



Arm. & W.Mlr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

Syntactic parallels between West Middle Iranian and Classical Armenian

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Outline

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syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Language Contact
- 3 Canonical Reflexive
- 4 Intensifier & Anaphor
- 5 Quotatives
- 6 *ezāfe*
- 7 Conclusions



Introduction: Armenian & Iranian language

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ Armenian was thought to belong to the Iranian phylum until HÜBSCHMANN (1875)
- ▶ strong influence from Iranian languages (Old and West Middle Iranian) in many categories: phonology, lexicon, derivational morphology, syntax
- ▶ since MEILLET (1911–2) clear that main influence from Parthian (North West Middle Iranian)
- ▶ statistics suggest that only 22% of Classical Armenian vocabulary (as per HÜBSCHMANN's 1897 analysis) are *echtarmenisch*, more than 30% Parthian (BELARDI 2003:98–102)



Armenian & Iranian ‘politics’

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ 6th – 3rd century BCE: Achaemenid satrapy under Iranian rule, then independent (Orontid dynasty)
- ▶ mid-3rd century BCE – early 1st century CE: independent kingdoms, unified in an Empire in 1st century BCE (Artaxiads)
- ▶ 66 – 428 CE: Arsacid rule (junior branch of Parthian ruling dynasty)
- ▶ intermittently Roman protectorate or occupied by Sasanian forces (at least in part)

thus ruled by Iranians for c. 1,000 years

- ▶ for further reference, cf. GARSOÏAN (1997*a,b,c*); RUSSELL (1997)



Armenian & Iranian merging

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ establishment of a *hereditary* dynasty from early 3rd century CE
- ▶ fall of the Parthian Empire (224 CE), ensuing political quarrels with the Sasanian successor state
- ▶ Christinisation of Armenia in c. 301–14 – as opposed to Sasanian Zoroastrianism
- ▶ frequent Armenian–Iranian intermarriage, tutelage (*դաշնակ*) system
- ▶ ‘death’ of Parthian in the region

Suggestion:

- ▶ Parthian minority ruling class superstrate shifts to Armenian
- ▶ arguably not the first shift in Parthian history (cf. Parnians; HENNING 1958; LECOQ 1986)
- ▶ cp. situation in post-conquest Britain (BERNDT 1965; SCHENDL 2000; SHORT 1980)



Iranian influence: lexicon I

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- ▶ Pth. loans are pervasive throughout lexicon (specialised and basic), incl. closed classes

Pth. loan words in Arm.

	Arm.	Pth.
‘army’	<i>զաւր</i>	<i>z’wr /zāwar/</i>
‘root’	<i>բուն</i>	<i>bwn /bun/</i>
‘white’	<i>սպիտակ</i>	<i>‘spyd /ispēd/</i>
‘1,000’	<i>հազար</i>	<i>hz’r /hazār/</i>
‘because of’	<i>վասն</i>	<i>wsn’d /wasnād/</i>

- ▶ Middle Persian and Old Iranian loans restricted to specialised vocabulary (esp. administration, military)
- ▶ Pth. phonemes are imported with lexical items (spreading into native words)
- ▶ cf. BOLOGNESI (1960); MEYER (2017); SCHMITT (1983)



Iranian influence: lexicon II

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syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- ▶ calques of various types occur, esp. in complex predicates and nominal compounds

Pth. calques in Arm.

	Arm.	Pth.	lit.
‘friend’	բարեկամ	šyrg’mg /šīrgāmag/	‘well-wisher’
‘prisoner’	ձերբակալ	dstgrb /dastgraβ/	‘taken by the hand’
‘to remove’	հեռի առնել	dwr kr- /dūr kar-/	‘to make far’

- ▶ complex predicates frequently only attested in Modern Persian evidence owing to limited Middle Iranian data
- ▶ further reference: BOLOGNESI (1961, 2006)
- ▶ host of onomastic links (cf. SCHMITT 1984, 1998; also †H.-P.Ritter/H.Martirosyan *in preparation*)



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syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- ▶ canonical reflexive Arm. **աՆՃՆ իւր** modelled on Pth. *xwys̄ gryw /xwēš grīw/* ‘own body/self’
- ▶ the intensifier Arm. **ինքն** ‘self’ also used as anaphora and (to a lesser extent) as switch-function marker – exact parallel in Pth. and MP (MEYER 2013)
- ▶ complementiser Arm. **(b)թէ** also used as quotative and indirect statement/question marker, just like WMLr. *kw /kū/* (rare elsewhere; MEYER 2017)
- ▶ relative pronoun Arm. **որ** also used as *ezāfe*-style NP-link

- ▶ [the morphosyntactic alignment of the Classical Armenian perfect in **-բալ** (cf. MEYER 2014, 2016, 2017)]



Linguistic Concepts I

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

Pattern Replication

- ▶ structural borrowing of a linguistic pattern from a model to a target language
- ▶ involves polysemy / polyfunctionality copying and pivot matching

Polysemy / Polyfunctionality Copying

- ▶ the potential of a structure in the replica language to cover the (lexical or grammatical) semantics represented by the model (cf. MATRAS AND SAKEL 2007:852)

Pivot Matching

- ▶ ‘identifying a structure that plays a pivotal role in the model construction, and matching it with a structure in the replica language, to which a similar, pivotal role is assigned in a new, replica construction’ (MATRAS AND SAKEL 2007:830)



Linguistic Concepts II

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

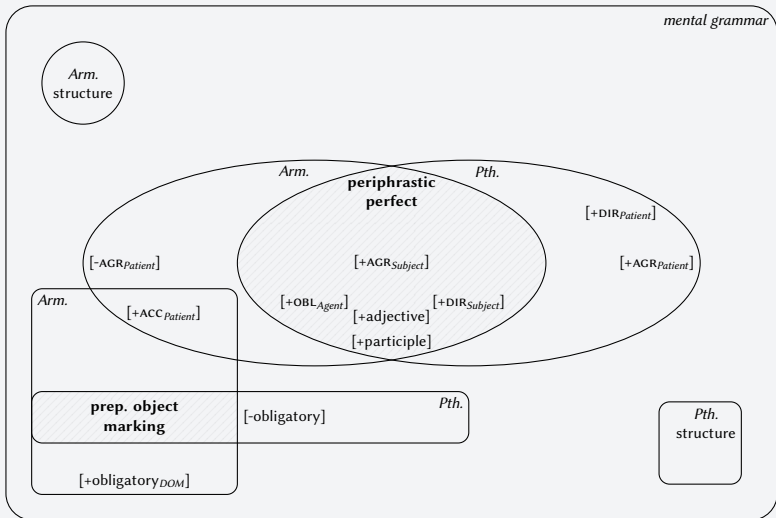
Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions





Canonical Reflexive I

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ canonical reflexive: expression of direct object co-referent with the subject of the clause
- ▶ Indo-Iranian languages share an innovative expression of reflexivity
- ▶ periphrasis: ‘self’-word together with word for ‘body’ or ‘soul’
- ▶ etymology: PIE *s_{ux}e-, cp. Lat. *se*, Gk. ἐ-(αὐτόν), OHG *sih*, ON *sik*
thus YAv. *huua- tanu-*, Ved. (*sva-*) *tanũ-*, WMLr. *xwyš gryw /xwēš grīw/*
or *xwyš tn /xwēš tan/*



Canonical Reflexive II

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

(1) *paoirīm upa maγəm hakərəṭ āpō āaṭ*
first.ACC.SG.M at hole.ACC.SG.M once water.ACC.PL.F then

huuḡm tanūm pairi-yaoždaiṭiṭa
own.ACC.SG.F body.ACC.SG.F cleanse.3.SG.PRS.OPT.MID

‘At the first hole he shall purify himself once with water.’ (YAv.; Vidēvdāt 9.31)

(2) ... *utá sváyā tanvā sám vade*
and **own.INS.SG.F body.INS.SG.F** together talk.1.SG.PRS.MID

‘... and I talk with myself’ (Ved.; RV 7.86.2)



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Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (3) 'w=s'n xwd ''z xwys̄ gryw 'ndr 'myxt
and=3.PL_i ANA greed **3.POSS_i soul** in mix.PST_i

'And they [the plants] then mixed in themselves him [the Third Messenger] and Greed.' (MP; MMi. B I Ri (6))

- (4) 'yg 'wymyzdgt'c' wd 'zdygr yzd 'y myhr yzd 'wd
then Call and Answer Lord REL Mihr Lord and
srygrqyrb 'y 'whrmызdby m'd 'br xwys̄ **tn**
woman REL First Man mother to/upon **3.POSS body**

'Then Call and Lord Answer, who is Lord Mihr, and a woman, the mother of the First Man, to/upon himself/themselves ...'
(MP; MMi., 178 (y, 7, 2, M_7984, II, Rii, 10))



Canonical Reflexive IV

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ Classical Armenian has calqued this phrase / replicated this pattern in the form of **անձն իւր** (or with any other possessive pronoun)

(5) *yet aysorik darjeal yaytneac' z=anjn*
 after DEM.GEN.SG again reveal.3.SG.AOR OBJ=**soul.ACC.SG**
iwr Yisus ašakertac'=n iwroc' ar
3.POSS Jesus.NOM.SG disciple.DAT.PL=DET 3.POSS.GEN.PL at
covezerb=n Tibereay
 sea-shore.INS.SG=DET Tiberias.GEN.SG

‘Thereafter Jesus revealed himself again to his disciples, at the shore of Lake Tiberias.’ (Jn. 21:1)



Canonical Reflexive V

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (6) *Yisus K'ristos, or i k'ēn=d*
 Jesus.NOM.SG Christ.NOM.SG REL by 2.SG.ABL.SG=DET
arāk'ec'aw ar mez ... ew nkareac' ew
 send.3.SG.AOR.PASS to 1.PL.ACC and depict.3.SG.AOR and
*tpaworeac' z=**anjn** iwr i stelcowacs*
 imprint.3.SG.AOR OBJ=**soul.ACC.SG 3.POSS** in creature.ACC.PL
jerac' iwroc'
 hand.GEN.PL 3.POSS.GEN.PL
 'Jesus Christ, who was sent by you to us, ... and who depicted
 and imprinted himself on the creatures of his own hands ...'
 (Ag. §95)



Intensifier & Anaphor I

Arm. & WMr.
syntax

R. Meyer
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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ both WMr. languages use a marker based on the reflexive root PIE *sue- as an intensifier, viz. Pth. *wxd* /*wxad*/, MP *xwd* /*xwad*/
- ▶ always preceded by (pro-)noun
- ▶ cp. NE ‘Peter saw it *himself*.’, Fr. ‘Pière l’a vu *lui-même*.’

(7) 'w=š yyšw' w'(x)t kw nxw(š)[t] tw **wxd** w'xt
 and=3.SG Jesus speak.PST COMP first 2.SG INT speak.PST
 kw 'z hym ...
 COMP 1.SG.DIR be.1.SG.PRS

‘And Jesus said to him: “You yourself said that I am ...” (Pth.; MKG 1193)



Intensifier & Anaphor II

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

(8) *ky xwys̄ gryw byrwn dyd 'ndrwn ny dyd h''n*
REL own soul outwardly see.PST inwardly NEG see.PST 3.SG

xwd qmb bwyd 'ny=c ks qmb
INT lesser become.3.SG.PRS other=EMPH INDF lesser

kwnd

make.3.SG.PRS

‘He, who himself saw but from the outside, and did not see the inside, he becomes little and makes others little.’ (MP; BBB 549)



Intensifier & Anaphor III

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ from the intensifier function have developed, presumably under pronoun ellipsis, two types of anaphoric usages
- ▶ switch-function marking anaphor: matrix clause object → subordinate clause subject (9)
- ▶ subject resumption anaphor: demarcates re-uptake of matrix clause after interruption (10)

(9) *'wd jnyd* (*'w h*)[*w*] *d'lwg mrnyh cy wxd 's(t)*
 and fell.3.SG.PRS OBJ DEM.SG tree_i deadly_i REL ANA_i be.3.SG.PRS
[xyn
 hatred

'And he fells the Tree of Death, which itself is hatred.' (Pth.; LN 27)



Intensifier & Anaphor IV

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (10) 'wt pt r'h kw šwyd tgnbnd 'w dšt 'yw wzrg w̄
 and on path when go.3.SG.PRS quickly to steppe_i one great and
 wy'b'n y'dyndyh 'wt 'škyft grm 'hyn(dy)h 'wt **wxd**
 desolate reach.3.SG.OPT_j and very hot be.3.SG.OPT_i and **ANA_j**
 wgwd wšynd 'wt tšynd 'hyndyh
 be-malnourished.PST_j hungry and thirsty be.3.SG.OPT_j
 'And on the path, as he walks, he quickly reaches a great and
 desolate steppe. And it was very hot, and he was starving,
 hungry and thirsty.' (Pth.; MKG 797)



Intensifier & Anaphor V

Arm. & WMr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ Classical Armenian has replicated the functional distribution in Arm. *հնքն*
 - ▶ like in WMr., its use is pragmatically motivated (not syntactically required)
 - ▶ owing to differences between the languages (Armenian has overt case marking), the latter two functions are statistically less common
- this tripartite functional distribution is unlikely to have arisen independently in both languages
- replication of the Armenian pattern on the WMr. model a likely explanation (with the intensifier as the pivot)



Intensifier & Anaphor VI

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (11) *kam orpes z=noyn ink'n ašxarhi hoviw*
 or how OBJ=same.ACC.SG INT land.GEN.SG shepherd.ACC.SG
kac'uc'eal, vayelēin i norun
 appoint.PTCP.NOM enjoy.3.PL.PST in same.GEN.SG
vardapetut'ean=n
 teaching.LOC.SG=DET
 'Or how they appointed the very same man as shepherd of the
 land, and enjoyed his teaching.' (Intensifier; Ag. §14)



Intensifier & Anaphor VII

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (12) *es gitem zi i hrapoyrs*
 1.SG.NOM know.1.SG.PRS COMP in attraction.ACC.PL
ařn=d aydorik eleal ēk' duk'
 man.GEN.SG=DET_i DEM.GEN.SG_i come.PTCP be.2.PL.PRS 2.PL.NOM
k'anzi ink'n axtac'eal ē marmnov
 because ANA_i be-sick.PTCP be.3.SG.PRS body.INS.SG
 'I know that you have been seduced (lit. come in the spell) of
 this man, [but] because he is sick of body ...' (Switch-function
 marking anaphor; Et. p. 169)



Intensifier & Anaphor VIII

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (13) *ew ibrew emut i nawn, gnac'in zkni*
 and when enter.3.SG.AOR in ship.ACC.SG go.3.PL.AOR after
nora ašakert-k'=n. ew aha šaržumn
 DEM.GEN.SG disciple-PL=DET and behold earthquake.NOM.SG
mec etew i covu=n ... ew ink'n
 big.NOM.SG become.3.SG.AOR in sea.LOC.SG=DET and **ANA**
nnjēr
 sleep.3.SG.PST

‘And when he embarked upon the ship, his disciples followed him. And behold, there was a great earthquake in the sea And he was asleep.’ (Subject resumption anaphor; Mt. 8:24)



Quotatives I

Arm. & WMr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ WMr. uses the complementiser *kw* /*kū*/ to mark both direct statements and direct questions (incl. those with *wh*-words)
- ▶ etymology: originally interrogative/relative ‘where(?)’, cp. GAv. *kū*
- ▶ though most common, it is not obligatory with direct speech/questions

(14) *'wd kd twr'n š'h dyd kw qyrbkr 'br 'x'st*
 and when Tūrān king see.PTCP **COMP** benefactor up rise.PTCP
 ‘And when the king of Tūrān saw that the benefactor had risen,
 ...’ (Pth.; M8286/I/R/1–3; standard COMP)



Quotatives II

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (15) ('w=š w)'(cyd kw 'fr)[yd] bw'h
and=3.SG.OBL say.3.SG.PRS **QUOT** bless.PTCP be.2.SG.SBJV

'And he says to him: Blessed be you!' (Pth.; M8286/I/V/7–14;
direct speech)

- (16) ws(n)'d b't zr'd kw cy wsn'd drwšt ny
because PN be-angry.PTCP **QUOT** what because well NEG
bw̄t
become.PTCP

'Because of Bat he was/became angry [saying]: Why (lit.
because of what) has he not become well?' (Pth.; MKG
1210–11; direct question with *wh*-word)



Quotatives III

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ a very similar constellation (though with different non-quotative functions) is found in Classical Armenian with the complementiser (*b*)թէ
- ▶ Armenian further uses COMP to mark indirect speech/questions, though these are rare and frequently difficult to tell apart from direct ones
- ▶ for reported speech in Classical Armenian in general, cf. OUZOUNIAN 1992

→ to find COMP used as QUOT is not unusual

BUT to find it before (in-)direct *wh*-questions is very uncommon



Quotatives IV

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (17) *k'anzi gitemk' t'ē na ē čšmarit*
 because know.1.PL.PRS **COMP** 3.SG.NOM be.3.SG.PRS true

Astuac

God

‘Because we know that he is the true God.’ (Ag. §253; standard **COMP**)

- (18) *isk nok'a asēin t'ē cano*
 PTC 3.PL.NOM say.3.PL.PST **QUOT** make-know.2.SG.AOR.IMP
mez ew hastatea z=mits mer
 1.PL.ACC and confirm.2.SG.AOR.IMP OBJ=mind.ACC.PL 1.PL.POSS

‘Then they said: Inform us and confirm our minds ...’ (Ag. §245; direct speech)



Quotatives V

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

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bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- (19) *ew ert'eweks areal and xoran=n asē c'na*
 and go-to-and-fro.CVB in tent=DET say.3.SG.PRS IOBJ=3.SG.ACC
yoržam i parsik i hołoy=n i veray čemein
 when in Persian in soil.LOC.SG=DET atop walk.3.PL.PST
t'ē andēr? etler im t'snami, Aršak ark'ay
QUOT why become.2.SG.AOR 1.SG.POSS enemy, PN king
Hayoc'
 Armenian.GEN.PL

‘And as they were toing and froing in the tent, he said to him as they were walking on top of Persian soil: Why did you become my enemy, King Aršak of the Armenians?’ (P‘B IV.54; direct question with *wh*-word)



ezāfe I

Arm. & WMr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- ▶ *ezāfe*-style noun phrase linking occurs in both WMr. languages
- ▶ this function is fulfilled by Pth. *cy /čē/* (=REL.INAN), MP ‘*y /ī/* (only *ezāfe*)

but there is a fine line between nominal relative clauses and NP-linking (cf. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014:266–8)



ezāfe II

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- (20) *kw 'dg hym (kw) 'y(m) 'pdn wyg('n)n [ky]*
 and able be.1.SG.PRS COMP DEM temple destroy.1.SG.SBJV **REL**
(pd) ds(t) qyr(d)
 by hand build.PTCP

'I am able to destroy this temple, which [was] built by hand.'
 (Pth.; MKG 1180–94; RC w/ PTCP)

- (21) *wd '(hyn)jyd (')w br'dr-'n ky pd jfr'(n)*
 and draw.3.SG OBJ brother-PL **REL** in abyss

'And he draws [up] the brothers, who [are] in the abyss.' (Pth.;
 GW §34; RC w/ PP)



ezāfe III

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

R. Meyer
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bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

(22) *m'd cy dyw-'n*
mother **EZ** demon-PL

‘mother of demons’ (Pth.; KPT 1194–96)

(23) *pd šnng 'wd srwd cy (š)'dyft*
with harp and song **EZ** friendship

‘with the harp and song of friendship’ (Pth.; M5569/R/10–11)



ezāfe IV

Arm. & WMr.
syntax

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bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- ▶ Classical Armenian has similar structures, also relying on REL, Arm. *որ*, to function as EZ

Question:

Is it necessary to assume language contact in this scenario, too?

- ▶ there are numerous other types of nominal relative clauses in Armenian
- ▶ nominal relative clauses also exist pervasively in other IE languages
- ▶ *ezāfe*-style NP linking does not gain anywhere near the currency in Armenian as it does in WMr.



MEILLET (1910–11:345)

[L]’examen des exemples écarte absolument l’hypothèse d’une influence iranienne [...] Le plus souvent, la phrase relative sans verb «être» est très courte; elle se compose du relatif et d’un mot précédé de préposition ou du génitif de l’anaphorique, mais non pas d’un adjectif ou d’un génitif quelconque.

- ▶ also on this matter, cf. AJELLO (1973, 1997); MEILLET (1899-1900, 1906–08)



ezāfe VI

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

- (24) *anun Astucoy or teain=n*
 name.NOM.SG God.GEN.SG **REL.NOM.SG/EZ?** lord.GEN.SG=DET
araracoc'
 creature.GEN.PL

‘the name of God which [is that of] the lord of creation’ (EK §358)

- (25) *hogi mardoyn or i nma*
 spirit.NOM.SG man.GEN.SG **REL.NOM.SG** in 3.SG.LOC
 τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ

‘the spirit of the man which [is] in him’ (1 Kor. 2:11)



ezāfe VII

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezāfe

Conclusions

(26) *zi t'erevs ordi mi linic'i nma,*
 for perhaps son.NOM.SG one become.3.SG.PRS.SBJV 3.DAT.SG
orum anun Ormzd, ...
REL.DAT.SG name.NOM.SG PN

'For perhaps he will have a son, whose name [is] Ormzd, ...' (EK §145)



Conclusions

Arm. & WMr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

- ▶ language contact with Parthian provides a good basis for explaining the co-occurrence of uncommon syntactic patterns in both WMr. and Armenian
- ▶ pivot matching and pattern replication, esp. under the socio-historical circumstances listed above, better explain these syntagmata than separate parallel developments in both languages
- ▶ next to bilingualism, the reasons for this type of contact-induced change is to be sought in a dissociatively motivated superstrate shift (cf. HICKEY 2013)
- ▶ further research is required to expand our understanding of Parthian-based pattern replication in Classical Armenian



Arm. & WMr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

Merci de votre attention!

Thank you for your attention!



References I

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

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References II

Arm. & WMr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

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References III

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

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References IV

Arm. & WMIr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

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References V

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

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References VI

Arm. & WMLr.
syntax

R. Meyer
(Oxford)

bit.ly/ArmSynt18

Introduction

Language Contact

Canonical
Reflexive

Intensifier &
Anaphor

Quotatives

ezäfe

Conclusions

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