran-i-n badmagan šenk-er-n en
university:GEN-DEF historical building:PLUR-DEF be:3PL
'The three biggest constructions of this street are the historical buildings of our university.'

No agreement is observed **inside the NP**; the epithet is invariable and grammatical markers appear only once for the whole NP. Nevertheless, some correlations may be observed between prenominal modifiers and postnominal markers (cf. ex. 3 and 6 below).

As observed in many languages of the area, **numerals do not trigger plural marking** of the noun: *hing dun-ø* 'five house'. Yet, in contrast to Standard Turkish, a plural marker can occur on the noun after a numeral. In this case, it is not an empty agreement marker: it bears its own meaning, contrasting with the default non-plural marking. For countable nouns, the use of the plural allows to refer to the counted entities as individualized ones, since the lack of plural refers to a globalizing approach (processing items as collective or non-countable). Depending on the context, a NP like *hing dun-er* can emphasize the fact that the houses are all different, or it may precede a description of those houses, etc. The plural marker is often appearing jointly with the definite article, due to the semantic properties of the article, which are congruent with the individuation of the referent (see ex. 1). For some semantic noun classes as measure units, the definite article does not involve a plural marker (for a detailed study, see Donabedian 1993).

(2) erku k'ilo-n hing dolar-ø
two kilo-DEF. five dollar-ø
Five dollars for two kilos.

[35] Except for proper nouns of person, where definite article has no semantic value: in written Western Armenian, the norm (not always followed) is to use definite article to distinguish Nominative (-DEF) and Accusative (+DEF) on one side, Genitive (-DEF) and Dative (+DEF) on the other side. In colloquial Armenian, proper nouns of person always bear a definite article.

[36] As often when considering differences between standard EArm and standard WArm, we observe, that many distinctions are a standardization choice rather than a clear-cut boundary between the two systems.

The use of **adnominal deictics** (demonstratives) implies a **definite article** at the right of the NP:

(3) ays dun-ə 'this house'
this house-DEF
*ays dun

Table 8: Paradigm of the article in WArm

definite article	*-ə / -n* (after C/V)	*dun- ə* 'the house' ('his house')	from the 3-level deictics in ClArm *-s, -d, -n* (non-correlated to the person in ClArm)
definite article (possessive 1SG clitic)	*-s*	*dun-s* 'my house'	
definite article (possessive 2SG clitic)	*-t*	*dun-t* 'your house'	
indefinite article (SG)	*mə*	*dun mə* 'a house'	originating from numeral *mi*
indefinite article (PLUR)	*ø*	*dun-er* 'houses'	

Two strategies are available in WArm for **possessive marking** (what Stilo, 2006 characterized as a buffer-zone phenomenon). The first one consists of the adnominal possessives (Table no 9), also called "possessive adjectives".

Table 9: Paradigm of possessives (genitive of personal pronoun) in WArm

Person	Singular	Plural
1	im	mer
2	ku	c'er
3	anor	anonc'
emphatic	ir	irenc'[37]

Similarly to demonstratives, adnominal possessives require the use of the article, with the particularity that for a 1SG or 2SG possessor, the article has to be marked for the same person (using the possessive clitic *-s, -t*, originating from the ClArm deictic article)[38] between the possessive and the article for 1SG and 2SG:

(4a) im dun-s my house
(4b) ku dun-t your house
(4c) ir/anor, mer, tser, anonts/irents dun-ə his, our, your.pl, their house

The alternative strategy consists of the possessive article alone. Moreover, possessive article is distributionally equivalent to full possessive marking, that is, to the genitive of personal pronoun, also in other positions requiring genitive marking[39]:

(5) Aram-i-n k'ovə *vs* ir kovə / im kov-s vs. k'ov-s
Aram-GEN-DEF near he.GEN near / me.GEN near-POSS1SG near-POSS1SG
Near Aram Near him Near me Near me

For plural possessors (1PL, 2PL, 3PL), according to the norm, only the pronominal strategy is available (*mer. c'er, anonc', irenc'* + unmarked definite article). Nevertheless in colloquial Western Armenian the suffixation strategy is widely used by combining an empty morpheme *-ni-* and the

[37] Forms in italics in the table show syncretism with Dative.
[38] In standard EArm, in contrary, the norm requires no agreement (im tun-ə) but in colloquial speech, nevertheless, the most frequent form is the one with person agreement.
[39] *het* 'with', is a particular case in this attention. This postposition requires a dative complement (full pronoun ես *hed*, 'with you'), but allows also a genitive rection in case of clitic-possessive marking (*hed-դ* 'with you'). On the other hand, *hamar* 'for' also requires dative (ես *hamar*, 'for you'), but doesn't accept clitic-possessive marking (**hamar-դ*).

definite article marked according to the corresponding person : *gadu-ni-s* cat-ni-POSS1SG, 'our cat', also compatible with the plural marker *gadu-ner-ni-s* cat-PL-*ni*-POSS1SG, 'our cats'. Interestingly with monosyllabic nouns, the plural morpheme may apply either to the possessee, either to both the possessor and the possedee *dun-er-ni-s* house-PL-*ni*-POSS1SG 'our house' or 'our houses'. Arregi, Myler and Vaux 2013 provide a detailed analysis of the morphological combinatory of these forms and their behavior with different case morphemes[40].

As we see, the possessive clitic for 3SG is also the default definite article, what can lead to ambiguities, solved depending on the context (salient third person in the context) and on the semantic properties of the noun (unalienable property or family relationships). Examples below show a scale of ambiguity depending on those parameters:

(6a) hayr-ə hed-n er
father- DEF fogether- DEF be.PAST.3SG
His/her father was with him/her (+context +semantics)

(6b) maz-er-ə gə lva
hair-PL-DEF KƏ[41] wash.PRST.3SG
He/she is washing his/her hair (+ context + semantics)

(6c) hayr-ə ur e ?
father- DEF where be.PRST.3SG
Where is his/her (the) father ? (- context + semantics)

(6d) madid-ə uni
pencil- DEF have.prs.3sg
He/she has his/her (the) pencil (+ context - semantics)

(6e) madid-ə ur e ?
pencil- DEF where be.PRST.3SG
Where is the (his?) pencil (- context - semantics)

Finally, the minimal NP can be a **bare noun**, essentially in a complement role (-ø accusative, -ø article, see Donabedian&Danon-Boileau 1993).

(7) zavag-ø uni ; xncor-ø gə caxem
child-ø have.prs.3SG ; apple-ø KƏ sell.PRS.1SG
'He/she has a child/children' ; 'I sell apple(s)'.

Bare nouns are theoretically possible in subject position, too (nominative is also marked by a zero case morpheme). Yet, for semantico-pragmatic reasons they are more rare and mainly restricted to existential sentences (see Donabedian 2010a).

(8) anjrev-ø gu ka
rain-ø KƏ come.PRS.3SG
'It rains.'

Another way for expanding NP is the relative clause (see 2.9. below).

[40] They show among other that the Instrumentalis has a specific behavior in combination with this kind of possessive marking, namely, that it remains closer to the lexical root than the remaining case markers. Plungian and Semenova (2016) also point out the specific status of Instr. in Armenian. Some other features as the restrictions for the use of definite article with Instr., not afforded here, also confirm this fact. The quasi-adverbial semantics of InStr. can be invoked to explain its asymmetric behavior.

[41] We gloss the actualization particle gə (կը) and its allomorphs gu, g' (կու, կ') (see section 2.6.1. below) as KƏ.

2.5. Anaphora and deixis

As shows the paradigm of possessive clitics above, Armenian inherited the I.-E. three-ways deixis system, opposing so-called proximal {-s-}, medial {-d-} , WArm. {-t-} and distal {-n-]. The distinction, correlated to the person in personal pronouns and possessive paradigms, is active through the *ays*/*ayt/ayn* alternation in the whole system of demonstratives (*ays-bes* 'so', *ays-bisi* 'such a', *ays-kan* 'so much', *ays-degh* 'here', *ays-inch* 'a certain', *ays-uhedev* 'henceforth', etc.).

WArm also shows a distinction between two third-person personal pronouns. The unmarked one *an*, 'he/she' originates from the above-mentioned deictic system and is compatible with all semantic types of referents, while the marked one, *ink(ə/n)*, originating from a reflexive pronoun, is only used for human referents:

(9a) baba-s **an** e
father-POSS1 he be.3SG.pst

(9b) baba-s **ink'-n** e
father-POSS1 he be.3SG.pst
'He is my father.'

The synchronical characterization of the marked pronoun *ink'* (emphatic, logophoric, reflexive) has been discussed (by Sigler 2001, Donabedian 2007, Donabedian & Montaut 2011), considering the wide range of its uses. In fact, only three cases are observed, where *ink'* is grammatically constrained:

Emphatic use (strong stress):

(10a) ays ĵašə (tun) i?nk'-t badrasdec'ir
DEM meal (you) EMPH-POSS2SG prepare-AOR2SG
'Did you prepare this meal yourself ?'

(10b) (yes) i!nk'-s gert'am
(I) EMPH-POSS1 go:PST1SG
'I'll (better) go myself.'

Reflexive use (Gen. if *ink'*: *iren*, as opposed to Gen. of *an*: *anor*):

(11) Betros-ə i-r/*an-or* dun-ə norok-ec'
Peter-DEF *ink'*-GEN/*an*-GEN house-DEF renovate-AOR3SG
'Peter$_i$ renovated his$_i$ /his$_j$ house.'

Logophoric use

(12) Betros-ə əs-av or *ø*/*an/ink'ə* grn-a ka-l
Peter-DEF say-AOR3SG that *ø /an/ ink'* can-pst3SG come-INF
Peter$_i$ said he$_{i/j}$ / he$_j$ / he$_i$ can come.

In other contexts, the choice between *an* and *ink* is not grammatically constrained. It is related to information hierarchy and saliency hierarchy (cf. Donabedian 2007). Consequently, it can be a choice of the speaker, which allows him to foreground or background a participant, with several parameters of variation (subjective, stylistic, regional). This makes it difficult to describe precisely how the cursor is placed between *an* and *ink'* in each context. According to individual or regional peculiarities, *ink'* can even be used as the default pronoun for human referents, especially in

colloquial speech, *an* being the marked, backgrounded, anaphoric one. This is often the case in WArm, since in EArm *na* (corresponding to WArm *an*) is quite more frequent.

Considering that Armenian is a prodrop language, in subject position the choice is in fact between *ø /an/ ink'*, as shown in the example above. The lack of pronouns is characteristic for non-ambiguous contexts, and is very frequent in colloquial speech, where sentences use to be shorter and multi-modality gives extra means (gestuality, eye tracking, etc.) to recover the referent.

2.6. Verb morphology and TMA categories

The tense-aspect-mood system of the Armenian verb has undergone deep changes since ClArm, as shown in table no. 10 below (Donabedian-Ouzounian 2008). Middle Armenian is well-documented for the Western area through Cilician Armenian (Karst 1901); these data give a precise idea about the different steps for this reorganization in WArm. The Cilician period (11-15th centuries) corresponds to the first stage of intensive contact of Western Armenian dialects with Turkish and one can see possible influence of Turkish in the deep changes occurring at this period[42]. Nevertheless, these changes can also been explained through internal change mechanisms, what is supported by cross-linguistically well-known tendencies. As we see in the table 10, since ClArm had predominantly synthetic verb forms, the innovation in Modern Armenian is the appearance of analytic forms -- which is a cross-linguistically attested path of evolution, and thus not necessarily contact-induced.

2.6.1. Imperfective tenses: subjunctive, present, future

The ClArm subjunctive *gric'em* ('let me write', 'that I write', 'I'll write') disappeared together with complex inflectional forms in the noun paradigms. The old present *grem*[43] became a subjunctive present in all forms of Modern Armenian, and new present indicative forms emerged with different innovations in EArm and WArm dialects, that became emblematic of the difference between these dialectal areas. In both cases the innovation involved semantic changes as well as creation of new grammatical forms. The same process affected the indicative imperfect past.

[42] The linguistic contact of Armenian with Turkish was radically different from earlier contacts with Kurdish and Arabic. Kurdish, as an ethnic language in horizontal relationship with Armenian, was not a source of intense contact. During the Arab domination in Armenia (7th-9th century), Arabic was the language of power, but the political configuration did not promote massive bilingualism of Armenians with Arabic. During the period of Cilician Kingdom (11-14th century), when the heart of the Armenian life moves from the Armenian plateau following Seljuk invasions, Armenian is exposed to deeper linguistic contacts. Classical Armenian is not anymore understood by the population at this time, and the colloquial language attested in the texts of this period shows not only a huge proportion of lexicon of Arabic, Persian, or Turkic origin, but also a hudge variation among morphological paradigms with many concurrent forms, due to the formation of new colloquial forms and the lack of standardization.

[43] When referring to diachrony, we use the ClArm transliteration even for WArm, usually by adding the WArm phonetic transcription between []. In examples involving only WArm we adopt the phonetic transcription (implying inversion of voiced/non-voiced stops) without [].

Table 10: Synthetic view of Armenian verb system's diachrony

grel = to write	Classical Armenian		Middle Armenian		Western Modern Armenian		Eastern Modern Armenian	
Present Imperfect	1SG gre-m 3SG grē 1SG gre-i 3SG grē-r	č'gre-m / oč' gre-m č'grē / oč' grē č'-gre-i / oč' gre-i č'-grē-r / oč' grē-r	kay u > ku gre-m ku grē ku grē-i ku grē-r (3*)*	*[* č'kay u]* (4*)*	kə gre-m[44] kə grē kə grē-i kə grē-r (5*)*	č'e-m grer č'i grer č'ē-i grer č'ē-r grer (6*)*	grum e-m grum ē grum ē-i grum ē-r (7*)*	č'e-m grum č'i grum č'ēi grum č'ē-r grum (8*)*
Prst continuous Impft continuous	(affirmative) (1*)*	(negative) (2*)*	*[* em i grel ? attested since 7th century?]*	č'e-m i grel č'ē i / č'i grel č'ē-i i grel č'ē-r i grel	kə gre-m [gor] kə grē gor kə grē-i gor kə grē-r gor (11*)*	č'e-m grer [gor] č'-i grer [gor] č'ē-i grer [gor] č'ē-r grer [gor] (12*)*		
Obligative future	*[datif + piti[45] grel]* (9*)*	*[datif + oč' piti grel]* (10*)*	*[piti grem piti grē]* *[kami-m grel kami grel][46]* kay u > ku gre-m etc. = present)	*(NB: grel = infinitive)*	piti gre-m piti grē piti grē-i piti grē-r (15*)*	piti č'gre-m piti č'grē piti č'-grē-i [č'piti (pop)] piti č'-grē-r (16*)*	piti gre-m piti gri piti grē-i piti grē-r (13*)*	č'piti gre-m č'piti gri č'piti grē-i č'piti grē-r (14*)*
Future	[imperf] gric'e-m gric'-ē grec'ic' gresc'-ē [perf.] (19*)*	oč' gric'e-m / č'- oč' gric'ē / č'- oč' grec'ic' / č'- oč' gresc'-ē / č'- (20*)*					grelu em / k-grem[47] grelu e / k-gri grelu ei / k-grē-i grelu er / k-grē-r (17*)*	č'e-m grelu / gri č'i grelu / gri č'ē-i grelu / gri č'ē-r grelu / gri (18*)*
Subj Present Subj Past					gre-m č'gre-m gri/grê č'gri/ č'grê (resp. EArm and WArm see *13* vs *15*, *14* vs *16*) grē-i č'grē-i grē-r č'grē-r (21*)*			
Aorist	(greac' >) grec'i č'grec'i (22*)* grec' č'grec'							
Present perfect Plus quam perfect	greal em greal ē (+Gen) greal ēi greal ē-r (23*)*	oč' greal em / č'em greal oč' greal ē / č'ē greal oč' greal ei / greal c'ēi oč' greal ē-r / greal c'ē-r (24*)*	grel (/grac[48]) em grel (/grac) ē grel (/grac) ē-i grel (/grac) ē-r (25*)*	grel /grac č'e-m grel /grac č'ē grel / grac č'ē-i grel / grac č'ē-r (26*)*	grer / grac em grer / grac ē grer / grac ē-i grer / grac ē-r (27*)*	grer / grac č'e-m grer / grac č'ē grer / grac č'ē-i grer / grac č'ē-r[49] (28*)*	grel e-m grel ē grel ē-i grel ē-r (29*)*	č'e-m grel č'i grel č'ē-i grel č'ē-r grel (30*)*
Imperative	grea (31*)*	mi grer (32*)*	grē (33*)*	mi grer / mi grel (34*)*	-el: grē (35*)* -al: karda	-el: mi grer (36*)* -al: mi kardar	-el: gri (37*)* -al: karda	-el: mi gri (38*)* -al: mi kardar

[44] In this table we adopted a transliteration principle which disregards the phonetic shift of Middle Armenian and Western Armenian, in order to make the comparision easier between the four stages/variants of Armenian.

[45] Impersonal deontic verb with tense-mode variation (but 3SG present *piti* is the most frequent). In Middle Armenian, *piti* is grammaticalized to a particle. In WMA it lost his deontic meaning and become a simple future.

[46] Periphrases described by Karst respectively like a deontic (piti - invariable) (§363), and future (*kamim* – whole verb paradigm) (the last has no posterity in standard modern Armenian – attested only in the dialect of Hamshen)

[47] Traditionally accounted in Armenia as *conditional* (used in conditional apodoses),–*lu* being as a simple future. In independent clauses, both have future meaning (with present flexion) or hypothetic meaning with past flexion.

[48] Karst mentions that –*ac* is mainly adjectival (§ 405). He includes the form in the verbal paradigm as a resultative passive (*Perfektivische tempora composita*), –*el* being a narrative (*Historische Tempora Composita*).

[49] Auxiliary/participle order is free for the negative form.

EArm introduced an analytic progressive form based on a new 'locative-like' non-finite form of the verb (*gr-ում*) to form an analytic indicative present *grum em* (cells #7 and 8 in the table 10). WArm's strategy aimed at marking the actualization rather than the progressive meaning of the present. The innovative form was the particle *ku/kə* [*gu/gə*], going back to the defective verb *ka* 'to be held, to stand', with a grammaticalization path in three stages: (1) originally in ClArm the verb *ka* is used in colocation with stative verbs: *կա ու mna* 'he stands and remains', (2) it gradually becomes compatible with all kinds of verbs, until (3) it is grammaticalized in Middle Armenian as *ku* [gu]; and (4) the reduced form *k-/kə* [*gə*] is generalized as the marker of the (actual) present indicative in contrast to the present subjunctive (irrealis)[50].

Matras 2010:75 considers this an areal feature of the East Anatolian linguistic area: "progressive-indicative aspectual prefixes (are) usually derived from a preposition indicating location or similarity. The subjunctive is marked either by the absence of the progressive-indicative prefix, or by a specialized subjunctive prefix." In our case the prefix kə is not the grammaticalization of a locative preposition, but the semantic history of *ka*, the origin of the particle, still shows affinities with location (ClArm *ka* [ga] 'he stands' > Modern Armenian *ka* 'there is').[51]

Interestingly, WArm and EArm strategies are less opposed than it seems. In Middle Armenian, the negative present also involved the locative, namely the CLArm locative preposition *i* (see (4) in Table 10): *č'e-m i grel*, litt, 'I am not in writing'). Semantically this corresponds to the strategy used in EArm. Yet, the morphological material is different: EArm applies the *-um* modern locative case, while Middle Armenian uses the ClArm preposition *i*. The affirmative corresponding form is briefly attested (see (3) in Table 10), but did not survive. A similar case of asymmetry between affirmative and negated forms is observed in North Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA), where such a prefix is lacking in simple present, while the negated form of the present shows relics of such a prefix (Haig 2014:21, citing Jastrow 1988:54-55).

Likewise, the appearance of *ku/kə* is not restricted to WArm: '*k(ə)*+subj' is also present in EArm (as *k*) in the 'future' paradigm (see (17) in Table 10). Again, this is not a major difference to WArm, since the WArm present tense in *kə* does not exclude a future reading. WArm developed a continuous present to block the possible future reading of the *kə* present by adding an enclitic particle *gor* (*gə krem gor* 'I am writing" see (12) in Table 10).

Despite its ability to express a functional differentiation in combination with the verb 'to be', as in the two interrogative clauses in examples 13a and 13b below, the continuous present is not considered as standard in WArm.

(13a) Inč g'əlla ?

[50] Such grammaticalization paths are widely attested cross-linguistically. Across the Turkic languages, the historical renewal of the actual presence is formed on the basis of the grammaticalization of vocalic gerund + four verbs > suffixes, namely *dur-* 'stand', *yori-* 'go, walk' > {-Iyor}, *otur-* 'sit', or *yat-* 'lie'. Moreover, an actual present progressive is formed on the basis of the VN in {-mAk} + locative git-mek-te-yim 'I am about to go/going'.

[51] Haig (2014:19) discusses the extension of this feature, showing that although it is attested in Kurmanji, Turoyo Aramaic, or Levantine Arabic, it does not appear in all the languages of the area, being absent in Zazaki and all varieties of Turkic from the region. Haig 2014:26, concluding about the relevance of this feature as an areal one, suggests that "*the prefixed present indicative found in Kurmanji, and in certain varieties of Aramaic and Arabic in Anatolia could be interpreted as reflexes of inherited morphological template which is well-attested in the related Northwest Iranian and Semitic languages outside Anatolia. Languages which never had this pattern did not acquire it (Zazaki and Turkish)*". Western Armenian could be a counterexample.

what KƏ be.SUBJ.3SG
'What will it be ? > What does it matter ?'

(13b) Inč g'əlla gor ?
what KƏ be.SUBJ.3SG GOR
'What is going on ?'

Nevertheless it is widely used in colloquial speech, with differences depending on the contact situation of the speakers. It is quite systematic in the Constantinople dialect as attested since 19th century, and more widely in colloquial WArm[52], where its semantic extension seems to overlap with the Turkish form of continuous present in {-Iyor} (which has a broader semantic reach than *gor* in WArm, see Donabedian 2012). This favoured the perception of *gor* as a borrowing from Turkish {-Iyor}, even if the marker by itself is in fact a reduplication of *kə* (See Donabedian 2001b).

The fact that several Armenian dialects created a progressive form based on different material (Gevorgian 1994), like for example *ha* (that can be interpreted as a confirmation ('yes'), but appears to be also attested in Kurmanji) shows that the evolution of the verbal system favoured structural copies, but not material copies of the corresponding morphemes in Turkish or in Kurmanji. In other words, it is a case of structural convergence and not of integration, following (Matras 2000), or of code-copying, following Lars Johanson's model. Nevertheless it is likely that the innovation implied a mechanism of selection among available morphological strategies, in favour of forms phonetically close from those of the contact languages.

The future tenses also show a divergent reorganization in WArm and EArm. The periphrastic form with necessitative meaning in CLArm (lit. 'there is need for me to write', see (9) in Table 10[53]) becomes the unmarked future in WArm, while it remains marked as necessitative in EArm. New periphrastic forms emerged in both EArm and WArm, such as the dative of the infinitive verbal noun + auxiliary *krel-u em*, even if in WArm it is not a full form of the inflectional paradigm; see (17) in Table 10.

2.6.2. Perfective tenses: perfect, preterit, evidential/mirative

The domain of perfective past has also undergone important changes, where it could be easier to trace some areal influence. As we see from the shape of Table 10, the evolution is more linear in this part of the table than for the imperfective forms. Both morphologically and semantically the aorist (in the Indo-European sense of the word, semantically a preterit; see Donabedian 2016) is the only stable form. Changes of perfect and plus quam perfect/past perfect seem to be minimal, but, in fact, they have a deep effect on the whole modal system.

The perfect form used to be the only analytic form in ClArm; on its construction with genitive subject see Benveniste (1952 and 1960) and other studies. While the EArm perfect is clearly in continuity with ClArm (with a reduction of the diphthong *ea* > *e*, as expected in the diachrony of Armenian), WArm shows innovations in the treatment of modern perfect. Innovation is categorical; semantic meanings of the perfect are split into two different forms, creating two categories of perfects. Moreover, a morpho-phonological change takes place: {*-eal*} becomes {*-er*}, that is, in

[52] Constantinople dialect served as the vernacular basis for standard WArm, and many of its feature are still noticeable in colloquial WArm up to date.

[53] The particle *piti* [bidi] results from the grammaticalization of the ClArm non-verbal predicate « there is need for ».

addition to the expected reduction of the diphthong, there is also a shift /*l*/ > /*r*/, that is attested in some dialects, but is not a systematic diachronic rule for WArm.

The categorial aspect of the innovation is the emergence of a specific verb tense to express evidential/mirative meanings of the present perfect in WArm, by semantic specialization of the historical perfect. The modally non-marked meaning of the present-perfect (resultative) is fulfilled by the generalization of a new analytic form, based on an old verbal adjective in {*–ac*} [aj]. Initially this item was restricted to a semantic class of verbs expressing stable states, such as stay > standing *gankn-aj*, seat > sitting, *nst-aj*, drink > drunk, *xm-aj*, tire > tired *hokn-aj*, sleep > asleep *k'nac'-aj / k'n-aj*. In WArm, these forms are considered as full participles and the analytic forms derived of them are totally productive, and considered as a full inflectional tense in the verbal paradigm. This resulted in the coexistence of two pairs of perfect tenses, present perfect and plus quam perfect, in WArm (conventionally in the same slot in Table no 10/cell 27, due to the diachronic orientation of the table), the marked evidential/mirative tense[54] *krer em* and the neutral/resultative tense *krac' em*.

We can argue that this innovation was motivated by language contact, since such a specialization of a perfect for evidential/mirative meaning exists in Turkish and, in fact, in other languages in contact with Turkish in the Balkan area (Johanson & al. 2000, Friedman 1986). It is not surprizing that this change did not affect EArm, which is out of the concerned area. But interestingly the innovation did not trigger the creation of a new form to fulfil the new needs. Instead two shifts took place, probably in a chronological succession: (1) a semantic displacement of the initial form, and (2) the generalization of a marginal form into a new tense.

The explanation of the formal innovation in the *–er* forms, that is, the phonemic shift {*–el*} > -{*er*} undergone in WArm for evidential/mirative, is quite challenging. The alternation between final *-l* and *–r* is widespread in Armenian dialects, even the very stable infinitive ending –l is sometimes realized as –r. A contact-induced factor that may have played a role in this shift is the association of the–r occurring in the Aorist in Turkish (compare for the verb 'to go' tk. aor. *giderim*, arm. perf. *kac'-er em)*.

As we see, the innovation is the semantic shift of the historical form (*–eal* >*-el* >*-er*), and the filling of the missing slot for resultative perfect by a generalization of an existing resultative deverbal adjective. In EArm, the old perfect turned into a perfect participle (present perfect and plus quam perfect) through a minimal phonetic change (*-eal*>*-el*); it has a wide range of meanings including the basic resultative meaning of the perfect, as well as the evidential one (Kozintseva 1994). This happened also in Modern Persian, one of the contact languages for EArm at this stage of his development.

2.6.3. Agglutinative diathesis marking

In ClArm, diathesis marking was initially carried out by the thematic vowel of the verbal suffix: *-el* (transitive and intransitive/inergative), *-al* (intransitive/unaccusative), *-il* (passive, medio-passive). Some pairs of verbs still express the primitive diathesis through this mean. This is the case for medio-passive verbs in *-il* with causative in -el: *godril / godrel* ('to break' intr. / 'to break' tr.), *ayril / ayrel* ('to burn' intr. / 'to burn' tr.), *mašil / mašel* (to wear out / to wear), etc.

[54] About the semantics of the Armenian evidential/mirative, see in more details Donabedian 2001a, 2012.

In Modern Armenian, the semantics of most verbs have changed, and these classes are only tendencial[55] (except some productive derivative patterns[56]). Derivational mechanisms of diathesis marking have become systematic, as shown in table (11) below.

Table 11: Diathesis derivation patterns in WArm

basic verb	passive	causative
krel 'to write'	kr-v-il	kre-c'n-el
gartal 'to read'	garta-c'-v-il	garya-c'n-el
xosil 'to speak'	xos-v-il	xose-c'n-el

Diathesis marking is the only part of the verbal system where WArm shows a strong tendency to agglutination. The -c'- in *garta-c'-v-il* is the perfective infix characteristic for the perfective stem of the verb (*bayt'-il* 'to explode' *bayt'-ec'-av* 'it exploded'; sometimes the perfective stem relies on a suppletive root: *ud-el* 'to eat' vs. *ger-av*). The causative derivational suffix can be analysed as *-c'-* + *-n-*, *-c'-* being a perfective marker, and *-n-* the derivational suffix of de-adjectival inchoative verbs (see footnote 57). Yet, the causative suffix *-c'n-* is not segmentable, since it is used even with suppletive perfective roots (*ger-c'n-el* 'to let somebody eat', where the root *ker-* is already perfective-marked), or with verbs displaying perfective root formation by dropping the inchoative infix *-č'-* or *-n-* (*t'b-č'-il* 'to touch', *t'b-av* 'he touched', *t'b-c'n-el* 'to let touch').
In addition to the derivational causative, there is also an analytic form (rather factitive than causative) with the helping verb *dal* 'to give': *krel dal, gartal dal, xoril dal* ('to let write, read, think'). Semantically it differs from the derivational causative, as it keeps some intentionality to the agent: *gartac'nel* 'to help a child to read by showing him each letter' vs. *kardal tal* 'to ask students to read something as a homework'.

2.7. Word order

As noticed above in section 2.1, a significant typological shift from free SVO order to rigid head final order occurred between the ClArm and the Modern Armenian period; it particularly concerns WArm. Some tendencies to rigid head final order are already traceable in ClArm, such as the convergence between head final order and the lack of adjective agreement in the NP. Other changes may have developed in the area of intonation and information structure; due to the nature of the available documents they are hardly identifiable.
The change is very radical, as it happens with other Indo-European languages exposed to a very consistent SOV tropism (cf. Hindi). Interestingly, every theoretical framework one choses to describe this tropism (Centripete as for Tesnière, dependent-head as for Vennemann, or left-branched as for Dryer), it is fully applicable to WArm data, what reveals a remarkable typological consistency.

As we can see in the table below, none of the features Dryer considers correlated to OV order is impossible in WArm; either both orders are equally allowed (features 3, 6, 8), or the correlated OV order is not allowed in the standard language, but possible in dialectal variants (features 9, 10, 11).

[55] For example *kardal* [gartal] 'to read' was initially intransitive; its primary meaning was 'to cry out, to claim, to declaim' > to read).
[56] As the de-adjectival inchoatives for example: (*sev* 'black', *sev-n-al* 'to become black').

The latter suggests that the discrepancy can be a matter of register and standardization[57], rather than a structural feature.

Table 12: Word order correlations according to Dryer's correlations (Donabedian 2010b)

Correlated pairs (Dryer 1992, revised 2008) (in sequential order for WArm)					
1	object	verb	+[58]	namak + grel	letter + write
2	NP	adposition	+	namak-in + meǰ	letter-GEN + in
3	relative clause	noun	+ / - (register)	grac + namak-s namak-ə + or grec'i	written letter-1SG letter-DEF + REL I.wrote
4	N^{I}	article	+	namak-ə	letter-DEF
5	predicate	copula verb	+	yerkar + e[59]	long + is
6	VP	'want'	+ / - (discourse[60])	grel + g'uzem g'uzem + grel	to.write + I.want I.want + to.write
7	VP	tense-aspect auxiliary verb	+	grac + em	written + I.am
8	VP	negative auxiliary	+/- [61]	č-em + grac grac + č-em	not-I.am + written written + not-I.am
9	S	complementizer	- (+ dial.)	or/yet'e + namak grec'i namak grec'i + ne[62]	that/if + letter I.wrote letter I.wrote / if (coll/dial)
10	S	question particle	- (+ dial.)	artyok + grec'i grec'i + mi?	did.even + I.wrote I.wrote + QN.PART (coll/dial)
11	S	adverbial subordinator	- (+ dial.)	orovhetev + namak grec'i namak grec'i + deyi [63]	because + letter I.wrote letter I.wrote + that.is (dial)
12	N^{I}	plural word	+[64]	namak + -ner	letter + PLUR (morpheme)
13	genitive	noun	+	Aram-in + namak-ə	Aram-GEN + letter-DEF
14	standard of comparison	adjective	+	Aram-en + mec	Aram-ABL + big
15	PP	verb	+	Aram-in hamar + grec'i	Aram-DAT for + I.wrote
16	manner adverb	verb	+	arag + grec'i	quickly + I.wrote
Pairs not correlated with OV order as for Dryer					
17	A	N	+	erkar + namak	long + letter
18	Demonstrative	N	+	ays + namak-ə	this + letter-def
19	intensifier	A	+	šat + yerkar	very + long

[57] These features concern complex sentences, strongly influenced by the literary language and translations from French into Standard WArm, but not as much colloquial and dialect-influenced language.
[58] This feature can be discussed for WArm. Some teachers use to ostracize the OV order, arguing that it is a 'Turkish' issue. However, the OV order is dominant in colloquial speech. It tends to be replaced by VO order when the syntactic weight of the O (for example when expanded by a RC) is too complex, and the verb would be placed too far from the subject to allow oral understanding of the sentence.
[59] This is an example of a *clitic copular element following the nominal/adjectival predicate* assumed to be a pan-Anatolian feature in Matras (2009:270) and discussed in Haig (2015:9-12). The copula *e* is enclitic in Armenian.
[60] The choice depends from discursive parameters, namely the information structure.
[61] Interestingly, reverse order with negative auxiliaries is allowed only in WArm. In EArm, the auxiliary inversion is a focus-marking feature well-known in linguistic typology (Comrie 1984, Kahnemuyipour and Megerdoomian 2011, etc.).
[62] This is an occurrence of another relevant areal feature, the *clausal enclitic conditional marker* discussed below in 2.8.
[63] From the Turkish gerundial form 'saying', used as 'that is', 'they said', 'because'. See also *ki* in 2.8. below.
[64] In this case, the feature does not concerns a free morpheme/word, but a suffix, as is the case with the definite article.

20	negative particle	V	+	č- + grec'i	not + I.wrote
21	temps/aspect particle	V	+	kə + grem	actu.part + write

Concerning verb arguments, word order in WArm is roughly defined as SOV. As WArm is a prodrop language, no argument position is obligatory to form a complete sentence, and patterns of simple clauses are V, OV, SV, or SOV. Nevertheless, alternative orders are allowed with marked information structure. Two types of marked constituent order are possible:

a. The *focalization pattern* brings before the clause-final verb the arguments, foregrounded by focalization (focus marked in bold in Table no 13). By default, in a neutral declarative sentence, O occupies the focus slot, even if not focalized. Marked order occurs when another argument is focalized. The focus slot can be strictly the V position, or a VP, for example with a goal (see O**S**GV below) or a bare object (quasi-incorporated).
b. The *afterthought* of *post-rheme* pattern brings after the clause-final verb the backgrounded arguments (/ marks an intonation break after high-pitch V, **( )** marks afterthought intonation, ie. low F_0, quick rhythm, low intensity). The afterthought pattern can combine with the focalization pattern as shown with G**S**V / (O) in table 13 below.

Table 13: Word Order in WARM

Non-marked declarative sentence	Focalization	Afterthought / post-rheme
V[65]		V / (S) V / (O) V / (S) / (O) V / (O) / (S) (all combinations with G and I also allowed)
OV OIV	O**S**V G**S**V / (O) O**S**GV	OV / (S) OGV / (S)
SV		SV / (O) SV / (O) / (G) SV / (G) / (O)
SOV SOGV		SOV / (G)

For secondary verb arguments, WArm shows O Goal V order, which seems to be typical for this area, as it is found even in Semitic languages (Haig 2015:13).

2.8. Complex sentence and complement clauses

Modern Armenian has two types of subordination patterns, which we can consider as a concurrence between inherited vs contact-induced patterns. Their relative expansion is different in non-formal colloquial speech and in standard/formal/written language. This applies to almost all kinds of subordinated clauses. In this section we give an overview of different types of subordination patterns, while relative clauses receive a more detailed description in the following section.

Inherited patterns are based on post-verbal finite subordinate clauses (with indicative tense or subjunctive depending on the head and the semantics of the subordinate clause). Contact-induced

[65] S: Subject, O: Object, V: Verb, G: Goal or Indirect object. For movement verbs, the directional complement of the verb behaves exactly as the object of a transitive verb.

patterns, on the other hand, are rather pre-verbal[66] and non-finite. Another contact-induced feature is the use of a post-verbal finite subordinate clause with an innovative postposed complementizer. Finally, in some cases the subordination type is inherited, but the complementizer is borrowed (as *deyi* in 19c, or *ki*). In many cases a non-finite structure is inherited and used synonymic to the finite subordination; what can be considered contact-induced (if it does not establish a discursive feature preferred in colloquial speech) is the relative frequency between those patterns.

2.8.1. Causal/final subordination

Causal and final subordinate clauses have the same structure, the main difference being that in final subordination the finite verb is at the subjunctive mode (irrealis) like in (14a), since in causal subordination it is at the indicative mode (realis) like in (15a) and (16a).

(14a) Dun knac' or verargu me arne
homego.AOR.3SG CONJ coat INDEF take.SUBJ.prs.3SG

(14b) Dun knac' verargu arnel-u hamar
homego.AOR.3SG coat take.INF-DAT for
'He/she went home to take a coat.'

(14c) Dun knac' or bzdig-ə hankči.
homego.AOR.3SG CONJ child-DEF take.a.rest.SUBJ.PRS.3SG
'He/she went home so that the child may have a rest.'

(15a) Badjvec'a orovhedev čarutyun əri.
punish.AOR.1SG because trouble do.AOR.1SG

(15b) Č'arutyun ənel-u-s hamar badjvec'a
trouble do.AOR.1SG for punish.AOR.1SG
'I was punished because I caused trouble.'

In case of coreferenciality between the subject of the subordinate clause and the subject of the main clause, the pattern with non finite cause/final clause is possible, as shows the pair of examples no (14a) vs (14b) and (15a) vs (15b), but if there is no coreference between them, only the finite subordination is possible (14c). In fact the coreference constraint may be extended to another argument than the subject in the subordinate clause, as shows example no (16b) where the subject of the main clause is the possessor in the causal subordinate:

(16a) Pac'aga e / tas-i č'-egav orovhedev mayrə hivant e
absent be.3SG.PRT / class-GEN NEG-come.AOR3SG because mother-POSS3SG ill be.PRS.3SG

(16b) mayrə hivant əllal-u-n hamar pac'aga e / tas-i č'-egav
mother-POSS3SG$_i$ ill be.INF-DAT-DEF for absent be.3SG.pst / class-GEN NEG-come.AOR3SG$_i$
'He$_i$ is absent /did not come to the class because his$_i$ mother is ill.'

This use of the postposition *hamar* 'for' in a causal construction is similar to the Turkish construction with the postposition *için* 'for' (ex. 28 Haig 2001:212 *babam arıcılıktan anladığı için*). It is worth to notice that the causal use of *hamar* requires the definite article (default article *-n/-ə* if

[66] In fact, the post-verbal order is required for the finite strategy, while the non-finite strategy allows both orders. The order selected in examples (19b), (20b), 21(b) designates the highest degree of unmarked information structure, but alternative order is grammatical as well.

the agent is 3rd person possessive article, -*s* for 1SG or -t for 2SG), see (15b). Using *hamar* without the article will go back to a final understanding (the original semantics of the postposition), as in (14b)[67].

For both final and causal subordination a third pattern is available. It is a non-standard pattern, considered as dialectal, but it is very widespread in colloquial WArm in the areas where the language is vernacular (mainly in West Asia): it involves a postposed subordinator borrowed from Anatolian Turkish, *deyi* (14d, 15c, 16c). In fact, *deyi*'s causal and final meanings procede from an initial quotative meaning, what is observed in other languages (see Montaut 1999 about Hindi). This quotative meaning may be active in those sentences, but does not prevail over final/causal meaning:

(14d) bzdig-ə hankči deyi dun knac'
child-DEF take.a.rest.SUBJ.PRS.3SG *deyi* homego.AOR.3SG
'He/she went home so that (as he said, allegedly) the child may have a rest.'

(15c) Č'arutyun əri deyi badjvec'a
trouble do.inf-DAT-POSS1SG *deyi* punish.AOR.1SG
'I was punished /because/allegedly/as.they.said I caused trouble.'

(16c) mayr-ə hivant e deyi pac'aga e / tas-i č'-egav (**dialectal**)
mother-POSS3SG ill be.3SG.prs *deyi* absent be.3SG.pst / class-GEN NEG-come.AOR3SG
'He$_i$ is absent /did not come to the class because (allegedly/as.he.said) his$_i$ mother is ill.'

Interestingly, the quotative meaning, when activated, may refer to the subject of the main clause (14d, 16c) but also a third part, as in example no (15c) where it concerns the agent of the passive verb (those who punished the subject).

As already noticed for other languages of the area (Haig 2001:221), for both causal and final subordination the syntactic weight is a factor determining the selection between finite subordination and adpositional non-finite patterns. It may explain the constraint on the coreferenciality with the subject of the main clause mentioned above:

(17a) Hagarag goɣmə tarc'av or mart ir huzum-ə č-desne
opposite side turn.AOR.3SG CONJ anybody his emotion-POSS3SG NEG-see.SUBJ.3SG

(17b) *mart ir huzume chdesnelu hamar hagarag goghme tarc'av (not ungrammatical but not likely)
'He/she turned onto the opposite side so that no one could see his/her emotion.'

(17c) ir huzum-ə č-c'c'nelu hamar hagarag goɣmə tarc'av
he.GEN emotion-POSS3SG NEG-see.SUBJ.3SG opposite side turn.AOR.3SG
'He/she$_i$ turned onto the opposite direction in order not to show$_i$ his/her emotion.'

2.8.2. Hypothetic constructions and temporal subordination

[67] The same phenomenon occurs with another postpositional structure, namely the postposition *bes* 'as'. If the dependent (either a noun or a verbal noun) is not marked by an article, *bes* keeps its original meaning: *odar-i bes gə xosi* (foreigner-DAT) 'he speaks like a foreigner', *caɣrel-u bes gə xosi* (making.fun- DAT) 'he speaks like he is making fun of us'. In constructions with a definite article and a verbal noun (infinitive verb), it takes a temporal meaning:
ir kalu-**n** *bes* dunə griv gə sksi
POSS3SG come.INF-**DEF** *bes* at.home quarrel GƏ begin.PRT.3SG
'As soon as he enters home, the quarrel begins.' (Compare Trk.: Eve geldiği gibi kavga başlar)
As suggested by C. Bulut, the Turkish postposition *gibi* 'as, like' may also appear in all these functions.

Here the finite strategy may follow both orders depending on information structure, but (18a) is more neutral than (18b) (as observed in most i-e languages). A contact-induced innovation is the dialectal (and deeply rooted in non-formal colloquial WArm) construction with postposed complementizer *ne* (18c):

(18a) Yete hivantanas ov bzdigin bidi nayi?
if fell.ill.SUBJ.2SG who child-DAT-DEF FUT.PART look.3SG

(18b) Ov bzdigin bidi nayi yete hivantanas
who child-DAT-DEF FUT.PART look if fell.ill.SUBJ.2SG

(18c) Hivantanas *ne* ov bzdigin bidi nayi?
If fell.ill.SUBJ.2SG *ne* who child-DAT-DEF fur.part look.3SG
'If you fell ill, who will take care of the child?'

The temporal subordination behaves in an identical way; *ne* functions as a temporal or hypothetical conjunction:

(19a) Yerp g' ašxadis ov bzdigin gə nayi?
when KƏ work.PRT.2SG who child-DAT-DEF KƏ look.3SG

(19b) Ov bzdigin gə nayi yerp g' ašxadis
who child-DAT-DEF KƏ look.3SG when KƏ work.PRT.2SG

(19c) Ašxadis *ne* ov bzdigin gə nayi?
work.PRT.2SG *ne* who child-DAT-DEF KƏ look.3SG
'Who is taking care of the child as you work?'

As reminded by Samuelian (2003) and exemplified in Ouzounian (2014:160), Aydinian (1866:99) first described this feature as equivalent to *yerp* 'when' and *yet'e* 'if' or reinforcing them (a variant of 18c and 19c with both conjunction and *ne* is also possible), and refutating the 'Turkish reputation' of this particle. In fact, there is no identifiable source for this form in Turkish or in other neighboring languages, but there is one in Armenian. It is considered to result from the grammaticalization of a correlative pronoun *na*, as shown in figure no. (5) below:

Figure 5: Grammaticalization path for the postposed conjunction *ne*

yete uzes, na … > [yete] uzes nä/ne, > uzes ne
'if' want.SUBJ.2SG / then … > 'if' want.SUBJ.2SG 'if' / … > want.SUBJ.2SG 'if'

In such a grammaticalization path, the most significant shift in a typological point of view is the transfer of the correlative pronoun from the apodosis into the last position of the protasis. This prosodic change involves a syntactic change, *ne* being a candidate for the status of complementizer, and *yete* becoming redundant. The material form (the pronoun) is inherited; what is contact-induced is the new strategy, which leads to the emergence of a *clausal enclitic conditional marker*. Based on examples from Laz, Haig (2001:203) defines this as an areal feature. It can also be an example of fusion, as defined by (Matras, 2000).

2.8.3. Complement clauses

Complement clauses appear with verbs of speech and thought (indicative):

(20a) č-xostovanec'av or / t'e ays korjik-ə koghc'aj e
NEG-admit.AOR.3SG CONJ DEM tool-DEF steal.PFT be.PRT.3SG

(20b) ays korjik-ə koghc'aj ellal-ə / koghnal-ə č-xostovanec'av
DEM tool-DEF steal.PFT be.INF-DEF / steal.INF-DEF NEG-admit.AOR.3SG
'He didn't admit that he has stolen this tool.'

Armenian has two conjunctions for complement clauses after verbs expressing speech and thought: *or,* the default subordination marker widely used in all patterns of subordination, including relative clauses, and *t'e*, traced back to an hypothetic conjunction in Classical Armenian (Ouzounian 1992). The choice of the conjunction affects the assertive status of the subordinate clause. Using *or* implies that the propositional content of the subordinate clause is taken for granted -- independently of the fact that somebody is saying or thinking it (i.e. the propositional content of the main clause).
In other terms, by reporting someone's words as "X said *t'e* P", the speaker S_1 suggests that he has no information about P apart from X's assertion. This does not necessarily implie that he does not believe Y, but the responsibility of the truth value of P is on X. By "X said *or* P", S_1 suggests that P is something already taken for granted apart from X, and just mentions the fact that X spoke about that.
In both cases the inherited conjunctions *or* or *t'e* can be replaced in colloquial and dialectal speech by the well-known in the area complementizer *ki* (Haig 2001: 200 f., Matras 2009, Bagriacik 2015). It has been borrowed into Turkish from Persian in order to allow post-verbal finite subordination strategies that are typologically not represented in Turkish. In Armenian, the use of *ki* affects only the stylistic markedness of the utterance, but not the syntax of the sentence. As opposite to the examples with the enclitic complementizer *ne* above, or *deyi*, only the material form is borrowed, the strategy remaining the inherited one. Some fixed expressions with *ki* are widespread, as a colloquial equivalent of a standard pattern with *or/t'e*, like *kides ki P* (know.PRS.2SG *ki*) for *garjes t'e P* (believe.PRS.2SG *t'e*) "it seems that P".

2.9. Relative clauses

As with the subordination patterns seen in previous section, there are also two concurrent strategies of relativization in WArm:

a. The post-nominal finite clause, introduced by a relative pronoun stemming from the interrogative *or* 'who', or some other wh- pronouns. The post-nominal relative clause optionally involves a correlative demonstrative pronoun in the main clause (21, 22, 23, 25a, 25b). Post-nominal finite relative clauses follow the pattern exhibited by Classical Armenian, with minor differences. In Armenian[68] there is no formal distinction between restrictive or non-restrictive postnominal finite relative clauses, phrasal relative clauses or free relative clauses.
b. Prenominal non-finite relative clause, using a range of non-finite verbal forms. Most of them are canonical participles, bearing verbal tense, voice and negation marking, and nominal person

[68] Relativization patterns are not exactly the same in EArm and WArm. Yet they vary in a quite marginal way, while the available strategies and markers are the same; variation concerns the frequency of some patterns or phenomena. For finite relative clauses, for instance, the use of a correlative pronoun in the main clause is more frequent (and quasi-obligatory in literary variant) in Eastern Armenian than in Western Armenian. On the other hand, it is more likely to find the canonical relative pronoun *or* in combination with a non-canonical one (*inč` or*) in Western Armenian than in Eastern Armenian, where *inč`* can be used alone. As for non-finite relative constructions, the peripheral syntactic functions are more accessible to relativization in Western Armenian than in Eastern. By comparison with the corresponding standard, the same level of variation appears in colloquial variants.

marking - namely the possessive[69] - to express the subject). Pre-nominal non-finite RCs are an innovation of Modern Armenian, through new syntactic patterns applied to existing verbal nouns (see table 14 below). Semantically, prenominal non-finite relative clause is strictly a restrictive one (see footnote 78).

2.9.1. Post-nominal finite relative clauses in Modern Armenian

The default relative marker is the universal complementizer *or* 'who, which', unmarked regarding animacy:

(21) P'rg-v-ec'av miayn ayn anc'-ə **or** kodi-n gabac.er
save-PASS-AOR3SG only DEM person-DEF **who** belt-DEF fasten.PFT3SG
'Only the person who had his safety belt fasten came through.'

In addition to *or*, some wh- pronouns can be involved as relative pronouns, alone or together with the typical relative pronoun *or* 'which'. The more frequent are *erb* 'when' and *ur* 'where':

(22a) Aha ayn k'aɣak'-ə, **ur** Sakon yev yes amusnac'ank' dasə dari arač
Here.is DEM city-DEF **where** Sako-DEF and me marry.AOR.1PL ten year before
'This is the city where Sako and me married ten years ago.'
(22b) k'aɣak'-ə, **ur or** Sakon yev yes… (colloquial)

(23) ayn or-ə yerp yega…
DEM day-DEF when come.AOR1SG
'the day I came'

The fact that they can be used together with *or* 'which', as in example no. (22b), suggests that wh-interrogatives could be a kind of correlative pronoun in the main clause, sometimes promoted to the position of relative pronoun.

The relative pronoun is marked for case according to the functions of the RC.

(24) *anc-er* *or-onc'* *hed* *janot'ac'-aj* *em* *e-namag-ov*
person-PL rel-gen.pl with meet-PART aux-prt1sg e-mail-INST
'… persons with whom I met by email.'

There is no limitation on the functions (agentive or oblique) fulfilled by the post-nominal relative clause in Armenian including adpositional combinations, as:

Table 14: Oblique postpositional marking of relative pronoun

[69] This feature may be compared to the well-known Classical Armenian transitive perfect construction with a genitive subject (Benveniste 1952 and 1960), himself related to possessive constructions like *nora ē k'uyr* he.GEN be.3SG sister, "He has a sister". (Agnes Ouzounian, personal communication)

or-u-n miǰoc'-ov REL-GEN.-DEF. middle-INST. 'by means of whom'	or-u-n hed REL-DAT.-DEF. with 'with whom'
or-u-n šnorhiv REL-GEN.-DEF. grace.to 'grace to whom'	or-u-n masin REL-DAT.-DEF. about 'about whom'
or-u-n hamar REL-DAT.-DEF. for 'for whom'	etc.

Determination can be marked for *or* 'which' by the use of the canonical definite postposed article *–n* (*-ə* after consonant). In WArm it rarely combines with nominative or accusative, but more likely with cases known as attracting definite article in Modern Armenian (Ablative, Dative); see example no. (25a) below.

The relative pronoun may be congruent in number with the domain noun (PL. *or-onk'*), but this congruence is not mandatory (compare examples no. 24 and 26); it is more likely with oblique cases than direct cases, and in formal register than in colloquial register.

Every noun of the main clause may function as the head of a post-nominal finite relative clause. The positions accessible to relativization are:

argument: subject, object, indirect object, obliques

circumstant: time, place, manner, etc.

Adnominal functions, such as the genitive in *The edge of the pot where he put the flowers is chipped* are less accessible to relativization in Armenian, not only according to Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy, but also because of the strict left branching structure of the noun phrase. As for many Indo-European languages, the identification of the domain noun (case recovery) may be strictly semantic. In Armenian, there is a strong preference for the domain noun to precede immediately the RC, or at least, to be the last noun in the main clause before the relative pronoun -- which cannot be the position of a genitive. For relativization of the genitive, Armenian may use the correlative determinant *ayn*:

(25a) **ayn** mart-u-n gin-ə des-av, oru-n ot'on jax-er er
DEM person-GEN-DEF wife-DEF see.AOR3SG REL-GEN-DEF car sell-EVID AUX
'He saw the wife of the man to whom he sold his car.'

(25b) **ayn** tbroc'-i-n dnoren-ə desav, ur ir yerekha-n hivantac'-er er
DEM school-GEN-DEF director-DEF see.AOR3SG where poss child-DEF fell.ill-PFT AUXPAST
'He saw the director of the school, where his son felt ill.'

Dropping the correlative pronoun entails another interpretation (complement clause):

(25c) Tbroc'-i-n dnoren-ə desav, ur ir yerekha-n hivantac'-er er
school-GEN-DEF director-DEF see.AOR3SG where poss child-DEF fell.ill-PFT AUXPAST
'The director of the school saw where his child felt ill.'

Except specific contexts as in (25), the use of a correlative pronoun on the head (*ayn*) is standard in Eastern Armenian; in Western Armenian, its appearance is possible, but pertains to a more literary register: .

(26)

oronk'	*êin*	*ayn*	*anc-er-ə*	*or*	*hamarcagut'yun-ə*	
who-PL	be past.3pl	DEM	person-pl-def	REL	audacity-DEF	
un-ec'-an	*cašaran-i*	*mə*	*mêč*	*xmpovin*	*yerk-el-u*	
have-AOR-3pl	restaurant-GEN	indef	in	collectively	sing-inf-gen	

'Who where those persons who dared to sing together in a restaurant?'
(http://www.aztagdaily.com/archives/200142)

2.9.2. Pre-nominal non-finite relative clauses in Modern Armenian

This type is strongly predominant, in speech as well as (to a lesser extent) in written texts. There are three participles involved in non-finite relativization in Modern Armenian, characterized by their final morphemes:

{-oγ}, usually called 'present' or 'agentive' participle
{-ac}, usually called 'past', 'resultative', 'perfect' participle also used in analytical perfect form (default perfect in WA, stative-resultative perfect in EA[70])
{-elik'} usually called 'future' or 'prospective' participle

Labelling those participles is as problematic as it is in Turkish (see Haig 1998), even if Turkish and Armenian participles don't fully correspond[71].

Table 15: Turkish and Armenian inventory of participles involved in non-finite relativization

	Turkish	Armenian
subject relativization, imperfective	-An	- oγ
subject relativization, perfective	-mIş[72]	-ac
other than subject (unmarked aspect)	-dIk	
future (with some constraints)[73]	-AcAk	-elik'

Stem selection and tense/aspect feature of participles

The verbal paradigm generally marks aspectual meaning by selecting different stems for present or perfect. Interestingly, the participles in {*–oγ*} and {*–ac*} almost always combine with the same stems:

[70] Not considered as a tense slot, but as a VP adjective + copula by some grammarians of EA, since it is not attested with all semantical classes of verbs (stay>standing, lay>laying, sit>sitting, sleep>asleep, drink>drunk, but not run, be afraid, for example). These restrictions do not apply to WA (see Donabedian, Ouzounian 2008).

[71] One important difference is that in Turkish, they may also appear in other syntactic patterns, for example in complement clauses, where Armenian uses the infinitive. In Armenian, so-called infinitive is one of the verbal nouns availables, it is both used as a noun with respective morphology and syntax (keeping some of its verbal categories as polarity, aspect, and core argument structure), and as a complement invatiable infinitive. Conventionally we gloss them as INF in this paper.

[72] cf. Göksel&Kerslake 2005:455.

[73] The Turkic necessitative form *-mali, -meli*, based on an infinitive (verbal noun) root has also a WArm equivalent *-elu*, where *-u* is a regular Dative case marker, and cannot be used for relativization. Compare :

ən-elik` pan-s		do-FUTPART thing-poss1	'the thing I have to do'
ays pan-*ə ən-el-u em*	DEM	thing-DEF do-INF-DAT be.1SG	'I have to do this thing'.

- imperfective/present for *–el –il* verbs
- perfective for *–al* (including *–n-al* inchoatives) and the 4 non-regular verbs showing a contrast between present and infinitive stem (*eγ-oγ/aj* 'to be', *unec'-oγ/aj* 'to have', *kidc'-oγ/aj* 'to know', and *grc'-oγ/aj* 'can').

There are some smaller verb classes showing imperfective stem for - *oγ* and perfective for *–ac*:
- non-productive inchoatives (*tpč'il* 'to touch', *aŕnel* 'to take') and irregular verbs, such as: *udel* 'to eat', *kdnel* 'to find', *mdnel* 'to enter', and *yellel* 'to go out/up'.
- productive causatives (*md-nel* 'enter' > *md-c'n-el* 'to let enter'): *md–c'nel*> *md-c'noγ* / md-c'uc'-ac

Aspect correlation between stem selection and perfective meaning of the participles is not absolute, but there are no cases when the perfective participle combines with an imperfective stem, and an imperfective participle with a perfective stem. That suggests that the distribution is not at random. The aspectual meaning of {*-oγ*}/{*-ac*} participles is congruent with the stem selection strategy, while discrepancies are historically motivated, with a possible interaction of the prototypic valency/voice of the morphological verb classes.

Tense correlation is clear for {*-elik'}* (future, not-realized), even if the marking is not grammatically required. Modal meanings usually associated to the future are also observable (epistemic, deontic) with the participle. Nevertheless, {*-oγ/-ac}* are not tensed participles, but aspect-marked.

Syntactic features of participles
The participles in {*-oγ*}/{*-ac*} have a non-absolute affinity to subject and object functions:

(27a) Maro-i-n per-aj erexa-n
Maro-GEN-DEF bring-*ac* child-DEF (OBJ)
'The child Maro had.'
(27b) Maro-i-n per-elik' erexa-n
Maro-GEN-DEF bring- elik' child-DEF (OBJ)
'The child Maro will have .'
(27c) *Maro-i-n per-oγ erexa-n
Maro-GEN-DEF bring- oγ child-DEF (*OBJ)
(27d) Erexa per-oγ/-aj Maro-n
child bring-oγ/-ac Maro-DEF
'Maro, who had a child (SUBJ).' [74]

This affinity can be described as following:
The participle in {-oγ} marks only subject relativization with imperfective meaning.
The participle in {-ac} marks 1) relativization of the direct object (or non-subject functions) with unmarked aspect, and 2) relativization of subject with marked perfective aspect.

[74] See also in Turkish*: çocuk dünyaya getiren/doğuran Maro / çocuk dünyaya getirmiş* (or: *dünyaya getirmiş/doğurmuş olan*) *Maro*.

The participle in {-elik'} occurs freely as a tense-marked (future) equivalent of {–ac} only in non-subject relativization. For subject relativization, acceptability of examples may be variable (less agentive subjects only).

2.9.3. Syntax of non-finite relatives

Non-finite relative with its extensions has a similar distribution with a Noun Phrase (28) (29) or with an Adjective Phrase (30), with no distinction as regard to the concerned participle, all of them being nominalizable through the adjunction of an article. Internally, the relative participle phrase can include a direct object (32, 34b), an indirect object (35), a possessive referring to the agent (29) (36), an adverb (31) any kind of circumstants (30, 33). The participle himself keeps some verbal categories marking, namely negation and voice (37). The wide range of verbal categories or complementation included in the pre-nominal RC is the parameter answering the question on the boundary between adjectival clause and relative clause (as in example no 31).

(28) *šad* *kič'* *ankam* *gə badah-i ,* *or*
very few times KƏ happen-PRT3SG conj
[kirk' *gartac'-oγ]* *desn-em*
book read-*oγ* see-subj.prt.1sg
It hapepens very rarely that I see somebody reading a book (who read a book).
http://www.aztagdaily.com/archives/189130

(29) *Sireli* *gazmagerbič-ner,* *ĵišt* *e* *[cer* *ər-aj-ə]*
Dear organizer-PL right be-prt3sg your make-*ac*-DEF
'Dear organizers, what you do/did is right.'

(30) *[Burĵ-Hamud-i* *meč* *šin-v-elik']* *yergrortagan* *varžaran-i-n (…)*
Bourj-Hammoud-GEN in build-PASS-*elik'* secundary school-gen-def
'(…) to the secondary school that will be built in Bourj Hammoud.' (http://www.aztagdaily.com/archives/64776)

(31) *Hoyagab* *er* *Zadig-ə* *[nɑ ɾ* *jaγg-ac]* *jaγig-ner-ov*
Magnificent be.past.3sg Easter-DEF **new** blossom-*ac* flower-PL-INST
'Easter was magnificent with its **newly** blossomed flowers.' (N. Sarafian, Zatik)

(32) *bidi* *ert'-am* *[ʍʒ ʁ it'-ə* *šinoγ]* *martik-ə* *desn-em*
foot go-1 SG mosque-DEF build-*oγ* people-DEF see-1SG
'(No, I have no time) I have to go to see the men who are building the mosque.' (Corpus Svazlian)

(33) *meymənal* *tuŕ-ə* *gə pan-a* *[ire n* *ke t* *meŕn-oγ]* *p'astapan-ə]*
suddenly door-DEF KƏ open-3SG he.DAT with dye-*oγ* lawyer-DEF
'Suddenly the door is open buy the lawyer, which dies/died together with him.' (Corpus Svazlyan)

(34a) *kna!* *[ad* *jax-oγ-in]* *harc'-ur* *t'e…*
go this sell-*oγ*-GEN ask-IMP whether…
'Go and ask this seller, …'

(34b) *kna!* *[dun-ə* *jax-oγ-in]* *harc'-ur* *t'e…*
go house-DEF sell-*oγ*-GEN ask-IMP whether…
'Go and ask the one/man who is selling the house, …'

The nominalization of *kiner-u-n-ə* for *kiner-un matuc'- oγ-ner-ə)* in example no (35) shows that the prenominal RC is syntactically treated as a regular determinant of the noun:

(35) *[erigmart-oc'* *maduc'- oγ-ner-ə]* *êrigmart* *ein* *գին-ու-ն-ə* *gin-er*
man-GENPL serve-*oγ*-*PL*-DEF man be-past.sg woman-pl-gen-def women
'Men waiters were men, the ones waiting on women were women.' [Literally: 'Who was serving men were men, and the ones of women, women.'] (Corpus Svazlian)

Adnominal and free RCs

(36) *Paregam-s,* *es* *[k'u* *ər-ac]* *aŕudur-t* *mišt* *gə desnem,* *šah -aj-t*
friend-POSS1 i your make-ac business-POSS2 always KƏ view-PRT1SG gain-*ac*-POSS2
al *kid-em.* *ama* *inču* *amen* *irigun* *xanut'-t* *koc'el-u* *aden*
also now-PR1SG but why every night shop-POSS2 close-GEN time
«aysor *al* *ziyan* *ər-ink'»* *g'əs-es,* *ad* *čem* *hasknar*
today also loss do-AOR.1pl say-PRT.2SG that NEG.PRT.1SG understand
'My friend, I always see what business you do, I also know **what you win**, so why do you say every night when closing your shop: "Today we lost again", that's what I don't understand. (Corpus Svazlian)

Non-finite RC embedded in a postnominal finite RC

(37) *hramayagan* *garik'-ə* *un-ink'* *aynbisi* *γegavar-ner-u*
imperious need-DEF have-PRT.1PL such leader-PL-GEN
or-onk' *[ir-enc'* *hancn-v-ac]* *bašton-ə* *əmpŕn-en* *vorbes (…)*
REL-PL them-GEN-PL handle-PASS-*ac* function-DEF conceive-PRT.3PL as
'We imperiously need [such] leaders that conceive the function handled to them as…' (Aram Catholicos)

Case recovery in non-finite relative clauses:

Beside the relativization of the main constituents of the main clause, some peripheral functions may be relativized with no clear morphological marking, mainly Genitive and oblique functions, thus with some constraints to make case-recovery possible and relative clause interpretable.

a. Genitive relative clause:

(38) Mayr-ə terasanuhi eγ-oγ dγa-n.[75]
mother-DEF/POSS3 actress be-*oγ* boy-DEF
'The boy whose mother is an actress.'

(39) Danik-e-n k'ani mə gγmindr ing-ac dun-ə
roof-ABL-DEF/POSS3 several tile fell.down-*ac* house-DEF
'The house from whose roof[76] some tiles fell down.'

(40) Trac'i-n xoz mort'-oγ-ə betk'če šat zkayun əlla

[75] The acceptability of this example with an indefinite pronoun *mə (tun mə)* instead of the definite pronoun –n shows that there is no formal distinction between restrictive RC and descriptive RC in Armenian.
[76] Note that in Turkish, possessive is marked in such constructions, while in Armenian it is not possible: **ir danik-è-n*

Neighbor-DEF/POSS3 pork slaughter- oγ-DEF no.need too sensitive be
'(The man) whose neighbor slaughters pork does not need to be too sensitive …'

(41) ? Očxarh-ner-ə kayl-ə ger-aj kiuγac'i-ner-ə mia-c'an
sheep-PL-DEF wolf-DEF eat-*ac* peasant-PL-DEF come.together-AOR-3PL
?? The peasants whose sheep the wolf ate came together ??

The acceptability of these examples is higher if the predication refers to state or quality (with binary underlying structure subject/predicate), and lower if it refers to dynamical/ongoing processes with more complex argument structure, and thus, more potential ambiguity. On the acceptability scale, the examples can be grouped in ascending order from (38) to (41) (note that in example no. (40), the process seems a dynamic one, but the main clause shows that the interpretation is generic).

Embedded genitives are impossible in Armenian RCs based on participles, unlike in Turkish :
(42) (Turkish) Kız-ı-(n)a piyano ders-ler-i ver-diğ-im kadın
'The woman, the daughter of whom I gave piano lessons'

In WArm such a sentence has to be expressed with a postverbal finite relative clause[77]:

(43) Gin-ə, or-un aγčig-i-n tašnag-i tas dv-aj.em…
wife/woman-DEF REL-DAT daughter-DAT-DEF/POSS3 piano-GEN lesson give-PERF1SG
'The woman, the daughter of whom I gave piano lessons'

b. Indirect argument and circumstancial relative clause:

Colloquial Western Armenian allows many other functions/units of the main clause to be relativized by a participle[78], like non explicit oblique roles:

(44) Kirk'-ə hancn-ac dbaran-ə kna-c'
book-DEF/POSS3 remit-ac press-DEF go-AOR.3sg
'He went to the printing house **where** he hand over his book.'

In contrast to Turkish, such examples are more likely if the agent is in the 3rd person, because of the unmarkedness of the POSS3 marker (similar to the definite article). Moreover, (44a) could be acceptable either with the POSS1 on *kirk*'or on *dbaran*, showing that the case recovery is not strictly

[77] Attempts to build an equivalent of (42) in WArm lead to an uninterpretable sentence:
(43b) * Aγčig-i-n tašnag-i tas dv-aj gin-**s**
daughter-GEN/DAT-DEF/POSS3 piano-GEN lesson give-ac wife/woman-**POSS1**
The interpretation could eventually be 'My wife, who gives her/his daughter piano lessons.', since the possessive leads to the interpretation of gin as 'my wife', that is, a specific NP, and no no meaning can be assigned to *tašnag-i tas dv-ac* as a non-finite restrictive relative clause.
The main structural reason for this impossibility is that in WArm the possessive-like agent marker has to be on the head noun (in (43), *gin-s*) while in fact it is semantically relevant to the participle (in (43), dv-aj), and in this case the possessive interpretation overrides the agent interpretation. The example above (43b) would be interpretable with a definite article -ə (poss3) instead of -s (poss1) ('The woman, who gives her/his daughter piano lessons) but in this case we come back to an object relative clause.

[78] Dum-Tragut explicitly says that circumstancial functions or postpositional circumstances cannot be relativized with a participle; this is certainly not true for Western Armenian (and probably also for Eastern Armenian). The explanation could be a narrower use in normative than in colloquial language, and the semantic constraints detailed under examples (43) and (44).

syntactically marked for all relative clauses marking oblique functions, since the possessive-like agent marker cannot be on the verbal noun (see footnote no 78):

(44a) ? Kirk'-ə/s hancn-ac-*s dbaran-ə/s kna-c'
book-DEF/POSS1 remit-ac-*POSS1 press-DEF/POSS1 go-AOR.3sg
? He went to the printing house where I remitted the book

But to express this meaning it is more likely that the speaker will choose either a postnominal finite relative clause where the syntaxic role is overtly marked, either a prenominal nonfinite relative clause with an argumental function as in (44b):

(44b) Kirk'-s hradaragac dbaran-ə kna-c'
book-DEF/POSS3 remit-ac-*POSS1 press-DEF go-AOR.3sg
'He went to the printing house which edited my book'.

For the same reasons, speakers will avoid to build a RC like (45):

(45) ? Amen or jaγig dvac gin-s
Every day flower give-ac woman-POSS1
* 'My wife, who give flowers every day'
? 'The woman, whom I give flowers every day'

The first interpretation is syntacticaly more likely, but is blocked by the fact that the possessive leads to interprete *gin-s* as 'my wife', that is a specific NP, what is uncompatible with the restrictive meaning of a prenominal relative clause. The second interpretation is syntactically the only valid one, but the saliency of the meaning 'my wife' for *gin-s* make it difficult to recover. In Turkish, however, there is no restriction to a construction like (45): (*Kendisine*) *Her gün çiçek verdiğim bayan*.

Circumstancial functions may also be specified with an adposition (as the postposition *yedev*, 'behind' in (46), with a loose syntactic bounding but less semantic ambiguity than in previous examples:

(46) (ir ?) yedev-ə dnoren-ə nst-ac baštonea-n …
(he-GEN?) behind director-DEF/POSS3 sit-*ac* employee-DEF
'The employee behind whom the/his director is seated …'

General conclusions on relativized functions and case recovery in Armenian compared with Turkish

There are two main reasons for more flexible case recovery in Turkish than in WArm, both related to a more explicit marking of syntactic functions in Turkish than in Armenian.

- In WArm, direct case (ø morpheme) expresses either direct subject, direct object and locative/allative, what makes difficult to recover the case in complex syntaxic structures, even more in the non finite RC where no relative pronoun is able to mark the function. (see 41; for this reason also it is easier to process sentences where the object is the same as the subject of the main clause in WArm).
- Moreover, in the non finite prenominal relative clause, the possessive enclitic marking the agent is affixed to the hean noun, and non to the participle, leading to ambiguities with a real

possessive. In Turkish[79], by contrary, the agent of the process the participle describes is marked by possessive suffix on the participle (give-ac-POSS1 woman-DEF in the Turkish equivalent to (45), what is allowed also in EArm: *Grac-s girk'-ə* (write-ac-POSS1 book-DEF), as opposed to WArm *Grac girk'-s* (write-ac book-POSS1) (The book I wrote). It also explains restrictions on multiple possessive marking in the WArm non finite relative clause.

In fact, in WArm non-finite RC is a very flexible structure regarding accessible functions. Moreover, it has the advantage of preserving verb final word order. For this reason it is clearly preferred in colloquial speech. But constraints on its use in syntactically complex environnements lead to prefer finite RCs which allow overt syntaxic marking. For this reason finite relative clauses are dominant in formal and written style.

3. Conclusive remarks

As we saw, Western Armenian shows a combination of inherited and contact-induced features; both display internal congruence and are irregularly distributed across the system. It is clear that intensive multilingualism and especially intensive contact with Turkish (direct and indirect, since other languages in contact with WArm, Kurmanji, Zazaki, Antioche Arabic dialect, Laz, etc. are also strongly influenced by Turkish) created the conditions for the innovations observed between ClArm and WArm, even if most of them are compatible with internal change.

At all levels the extent of typological features converging with Turkish is impressive; they appear in phonology, especially in the area of stops, in noun morphology, in diathetic derivation of verbs, in the syntax of the NP, which does not display number concord with numerals, uses invariable adjectives. Other contact-influenced syntactic patterns are the strong head-final tropism inside the NP and the independent clause, and the innovative left branching strategies for subordination, including relative clauses. In the context of a growing tendency to the use of left-branching structures, the clausal enclitic conditional marker *ne* is based on inherited material; inherited participles are applied to form prenominal non-finite relative clauses, quite similar to the syntactic strategy of Turkish.

Contact-induced innovations also concern the organization of grammatical categories; the most salient example of convergence through contact is the creation of an evidential/mirative perfect, which modifies the economy of past perfect tenses.

Language contact also influenced some changes occurring in the morphological material (see footnote 23); yet, with the exception of some units used in strongly dialectal speech (such as *deyi*), none of them can be considered as a morphological borrowing or integration.[80] The plural morpheme {*-er*}/{*-ner*}, the evidential/mirative participle ending *-er*, and the continuous present particle *gor* are the result of a convergence with Turkish (respectively the Turkish plural {*-lEr*}, the aorist in {*–dir}*,

[79] There are also Turkic varieties that express the agent with a POSS on the head: *Mänim oxu-ɣan ketab-ım* 'The book I read', that would deserve comparison (C. Bulut, personal communication).
[80] On the concept of integration, see Matras 2000.

and the continuous present in {*–yor*} in the internal change occurring on the basis of inherited material.

Conditions for contact-induced grammatical change

The kind of changes WArm has undergone through intense contact with Turkish establish *contact induced innovations*; they owe their existence to the influence of Turkish and to other motivations for linguistic change, such as cross-linguistic typological tendencies and internal change.

Most of them may be analyzed as calques; they may allow a reorganization of grammatical categories -- such as, for instance, the semantical reinterpretation of the historical perfect into an evidential perfect, while recreating a new resultative perfect -- or of syntactic patterns (such as non-finite relative clauses, or more generally subordination), imitating Turkish models. The question whether those changes were made possible because of structural compatibility is complex to answer. Concerning evidentiality, the answer is provided firstly by Armenian diachrony and dialectology: (For ClArm and EArm, Lyonnet (1933) and Kozintseva (1994) both underline the modal connotations of the perfect in systems where it is not contrasting with a neutral perfect); secondly by other languages of the area (cf. Johanson & Utas 2000, Guentcheva 1996 and many others) and thirdly by linguistic typology (Cohen 1985 and many others about the modal meanings of the perfect cross-linguistically). The compatibility concerns the involved categories themselves rather than the structure of the linguistic systems in contact.

Concerning relative clauses, the issue of structural compatibility is indeed pertinent. What made possible this change in Armenian is the overall shift into head-final word order. But what was the origin of this shift? Given the *genetic predisposition of the individual language* (according to the parameter suggested by Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark (1986:534), mentioned also in Haig 2001:200) it seems unlikely that this feature provided a condition in which two languages have affected each other – especially as ClArm is an Indo-European language. On the other hand ClArm displays a number of features which are not typical of Indo-European languages. Supposedly these features, which may be traces of the Urartian substratum, point to some covert typological 'predisposition' in ClArm and enable this level of permeability to typological change. Differences between WArm and Turkish prenominal relative clause show that the innovation in WArm cannot be interpreted as a total calque from Turkish, and even less as a *metatypy* according to (Ross, 1996). The fact that the agent marking through possessive is on the head noun in WArm (and not in the participle as in Turkish) show that the verb/noun distinction is much stronger in WArm than in Turkish, and explains why in some cases the calque is not possible in Armenian (see explanations following examples no. 42-45 about the relativization of the embedded genitive). The case of the hypothetical subordination with the postposed conjunction *ne* (interestingly characteristic of a much more colloquial or dialectal register) is quite different, showing a real calque with reinterpretation of inherited material (see fig. 4).

Western Armenian in the assumed linguistic areas of the region

The case of Western Armenian can also put some light on the areal modelization of the region where it is spoken. As for (Haig 2015:2/27), *East Anatolia is a transitional, or overlap zone (…) at the cusp of a number of distinct macro-regions. All the languages of East Anatolia have close relatives in neighbouring regions; its linguistic diversity is thus not indigenous, but a secondary product of its transitional status. (…) some of the linguistic features characterizing the languages of the region*

cannot be explained in terms of diffusion from neighboring regions, but are specific compromise responses to conflicting typological profiles of the neighboring languages.

In fact, divergences between Eastern Armenian and Western Armenian confirm this approach. Haig (2014: 28) suggests possible features for distinguishing the Caspian/Caucasian sphere from Mesopotamian sphere. If they are applied to both standards of Armenian, we see that for WArm, only the prefixed tense/aspect marker in the present indicative is related to Mesopotamian Zone, the other features are clearly Caspian/Caucasian, while EArm is, as Haig suggests, typical for the Caspian/Caucasian sphere.

To enlighten the position of EArm and WArm in Eastern Anatolia as a transition zone, we provide a table of features mentioned as typical for the Araxes-Iran linguistic area by (Stilo 2005, 2012), (table no. 16), and a table of features of some of the languages of the Eastern Anatolian transitional zone proposed by G. Haig (2015:22/27) (table no. 17). Corresponding information provided for Western Armenian -- which none of these studies considers -- and Eastern Armenian establish a basis for a comparison. Some features attested in non-standard forms of Modern Armenian are also mentioned as (NS), when they match with an isogloss relevant for the area. The present material shall also inspire further studies on this topic.

Table 16: WArm, EArm and Isoglosses of the Araxes-Iran Linguistic Area **(D. Stilo 2005, 2012)**

Phonemic Isoglosses	WArm	EArm	NS
1. č/c (= ts) distinction (+ phonemic; ± non-phonemic)	+	+	
2. Three-way distinction in stop series (incl. glottalized or similar: b, pʔ, ph; d, tʔ, th; j, čʔ, čh; etc.)	-	+	
3. Status of /f/ (+ has /f/ throughout; ± has /f/ in loanwords; - lacks /f/)	+	+	
4. Initial consonant clusters (no transition vowels)	+/-	+/-	
5. At least one front rounded vowel (ü, ö)	+	-	
6. Back unrounded vowel (ï/ɯ)	+	+	
7. Final stress (in bare stems devoid of inflectional morphology)	+	+	-
Grammatical isoglosses			
8. Singular after numbers and quantifiers	+/-	+/-	
9. Classifiers occur between numeral and noun ("3 books" = "3 seed book")	+/-	+/-	+
10. Possessive pronoun is an oblique form encliticized to noun	+	+	
11. Possessive pronoun is an independent form that precedes head noun (including discussion of Buffer Zone phenomena where both #10 and #11 are in effect simultaneously)	+	+	
12. Periphrastic present/progressive formed with copula	-	+	
13. "Want" requires subjunctive of subordinate verb (- implies use of infinitive)	-	+	+
14. "Want" precedes subordinate verb (want-go)	+	+	
15. Passive formed: + morphologically/synthetically; - with light verb)	+	+	
16. Differential accusative marking: only specific (± animate) objects marked	+/-	+	+
17. (TEMP)-X-O non-specific-V (+ this order most common; - other order)			
18. (TEMP)-O specific-X-V (+ this order most common; - other order)			
Lexical domain (calques, Wanderwörter, isosemies, corresponding			

polysemies, etc.)			
13. “Girl/daughter” are distinguished	+/-	+/-	-
20. “Boy/son” are distinguished	+/-	+/-	-
21. “Cat” is the same root as English "cat" (qatu, kʔatʔa, kalégæ, etc.)	+	+	
22. “Want” and “must” are the same verb (maybe different case marking on noun)	-	-	
23. “Very” = “very (adj)”, “much/many (noun)”, “(verb) much” (same word for three environments)	+	+	
24. Of a list of 50 verbs, how many are simplex roots, how many are light verb constructions?	-	+	

Table 17: WArm and EArm and features characterizing East-Anatolian transitional zone (Haig 2015:22/27)

Features

1 Local relations (in, at, from etc.) expressed through prepositions
2 Same set of clitic pronouns attaching both to verbs as object indices, and to nouns as possessors
3 Noun - Possessor, Noun - Adjective word order in the NP
4 Post-predicate recipients of GIVE
5 Lack of postpositional marking of addressees of verbs of speech
6 indicative/aspectual prefix on present tense verb forms
7 Grammatical gender
8 VO word order
9 Finite complement of WANT

	CK[81]	Ar. A	NENA	Dom	NK	Za	Tu	Hom	Laz	EA	WA
1	+	+	+	+?	+/-	+/-	-	-	-	-/+	-/+[82]
2	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-[83]
3	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4	+	+	+	+?	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	-/+ (+)[84]
5	+	+	+	+?	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	+	+	+/-	-	+	-	-	+/-	-	-	+[85]
7	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
8	-	+	+/-	+?	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-[86]
9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/-	?	-	- / +	- / (+)

[81] Languages mentioned in the table are respectively 1) Central Kurdish, 2) Arabic dialects of Anatolia, 3) North Eastern Neo-Aramaic, 4) Domari, 5) Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji), 6) Zazaki, 7) Turkish, 8) Homshetsma (Armenian dialect of Hemshin), 9) Laze. We added to the inventory Eastern Armenian and standard Western Armenian.
[82] Residual prepositions from ClArm.
[83] Armenian is out of the clitics area, except some marginal phenomena resulting from contact with Persian in Iran.
[84] Feature not specific to the recipiend, behave like other preverbal complements, but can be postposed if the information structure requires that (in quotes).
[85] This feature shows a gap between EArm and WArm.
[86] See footnote no 59.

By concluding this extensive survey with Haig's and Stilo's tables fulfilled with respective Western Armenian features , we hope we made easier to account for WArm data in further studies about this area.

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