

CLASSICAL ARMENIAN

Hrach Martirosyan

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Indo-European foundation of the Armenian language

1. Historical development of the Armenian phonological system

Development of the PIE phonemic system in Armenian

	PIE	Arm.	PIE	Arm.	PIE	Arm.
<i>labials</i>	*p	h-/Ø-, -w-	*b	p	*b ^h	b, -w-
<i>dentals</i>	*t	t', -w-/-Ø-	*d	t	*d ^h	d
<i>palatals</i>	*k̂	s	*ġ	c	*ġ ^h	j, z
<i>labiovelars</i>	*k ^w	k'/'č'	*g ^w	k/č	*g ^{wh}	g/ĵ
<i>sibilant</i>	*s	h-/Ø-, s(C)				
<i>laryngeals</i>	*h ₁	Ø-/e-	*h ₂	h-/a-	*h ₃	h-/a-
<i>liquids</i>	*r	(e/a)r-, -r/r'-	*l	(e/a)l-, -l/l'-		
<i>nasals</i>	*m	m	*n	n		
<i>semivowels</i>	*i	i/Ø-'	*u	ú/Ø-'		
	*j	Ø, (R)j	*u	g-, -g/w-, -w		
<i>vowels</i>	*e	e, i(N)	*a/h ₂	a	*o	o, u(N)
	*ē/eh ₁	i	*ā/eh ₂	a	*ō/eh ₃	u
<i>diphthongs</i>	*ei	ē	*ai	ay	*oi	ē (ay?)
	*eu	oy	*au	aw (ō)	*ou	u (oy?)

The PIE stops

labials			dentals			palatals			labiovelars		
*p	h-, (s)p-, Ø(o)-	-w-	*t	t'-	-w-, -Ø-, -(r/n)d-	*k̂	s- (-š-)	-s- (-š-)	*k ^w	k', č'(e/i)-	-k', -(r/n)g-
*b	p-	-p-	*d	t-	-t-	*ġ	c-	-c-	*g ^w	k-, č'(e/i)-	-k-
*b ^h	b-	-w-	*d ^h	d-	-d-	*ġ ^h	j-	-j-, -z-	*g ^{wh}	g-, ĵ(e/i)-	-g-

Accent; vowel mutations

An inherited Indo-European musical accent changed into an intensity accent which was fixed on the prehistoric penultimate syllable. This was followed by apocope of the posttonic vocalic elements (leaving the accent in final position) and by syncope in pretonic position, e.g. gen.sg. *sirtíyo > *sirtí > s(ə)rti 'of the heart' (Meillet 1936: 19-23; Weitenberg 2001: 65).

Certain vowels change according to their position on a stressed or a non-stressed syllable.

1. The vowels *i* and *u* disappear (become an unwritten Ø ə):

- sirt* ‘heart’, gen. *srt-í*
surb ‘pure, clean; holy’, gen. *srbóy, srbém* ‘I clean’
2. The vowel *ē*, etymologically **ei*, a diphthong) becomes *i*:
šér ‘love’, gen. *siróy, sirém* ‘I love’
3. The diphthongs *oy* [pronounced as /uy/] and *ea* [pronounced as /ya/] become *u* and *e*, respectively:
lóys /lúys/ ‘light’, gen. *lusóy*
leárd /lyárd/ ‘liver’, abl. *i lerdě*

1.1 The PIE voiceless stops

The PIE initial **p*- yields Arm. *h*- unless it is followed by **-o-*. Note **pedom* ‘foot’ > *het* ‘foot, footprint, track’: Skt. *padá-* n. ‘footprint, footstep’, YAv. *paða-* n. ‘footstep’, Gr. *πέδον* n. ‘floor, ground’, Hitt. *pedan* n. ‘place’, cf. Lat. *pēs*, gen. *ped-is* m. ‘foot’, OIc. *fet* ‘step’ vs. **ród-η* > *otn* ‘foot’, Gr. *πόδ-α*, etc.

Unlike PIE **Dr* and **D^hr*, PIE **Tr* is not subject to metathesis; it yields Arm. (*e*)*r*- word-initially and *-wr*- word-internally. PIE voiceless stops are voiced after **-r-* and **-n-*.

1.1.1 PIE **p*

**ph₂tēr* ‘father’: Arm. *hayr* ‘father’, Skt. *pitā*, Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*, OHG *fater*, Toch. B *pācer*.

**pr̥H₂uo-*: Arm. *haraw*, *o*-stem ‘south’, Av. *pauruua-* ‘being in front, southern’, Skt. *púrva-* ‘going in front’, OCS *прѣвъ* ‘first’, etc.

**peruti* ‘last year’: Arm. *heru* ‘last year’, Gr. *πέρυσσι*, Dor. *πέρυστι*, Skt. *parut* ‘last year’.

**penk^we* ‘five’: Arm. *hing*, Skt. *pāñca*, Av. *pañca*, MPers. *panj*, Gr. *πέντε*, Lat. *quīnque*, OIr. *cóic*, Goth. *fimf*, OCS *пѣтъ*, Lith. *penki*.

**pontH-*: Arm. *hun* ‘ford’, Skt. *pánthās* ‘path’, Gr. *πόντος* ‘sea’, OCS *рѣтъ* ‘road’, Lat. *pons*.

**p(e)h₂ur* n. ‘fire’: Arm. *hur*, *o*-stem ‘fire’, Hitt. *pahhur*, Gr. *πῦρ*, *πῦρός*, OHG *fuir*, OIc. *fúrr*, *fýrr*.

**pre(i)sg^wu-*: Arm. *erēc*, gen. *eric* ‘u (adj.) elder; presbyter’: Gr. *πρέσβυς* m. ‘old man; the elder’.

**pleh₁-*: Arm. *li* ‘full, abundant, whole’, *lir*, *i*-stem ‘plenitude’, *lnum* ‘to fill’, Gr. *πλέως*, Ion. *πλέος* ‘full’, *πλήρης* ‘full’, Lat. *plēre* ‘to fill’, etc.

**h₂le(o)u)pek-*: Arm. *atuēs*, gen. *ahues-u* ‘fox’: Gr. *άλόπηξ*, *-εκος* ‘fox’, Skt. *lopāsá-* probably ‘fox’, etc.

**septm* ‘seven’: Arm. *ewt’an*, Skt. *saptá*, Av. *hapta-*, Gr. *επτá*, Lat. *septem*, OIr. *secht*, Goth. *sibun*, OCS *sedmь*, Lith. *septyni*.

**smop-no-*: Arm. *k’un*, *o*-stem ‘sleep’: Skt. *svápnā-* m. ‘sleep, dream’, Av. *x’afna-* m. ‘sleep, dream’, Gr. *ύπνος* ‘sleep’, Lat. *somnus* ‘sleep’, Lith. *sápnas* ‘dream’, OCS *сѣнь* ‘sleep’, etc.

Pretonic **pi-* > PArm. (*h*)*i-*:

ampem, suppletive aor. *arb-i* ‘to drink’: **pi-ph₃-e-* (reduplicated thematic present of the word for ‘to drink’, cf. Gr. *πίνω* ‘to drink’, etc.) > **pibeti*: Skt. *pibati*, Lat. *bibō*, OIr. *ibid*. The Armenian verb derives from a secondary nasal present form: **pib-ne-mi* > PArm. *(*h*)*ipné(m)i* > *ampem*.

yisun ‘fifty’: **penk^wē-(d)kóth₂* ‘fifty’: Skt. *pañcā-sát-* f., Gr. *πεντή-κοντα*, Lat. *quīnquā-gintā*, etc. PIE **penk^wē-kóth₂* > PArm. **hingisun-* > **hiñisun* > *(*h*)*i(ñ)isun* > *(*h*)*i-ísun* (perhaps with a glide, **i-y-ísun*) > *yisun*.

1.1.2 PIE **t*

**t₃s-*: *t’arānim* and *t’aršānim* ‘to wither’: Skt. *tarṣ-*: *tṛṣyant-* ‘to be thirsty, crave’, YAv. *taršu-* ‘dry, not fluid’, Gr. *τέρσομαι* ‘to become dry’, Hitt. *tarš-* ‘to dry’, etc.

**ptel-*: Arm. *t’eli* ‘elm’: Gr. *πελέ-α*, Ion. *-η* ‘elm, Ulmus glabra’.

pter-*: Arm. **t'er(t') 'leaf': Gr. *πτερόν* n. 'feather, wing', etc.

trejes* 'three': Arm. **erek': Skt. *tráyas*, Av. *θrāiīō*, *θraiiias-ča* m., *θrī* n., *tišrō* f., Gr. *τρεις*, Lat. *trēs*, Lith. *trỹs*, OCS *trije*, f./n. *tri* 'three', etc. PIE acc. **trins* > Arm. *e-ris* shows that the rise of the prothetic vowel was posterior to the loss of the vowel of the last syllable.

ph₂tr-ós* (genitive of the word for 'father'): Arm. **hawr gen. 'father': Gr. *πατρός*, Lat. *patris*.

h₂rh₃trom* n. 'plough': Arm. **arawr, *o*-stem 'plough': Gr. *ἄροτρον* n., Lat. *arātrum* n., MĪr. *arathar*, Welsh *aradr*, OĪc. *arðr*.

1.1.3 PIE **k/k^w*

*(*s*)*ker-*: Arm. **k'er(t'/b)em** 'to scratch, rub, chop': Gr. *κείρω* 'to cut (off), shave, mow off, ravage', OHG *sceran* 'to cut', Lith. *skiriù*, *skirti* 'to separate', etc.; Skt. *kart-* 'to cut, cut off, split, break', YAv. *kart-* 'to cut', Lith. *kertù* 'to fell, cut down', etc.; Lat. *carpere* 'to pick, pluck', Lith. *kirpti* 'to chop, cut', Latv. *cīrpt* 'to shave', etc.; note **k'orem** 'to scratch, itch' probably from an iterative formation *(*s*)*kor(H)-eie-*.

l(e)ik^w*- 'to leave': Arm. **lk'anem, 3sg.aor. *e-lik* 'to leave, let go, release, abandon', Skt. *rec-*, pres. *riṇákti* 'to leave, let, release', Iran. **raič* 'to leave, let, abandon', Gr. *λείπω*, *λιμπάνω* 'to let, leave', Lat. *linquō*, *līquī* 'to leave, quit, forsake; to abandon', OIr. *léicid* 'leaves'. PIE nasal-infixes present **li-n-k^w*- was remodeled to **lik^w-ŋ-* > Arm. pres. *lk'anem*. 3sg.aor. *e-lik* 'is derived from thematic aorist **é-lik^w-e-t*, cf. Gr. *ἔλιπε*, and the imperative *lik* reflects IE **lík^we*, cf. Gr. *λίπε*.

k^wetuores* 'four': Arm. **č'ork', Skt. *catvāras*, Av. *caθβārō*, Gr. *τέσσαρες*, Lat. *quattuor*, OIr. *ceth(a)ir*, Goth. *fidwor*, OCS *četyre*, Lith. *keturi*. Arm. *č'ork'* is probably from **k^wetores* with dissimilatory loss of **-u-* as in Gr. Dor. NWGr. *τέτορες*.

1.1.4 Voicing after **-r-* and **-n-*

*(*s*)*ker-p-*: **k'erbem** 'to scratch, rub, chop', Lith. *kirpti* 'to chop, cut', Latv. *cīrpt* 'to shave', OHG *scirbi* 'potsherd', Lat. *carpere* 'to pick, pluck', etc.

**h₂(e)nHt-i(e)h₂-: dr-and-i*, *ea*-stem 'space before a door, porch; threshold': Skt. *ātā-* f. pl. 'door-frame, door-posts', YAv. *qiθiīā-* f. pl. 'door-post', *aθāhuua* 'house' (loc.pl. of *aθā-* 'house', with extension of 'doorposts' to 'house'), Lat. *antae* f. pl. 'square pilasters, wall posts of a temple', OĪc. *φnd* f. 'front room, corridor'.

b^hr-ti-*: Arm. **bard, *i*-stem 'heap of corn or grass': Skt. *prá-bhṛti-* f. 'offering', *bhṛti-* f. 'support, maintenance', Lat. *fors*, *fortis* f. 'fortune', Germ. *ge-burt*, etc.

h₂(e)rti:* **ard(i) 'now', Gr. *ἄρτι* 'just now', Lith. *arti* 'near'.

pénk^we* 'five': Arm. **hing, Skt. *pánca*, Av. *pañca*, MPers. *pañ*, Gr. *πέντε*, Lat. *quīnque*, OIr. *cóic*, Goth. *fimf*, OCS *petь*, Lith. *penkì*.

h₁erk^w-o-*: **erg, *o*-stem 'song; poem; playing (music)', **ergem** 'to sing; to play a musical instrument; to praise' < PIE **h₁erk^w-*: Hitt. *ārku-^{zi}*, *arku-* 'to chant, intone' (from **h₁erk^w-/*h₁rk^w-*), Toch. A *yärk*, B *yarke* 'worship, reverence', Skt. *ārcati* 'to sing, to praise; to shine', thematic noun *arká-* m. 'ray, light, shine; song, magic song' (= Arm. **erg**, *o*-stem), root noun *íc-* f. 'song of praise, poem, stanza, verse', probably also OIr. *erc* 'sky'.

1.1.5 Intervocalic loss

ph₂tēr* 'father': **hayr, gen. **hawr** 'father': Skt. *pitā*, Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*, OHG *fater*, Toch. B *pācer*. Arm. nominative *hayr* 'father' from PIE **ph₂tēr* = Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*; genitive *hawr* from PIE **ph₂tr-ós* = Gr. *πατρός*, Lat. *patris*; instrumental *har-b* from **ph₂tṛ-b^hi-*, cf. Skt. dative plural *pitṛ-bhyas*.

b^hreh₂tēr* 'brother': **etbayr, gen. **etbawr** 'brother', Skt. *bhrātar-* 'brother', Gr. *φράτηρ* 'frater', Lat. *frāter*, Engl. *brother*, etc.

*(*H*)*ienh₂ter-ih₂-: nēr*, *i-* or *a-*stem (obl. stem *ner-*) 'husband's brother's wife': Skt. *yātar-* < *(*H*)*ienh₂tér-*, Pers. *yārī* < **yāθr-ī-*, Gr. *ἐνάτηρ*, gen. *εἰνάτερος*, Lat. plur. *ianitrīcēs*, Lith. *jentė* (17th cent.), *intė*, CS *jetry*, gen. *jetrvne*, etc.

k^w* *etuores* ‘four’: Arm. **č’ork’, Skt. *catvāras*, Av. *caθβārō*, Gr. *τέσσαρες*, Lat. *quattuor*, OIr. *ceth(a)ir*, Goth. *fidwor*, OCS *četyre*, Lith. *keturi*. Arm. *č’ork’* is probably from **k^w* *etores* with dissimilatory loss of **-u-* as in Gr. Dor. NWGr. *τέτορες*.

1.2 The PIE voiced stops

1.2.1 PIE *b

Note that PIE **b* was very rare in PIE.

bul-bul-* / **bum-bul-* ‘bud, bubble, pupil’: Arm. **plpuj, *a*-stem ‘bubble’ (prob. from **pulpulja-* < **bul-bul-ieh₂*), dial. ***pu(m)pul** ‘bud; pupil of eye’, ***purpuj** ‘bubble’, Lith. *buñbulas* ‘bud, ball’, *bumbulys* ‘bubble’, *bùmbulis* ‘pupil of eye’, *buñbulas* ‘water bubble’, etc.

piheti* (from **pi-ph₃-e-*): Arm. **ampem, suppletive aor. *arb-i* ‘to drink’: Skt. *píhati*, Lat. *bibō*, OIr. *ibid*.

steib-*: **stipem ‘to constrain, compel, force; to urge, hasten’ (root **stēp**), Gr. *στειβω* ‘to tread, trod, trample’.

1.2.2 PIE *d

deh₂iuer-* ‘husband’s brother’ > Arm. **ta(y)gr, *er*-stem ‘husband’s brother’: Skt. *devár-*, Gr. *δᾶήρ* m. Acc. *-έρα*, voc. *δᾶερ*, GPI *δᾶέρον*, Lat. *lēvir*, OHG *zeihhur*, OCS *děver-ь*, *diěveris*, etc.

deḱm̥* ‘ten’: Arm. **tasn, Skt. *dāśa*, Av. *dasa*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *deich*, Goth. *taihun*, OCS *desętę*, Lith. *dėšimt*.

dh₂p-ni(h₂)-*: Arm. **tawn, *i*-stem ‘feast’, Oic. *tafn* ‘sacrificial animal’, Lat. *damnum* n. ‘financial loss’ from **dapno-*, Mlr. *dúan* ‘poem’ from **dapnā*.

dóm*, gen. *dém-s* ‘house’: Arm. **tun, gen. *tan* ‘house; stanza; family, tribe; land, region’: Skt. *dám-*, gen.pl. *dam-ám*, gen.sg. **dám-s* in *pátir dán* ‘master of the house’, Av. *dam-*, gen. *dāng*, loc.sg. *dqm*, YAv. loc.sg. *dąmi* ‘house’, Gr. *δῶ* n. ‘house’, *δῶμα* n. ‘house, temple’, *δεσ-πότης* ‘master of the house, lord’ (cf. Skt. *dám-pati-*, Av. *dāng pati-*); cf. also Skt. *dāma-* m. ‘house’, Gr. *δóμος* m. ‘house, room’, Lat. *domus* f. ‘house, household’, OCS *domъ* ‘house’, etc. Arm. *tun* derives from nom. **dóm* or acc. **dom-ŋ*.

dráku-r* (> **drakru-*) n. ‘tear’: Arm. **artawsr (uninflected), pl. **artasu-k’**, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-c* ‘tear’: Gr. *δάκρυ* n., OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc.

1.2.3 PIE *g/g^w

g^w* *én-(e)h₂*, gen. **g^w* *n-éh₂-s* ‘woman’: Arm. **kin, gen. *kn-oj*, instr. *kna-w* or *kanam-b*, nom.pl. *kanay-k’* ‘woman; wife’, Skt. *jāni-* f., OAv. *jāni-* f., YAv. *jāni-* f. ‘woman, wife’, MPers. *zan* ‘wife’, etc. vs. Skt. *gnā-* f. ‘divine female, mistress, lady’, OAv. *gānā-* f. ‘woman’, YAv. *gānā-* f. ‘woman’ (Indo-Iran. **janH-s*, gen. **gnaH-s*), Gr. *γυνή*, gen. *γυναικός*, voc. *γύναι* < **γυναικ*, Boeot. *βανά* f. ‘wife, woman’, OIr. *ben*, gen. *mná* ‘woman, wife’, Goth. *qino* f. ‘wife’ < **g^w* *en-eh₂-n-*, OCS *žena* ‘woman, wife’, Russ. *žená* ‘wife’, CLuw. *uāna-* ‘woman’, etc. For PArm. **kan-ay-*, cf. Gr. *γυναι-κ-*.

g^w* *ou-*: **kov ‘cow’: Skt. *gauḥ* ‘cow, bull’, Latv. *gùovs* ‘cow’, OCS *gov-ę-do*.

h₁reg^w-e/os-*: Arm. **erek(oy) ‘evening’: Skt. *rājas-* n. ‘space, air; space between heaven and earth’ (synonym of *antárikṣa-*), cf. also *rājas-* n. ‘dust, mist, vapour, gloom, dirt’, *rajasá-* ‘unclean, dark’, OAv. *rajiš-* n. ‘darkness’, Gr. *ἔρεβος* n. ‘the dark of the underworld’, Goth. *riqis/z* n. ‘darkness, twilight’, Oic. *rōkkr* n. ‘darkness’ < PGerm. **rekwiz-*, etc.

sg^w*- ‘to sink, fall’: Arm. **ankanim ‘to fall/come down; to come to end, cease; to die, fall’: Goth. *siggan*, OHG *sinke/an*, Germ. *sinke*, Engl. *sink*, etc.

1.3 The PIE voiced aspirates

1.3.1 PIE *b^h

b^heh₂*-. Arm. **bam ‘to speak, say’, **bambasem** ‘to malign, backbite, gossip’, Gr. *φημί* ‘to say, explain, argue’, *προφήτης* ‘announcer, seer, prophet’, Lat. *fārī* ‘to say’, *fāma* ‘rumour, fame’, RussCS *bajati* ‘to tell fables’, etc.

b^hṛ-ti*-. Arm. **bard, *i*-stem ‘heap of corn or grass’: Skt. *prá-bhṛti*- f. ‘offering’, *bhṛti*- f. ‘support, maintenance’, Lat. *fors, fortis* f. ‘fortune, chance, accident’, Germ. *ge-burt*, etc.; from PIE **b^her*- seen in Arm. *berem* ‘to bring, bear’.

b^herǵ^h*-, **b^hṛǵ^h-u*-, **b^hṛǵ^h-(e/o)nt*-. Arm. **barjr, gen.sg. *barj-u*, gen.pl. *barjan-c* ‘high’; ***-berj** ‘high’ in compounds; **baṛnam** < **barj-nam* ‘to lift, bear away’: Hitt. *parku-* ‘high’, Skt. *brhánt-* (f. *brhatī-*) ‘large, wide, abundant, lofty, high’, YAv. *bərəzant-* (f. *bərəzaitī-*) ‘rising high, high, loud’, Oss. *bərzond* ‘high’, MPers. *buland* ‘high, big’, Germ. *Burgund*, etc. For the Armenian full-grade ***-berj** in compounds such as *leṛn-a-berj* ‘berghoch’, cf. Skt. *-bārhas-* ‘firmness, strength’ in Vedic compounds such as *ádri-barhas* ‘felsenfest’.

b^heg-* ‘to break’, nasal present **b^hn-eg*-. Arm. **bekanem, 3sg.aor. *e-bek*, imper. *bek* ‘to break’, Skt. *bhañj-*, *bhanákti* ‘to break, shatter’, OIr. *bongid*, *-boing* ‘breaks’, etc.

b^her-e*-. Arm. **berem, 3sg aor. *e-ber* ‘to bring, bear’, Skt. *bhárati* ‘to carry, maintain, foster, bring’, Gr. *φέρω* ‘to carry, bring’, Lat. *ferō* ‘to carry, bear’, Goth. *bairan* ‘to carry’, etc.; Arm. 3sg aorist **e-ber** from PIE **é-b^her-et*: Skt. *á-bhar-at*, Gr. *ἔ-φερ-ε*.

1.3.2 PIE **d^h*

d^heh₁*- ‘to put, lay; to make, produce’: Arm. **dnem, 1sg.aor. *e-di*, 3sg.aor. *e-d*, impv. *dī-r* ‘to put, lay, make’, Skt. *dhā-* ‘to put, place, make, produce’, Gr. *τίθημι* ‘to put down, ground, create’, Lat. *con-dere* ‘to build, found; to compose, make’, *fē-cī* ‘I have made’, OHG *tuon* ‘to do’, Lith. *dėti* ‘to lay, put’, Latv. *dēt* ‘to lay eggs’ (cf. Arm. dial. T‘iflis), etc. Arm. *dnem* is composed as **dī-* + pres. suffix **ne-*.

d^hu(o)r-* ‘door’: Arm. **duṛn, gen. *dran*, instr. *dram-b*, nom.pl. *drun-k’*, gen.pl. *dran-c’*, instr.pl. *dram-b-k’*; plur. **dur-k’**, acc. *dur-s*, gen.-dat. *dr-a-c’*, instr. *dr-a-w-k’* ‘door; palace’: Skt. *dvār-* f., dual *dvārā*, *dvārau*, acc.pl. *dúras* ‘door, gate, the two leaves of a door’, *dvāra-* n. ‘id.’, *dvārī-* f. (with aberrant *d-*), YAv. *duuar-* ‘gate’, MPers. NPers. *dar*, Parth. *bar* ‘door’, Gr. *θύρα*, Ion. *θύρη* f. ‘door, door-leaf’, mostly in. pl. ‘double or folding doors’, nom.pl. *θύραι* f. ‘door’, Lat. *foris* f. ‘door, gate’, pl. *forēs* ‘the two leaves of a door, entrance’, *forās* adv. ‘out of doors, abroad, forth, out’, *forum*, *ī* n. ‘forum, open square, market, court of justice’, *forus*, *ī* m. ‘gangway in a ship, row of benches erected for spectators at games’ < **d^huor-*, OIr. *dorus* ‘gateway, doorway’, Welsh *dor* ‘door’ < **d^hu(o)r-eh₂*-, Goth. *daur* ‘gate’, OEngl. *door* ‘door, gate, pas’ < **d^hur-om*, Lith. nom.pl. f. *dūrys*, dial. *dūres*, Latv. nom.pl. f. *dūrvīs*, OCS *dvъръ*, *dvorъ* ‘court-yard’, Alb. *derë* f. ‘door’, Toch. B *twere* ‘door’ < **d^huor-o-*; perhaps also Hitt. *andurza* ‘inside, indoors’ if from **h₁(e)n-d^hur-s* ‘indoors’. PArm. singulative **dur-n* (from PIE acc. **d^húr-ṃ*) vs. pl. **dur-a-* (from PIE fem.pl. **d^hur-eh₂*-, cf. Gr. fem. *θύρᾱ*, *θύρη*, pl. *θύραι*, etc.). It is tempting to compare MidArm. and dial. dual **dṛ-u-i* with Skt. dual *dvārau*.

d^hugh₂-tēr* ‘daughter’: Arm. **dustr, gen. *dster*, gen.pl. *dster-c’* or *dster-a-c’*, instr.pl. *dster-aw-k’* ‘daughter’: Skt. *duhitār-*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, Lith. *duktė*, etc.

ṇ-b^hud^hno-* ‘bottomless’: Arm. **andund-k’, *o*-stem ‘abyss’: Skt. *a-budhná-* ‘bottomless’, Pahl. *a-bun* ‘baseless, bottomless’ (cf. also Welsh *annwn* ‘the otherworld’, probably from **an-dub-no-*); composed of the privative prefix **ṇ-* and PIE **b^hud^hno-*: Skt. *budhná-* ‘bottom, ground, depth, the root of a tree’, MInd., Dard., Prakr. *bundha-* n. ‘root’, OAv. *būna-* ‘ground’, Pahl. *bun* ‘base, foundation, bottom’, FPerm. (< Iran.) **punta-* ‘ground, bottom’, Arm. *bun* ‘trunk of a tree, shaft of a spear’ (Iranian loanword), Gr. *πυθμήν*, *-έπος* ‘bottom, depth, base, foundation, root of a tree’, Lat. *fundus* ‘bottom’, OIr. *bond* ‘sole’, OHG *bodam*, etc.

tri-b^hi-*: Arm. instr. **eri-w- ‘three’: Skt. dat.abl.pl. *tribhyás*. But: Arm. instr. **har-b** ‘father’ from **ph₂tr^h-b^hi-*: Skt. dative plural *pitṛ-bhyas*.

1.3.3 PIE **g^h/g^{wh}*

g^(wh)elǵ^h*-. Arm. **getj-k’ ‘glands’ (twice in Gregory of Nyssa): Slav. **želza* ‘gland’ and Lith. *gėležuonys* ‘submaxillary gland’. The absence of palatalization is due to dissimilation of the two palatalized occlusives.

g^{wh}er-os* ‘warmth’, PIE *s*-stem neuter: Arm. **jer, *o*-stem ‘warmth; warm and bright weather; warm’, Skt. *hāras-* n. prob. ‘flame, glow’, Gr. *ἔρος* n. ‘summer; harvest’; **g^{wh}er-mo-*: Arm. **jerm**, *o*-stem ‘warm; warmth, warm weather’,

Gr. *θερμός* ‘warm’, cf. Skt. *gharmá-* m. ‘glow, heat, warmth’, Lat. *formus* ‘warm’, OIc. *varmr*, OEngl. *wearm* ‘warm’, etc.

**g^{wh}iH-(s)leh₂*: Arm. *jil, jīt*, *a*-stem, *i*-stem ‘sinew, tendon’, OCS *žila*, Russ. *žila* ‘vein, sinew, tendon’, SCr. *žila* ‘tendon, vein, root’, Lith. *gýsla* ‘vein’, Latv. *dzi(k)sla* ‘vein’, OPr. **gislo* ‘id.’, Lat. *filum*, *ī* n. ‘thread, cord, string; a filament spun by a spider; a thread-like part of a plant, a vegetable fibre; texture’.

1.3.4 Regular metathesis

PIE **Dr* and **D^hr* are subject to regular metathesis in Classical Armenian:

**b^hreh₁-ur* (obl. **b^hrun-*): *atbawr, atbiwr*, gen. *atber* ‘fountain, spring’: Gr. *φρέαρ* ‘well, spring’, Goth. *brunna*, etc.

**b^hreh₂tēr*: *etbayr*, gen. *etbawr* ‘brother’: Skt. *bhrātar-* ‘brother’, Gr. *φράτηρ* ‘frater’, Lat. *frāter*, Engl. *brother*, etc.

Note: The dissimilation *r...r* > *l...r* is also observable in an Iranian loan: *satawart* ‘helmet; mitre’ < MPers. **sāravart(i)-*, literally ‘head-cover’.

**dráku-r* (> **drakru-*) n. ‘tear’: *artawsr* (uninflected), pl. *artasu-k^ʰ*, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-c^ʰ* ‘tear’: Gr. *δάκρυον*, OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc.

**g^wr(e)h₂-n-* > *erkan* ‘(hand-)mill’: Lith. *girma, girknos*, OCS *žrny*, OIc. *kvern* ‘hand-mill’, cf. Skt. *grāvan-* m. ‘pressing-stone’, etc.

**kub^h-ro-* or *(*s*)*kub^h-ró-* > *surb*, *o*-stem ‘pure, clean; holy’: Skt. *śubhrá-* ‘shining, glimmering, beautiful’, perhaps also OIran. **subra-* > Khotanese *suraa-* ‘clean, pure’ (cf. Skt. *śobh-/śubha-* ‘to be beautiful; to shine’, *śúbh-* f. ‘beauty, splendour, ornament’, etc.

Note: no metathesis in *merj* ‘near’ vs. Gr. *μέγχι* ‘near’; **me-ǵ^hsr-i* according to Kortlandt.

1.4 Palatals

**dek^hm* ‘ten’: Arm. *tasn*, Skt. *dáśa*, Av. *dasa*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *deich*, Goth. *taihun*, OCS *desętę*, Lith. *dėšimt*.

**dráku-r* (> **drakru-*) n. ‘tear’: *artawsr* (uninflected), pl. *artasu-k^ʰ*, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-c^ʰ* ‘tear’: Gr. *δάκρυον*, OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc.

s^wek^hru-h₂* f. ‘mother-in-law’: Arm. *skesur*, *a*-stem ‘husband’s mother’, Skt. *śvaśrū-*, NPers. *xusrū*, Pashto *xwāše*, Gr. *ἐκνυπά*, Lat. *socrus*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, etc. Arm. *skesur*, *-a-* and Gr. *ἐκνυπά* derive from QIE fem. **s^wek^hur-(e)h₂*, with **-ur-* which has been taken from the PIE form for ‘father-in-law’, **s^wek^hur-o-*: Skt. *śvaśura-*, YAv. *x^ʷasura-*, Gr. *ἐκνυπός*, Lat. *socer*, OLat. *socerus*, OHG *swehur*, CS *svekrъ* (swešur-* was replaced by **swekr* < **swek^hr-* analogically after *svekry* ‘mother-in-law’), Lith. *šėšuras*, etc.

**H(o)kt-* ‘eight’: Arm. *ut^ʰ*, Skt. *aṣṭá(u)*, Av. *ašta*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octō*, OIr. *ocht*, Goth. *ahtau*, OCS *osmę*, Lith. *aštuoni*. The absence of palatalization of the **k-* in Armenian is due to the influence of **septm* > *ewt* ‘n seven’; cf. the Greek by-form *ὀπτώ*.

**ǵonu-* n. ‘knee’: Arm. uninflected *cunr*, pl. *cung-k^ʰ*, *a*-stem ‘knee’, Skt. *jānu-*, MPers. *zānūg*, Gr. *γόνυ*, gen. **γόνυ-ατος*, Lat. *genū*, Goth. *kniu* ‘knee’, etc. (Note Arm. dial. Agulis *céynə*). PArm. pl. **cung-a-* probably reflects IE neuter pl. **ǵonu-h₂*.

**ǵ^héi-ōm*: Arm. *jīwn*, gen. *jean* ‘snow’, Gr. *χιόν* ‘snow’, YAv. *ziiā*, accus. *ziiaṃ(ca)* ‘winter’, Lat. *hiems* ‘winter’; cf. acc. **ǵ^hi-ém-m* (Gr. *χιόν-α*, Lat. *hiem-em*), gen. **ǵ^hi-m-ós* (Av. *zimō*, Gr. *χιόν-ος*, Lat. *hiem-is*, Arm. *jean*), loc. **ǵ^hi-m-i* (Hitt. *gim-i*, Lat. *hiem-i* ‘in the winter’).

The palatovelar was depalatalized before **r*: PIE **-kr-* > Arm. *-wr-*.

**smok^hru-*: Arm. *mawru-k^ʰ* ‘beard’, Hitt. *zama(n)kur* n. ‘beard’, Skt. *śmáśru-* n. ‘beard’, Lith. *smākras, smakrà* ‘chin’, etc.

Note: the palatal articulation of $*-g^h-$ before $*-r-$ was preserved in *merj* ‘near’ (cf. Gr. *μέχρι* ‘near’) perhaps because it derives from $*me-g^h-sr-i$ (Kortlandt).

1.5 Cluster simplification

małt'em ‘to implore, pray’: $*me/old^h-$: Hitt. *māld-^l/mald-* ‘to recite, make a vow’, OS *meldōn* ‘to report, tell’, Lith. *maldyti* ‘to implore’, etc. The Armenian form has two apparent problems: the vowel and the aspirated dental stop. I propose to treat *małt'em* as a denominative verb based on *małt'*, *i*-stem ‘prayer, supplication’, which can be explained as a $*ti$ -deverbative with a regular zero-grade: $*mld^h-ti-$ > PArm. $*mał(d)l^hi-$ > *małt'*, *-i*.

1.6 Sibilant $*s$

$*seh_2l-s$ ‘salt’: Arm. *ał*, *i*-stem, only sg. ‘salt’ (cf. dial. *an-al-i* ‘not salty’); pl. *ałt-k'*, *i*-stem, *u*-stem ‘salt, salt-mine’: Gr. *ἄλς*, gen. *ἄλός* m., Lat. *sāl*, gen. *salis* m., OCS *solb* ‘salt’, etc. Arm. pl. *ałt-k'* ‘salt, salt-mine’ < $*s(e)h_2l-d-$: Goth. *salt* n., OEngl. *salt*, OHG *salz* ‘salt’.

$*septm$ ‘seven’: Arm. *ewt'n*, Skt. *saptá*, Av. *hapta-*, Gr. *ἑπτά*, Lat. *septem*, OIr. *secht*, Goth. *sibun*, OCS *sedmь*, Lith. *septyni*.

$*s(e)m-eh_2-$: Arm. *am*, *a*-stem ‘year, age’: Skt. *sámā-* ‘year, season’, cf. YAv. *ham-*, OIr. *sam*, etc. ‘summer’.

$*smh_2er-m$: Arm. *amařn* ‘summer’, OHG *sumar* ‘summer’; cf. Arm. *am* ‘year’, Skt. *sámā-* ‘year, season’, etc.

$*smokru-$: Arm. *mawru-k'* ‘beard’, Hitt. *zama(n)kur* n. ‘beard’, Skt. *śmáśru-* n. ‘beard’, Lith. *smākras*, *smakrà* ‘chin’, etc.

$*ues-r$, gen. $*ves-n-$ ‘spring’: Arm. *garun*, gen. *garn-an* ‘spring, springtime’, Gr. *ἔαρ* n., Lat. *vēr*, *vēris* n., MPers. *wahār*, Pers. *bahār*, OIc. *vár* ‘spring’, Lith. *vāsara* ‘summer’, OCS *vesna* ‘spring’, etc.; PIE $*ues-r$ > PArm. $*gehar$ > $*gar-$.

Ruki-rule

$*sueks-dek̄m$ ‘sixteen’: Arm. *veš-tasan*, Skt. *ṣó-ḍaśa*, Lat. *sē-decim*, etc.

$*t̄s-$: *t'arānim* and *t'aršānim* ‘to wither’: Skt. *tarṣ-*: *t̄ṣyant-* ‘to be thirsty, crave’, YAv. *taršu-* ‘dry, not fluid’, Gr. *τέρσομαι* ‘to become dry’, Hitt. *tarš-* ‘to dry’, etc.

$*uek^wero-$: Arm. *gišer*, *o*-stem: gen. *gišer-o-y* and loc. *i gišer-i*; *a*-stem in adverbial forms (gen.pl. *gišer-a-c* ‘in Isaiah 26.9, Gr. *ἐκ νυκτός* ‘night’, Gr. *ἕσπερος* m. ‘evening; evening-star, Venus; of or at evening; Western’, *ἕσπερα*, Ion. *-ρη* f. ‘evening; the Western Empire’, Lat. *vesper*, *-eris*, *-erī* m. ‘evening; evening-star; west’, *vesper-e*, *vesper-ī* ‘in the evening’, *vespera* f. ‘evening’, Lith. *vākaras* m. ‘evening’, OCS *večerь*, etc. For the Armenian form, we can assume $*ueksepero-$, a blend with $*ksepe-r/n-$ ‘night’ (cf. YAv. **xšapar-*, *xšafn-*, Skt. *kṣáp-* f., Hitt. *išpant-* ‘night’, etc.) > PArm. $*we(k)še(w)ero-$ > $*geššero-$ > $*gēšero-/gēišero-$ > *gišer*. Note Welsh *ucher* from $*ue(k)speros$.

1.7 Nasals

$*pénk^we$ ‘five’: Arm. *hiŋg*, Skt. *pāñca*, Av. *pañca*, MPers. *pañj*, Gr. *πέντε*, Lat. *quīnque*, OIr. *cóic*, Goth. *fimf*, OCS *peťb*, Lith. *penki*.

$*pontH-$: Arm. *hun* ‘ford’, Skt. *pánthās* ‘path’, Gr. *πόντος* ‘sea’, OCS *poťb* ‘road’, Lat. *pons*.

$*dek̄m$ ‘ten’: Arm. *tasn*, Skt. *dāśa*, Av. *dasa*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *deich*, Goth. *taihun*, OCS *desetb*, Lith. *dėšimt*. Arm. *tasn* probably reflects a zero-grade form taken from the ordinal $*dk̄mto-$, cf. also the compositional – *tasan*.

$*pód-m$ (acc. ‘foot’): Arm. *otn* ‘foot’ (Gr. *πόδ-α*, etc.) vs. pl. *ot-k*, *ot-i-*; cf. $*pedom$ ‘foot’: *het* ‘foot, footprint, track’, Skt. *padá-* n. ‘footprint, footstep’, YAv. *pađa-* n. ‘footstep’, Gr. *πέδov* n. ‘floor, ground’, Hitt. *pedan* n. ‘place’, etc.

$*septm$ ‘seven’: Arm. *ewt'n*, Skt. *saptá*, Av. *hapta-*, Gr. *ἑπτά*, Lat. *septem*, OIr. *secht*, Goth. *sibun*, OCS *sedmь*, Lith. *septyni*.

**meh₁ns-o-* ‘month’: Arm. *amis*, *o*-stem ‘month’, Skt. *māsa-* m. ‘month’, YAv. *māṣa-* m. ‘moon; month’ (note Arm. *mah-ik* ‘crescent’, Iranian loanword); cf. **méh₁n-s-s-*: Skt. *mās-* m. ‘moon; month’, OAv. *mā* ‘moon’, Gr. *μήν* m., Dor. *μής* ‘month’, Lat. *mēnsis* m. ‘month’, OCS *měsęcь* ‘moon; month’, OHG *māno* f. ‘moon’.

**h₂omso-* ‘shoulder’: Arm. *us*, *o*-stem ‘shoulder’, Hitt. *anašša-* ‘part of the back’, Skt. *āmsa-* m. ‘shoulder’, Gr. *ὤμος* m. ‘the shoulder with the upper arm’, Hesychian *ἀμέσω· ὠμοπλάται* ‘shoulder-blades’, Lat. *umerus*, *ī* m. ‘shoulder’, Goth. acc.pl. *amsans* ‘shoulder’, etc. Possibly a PIE *s*-stem **h₂om-s-*, obl. **h₂m-es-* (> thematic **h₂oms-o-* perhaps under the influence of PIE **Horso-* ‘buttocks’). Note Arm. dial. (Agulis) **uns*.

PIE acc. **trins* ‘three’: Arm. acc. *e-ris*, Goth. *þrins*.

1.8 PIE **u* > Arm. *g* or *w*

**urh₁ēn*, gen. **urh₁no-*: Arm. *garñ*, *in/an*-stem: gen. *garin*, instr. *garām-b*, nom.pl. *garin-k’*, gen.dat.pl. *garan-c’* ‘lamb’, Skt. *úran-*, nom. *úrā*, acc. *úraṇam* m. ‘lamb’, NPers. *barra* ‘lamb’ < PIr. **varn-aka-*, Gr. *ἀρήν* m., *φαρην* ‘lamb’, *πολύ-ρρην-ες* ‘possessing many lambs’ < IE **-urh₁n-*, etc.

**ues-ʃ*, gen. **ves-n-* ‘spring’: Arm. *garun*, gen. *garn-an* ‘spring, springtime’, Gr. *ἔαρ* n., Lat. *vēr*, *vēris* n., MPers. *wahār*, Pers. *bahār*, Oic. *vár* ‘spring’, Lith. *vāsara* ‘summer’, OCS *vesna* ‘spring’, etc.; PIE **ues-ʃ* > PArm. **gehar* > **gar-*.

**uelHu-*: Arm. *gelum* ‘to twist; to squeeze’, Gr. *ἐλύω* ‘to roll round’, *εἰλύω* to enfold, enwrap; to press, squeeze’, *εἶλω* ‘to press; to contract his body, draw himself together’, *εἰλύμα* ‘wrapper’; Lat. *volvō* ‘to roll, roll over; to cause to roll, wrap up; to turn around’, *con-volvō* ‘to roll together or round, writhe’, *con-volvulus* ‘bindweed, convolvulus’, etc.; cf. also *gatjn* ‘a kind of convolvulus’ and *getj* ‘bindweed, convolvulus; yew-tree’ vs. the Germanic word for ‘willow’: MDutch *wilghe*, Dutch *wilg*, OLG *wilgia*, OEngl. *welig*, Engl. *willow*, etc.

**h₂ulh₁no/eh₂-* ‘wool’: Arm. *getmn*, gen. *getman* ‘wool, fleece’, Hitt. *hulana-* c., Skt. *úrñā-* f., YAv. *varəñā-* f. ‘wool’, Gr. *λῆνος* n. ‘wool, wool fibre’, Lat. *lāna* f. ‘wool’, Goth. **wulla*, OHG *wolla* ‘wool’, Lith. *vūna* f., SCr. *vūna* f. ‘wool’, etc. For the full grade, cf. Lat. *vellus* n. ‘fleece’.

**ued-os-* n. ‘water’: Arm. *get*, *o*-stem ‘river’; pl.-coll. *get-oray(-k’)* ‘rivers’ (Socrates, Alexander Romance): Gr. *ὔδος* n. ‘water’, cf. Skt. *útsa-* m. ‘spring, fountain’ < **ud-s-o-*, Phryg. *βεδν*. For the full grade, cf. CLuv. adj. *uida(i)-* ‘wet’. Note PIE heteroclitic **uod-r*, gen. **ued-n-s* ‘water’: Hitt. *uātar/ueten-* n., Gr. *ὔδωρ -ατος*, etc. Arm. *get-or-ay(-k’)* ‘rivers’ – perhaps from QIE neuter plural **ued-or-h₂*.

**uéd-n*, obl. **ud-én-*: Arm. *getin*, *o*-stem: gen. *getn-o-y*, loc. *i getn-i* (Bible+), *a*-stem: instr. *getn-a-w* (Hexaemeron), *getn-a-w-k’* (Agat ‘angelos’) ‘earth, ground’, Hitt. *utnē* < **-nēi*, obl. *utni-* n. ‘land’, deriv. *utniqant-* c. ‘people, population’. The *o*-stem forms of Arm. *getin* are only found in singular, thus PArm. neuter **wedeno-* vs. plural **weden-a* < from PIE neuter pl. in **-h₂*.

**ueid-* ‘to know, be acquainted with’: Arm. **gēt-* ‘to know’: *gitem*, 1.sg.aor. *git-a-c’-i* ‘to know, be acquainted with’, *gēt*, *a*-stem and *i*-stem ‘wizard, magician, sorcerer’: Skt. *ved-* ‘to know, be acquainted with’, Goth. *wait* ‘he knows’, OCS *vědēti* ‘to know’, etc. PArm. **woid-a-* from PIE perfect **uoid-h₂e*, cf. Skt. perfect *véda*, Gr. *οἶδα*, Goth. *wait*.

**ues-no-*: Arm. *gin*, *o*-stem ‘price, purchase price; buy; hiring price’, Skt. *vasná-* n. ‘purchase price’, Lat. *vēnum* n. in the formula *vēnum dare* ‘to put up for sale’, cf. Gr. *ῶνος* ‘purchase price’ and the verbal form in Hittite, *uāš-* ‘to buy’.

**ue/oi(H)n-jo-*: Arm. *gini*, *wo*-stem, *ea*-stem ‘wine’, Hitt. *uijan-* c. ‘wine’, CLuw. *uinija-* ‘of wine’, HLUw. *wijan(i)-* ‘vine’, Gr. (f) *οἶνος* m. ‘wine’ and Lat. *vīnum ī*, n. ‘wine’, Alb. *vére/vënë* ‘wine’, etc. PArm. **γ^weinjo-* > Kartv. **γwino-* ‘wine’: Georg. *γvino-*, Megr. *γvin-*, Laz *γ(v)in-*, Svan *γwin-e/äl*.

**u(e)id-*: Arm. **git-* in *gtanem* (aor. *gt-i*, *e-git*) ‘to find’, *giwt*, *i*-stem ‘finding, invention’: Skt. aor. *ávidat* (= *e-git* ‘he found’), pres. *vindáti* ‘to find’, Pahl. *wind-* ‘to find; to desire’, Lat. *uidēre* ‘to look, see’, etc. Arm. *giwt* (*i*-stem) < **uind-* or **uid-ti-* (note Arm. *an-giwt* adj. ‘not found’ vs. Skt. *á-vitti-* f. ‘not-finding’).

**ue/orgom-*: Arm. *gorc*, *o*-stem ‘work, labour’, *gorcem* ‘to work, labour; to make; to produce; to influence; to cultivate; to weave’, Gr. *φέρρον* n. ‘work, labour, work of art’, OHG *werc* ‘work’, Av. *vərəz-* ‘to do, work’, etc. The vocalism of Arm. *gorc* is taken from the verb *gorcem*, an old iterative (cf. Goth. *waurk* and *waurkjan* vs. OEngl.

werk, OHG *werc*, Gr. *ῥέργον*, etc.). Arm. *vard-*, *varž* ‘tuition, instruction’ and *varj* ‘reward, wages, hire’ < Iranian **u₂arz-* ‘to do, work, till the land’.

**u₂k₂nti* ‘twenty’ < **dui-dk₂mt-* ‘two tens’: Arm. *k’san*, Skt. *viṃśatī-* f., YAv. *vīśaiti*, MPers. *wīst*, NPers. *bīst*, Gr. *εἴκοσι* < **eu₂kosi*, cf. Dor. *ῥικασι*, Lat. *uīginti*, OIr. *fiche*, gen. *fichet* < **uikant-s*, **-os*, MWelsh *ugeint*, etc. from **uikantī*, Toch. A *wiki* and B *ikām* < PToch. **wīkän*, etc. PIE **u₂k₂nti* > PArm. **gisán(t)i* > **gsán(i)* > *k’san*.

**b^hreh₁-ur* (obl. **b^hrun-*): Arm. *atbewr*, *atbiwr*, *r*-stem: gen. *atber* ‘fountain, spring’, Gr. *φρέαρ* ‘an artificial well, spring’, Goth. *brunna*, etc.

**h₂re_u-i-*: Arm. *arew*, *u*-stem, old gen. *areg* ‘sun; sunlight; life’: *Areg k’atak* ‘the city of the Sun’ (Gr. *Ἡλίου πόλις*, e.g. Genesis 41.45, 50), *areg*, gen. *aregi* ‘the 8th month’, *areg* ‘eastern’, *areg-akn* ‘sun’, etc.): Skt. *ravi-* m. ‘sun, sun-god’ (Upaniṣad+), *ravi-putra-* m. ‘son of the Sun’ (Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa); cf. also Hitt. *ḫaru(ua)nae-zi* ‘to become bright, get light, dawn’.

**g^wou-*: Arm. *kov* ‘cow’, Skt. *gauḥ* ‘cow, bull’, Latv. *gūovs* ‘cow’, OCS *gov-ę-do*; cf. **g^wou-io-* (or **g^wh₃eu-io-*) > Arm. *kogi*, *kogw-o-* ‘butter’: Skt. *gavya-* ‘coming from cow (as milk, curds, etc.)’, YAv. *gaoiia-* ‘coming from cattle, consisting of cattle’, Gr. *-βο(φ)ιος*.

**deh₂iuer-* ‘husband’s brother’: Arm. *ta(y)gr*, *er*-stem ‘husband’s brother’, Skt. *devár-*, Gr. *δᾶήρ* m. Acc. *-έρα*, voc. *δᾶερ*, GPI *δᾶέρον*, Lat. *lēvir*, OHG *zeihhur*, OCS *děver-ь*, *diēveris*, etc.

**dor_u-*: Arm. *torg* ‘wooden framework, loom’ vs. Skt. *dārvi* f. and *darvī* f. ‘spoon’, HLuw. *tarw-i(ia)-* prob. ‘wooden beam’; Arm. *targ-al* ‘spoon’ vs. Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*taru-āli-* n. ‘pestle’.

1.9 PIE **du-* > Arm. *-rk-*; word-internally: *-k-*

**duo(h₁)*: Arm. *erku* ‘two’: Skt. *dvā(u)*, Gr. *δύο*, Lat. *duo*, Goth. *twai*, OCS *dъva*, etc.

**du₂eh₂-ro-*: Arm. *erkar* ‘long’: Gr. *δῆρός*, Dor. *δᾶρός* ‘lasting long’, etc.

**meldu-i(h₂)-*: Arm. *melk* ‘soft, weak’: Skt. *mṛdvī* f. ‘delicate, weak, mild’, Lat. *mollis* ‘weak, soft’ from **moldu-i-*.

1.10 PIE **s_u-* > Arm. *k’-*

**suesanjo-*, **sue(i)n₂eh₂* vel sim.: Arm. *k’eni* ‘wife’s sister’, Lith. *sváinė* ‘wife’s sister’, *sváinis* ‘wife’s sister’s husband’, Latv. *sváine* ‘wife’s sister’; cf. ORuss. *svest’* ‘wife’s sister’, Russ. dial. *svest’*, *svestka* ‘id.’, Russ. *svojak* ‘wife’s sister’s husband’, OHG *ge-swīo* ‘Schwager’, MHG *ge-swīe* ‘Schwägerin’, etc.

**s_uid-r-* ‘sweat’: Arm. *k’irtn*, *an*-stem ‘sweat’, metaphorically ‘toil, hard labour’, Gr. *ἰδρώς*, *-ῶτος*, Latv. pl. *sviēdri* ‘id.’, Alb. *djersë* f. ‘perspiration, sweat’, *djers* ‘to sweat’; stem **s_ueid-*: Skt. *sved-* ‘to sweat’, *svéda-* m. ‘sweat’, YAv. *x’aēda-* m. ‘sweat’, MPers. *xwīstan* ‘to sweat’, *xwēy* ‘sweat’, NPers. *xway* ‘sweat’, Oss. *xīd/xed* ‘sweat’, Lat. *sūdō*, *-āre* ‘to sweat, perspire’, *sūdor*, *-ōris* m. ‘sweat, perspiration; toil, exertion’ (cf. the semantic development of the Armenian word), OHG *sweiz* ‘sweat’, Latv. *svīstu* ‘to sweat’, etc.

**suesōr* ‘sister’: Arm. *k’oyr*, gen. *k’er*, abl. *i k’er-ē*, instr. *k’er-b*, NPI *k’or-k’*, GDPI *k’er-c’* ‘sister’, Skt. *svásar-* f. ‘sister’, YAv. *x’añhar-* f. ‘sister’, Gr. (Hes.) *ἑορ θυγάτηρ, ἀνεψιός*, Lat. *soror* ‘sister’, OIr. *siur*, gen. *sethar* (instead of **sesar* in analogy to *máthair*, *máthar*, etc.), Goth. *swistar*, Lith. *sesuō* ‘sister’, OCS *sestra*, etc. Arm. nom *k’oyr*, gen. *k’er*, instr. *k’er-b* and nom.pl. *k’or-k’* derive from PIE **suesōr* (> **-ehu-* > **-eu-* > *-oy-*), **suesr-ós*, **sues-ṛ-b^hi*, and **suesor-es*, respectively.

**s_uop-no-*: Arm. *k’un*, *o*-stem ‘sleep’, Skt. *svápna-* m. ‘sleep, dream’, Av. *x’afna-* m. ‘sleep, dream’, Gr. *ὑπνος* ‘sleep’, Lat. *somnus* ‘sleep’, Lith. *sápnas* ‘dream’, OCS *сънъ* ‘sleep’, etc.

s_uek₂ru-h₂* f. ‘mother-in-law’: Arm. *skesur*, *a*-stem ‘husband’s mother’, Skt. *śváśrū-*, NPers. *xusrū*, Pashto *xwāše*, Gr. *ἐκυρά*, Lat. *socrus*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, etc. Arm. *skesur*, *-a-* and Gr. *ἐκυρά* derive from QIE fem. **s_uek₂ur-* (*e*)*h₂*, with **-ur-* which has been taken from the PIE form for ‘father-in-law’, **s_uek₂ur-o-*: Skt. *śváśura-*, YAv. *x’asura-*, Gr. *ἐκυρός*, Lat. *socer*, OLat. *socerus*, OHG *swehur*, CS *svekrъ* (sweśur-* was replaced by **svekr* <

**swek̑r-* analogically after *svekry* ‘mother-in-law’), Lith. *šėšūras*, etc. The Armenian, Indic and Baltic forms are explained through a distant assimilation **s...k̑* > **k̑...k̑*.

**suek̑s* ‘six’: Arm. *vec*‘, Skt. *ṣát*, Av. *xšuuas*, Gr. *ἕξ, ἑξέξ*, Lat. *sex*, OIr. *sé*, Goth. *saihs*, OCS *šestb*, Lith. *šeši*.

1.11 PIE **sk-* > Arm. *c*‘-

skeid-* > Arm. *c*‘*tem* (c*‘*it-*) ‘to cut, tear, scratch (the skin with a knife, nails, etc.)’, Lat. *scindō, scidī, scissum* ‘to split, cleave, tear apart; to separate’, Lith. *skiedžiu* ‘to separate, divide’, Latv. *šķiēst* ‘to scatter, spill, cut’, etc.; cf. also Gr. *σχιζω* ‘to split, cut, separate’, etc. (with a problematic anlaut).

skend-*: Arm. *c*‘*ncam* ‘to joy, rejoice’; dial. to shine’ (c*‘*inc-* from sigm. aor. **skend-s-*), Skt. *chand-* ‘to appear (good); to please’, 3sg.act. *achān*, 3pl.act. *áchāntsur*, subj. *chantsat*, imper. *chantsi*. Note also Skt. (*ś*)*cand-* ‘to shine, glitter’, *candrá-* ‘shining, light’, *hári-ścandra-* ‘glittering as gold’, probably belonging to the same root.

**h₂(e/o)is-sk-* > Arm. *ayc*‘ ‘visit, inspection, investigation’, *hayc*‘*em* ‘to ask, supplicate; to look for, demand’, OHG *eisca* ‘question’, OE *æsce* ‘question, search’, OCS *iskati* ‘to look for, seek’, Lat. *aeruscāre* ‘to beg, ask for’, Skt. *ichāti* ‘to wish, strive after, seek’.

**pȓk̑-ske/o-* (*sk-present*) > Arm. *harc*‘*anem*, 3sg.aor. *e-harc*‘ ‘to ask, question, inquire’, Ved. *pȓchāmi*, MPers. *pursīdan* ‘to ask’, Lat. *poscō* ‘to ask, demand’, etc. Arm. 3sg.aor. *e-harc*‘ derives from thematic imperfect **e-pȓk̑-sk-* et, cf. Skt. *áp̑chat*. Note also Arm. imper. *harc*‘ vs. Skt. *pȓchá*‘.

**Hh₃(o)sk-ieh₂* > Arm. *hac*‘*i*, *ea-stem* (gen. *hac*‘*w-o-y*, *hac*‘*ead*‘) ‘ash-tree’, OIc. *askr*, OGH *asc*, OEngl. *æsc* ‘ash-tree’, Alb *ah* ‘beech’, perhaps also Hitt. *ḫaš(š)ik-* n., *ḫaššikka-* c. ‘a kind of tree and its fruit’ and Gr. *ὄζυα, -η* ‘beech, spear’.

1.12 PIE **-Rj-* > Arm. *-Rj*‘ (R = *r, l, m, n*)

**h₃nōrjō-* > Arm. *anurj*‘ ‘prophetic dream, vision’, cf. Gr. *ὄναρ* n. ‘dream’, *ὄνειρος* m. ‘god of dreams, dream’, Aeol. *ὄνοιρος* m., Cret. *ἀναίρον ὄνειρον*; Alb. *ëndërrë* (Geg.), *ëndërrë* (Tosc.) from **andërrë* < **h₃nr-jō-*.

**g^wṃb^hur-jeh₂* > Arm. *kamurj*, *a-stem* ‘bridge’, cf. Gr. *γέφυρα* f., Boeot. *βέφυρα*, Cret. *δέφυρα*, Lac. (Hesychius) *δίφυρα* ‘bridge’.

**ster-j(e)h₂* > Arm. *sterj*: Gr. *στεῖρα* ‘barren, infertile (of cows, goats, women)’, Skt. *starī-* ‘infertile cow’; cf. Lat. *sterilis* ‘barren, sterile (of women, female animals, plants)’, Goth. *stairo* f. ‘infertile woman’, etc.

g^{wh}en-je/o-* ‘to slay’: Arm. *jñjem* (jñj-*) ‘to efface, wipe clean; annihilate, destroy’, Gr. *θείνω* ‘to kill’, Lith. *geniù* ‘to prune, hem’; cf. Hitt. *kuenzi, kunanzi* ‘to kill, slay, ruin’, Skt. *hánti* ‘to strike, slay; to kill’, OAv. *jaidiiāi* ‘to kill’, YAv. *jaiñti* ‘to slay, kill’, etc.

**uel-j-óh* > *getj*, gen. of *giwt* ‘village’ (see #2.2.3).

Note also Arm. *šetj*‘ ‘heap, mass, pile, accumulation’, borrowed from Hitt. *šeli-*, *šeli(i)aš* ‘grain pile, grain storage’.

1.13 PIE laryngeals

1.13.1 PIE **HV-* (H = any laryngeal, V = any vowel)

PIE	Arm.	Hitt.	Skt.	Av.	Gr.	Lat.
* <i>h₁e-</i> (* <i>e-</i>)	<i>e-</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ε-</i>	<i>e-</i>
* <i>h₂e-</i> (* <i>a-</i>)	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ḫa-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>α-</i>	<i>a-</i>
* <i>h₃e-</i> (<i>o-</i>)	<i>ho-</i>	<i>ḫa-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ο-</i>	<i>o-</i>
* <i>Ho-</i> (* <i>o-</i>)	<i>o-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ο-</i>	<i>o-</i>

h₁es-mi*, **h₁es-si*, **h₁es-ti* ‘to be’: Arm. **em, **es**, **ē**, Hitt. *ēšmi ēšši ēšzi*, Skt. *ásmi ási ásti*, OAv. *ahmī*, Gr. *εἶμι, εἶ* (Dor. *έσσι*), *έσσι*, Lat. *sum es est*, OCS *jesmь*, OLith. *esmì*, etc.

h₂en-*: Arm. **han, *o*-stem (gen. *han-o-y*), **han-i**, *wo*-stem (*hanw-o-*) ‘grandmother’, Hitt. *hanna-* ‘grandmother’, Gr. *άννίς* ‘mother-in-law’, Lat. *anus* ‘old woman’, Lith. *anýta* ‘husband’s mother’, etc.

h₂erh₃-uer/n-*: Arm. **harawunk ‘sowing, seeds; sowing-field; arable land’, Gr. *άρουρα* f. ‘tilled or arable land; pl. corn-lands, fields’; Skt. *urvārā-* f. ‘arable land, field yielding crop’, Av. *uruuarā-* f. pl. ‘food plant, plant, ground covered with plants, flora’; Mlr. *arbor*, nom.pl. *arbanna*, OIr. gen. *arbe* ‘grain, corn’, etc.

h₂éu-i-* (genitive **h₂u-éi-s*) ‘bird’: Arm. **haw₁, *u*-stem ‘bird; rooster; hen’, Lat. *avis*, *-is* f. ‘bird’, cf. Gr. *αἰετός* < **awi-etos* m. ‘eagle’, Skt. *váy-*, nom. *véḥ/vih*, acc. *vím*, gen. *véḥ*, nom.pl. *váyah*, ins.pl. *víbhīḥ* m. ‘bird’, YAv. *vaii-* m. ‘bird’, etc.

h₂euH-*: Arm. **haw₂, *o*-stem, *u*-stem ‘grandfather, ancestor’, Hitt. *huhhaš* ‘grandfather’, Lat. *avus* ‘grandfather’, OIr. *aue* ‘grandson’, Goth. *awo* ‘grandmother’, Lith. *avýnas* ‘maternal uncle’, OPr. *awis* ‘id.’, Russ. *uj*, Pol. *wuj* ‘maternal uncle’, SCr. *ujāk*, etc.

h₃eui-* ‘sheep’: Arm. *hovi-** ‘sheep’, CLuw. *hāyi-*, Skt. *ávi-*, Gr. *όῖς, όῖος* and *οἶός*, Lat. *ovis*, Toch. B *ā(u)w* ‘ewe’ and *eye*, etc. (Arm. **hoviw**, *a*-stem ‘shepherd’ < **h₃eui-peh₂-*, a compound of PIE **h₃eui-* ‘sheep’ and **peh₂(s)-* ‘to protect, pasture’: OCS *pasti* ‘to pasture’, Lat. *pāscō* ‘to pasture’, Hitt. *paḥš-* ‘to protect’, etc.; for the compound, cf. Skt. *go-pā-* m. ‘herdsman’ < **cowherd*, *avi-pālá-* ‘shepherd’).

h₃edos-*: Arm. **hot, *o*-stem ‘smell, odour’, Gr. *όδμή* ‘smell’, Lat. *odor, odōris* m. ‘smell, scent, odour; perfume’, etc.

1.13.2 PIE **HC-* (H = any laryngeal, C = any consonant)

The so-called “prothetic vowel”, viz. Gr. *ά-* (and *ό-*): Arm. *a-*, and Gr. *έ-*: Arm. *e-* vs. zero in other languages, is now interpreted as a vocalized reflex of PIE initial laryngeal followed by a consonant.

h₁reg^w-e/os-*, *s*-stem neuter: Arm. **erek, old gen. **erekoy** (note **erek-oy**, *i*-stem ‘evening’, and a few derivatives based on ***ereko-r-**), **ere/ik-un** ‘evening’, Skt. *rājas-* n. ‘space, air; space between heaven and earth’, synonym of *antārikṣa-* (cf. also *rājas-* n. ‘dust, mist, vapour, gloom, dirt’, *rajasā-* ‘unclean, dark’, OAv. *rajiš-* n. ‘darkness’), Gr. *έρεβος* n. ‘the dark of the underworld’, Goth. *riqis/z* n. ‘darkness, twilight’, OIc. *røkk* n. ‘darkness’ < PGerm. **rekwiz-*.

h₂le/o(u)pek-*: Arm. **atuēs, gen. *atues-u* ‘fox’, Gr. *άλώπηξ, -εκος* ‘fox’, Skt. *lopāśá-* probably ‘fox’, etc.

h₂reu-i-*: Arm. **arew, *u*-stem, old gen. **areg** ‘sun; sunlight; life’: **Areg k’alak’** ‘the city of the Sun’ (Gr. *Ηλίου πόλις*, e.g. Genesis 41.45, 50), **areg**, gen. *aregi* ‘the 8th month’, **areg** ‘eastern’, **areg-akn** ‘sun’, etc.; Skt. *ravi-* m. ‘sun, sun-god’ (Upaniṣad+), *ravi-putra-* m. ‘son of the Sun’ (Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa); cf. also Hitt. *haru(ua)nae-zi* ‘to become bright, get light, dawn’.

h₂ster-* ‘star’: Arm. **asth, gen. *astel* ‘star’, Hitt. *haster(a)-*, nom. *hasterza* c., Gr. *άστήρ, -έρος*, pl. *άστέρες* m. (also old coll. *άστρο*), Skt. nom.pl. *tārah* (the absence of the *s-* is unexplained), instr. *stī-bhiḥ*, Av. *star-* m., Lat. *stella* f. ‘star’, Goth. *stairno*, etc.

h₃neid-*: Arm. **anicanem, 3sg.aor. *anēc* ‘to curse’ < PIE sigm. aor. **h₃neid-s-*, **anēc-k** ‘curse, imprecation’, Skt. *ned-*: pres. *nīdati*, aor. *ānidiṣur*, desid. *nīnits-* ‘to revile; to blame; to mock’, YAv. 1sg.pres.act. *nāismī* ‘to curse’ (prob. from **nāid-s-mi*), Gr. *όνειδος* n. ‘reprimand, abuse’, Lith. *niedėti* ‘to despise’, etc.

h₃néh₃-mn* PD *n*-stem ‘name’ > PArm. **anuwn* > **anun, gen. *anuan* ‘name’ (dial. also **anum**, **anəm**), obl. **h₃nh₃-mén-* (> **anumán* > dial. **anum-*): Hitt. *lāman* n., HLuw. *alaman-* n., Lyc. *alāman-*, Skt. *nāman-* n., MPers. NPers. *nām*, Gr. *όνομα, -ατος* n., Lat. *nōmen, -inis* n., Goth. *namo*, OCS *imeḡ*, etc.

The vocalic reflex of the PIE initial laryngeal appears thus in Armenian as *e-* or *a-*. Note the contrast **erek** ‘evening’ vs. **arew** ‘sun’. In both cases, the root vowel is **-e-*, and the reflexes of the laryngeals **h₁-* and **h₂-* are distinct. In contrast, the real prothetic vowel (that is, an initial vowel of no etymological value) is mostly *e-* if the root contains *a-*, cf.:

b^hreh₁-ur* (obl. **b^hrun-*): **athewr, **athiwir**, gen. *atber* ‘fountain, spring’: Gr. *φρέαρ* ‘well, spring’, Goth. *brunna*, etc.

b^hreh₂tēr*: **etbayr, gen. **etbawr** ‘brother’: Skt. *bhrátar-* ‘brother’, Gr. *φράτηρ* ‘frater’, Lat. *frāter*, Engl. *brother*, etc.

Note: The dissimilation *r...r* > *l...r* is also observable in an Iranian loan: **saławart** ‘helmet; mitre’ < MPers. **sāravart(i)-*, literally ‘head-cover’.

dráku-r* (> **drakru-*) n. ‘tear’: **artawsr (uninflected), pl. **artasu-k**⁴, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-c* ‘tear’: Gr. *δάκρυ* n., OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc.

g^wr(e)h₂-n-* > **erkan ‘(hand-)mill’: Lith. *gìrna*, *gìrnos*, OCS *žrěny*, OIc. *kvern* ‘hand-mill’, cf. Skt. *grāvan-* m. ‘pressing-stone’, etc.

This is corroborated by numerous Iranian loans, e.g. Arm. **erang** ‘colour, dye’ (Bible+) vs. MPers. *rang* ‘colour, dye’ (cf. dial. **řang** from New Persian). Other examples: **erax** (cf. dial. **řex** from New Persian), **erak**, **eram**, **eran-k**⁴, **erasan**, all from Iranian forms with initial *r-* (see HAB s.vv.).

On the other hand, the prothetic vowel is *a-* if the word contains a labial vowel or diphthong:

ařu ‘brook, etc.’ from PIE **sru-* and *ařog-* ‘to water, wet, sprinkle, irrigate’ from PIE **srou-* ‘to strem, flow’. Better attested is the variant **ořog(an)em**, which, as well as **oroč-** ‘to chew, ruminant’ (cf. Skt. *rādati* ‘to gnaw, bite, scratch’, Lat. *rōdere* ‘to gnaw’) and **orcām** ‘to vomit’ (vs. Gr. *ἐρέυγομαι*) can be explained by assimilation. Further: **artasu-k**⁴ ‘tears’ from **dráku-*. Note also **arawt** ‘pasturing’.

Here again, the same phenomenon can be observed in Iranian loans: **aroyr**, *i*-stem ‘brass’ (Bible, Ephrem) from Iran. **rōδ*, cf. MPers., NPers. *rōy* ‘copper, brass’, Skt. *lohá-* m. ‘reddish metal’, etc.; cf. also Georg. *rvali* ‘copper, brass’, which, according to Ačaryan (HAB 1: 331b), is borrowed from Armenian.

2. The Noun

2.1 The case system

2.1.1 Vocative

In both Classical and Modern Armenian, the vocative is sometimes accented on the first syllable, cf. *háyrík* ‘father’, *máyrik* ‘mother’, *élbark* ‘brethren’, *Kárapet*, *Lázar(ē)*, *Pétr-ē/Pétros*, etc. The vocative frequently appears with the accented interjection particle *ón* (medieval and dial. *áy*). In this case the word itself loses the accent, e.g. *ón (áy) mard* ‘you man!’, *áy tša* ‘you boy!’, etc.

Armenian dialects provide rich evidence for vocative forms accented on the first syllable, e.g. Hamšen *háyrí* ‘father’, *máyri* ‘mother’, cf. *yéba*, *yéma*; T‘iflis *áxper* ‘brother’, *vúrt‘i* ‘son’, cf. *á šun* ‘dog’; Akn *xáhrāman* ‘o hero’, *hársnuk* ‘o sister-in-law’, *márik* ‘o mummy’. The same is noticeable even when we are dealing with lexicalized expressions or formulae, such as *tnákolner* ‘you whose house may be destroyed!’, or word combinations, such as *túrban harse* ‘you, dear sister-in-law (to whom I may be sacrificed)’, *Hróp‘śəma Xat‘un* ‘o you, Lady Hróp‘sim’, *Távit‘ čan* ‘o beloved Davit‘’.

The vocative with initial accentuation may be regarded as Indo-European inheritance. In Vedic Sanskrit, the vocative, when accented, has the acute on the first syllable, e.g. *pítar* vs. NSg *pítá*. The same is found in Greek: *ἀδελφε* vs. NSg *ἀδελφός* ‘brother’; *δέσποτα* vs. *δεσπότης* ‘master (of the house), lord’; *πάτερ* vs. *πατήρ* ‘father’; etc. In Kurdish Awroman, when no vocative particle is present the stress is brought forward to the first syllable of a noun.

2.1.2 Nominative *-s

The nominative endings **-s*, **-os* and neuter **-om* have been lost. A relic of an old nominative **-s* is seen in *anic* ‘nit, louse egg’ < QIE **s(k)onid-s* vs. Gr. *κονίς* < **κονιδ-ς*, *-ίδος* f. ‘eggs of lice, fleas, bugs’.

2.1.3 Nominative-accusative: syncretism

The origin of the nominative-accusative syncretism may be due to the following: the nom.sg. and acc.sg. forms merged phonetically; the former replaced the latter and vice-versa.

The PIE acc. **-m* has been lexicalized as an additional *-n*, e.g. PIE acc. **pód-m̥* (cf. Gr. acc. *πόδ-α*, etc.) > Arm. singulative *otn* ‘foot’ vs. pl. *ot-k* (*i*-stem) probably from PArm. dual **ot-i-* < QIE **pod-ih₁* analogically after neuter duals denoting body-part terms such as *ač‘-k* ‘eye’ < PIE **h₃(o)k^w-ih₁ n.* ‘both eyes’: Gr. *ὄσσε*, OCS *oči*, etc. Note Arm. *het* ‘foot, footprint, track’ from PIE **pedom* ‘foot’: Skt. *padá-* n. ‘footprint, footstep’, YAv. *paða-* n. ‘footstep’, Gr. *πέδον* n. ‘floor, ground’, Hitt. *pedan* n. ‘place’, cf. Lat. *pēs*, gen. *ped-is* m. ‘foot’, Oic. *fet* ‘step’.

Compare *jeřn* vs. pl. *jeř-k* ‘hand’ < PIE **ǵ^hes-r-* ‘hand’: Hitt. *keššar*, *kiššer-*, *kišr-* ‘hand’, Gr. *χείρ*, Dor. *χήρ*, gen. *χειρός*, Dor. *χηρός* f. ‘hand’, Toch. A *tsar*, Toch. B *šar* ‘hand’, Alb. *dórë*, *-a* f. ‘hand’.

Further, note **kalc* vs. *kat‘n* ‘milk’ < Mediterranean **ǵlgt-*: Gr. *γάλα*, *γάλακτος* n. ‘milk’, Lat. *lac*, *lactis* n. ‘milk’. The Armenian forms have been derived from nom. **-s* and acc. **-m* respectively. The word is an original neuter, however, so this explanation can be maintained only if we may assume a secondary **-s*.

2.1.4 Accusative pl. -s

The Classical Armenian accusative plural ending *-s* continues the PIE **-ns*, with a regular loss of the nasal; e.g. *eris* < PIE **trins*: Goth. *þrins*, cf. nom. *ere-k* ‘three’ from PIE **trejes* ‘three’: Skt. *tráyas*, Gr. *τρεῖς*, etc.

Note also *ar-s* from PIE acc.pl. **anřns* vs. nom. *ayr* ‘man’ < PIE **h₂nēr*: Gr. *άνήρ*, etc.

2.1.5 Genitive

Archaic genitives:

ařn from **arnos* < **anros* < PIE **h₂nr-ós*: Gr. *άνδρός*; cf. nom. *ayr* ‘man; husband’ < PIE **h₂nēr*: Gr. *άνήρ*, etc.

hawr from PIE **ph₂tr-ós*: Gr. *πατρός*, Lat. *patris*; cf. nom. *hayr* ‘father’ < PIE **ph₂tēr*: Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*

k‘er from PIE **s₂esr-ós*, cf. nom. *k‘oyr* < PIE **s₂esōr* ‘sister’

PIE gen.sg. **-osyo-*: Skt. *-asya*, Gr. *-οιο*, Arm. *-oy*, etc.

2.1.6 Locative

A distinct locative in *-i* is found in a number of *o*-stem nouns, e.g. *and*, *o*-stem ‘cornfield’, loc. *y-and-i*; *gišer*, *o*-stem ‘night’, loc. *i gišer-i*. ClArm. *and* ‘cornfield’ generally has an *o*-stem. In the Bible it is found 21 times in LocSg. *y-and-i*. The initial *h-* in the dialect of Łarabał (hardly from the PIE laryngeal) may be due to generalisation of the locative form: *yandi* > *hāndi* (through Ačařyan’s Law); e.g. *Mi kov unem - handi a* ‘I have a cow, (which) is in the pastureland’.

The Łarabał and adjacent dialects normally have a penultimate accent. Nevertheless, they display locative forms with both ultimate and penultimate accentuation, cf. *yarké* and *hārné* vs. *yerégi* and *héru* and Agulis *hārvī* (*erék* ‘yesterday’, *heru* ‘last year’).

It is tempting to assume that the Armenian locative-adverbial marker *-i* goes back to the PIE locative marker **-i* which probably was accented, cf. PIE LocSg **ped-í* ‘foot’: Skt. *pad-í*, Gr. dat. *ποδ-ί*, etc. (Rix 1992: 43, 149, 154; Szemerényi 1996: 164ff). The *-i* escaped the apocope because it preserved the accent (or obtained a secondary accent) in order to retain its morphological role (unless we posit a thematization of the locative, **h₁reg^w-i-jo-* > **erekí-yo* > **ereki*, cf. *ayg* ‘morning’, etc., see below). As to the alternating forms with accented and unaccented *-i*, compare the three types of locative singular in Sanskrit, illustrated by the alternative forms of locative of the word for ‘eye’: *akṣán*, *akṣāni*, *akṣní*, the third one being the latest (see Burrow 2001: 234).

Traces of the PIE locative **-i* may be seen in some time-words which can be interpreted as frozen locatives, see s.vv. **atǵ-* ‘darkness, twilight’, *ayg* ‘morning’, *ere/ik(-)* ‘evening’ and *erék* ‘yesterday’. Note also EArm. dial. **heru-* vs. *heru* < PIE **peruti* ‘last year’.

2.1.7 Instrumental

Arm. instrumental ending *-w / -(m)b* derives from PIE **-b^hi*, cf. instr.pl.: Skt. *-bhis*, Av. *-biš*, OPers. *-biš*; dat.abl.pl.: Skt. *-bhyas*, Av. *-byō*; Homeric Greek attests *-φι-* as a marker of the ablative, instrumental and locative in both singular and plural markers; cf. also Lat. dat.abl.pl. *-bus*, OIr. dat.pl. *-b*, etc.

eri-w < **tri-b^hi*: Skt. dat.abl.pl. *tribhyás*; cf. nom. *ere-k* ‘three’ from PIE **trejēs*: Skt. *tráyas*, Gr. *τρεῖς*, etc.

har-b from **ph₂tǵ-b^hi*: Skt. dative plural *pitǵ-bhyas*; cf. nom. *hayr* ‘father’ < PIE **ph₂tēr*: Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*;

jer-b continues **je(h)ar-b* < **ǵ^hesǵ-b^hi* vs. nom. *jer-n* ‘hand’ from **ǵ^hes-r-*;

k’er-b derives from **suesǵ-b^hi*, cf. PIE nom. **suesōr* ‘sister’ > Arm. *k’oyr* (**-ehō-* > **-e(h)u-* > *-oy-*).

2.2 Inflectional types

2.2.1 Armenian *o*-stems

k’un, *o*-stem ‘sleep’ < **sūop-no-*: Skt. *svápnā-* m. ‘sleep, dream’, Av. *x^vafna-* m. ‘sleep, dream’, Gr. *ύπνος* ‘sleep’, Lat. *somnus* ‘sleep’, Lith. *sāpnas* ‘dream’, OCS *спнь* ‘sleep’, etc.

gin, *o*-stem ‘price, purchase price’ < **ues-no-*: Skt. *vasná-* n. ‘purchase price’, Lat. *vēnum* n. in the formula *vēnum dare* ‘to put up for sale’, cf. Gr. *ῶνος* ‘purchase price’ and the verbal form in Hittite, *uāš-* ‘to buy’.

gorc, *o*-stem ‘work, labour’ (cf. *gorcem* ‘to work, labour; to make, produce’) < **ue/orǵom*: Gr. *féργον* n. ‘work, labour, work of art’, OHG *werc* ‘work’, Av. *vəraz-* ‘to do, work’, etc. The vocalism of Arm. *gorc* is taken from the verb *gorcem*, an old iterative (cf. Goth. *waurk* and *waurkjan* vs. OEngl. *werk*, OHG *werc*, Gr. *féργον*, etc.).

erg, *o*-stem ‘song; poem; playing (music); scoffing song’ (cf. *ergem* ‘to sing; to play a musical instrument’) < **h₁erk^w-o-*: Skt. thematic noun *arká-* m. ‘ray, light, shine; song, magic song’; cf. PIE **h₁erk^w-/*h₁rk^w-*: Hitt. *ārku-zi*, *arku-* ‘to chant, intone’; Skt. root noun *ǵc-* f. ‘song of praise, poem, stanza, verse’, *ārcati* ‘to sing; to praise; to shine’, Toch. A *yärk*, B *yarke* ‘worship, reverence’, probably also OIr. *erc* ‘sky’.

PIE *s*-stem neuters are mostly continued as Arm. *o*-stems:

**ṃb^hos-* from PIE *s*-stem neuter PD **néb^hos*, gen. **nb^hés-s* ‘sky, cloud’: Arm. *amp* (spelled also as *amb*), *o*-stem ‘cloud’, Hitt. *nēpiš* nom.acc.sg. n. ‘sky’ from **néb^h-es* (later: commune *nepišaš*, acc. *nepišan*), CLuw. *tappaš-* n. ‘heaven’, HLuw. *tipas* ‘sky’ from **neb^h-és-* or **nēb^h-e/os-*, Skt. *nábhas-* n. ‘moisture, thunder-cloud, mass of clouds’, Gr. *véφος* n. ‘cloud’, OCS *nebo* ‘sky’, Lith. *debesis* ‘cloud’ (cf. also Arm. *amprop* ‘thunder’).

**ued-os-* n. ‘water’: Arm. *get*, *o*-stem ‘river’, Gr. *ῥόδος* n. ‘water’, cf. Skt. *útsa-* m. ‘spring, fountain’ < **ud-s-o-*, Phryg. *βεδν*. For the full grade, cf. CLuv. adj. *uida(i)-* ‘wet’. Note PIE heteroclitic **uod-r*, gen. **ued-n-s* ‘water’: Hitt. *uātar/ueten-* n., Gr. *ῥόδωρ -ατος*, etc.

**h₁reg^w-e/os-*, *s*-stem neuter: Arm. *erek*, old gen. *erekoy* ‘evening’ (note *erek-oy*, *i*-stem ‘evening’, and a few derivatives based on **ereko-r-*), Skt. *rájas-* n. ‘space, air; space between heaven and earth’, synonym of *antárikṣa-* (cf. also *rájas-* n. ‘dust, mist, vapour, gloom, dirt’, *rajasá-* ‘unclean, dark’, OAv. *rajiš-* n. ‘darkness’), Gr. *ἔρεβος* n. ‘the dark of the underworld’, Goth. *riqis/z* n. ‘darkness, twilight’, Oic. *røkk* n. ‘darkness’ < PGerm. **rekwiz-*.

**g^{wh}er-os* ‘warmth’, PIE *s*-stem neuter: Arm. *jer*, *o*-stem ‘warmth; warm and bright weather; warm’, Skt. *hāras-* n. prob. ‘flame, glow’, Gr. *ἔρος* n. ‘summer; harvest’.

**ps(e)udo-e/os-*: Arm. *sut*, *o*-stem ‘false; falsehood, lie’, Gr. *ψεῦδος* n. ‘lie’, also *ψύδος*.

Conflicting evidence:

**h₂(o)id-*: Arm. *ayt-k*, gen.dat.pl. *ayt-i-c* ‘cheek’, Gr. *οἰδός* n. ‘swelling’, *οἰδέω* ‘to swell’, OHG *eiz* ‘abscess, boil’ < Germ. **aitaz*, etc. Arm. *-i-* (also aor. stem verb: **ayti-*): prob. dual.

2.2.2 Armenian *a*-stems

am, *a*-stem ‘year, age’ < **s(e)m-eh₂-*: Skt. *sámā-* ‘year, season’, cf. YAv. *ham-*, OIr. *sam*, etc. ‘summer’.

skesur, *a*-stem ‘husband’s mother’: belongs with PIE **syekru-h₂* f. ‘mother-in-law’: Skt. *śvaśrū-*, NPers. *xusrū*, Pashto *xwāše*, Gr. *ἐκνυρά*, Lat. *socrus*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, etc. Arm. *skesur*, *-a-* and Gr. *ἐκνυρά* derive from QIE fem. **syekur-(e)h₂*, with **-ur-* which has been taken from the PIE form for ‘father-in-law’, **syekur-o-*: Skt. *śvāsura-*, YAv. *x^vasura-*, Gr. *ἐκνυρός*, Lat. *socer*, OLat. *socerus*, OHG *swehur*, CS *svekrǎ* (**swešur-* was replaced by **swekr* < **swekr-* analogically after *svekry* ‘mother-in-law’), Lith. *šėšuras*, etc. The Armenian, Indic and Baltic forms are explained through a distant assimilation **s...k̂* > **k̂...k̂*. The Armenian word for ‘father-in-law’ was replaced by *skesr-ayr*, a compound with *ayr* ‘man, husband’; cf. Lat. *socer-pater*, Germ. *Schwiegervater*, etc.

2.2.3 Armenian *i*-stems

awj, *i*-stem ‘snake’ < **awg^hi-* (with **g^h* > **g^h* before **u/w*) < **an^wgi-* from PIE **h₂(e)ng^{wh}-i-*: Lat. *anguis* m.f. ‘snake’, Lith. *angis* f. ‘snake’, etc.; cf. *iž* ‘viper’.

bard, *i*-stem ‘heap of corn or grass’ < PIE **b^hr-ti-*: Skt. *prá-bhṛti-* f. ‘offering’ (RV+), *bhṛti-* f. ‘support, maintenance’, Lat. *fors, fortis* f. ‘fortune, chance, accident’, Germ. *ge-burt*, etc.; from the verb seen in Arm. *berem* ‘to bring, bear’, Skt. *bhárati* ‘to carry, maintain, foster, bring’, Gr. *φέρω* ‘to carry, bear’, Lat. *ferō* ‘to carry, bear’, Goth. *bairan* ‘to carry’, etc.

gort, *i*-stem ‘frog’ < **uord-iH*: Latv. *vaĩde* ‘id.’, cf. Lith. *varlė, varlė* ‘frog’ probably from **vard-líaH* (Derksen 1996: 58); note also OEngl. *wearte*, etc. ‘wart’ and Arm. *gortnuk* ‘wart’.

An irregular paradigm: *giwt* ‘village’¹

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	<i>ge(a)wt, giwt</i>	<i>ge(a)wt-k’, giwt-k’</i>
Acc.	<i>(z-)ge(a)wt, (z-)giwt</i>	<i>(z-)ge(a)wt-s, (z-)giwt-s</i>
Gen.	<i>getj</i>	<i>giwt-i-c’, get-i-c’</i>
Dat.	<i>getj</i>	<i>giwt-i-c’, get-i-c’</i>
Abl.	<i>i getj-ē</i>	<i>i giwt-i-c’</i>
Instr.	<i>giwt-i-w</i>	<i>giwt-i-w-k’, get-i-w-k’</i>

The isolated paradigm *ge(a)wt, getj, giwtic* is ingeniously interpreted by Klingenshmitt (1982: 154) and, independently, by Rasmussen (1985 [1987]: 31-34 = 1999: 105-109) as reflecting a PIE HD *i*-stem, nom. **-ōi*, gen.

¹ Meillet 1913: 58; Abrahamyan 1976: 57; Schmitt 1981: 95, 108; Ĵahukyan 1982: 96, 118, 119; Künzle 1984, 2: 153-154; V. Arakelyan 1984: 25-26; L. Hovhannisyanyan 1991: 16-17, Olsen 1999: 172; Martirosyan 2010: 216-220.

*-i-ós. Thus, Arm. gen. *gelj* derives directly from **gelyo-* (PIE *-*Ri-* > Arm. -*Rj-*, see #1.12) rather than from **gewlyos*. The base **gel-i-* < PArm. **wel-i-* has been compared with Gr. *άλίη*, Dor. *άλία* ‘assembly of people’, (F)*άλις* adv. ‘in crowds, in plenty’ < **ul-i-s*, etc. For the semantic shift ‘crowd’ > ‘village’, cf. Skt. *grāma-* m. ‘procession, military host, village community, inhabited place’, Gr. *ἀγείρω* ‘to gather’, Russ. *gromáda* ‘big heap’, Pol. *gromada* ‘multitude, heap, village community’, etc.; Kurd. *gund* ‘village’ vs. Pers. *gund* ‘crowd, army’ and Arm. *gund* ‘id.’, etc.

The original paradigm of the Armenian word was:

Nom. **wél-ōi* > **getu* / **get^v* > *gewt* (through metathesis)

Gen. **wel-i-ōh* > *get-j*

Instr. **wel-i-b^hi-* > *get-i-w-*

GDPI **wel-i-sko-* > *get-i-c’*

If this interpretation is accepted, we can postulate a PArm. **wel-i-* ‘crowd, military host, village’ which is astonishingly reminiscent of Urartian *ueli* ‘crowd, detachment of an army’. If the Armenian word is of native origin, it may be regarded as the source of Urartian *ueli* (Martirosyan 2010: 216-220).

Note:

arew, *u*-stem, old gen. *areg* ‘sun; sunlight; life’: *Areg k’atak* ‘the city of the Sun’ (Gr. *Ἡλίου πόλις*, e.g. Genesis 41.45, 50), *areg*, gen. *aregi* ‘the 8th month’, *areg* ‘eastern’, *areg-akn* ‘sun’, etc. < **h₂rey-i-*: Skt. *ravi-* m. ‘sun, sun-god’ (Upaniṣad+), *ravi-putra-* m. ‘son of the Sun’ (Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa); cf. also Hitt. *ḫaru(ua)nae-zi* ‘to become bright, get light, dawn’.

2.2.4 Armenian *u*-stems

ard, *u*-stem ‘shape, order’, *z-ard*, *u*-stem ‘ornament’ < PIE **h₂r-tu-* (based on **h₂er-* ‘to fix, put together’): Skt. *ṛtú-* ‘correct time; order’, *ṛtá-* ‘truthful; (world-)order’, Gr. *ἀρτός* ‘σύνταξις’ (Hes.), *ἀρτύω* ‘to equip, prepare’, Lat. *artus* ‘joint, limb’. Compare **ard(i)*, *ea*-stem ‘work’ (*ardea-w-k’* ‘indeed’; *ardiwn-k’*, gen.pl. *ardean-c’* ‘deed, work; (earth) products’) < **h₂r-ti-*: Lat. *ars*, gen. *artis* ‘art, manner’.

ayg, *u*-stem (cf. also *z-ayg-oy*) ‘dawn, morning’, perhaps reflects a frozen locative **h₂(e)us(s)i* of PIE **h₂éus-ōs* ‘dawn’: Skt. *uśás-* f. ‘morning light, morning, dawn’, Gr. *ἔως*, *αὔως*, Ion. *ήώς* f. ‘dawn’, Lat. *aurōra* f. ‘dawn’, etc.; with thematization: PArm. **awjō-* > *ayg* (the *u*-stem probably reflects PArm. nom. **awu* from PIE nom. **h₂éus-ōs*); cf. also *ar-aw-awt* ‘morning’.

2.2.5 Armenian *n*-stems

anun, gen. *anuan* ‘name’, (Bible+; dialectally ubiquitous): EArm. dial. **anum*. From PIE PD *n*-stem neuter nom. **Hneh₃-mn*, obl. **Hn(e)h₃-men-*: Hitt. *lāman* n., HLuw. *álanan-* n., Lyc. *alāman-*, Skt. *nāman-* n., MPers. NPers. *nām*, Gr. *ὄνομα*, *-ατος* n., Lat. *nōmen*, *-inis* n., Goth. *namo*, OCS *imež*, etc.

aṛn ‘wild ram’ (acc.pl. *z-aṛin-s*) < PIE **h₁rs-en-* ‘male, male animal (bull, stallion, ram)’: Gr. *ἄρσην*, *-ενος*, Att. *ἄρρην*, Ion., Lesb., Cret. *ἔρσην*, Lac. *ἄρσης* adj. ‘male’, Av. *aršan-* m. ‘man, male’, OPers. *aršan-* ‘male, hero, bull’, cf. Skt. *ṛṣabhá-* m. ‘bull’.

garñ, *in/an*-stem: gen. *garin*, instr. *garām-b*, nom.pl. *garin-k’*, gen.dat.pl. *garan-c’* ‘lamb’ < PIE **urh₁ēn*, gen. **urh₁no-*: Skt. *úrān-*, nom. *úrā*, acc. *úraṇam* m. ‘lamb’, NPers. *barra* ‘lamb’ < PIr. **varn-aka-*, Gr. *ἀρήν* m., *φαρην* ‘lamb’, *πολύ-ρρην-ες* ‘possessing many lambs’ < IE *-*urh₁-n-*, etc.

2.2.6 Armenian *r-* and *l-*stems

asth, gen. *astel* ‘star’ < PIE **h₂ster-* ‘star’: Hitt. *haster(a)-*, nom. *hasterza* c., Gr. *ἀστήρ*, *-έρος*, pl. *ἀστέρες* m. (also old coll. *ἄστρα*), Skt. nom.pl. *tārah* (the absence of the *s-* is unexplained), instr. *stṛ-bhiḥ*, Av. *star-* m., Lat. *stella* f. ‘star’, Goth. *stairno*, etc. Further, see ##Neuter.

dustr, gen. *dster*, gen.pl. *dster-c’* or *dster-a-c’*, instr.pl. *dster-aw-k’* ‘daughter’ < PIE **d^hugh₂-tēr* ‘daughter’: Skt. *duhitár-*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, Lith. *duktė*, etc.

alewr, *aliwr*, gen. *aler* (later also *o*-stem) ‘flour’ < **h₂leh₁-ur*: Gr. *ἄλευρον*, *ἄλευρος* ‘flour’.

atbawr, *atbiwr*, *r*-stem: gen. *atber* ‘fountain, spring’ < **b^hreh₁-ur* (obl. **b^hrun-*): Gr. *φρέαρ*, *-ατος* ‘an artificial well, spring’, Goth. *brunna*, etc.

A PIE **l*-stem:

acut, acux ‘coal; soot’ (Bible+, dial.) < PArm. **a(w)cúlo-* from PIE **h₁óng^w-ól*, gen. **h₁ng^w-l-ós*: Skt. *ángāra-* m. ‘coal’ (RV+), Lith. *anglis* m. ‘coal’, OCS *oglb* m., Russ. *úgol* ‘coal’.

2.3 Thoughts on archaic traces of PIE gender

ue/oi(H)n-jo-*: Arm. **gini, *wo*-stem and *ea*-stem ‘wine’, Hitt. *uijan-* c. ‘wine’, CLuw. *uinija-* ‘of wine’, HLuw. *wijan(i)-* ‘vine’, Gr. (*f*)*oĩnos* m. ‘wine’ and Lat. *vīnum* *ī*, n. ‘wine’, Alb. *véřë/věňë* ‘wine’, etc. PArm. **y^weiñjo-* > Kartv. **ywino-* ‘wine’: Georg. *yvino-*, Megr. *yvin-*, Laz *y(v)in-*, Svan *ywin-e/äl*. Arm. *ea*-stem possibly from the plant name (fem.).

h₂ster-* ‘star’: Arm. **asth, gen. *astet* ‘star’, Hitt. *haster(a)-*, nom. *hasterza* c., Gr. *ἀστήρ, -έρος*, pl. *ἀστέρες* m. (also old coll. *ἄσπρα*), Skt. nom.pl. *tārah* (the absence of the *s-* is unexplained), instr. *stf-bhih*, Av. *star-* m., Goth. *stairno*, etc. The Armenian form derives from fem. **h₂ster-l-eh₂* or **h₂stel-n-eh₂* (cf. Lat. *stella* f. ‘star’) or from coll. in **-h₂*, cf. Gr. *ἄσπρα*. Note that the stem vowel *-a-* only appears in the plural.

uek^wero-*: Arm. **gišer, *o*-stem: gen. *gišer-o-y* and loc. *i gišer-i*; *a*-stem in adverbial forms (gen.pl. *gišer-a-c* ‘in Isaiah 26.9, Gr. *ἐκ νυκτός* ‘night’, Gr. *ἔσπερος* m. ‘evening; evening-star, Venus; of *or* at evening; Western’, *ἑσπέρα*, Ion. *-ρη* f. ‘evening; the Western Empire’, Lat. *vesper, -eris, -erī* m. ‘evening; evening-star; west’, *vesper-e, vesper-ī* ‘in the evening’, *vespera* f. ‘evening’, Lith. *vākaras* m. ‘evening’, OCS *večerъ*, etc. For Arm. *gišer-o-* vs. *gišer-a-*, cf. Gr. *ἔσπερος* vs. *ἑσπέρα* and Lat. *vesper* vs. *vespera*.

ued-n*, obl. **ud-én-*: Arm. **getin, *o*-stem: gen. *getn-o-y*, loc. *i getn-i* (Bible+), *a*-stem: instr. *getn-a-w* (Hexaemeron), *getn-a-w-k* ‘(Agat)angelos’ ‘earth, ground’: Hitt. *utnē* < **-nēi*, obl. *utni-* n. ‘land’, deriv. *utnijant-* c. ‘people, population’. The *o*-stem forms of Arm. *getin* are only found in singular, thus PArm. neuter **weden-o-* vs. plural **weden-a* < from PIE neuter pl. in **-h₂*.

ued-os-* n. ‘water’: Arm. **get, *o*-stem ‘river’; pl.-coll. **get-oray(-k)** ‘rivers’ (Socrates, Alexander Romance): Gr. *ὕδωρ* n. ‘water’, cf. Skt. *útsa-* m. ‘spring, fountain’ < **ud-s-o-*, Phryg. *βεδν*. For the full grade, cf. CLuv. adj. *uida(i)-* ‘wet’. Note PIE heteroclitic **uod-r*, gen. **ued-n-s* ‘water’: Hitt. *uātar/ueten-* n., Gr. *ὕδωρ -ατος*, etc. Arm. **get-or-ay(-k)** ‘rivers’ – perhaps from QIE neuter plural **ued-or-h₂*.

***ar-k**, **ar-a-c** (frozen gen.pl.) ‘the 6th month’, originally falling from 17th August to 15th September. I propose a connection with Gr. *ὀπώρα* f., Lac. *ὀπάρα* ‘end of the summer, beginning of autumn; harvest, fruit’ (cf. also *τὰ ὀπωριαῖα* n.pl. ‘fruits’, *ὀπωρίζω* ‘to reap fruit, harvest in autumn’), a contraction from **op-osar-eh₂-*, itself a fem. to **h₁os-ŕ* ‘after the summer’, the oblique form of which, **h₁os-n-*, is continued in Balto-Slavic and Germanic as an *n*-stem: CS *jesenъ*, Russ. *osen* f. ‘autumn’, Goth. *asans* f. ‘harvest, summer’, OHG *aran*, Germ. *Ernte* ‘harvest’, etc. For the phonological development, compare Arm. *ar-iwn* ‘blood’ from PIE **h₁esh₂r* (cf. Gr. *ἔαρ*, Hitt. *ešhar*, etc.) and *gar-un* ‘spring’ from PIE **ues-ŕ* (cf. Gr. *ἔαρ*, Lat. *vēr*, etc.). Thus: neuter plural or collective **h₁os-ŕ-h₂* ‘harvest, summer’ (or **h₁os-ŕ* >> fem. **h₁os-ŕ-eh₂*) > PArm. **o(h)ár-a-* > **ar-a-* ‘harvest, harvest time’.

smokru-*: Arm. **mawru-k, *a*-stem (gen.pl. *mawru-a-c*) ‘beard’, Hitt. *zama(n)kur* n. ‘beard’, Skt. *śmāsru-* n. ‘beard’, Lith. *smākras, smakrà* ‘chin’, etc. Neuter plural or collective **smokru-(e)h₂* > PArm. **(s)mawrú-a-*.

2.4 Heteroclitic neuter **-r/n-* and related problems

PIE **péh₂ur*, gen. **ph₂uén-s* n. ‘fire’: Arm. **hur**, *o*-stem ‘fire’, Hitt. *paḫhur*, gen. *paḫhuenaš*, Gr. *πῦρ, πῦρός* ‘fireplace, pyre’, OHG *fuir*, Oic. *fúrr, fýrr*, Goth. *fon* < **puōn*, gen. *funins* ‘fire’, Oic. *funi* m. ‘fire’, OPr. *panno* ‘fire’. The oblique stem **ph₂u(e)n-* has also been preserved in Armenian ***hun-**: **hn-oc**, **a-stem** ‘oven, furnace’, composed of **hun-* ‘fire’ and *-oc* ‘(suffix used for the derivation of, among others, nomina loci, cf. *jmeroc* ‘winter-quarters’ and *moxroc* ‘dung-heap’, containing *jmer-* ‘winter’ and *moxir* ‘ash’ respectively). Germanic and Armenian have preserved both stems.

dráku-r* (> **draġru-*) n. ‘tear’: **artawsr (uninflected), pl. **artasu-k**, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-c* ‘tear’, Gr. *δάκρυ* n., OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc. Neuter plural or collective **dráku-(e)h₂* > PArm. **(a)rtasú-a-*.

**ḡonu-* n. ‘knee’: Arm. uninflected *cunr*, pl. *cung-k*⁴, *a*-stem ‘knee’, Skt. *jānu-*, MPers. *zānūg*, Gr. *γόνυ*, gen. **ḡónv-* *ατος*, Lat. *genū*, Goth. *kniu* ‘knee’, etc. (Note Arm. dial. Agulis *céynə*). PArm. pl. **cung-a-* probably reflects IE neuter pl. **ḡonu-h₂*.

**b^hṛḡ^h-u-*, **b^hṛḡ^h-(e/o)nt-*: Arm. *barjr*, gen.sg. *barj-u*, gen.pl. *barjan-c* ‘high’, Hitt. *parku-* ‘high’, Skt. *bṛhánt-* (f. *bṛhatī-*) ‘large, wide, abundant, lofty, high’, YAv. *bərəzaṇt-* (f. *bərəzaitī-*) ‘rising high, high, loud’, Oss. *bærzond* ‘high’, MPers. *buland* ‘high, big’, Germ. *Burgund*, etc.

doru-* ‘wood’: Arm. *tarr* (pl. tant. in the Bible), gen.dat. *tarer-c*⁴, *i*-stem, *a*-stem ‘element, matter, substance, body, principle’, Skt. *dāru-*, gen. *drós*, *drúṇaḥ* n. ‘wood’, *dārvi* f. ‘spoon’, *darvī* f. ‘spoon’, YAv. *dāuru*, gen. *draoš* n. ‘piece of wood, tree-trunk’, Gr. *δόρυ*, gen. *δόρατος* n. ‘wood, tree-trunk, spear’, etc. Perhaps PArm. neuter **dóru-r*, pl. **dorár-a* (from IE n. pl. or coll. in *-*h₂*) > **darúra* (o* > Arm. *a* in open syllables) >> **tar(u)r*, obl. *-a-*. For the semantic development, compare Gr. *ύλη* ‘wood, timber’, ‘material, matter’ > Arm. *hiwł(ē)* ‘matter, element, substance, principle’.

**meli-t-* ‘honey’: Arm. *metr*, *r/u*-declension: gen. *meł-u* (Bible); *r*-stem: gen. *meter* (Hexaameron); later also *metr-o-*, *meł-u-a-*, etc. ‘honey’: Hitt. *militt-/malitt-* n., CLuw. *mallit-* n., Gr. *μέλι*, *-ιτος* n., Lat. *mel*, *mellis* n., OIr. *mil*, Goth. *miliþ*, Alb. *mjáltë*, etc. One usually reconstructs a heteroclitic paradigm nom. **mel-i-t*, obl. **mel-n-* (cf. Lat. gen. *mellis*). In order to explain the *r/u*-declension of the Armenian word one assumes a blend of **meli-* ‘honey’ and **med^hu-* n. ‘mead, sweet drink, honey’²: Skt. *mádhu-* n. ‘sweet drink, anything sweet, honey, soma’, YAv. *maðu-* n. ‘wine made of berries’, Gr. *μέθυ* n. ‘intoxicating drink, wine’, Toch. B *mūt* n. ‘honey’, OHG *mito* ‘mead’, OCS *medz* ‘honey’, etc.

Compare Arm. *asr*, gen. *as-u*, *asr-u* or *asr-o-y* (later also *r*-stem, cf. instr. *aser-b* in Nersēs Šnorhali) ‘wool, fleece’; this word seems to be a blend of **pe/oḱ-* ‘to comb, shear; fleece’ (Gr. *πόκος* m. ‘plucked, shorn off sheep’s wool, fleece’ and *πέκος* n. ‘fleece’ vs. *πέκω* ‘to comb, card, shear’, Lith. *pešū* ‘to pluck, pull out’, etc.) and **peku-* ‘cattle’ (*u*-stem neuter, cf. Skt. *pásu-*, *paśú-* n. ‘cattle’, Lat. *pecus*, *-oris* n. ‘cattle; herd, flock’, Goth. *faihu* n. ‘property, money’, OHG *fihu* n. ‘cattle’, Lith. *pėkus* ‘cattle, small livestock’, etc.

2.5 Dual

akn, gen. *akan*, pl. < dual *ač⁴-k⁴*, *i*-stem (Plato+) and *a*-stem (Bible+) ‘eye’ < PIE **h₃(o)k^w*- ‘eye’: Skt. *ákṣi-*, gen. *akṣnás* n., dual *akṣ-ī* n., Gr. dual *ὄσσε* n., Lat. *oculus*, Lith. *akis* ‘eye’; Arm. *akn* < **h₃(o)k^w*- + the suffix *-kn* (perhaps cf. Gr. *ὄκκον* ‘eye’), and *ač⁴-i-* < PIE dual **h₃(o)k^w-ih₁* n. ‘both eyes’: Gr. *ὄσσε*, OCS *oči*, etc.; Arm. *ač⁴-a-* (abundant in the Bible) may reflect a neuter plural in *-*h₂*, with *-č⁴*- analogical after the dual form. (Note also *yawn-k⁴*, *i*-stem, *a*-stem ‘eyebrows’, if *y-* ‘in’ + **awn-i-* ‘both eyes’).

ayt-k⁴, gen.dat.pl. *ayt-i-c⁴* in Nersēs Lambronac⁴ (12th cent.), etc. ‘cheek’, *aytnum*, aor. stem **ayti-*: 1sg.aor. *ayteay* ‘to swell’, from PIE **h₂(o)id-*: Gr. *οἴδος* n. ‘swelling’, *οἰδέω* ‘to swell’, OHG *eiz* ‘abscess, boil’ < Germ. **aitaz*; cf. OIr. *óil* ‘cheek’, etc. The evidence for *i*-stem is late, but its etymological value may be confirmed by the aorist stem **ayti-*. The word is pl. tant. and, as a body-part term, may reflect an old dual form: **h₂(o)id-ih₁*.

ot-k⁴, pl. *i*-stem ‘foot’ (sing. *ot-n* from acc. **pód-ḡ*: Gr. acc. *πόδ-α*) < QIE **pod-ih₁* perhaps analogically after neuter duals denoting body-part terms such as *ač⁴-k⁴* ‘eye’ < PIE **h₃(o)k^w-ih₁* n. ‘both eyes’: Gr. *ὄσσε*, OCS *oči*, etc.

3. The Verb

3.1 Nasal presents

**l(e)ik^w*- ‘to leave’: Arm. *lk⁴anem*, 3sg.aor. *e-lik* ‘to leave, let go, release, abandon’, Skt. *rec-*, pres. *riṇákti* ‘to leave, let, release’, Iran. **raič* ‘to leave, let, abandon’, Gr. *λείπω*, *λιμπάνω* ‘to let, leave’, Lat. *linquō*, *līquī* ‘to leave, quit, forsake; to abandon’, OIr. *léicid* ‘leaves’. PIE nasal-infixed present **li-n-k^w*- was remodeled to **lik^w-ḡ-* > Arm. pres. *lk⁴anem*. 3sg.aor. *e-lik* is derived from thematic aorist **é-lik^w-e-t*, cf. Gr. *έλιπε*, and the imperative *lik⁴* reflects IE **lik^we*, cf. Gr. *λίπε*.

² A similar contamination has been assumed for OIr. *mil*, gen. *melo* (Mallory/Adams 1997: 271a).

**b^heg-* ‘to break’, nasal present **b^h-n-eg-*: Arm. *bekanem*, 3sg.aor. *e-bek* ‘to break’, Skt. *bhāñj-*, *bhanákti* ‘to break, shatter’, OIr. *bongid*, *-boing* ‘breaks’, etc.

**h₂er-* ‘to fix, put together’: Arm. *arⁿem*, 1sg.aor. *ar-ar-i*, 3sg.aor. *ar-ar* ‘to make; to create’: Gr. *ἀραρίσκω*, aor. *ἤραρον* ‘to fit, equip’, etc.

**pr^k-ske/o-* (*sk*-present): Arm. *harc’anem*, 3sg.aor. *e-harc* ‘to ask, question, inquire’, Ved. *pr^cchāmi*, MPers. *pursīdan* ‘to ask’, Lat. *poscō* ‘to ask, demand’, etc. Arm. 3sg.aor. *e-harc* ‘derives from thematic imperfect **e-pr^k-sk-*et, cf. Skt. *áp^rchat*. Note also Arm. imper. *harc* ‘vs. Skt. *pr^cchá*.

**d^heh₁-* ‘to put, lay; to make, produce’: Arm. *dnem*, 1sg.aor. *e-di*, 3sg.aor. *e-d*, imper. *di-r* ‘to put, lay, to make, build’, Skt. *dhā-* ‘to put, place, make, produce’, Gr. *τίθημι* ‘to put down, ground, create’, Lat. *con-dere* ‘to build, found; to compose, make’, *fē-cī* ‘I have made’, OHG *tuon* ‘to do’, Lith. *dėti* ‘to lay, put’, Latv. *dēt* ‘to lay eggs’ (cf. Arm. dial. T‘iflis), etc. Arm. *dnem* is composed as **di-* + pres. suffix **ne-* seen in e.g. *ar-ne-m* vs. aor. *ar-ar-* ‘to make’. The aorist forms 1sg. *e-di* and 3sg. *e-d* are derived from **é-d^heh₁-m* (cf. Skt. *ád^hām*) or sigm. **e-d^heh₁-s-om* (cf. OCS *děxъ*) and **é-d^heh₁-t* (cf. Skt. *ád^hāt*), respectively; *di-r* is comparable with e.g. *li-r* (*li* ‘full’).

The irregular verb *lsem*, pres. stem **l(u)s*, aor. stem *lu* ‘to hear, listen to’

Present	Imperfect	Subj. pres.	Aorist	Subj. aor.	Imperative	Cohortative
Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
<i>lsem</i>	<i>lsēi</i>	<i>lsic’em</i>	<i>luay</i>	<i>luayc’</i>		
<i>lses</i>	<i>lsēir</i>	<i>lsic’es</i>	<i>luar</i>	<i>luic’es</i>	<i>lur</i>	<i>luijir</i>
<i>lsē</i>	<i>lsēr</i>	<i>lsic’e</i>	<i>luaw</i>	<i>luic’e</i>		
PI	PI	PI	PI	PI	PI	PI
<i>lsemk’</i>	<i>lsēak’</i>	<i>lsic’emk’</i>	<i>luak’</i>	<i>luic’uk’</i>		
<i>lsēk’</i>	<i>lsēik’</i>	<i>lsic’ek’</i>	<i>luayk’</i>	<i>luijik’</i>	<i>luayk’, luaruk’</i>	<i>luijik’</i>
<i>lsen</i>	<i>lsēin</i>	<i>lsic’en</i>	<i>luan</i>	<i>luic’en</i>		

lsem, aor. *lu-a-*, impv. *lu-r* (new aor. *lseac* ‘> *lsec* ‘ in Grigor Narekac‘i, 10th cent.) ‘to hear, listen; to obey’ from PIE pres. or sigm. aor. **k^lu-s-* > new nasal present **k^lu-n-s-*. Note that **-ns-* > Arm. *-s-* is regular.

**b^herǵ^h-*, **b^hṛǵ^h-u-*, **b^hṛǵ^h-(e/o)nt-*: Arm. *barjr*, gen.sg. *barj-u*, gen.pl. *barjan-c* ‘high’; **-berj* ‘high’ in compounds; *barⁿam* < **barj-nam* ‘to lift, bear away’: Hitt. *parku-* ‘high’, Skt. *br^hánt-* (f. *br^hatī-*) ‘large, wide, abundant, lofty, high’, YAv. *bərəzañt-* (f. *bərəzaitī-*) ‘rising high, high, loud’, Oss. *bærzond* ‘high’, MPers. *buland* ‘high, big’, Germ. *Burgund*, etc. For the Armenian full-grade **-berj* in compounds such as *le^rn-a-berj* ‘berghoch’, cf. Skt. *-bārhas-* ‘firmness, strength’ in Vedic compounds such as *ádri-barhas* ‘felsenfest’.

**h₂r-nu-*: Arm. *arⁿum*, 1sg.aor. *ar-i*, 3sg.aor. *ar* ‘to gain, obtain, win, take, grasp’, Gr. *ἀρνυμαι*, aor. *ἀρόμεν* ‘to win, gain’, probably also Av. *arənauu-* ‘to grant, allot, provide’.

**pleh₁-*: Arm. *lnum* or *lnanim* 3sg.aor. *e-lic* ‘to fill, be filled’ (cf. *li* ‘full, abundant, whole’, *lir*, *i*-stem ‘plenitude’), Gr. *πιμπλημι*, *-αμαι* ‘to fill, make full’, intr. ‘to fill oneself, be/become full’, *πλήρης* ‘full’, *πλέως*, Ion. *πλεός* ‘full’, Lat. *plēre* ‘to fill’, Skt. *par^l* ‘to fill’, pres. *pīparti*, **pīprati*, etc. For the aorist *e-li-c* < **e-plē-ske* (with **-ske/o-* added to the old root aorist **plē-(s)-*, cf. Ved. *áp^rās*, Gr. *ἐπλησε*, etc.).

**ues-nu-*: Arm. *z-genum*, 3sg.aor. *zge-c’-a-w* ‘to put on clothes’, Gr. *ἔννυμι* ‘to clothe’; cf. Hitt. *ueš-* ‘to be dressed’, Skt. *váste* ‘to be clothed, wear’, etc. Note Arm. *z-gest*, *u*-stem, *i*-stem, *o*-stem ‘dress, garment, clothes’ from **ues-ti-*: Lat. *vestis*, *is* f. ‘garments, clothes; cloth’, Goth. *wasti* ‘garment, dress’, Gr. Hesychius *γῆστία* ‘clothing’, etc.

**g^{wh}er-* ‘warm’: Arm. *jerⁿum* or *jeranim*, 1sg.aor. *jer-a-y* ‘to be/become warm, burn’ < **g^{wh}er-nu-*, cf. **g^{wh}er-n(e)u-*: Skt. *ghṛⁿótī* ‘to glow, light’, etc. Arm. aor. *jer-a-* from sigm. aor. **g^{wh}er-s-*.

**b^her-e-*: Arm. *berem*, 3sg aor. *e-ber* ‘to bring, bear’, Skt. *bhárati* ‘to carry, maintain, foster, bring’, Gr. *φέρω* ‘to carry, bring’, Lat. *ferō* ‘to carry, bear’, Goth. *bairan* ‘to carry’, etc.; Arm. 3sg aorist *e-ber* from PIE **é-b^her-et*: Skt. *á-bhar-at*, Gr. *ἔ-φερ-ε*.

3.2 PIE *ǵe-presents

*g^{wh}en-ǵe/o- ‘to slay’: Arm. *ǵnǵem* (*ǵinǵ-) ‘to efface, wipe clean; annihilate, destroy’, Gr. *θείνω* ‘to kill’, Lith. *geniù* ‘to prune, hem’; cf. Hitt. *kuenzi, kuanzi* ‘to kill, slay, ruin’, Skt. *hánti* ‘to strike, slay; to kill’, OAv. *jaidiāi* ‘to kill’, YAv. *jaiñti* ‘to slay, kill’, etc.

t’r-ǵem (stem *t’urǵ*) ‘to wet, moisten’ vs. *t’rem* ‘to knead’ and *t’rmem* (stem *t’urm*) ‘to wet, soak, steep; to knead’ may be explained by the IE present suffix *-ǵe-, through a regular sound change *-rǵ- > -rǵ̃-.

3.3 Reduplicated present

C₁i-C₁(e)C₂: the type of Gr. *ιαύω* ‘to sleep, rest, spend the night’ < *h₂i-h₂eus- vs. Arm. *aganim* ‘to spend the night’. In Armenian – frequently with the secondary nasal suffix: *C₁i-C₁(e)C₂-ne-*.

*pi-ph₃-e- (reduplicated thematic present of the word for ‘to drink’, cf. Gr. *πίνω* ‘to drink’, etc.) > *pibeti: Arm. *ampem*, suppletive aor. *arb-i* ‘to drink’, Skt. *pībati*, Lat. *bibō*, OIr. *ibid*. The Armenian verb derives from a secondary nasal present form: *pib-ne-mi > PArm. *(h)ipnēm(i) > *ampem*.

nstim, 3sg.aor. *nst-a-w*, impv. *nist* ‘to sit’ < *ni- + *si-sd-: Skt. *sīdati*, redupl. pres. of PIE *sed- ‘to sit’: *hecanim*, 3sg.aor. *hec-a-w* ‘to mount a horse’ < sigm. aor. *sed-s-, cf. Skt. 3sg.subj.act. *sātsat*, Gr. *ἕζομαι*, Lat. *sedēre*, etc.

The irregular verb *yañnem* (stems: pres. *yañn*, aor. *yari*, imper. *ari*) ‘to rise, arise, get up; to wake’

Present	Imperfect	Subj. pres.	Aorist	Subj. aor.	Imperative	Cohortative
Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
yañnem	yañnēi	yañnic’em	yareay	yareayc’		
yañnes	yañnēir	yañnic’es	yarear	yaric’es	ari	yarijir
yañnē	yañnēr	yañnic’ē	yareaw	yaric’ē		
Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl
yañnemk’	yañnēak’	yañnic’emk’	yareak’	yaric’uk’		
yañnēk’	yañnēik’	yañnic’ēk’	yareayk’	yarijik’	arik’	yarijik’
yañnen	yañnēin	yañnic’en	yarean	yaric’en		

yañnem (aor. stem *yari*, imper. *ari*) ‘to rise, arise, get up, stand up; to wake; to resurrect, resuscitate, revive; to assail, attack’ (Bible+); from PIE *h₃r-i- ‘to rise’: Hit. *arai-ⁱ* / *ari-* ‘to rise, arise, lift; to raise’, CLuw. *ari(ia)-* ‘to raise’ < *h₃r-oi- / *h₃r-i-; Lat. *orior, -īrī, ortus* ‘to appear above the horizon, rise; to rise from bed, get up; to begin, be born’, *orīgō, -inis* f. ‘beginning, source’, *adorīrī* ‘to attack, assail’, *exorīrī* ‘to appear, arise’, *oborīrī* ‘to rise up, occur’; Skt. *ar-*, 3sg.pres.act. *īyarti*, med. *īrte* ‘to set in motion, move; to arouse, excite’ < *Hi-H(a)r-, *ṛnváti* ‘to rise, move’, Av. *ar-*, redupl. pres. *īra-* ‘to reach’, *īra-* n. ‘attack’, YAv. *arənao-* ‘to set in motion’; Gr. *ὀρνυμι* or *-ύω*, med. *ὀρνύμαι* ‘to rise, rouse, stir (up), urge on, move, rush away; to excite, incite, revive’.

Armenian pres. *y-ar-ne- (< *h₃r-ne- or *h₃ri-ne-) vs. aor. *y-ar-i- and impv. *ari from *h₃r-i- (cf. Hit. *arai-ⁱ* / *ari-* ‘to rise’, Lat. *orior, -īrī* ‘to rise’). The initial y- in *yar- (vs. imperative *ar-) is puzzling. There are various explanations. It is tempting to explain the problem by assuming a redupl. pres. *Hi-H(e)r- (cf. Skt. *īyarti*) > PArm. *Hīyar- > *(i)yar-.

3.4 Iterative and denominative verbs *-o- + *-eie-

gorcem ‘to work, labour; to make, produce’ vs. *gorc*, o-stem ‘work, labour’ from *ǵe/orǵom: Gr. *ἔργον* n. ‘work, labour, work of art’, OHG *werc* ‘work’, Av. *vərəz-* ‘to do, work’, etc. The vocalism of Arm. *gorc* is taken from the verb *gorcem*, an old *iterative* (cf. Goth. *waurk* and *waurkjan* vs. OEngl. *werk*, OHG *werc*, Gr. *ἔργον*, etc.).

k’orem ‘to scratch, itch’ probably from an *iterative* formation *(s)kor(H)-eie-, cf. Arm. *k’er(t/b)em* ‘to scratch, rub, chop’, Gr. *κείρω* ‘to cut (off), shave, mow off, ravage’, OHG *sceran* ‘to cut’, Lith. *skiriù, skirti* ‘to separate’, etc.

The same pattern is reflected in **denominative** verbs, e.g. PIE **uosn-eie-* ‘to buy, sell’: Gr. *ὀνέομαι* and Skt. *vasnayāti*, from **uesno-* ‘price’: Skt. *vasná-*, Lat. *vēnum*, Arm. *gin* ‘price’, cf. also **uoḡ^h-eie-* from **uoḡ^ho-* ‘carrying’.

Another such **denominative** may be, in my view, Arm. *y-arag-em* ‘to expose to the sun’ (= Gr. *ἐξ-ηλιάζω* in 2 Kings 21.6, 9, 13) probably **h₂rou-eie-* from the noun **h₂reu-i-*: Arm. *areg-* ‘sun’, Skt. *ravi-* m. ‘sun, sun-god’. Thus: **h₂rou-eie-* ‘to expose to the sun’ > PArm. **arow-eye-mi* > **arowémi* (through contraction **-eye-* > *-e-* as in PIE **treies* > *erek* ‘three’) > *y-aragem* (pretonic **-o-* in open syllable > *-a-*). As for the semantic relation, cf. Akn **arewel* ‘to expose to the sun (said of clothes and fruits to be dried)’, which clearly derives from *arew* ‘sun’.

3.5 Aorist

lam ‘to weep, cry’, *mořanam* ‘to forget’
sirem ‘to love’, *anc’anem* ‘to pass; to pass away/over’
nayim ‘to look at’, *cnanim* ‘to beget; to be begotten, born’
t’olum ‘to let, permit; to leave, desert’, *řerum* ‘to be/get warm; to burn’

<i>lam</i> ‘to weep, cry’	<i>sirem</i> ‘to love’	<i>nayim</i> ‘to look at’	<i>t’olum</i> ‘to let, permit’
pres. <i>l</i> , aor. <i>lac</i> ’	pres. <i>sir</i> , aor. <i>sire(a)c</i> ’	pres. <i>nay</i> , aor. <i>nayec</i> ’	pres. <i>t’ol</i> , aor. <i>t’ol</i>
Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
<i>lac</i> ’i	<i>sirec</i> ’i	<i>nayec</i> ’ay	<i>t’oli</i>
<i>lac</i> ’er	<i>sirec</i> ’er	<i>nayec</i> ’ar	<i>t’oler</i>
(e) <i>lac</i> ’	<i>sireac</i> ’	<i>nayec</i> ’aw	(e) <i>t’ol</i>
Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl
<i>lac</i> ’ak’	<i>sirec</i> ’ak’	<i>nayec</i> ’ak’	<i>t’olak</i> ’
<i>lac</i> ’ē/ik’	<i>sirec</i> ’ē/ik’	<i>nayec</i> ’ayk’, -aruk’	<i>t’olē/ik</i> ’
<i>lac</i> ’in	<i>sirec</i> ’in	<i>nayec</i> ’an	<i>t’ofin</i>
<i>mořanam</i> ‘to forget’	<i>anc’anem</i> ‘to pass’	<i>cnanim</i> ‘to beget’	<i>řerum</i> ‘to get warm’
pr. <i>mořan</i> , aor. <i>mořac</i> ’	pres. <i>anc’an</i> , aor. <i>anc</i> ’	pres. <i>cnan</i> , aor. <i>cn</i>	pres. <i>řer</i> n, aor. <i>řer</i>
Sg	Sg	Sg	Sg
<i>mořac</i> ’ay	<i>anc</i> ’i	<i>cnay</i>	<i>řeray</i>
<i>mořac</i> ’ar	<i>anc</i> ’er	<i>cnar</i>	<i>řerar</i>
<i>mořac</i> ’aw	(e) <i>anc</i> ’	<i>cnaw</i>	<i>řeraw</i>
Pl	Pl	Pl	Pl
<i>mořac</i> ’ak’	<i>anc</i> ’ak’	<i>cnak</i> ’	<i>řerak</i> ’
<i>mořac</i> ’ayk’, -aruk’	<i>anc</i> ’ē/ik’	<i>cnayk</i> ’, -aruk’	<i>řerayk</i> ’, -aruk’
<i>mořac</i> ’an	<i>anc</i> ’in	<i>cnan</i>	<i>řeran</i>

3.6 Sigmatic aorist

**h₃neid-*: Arm. *anicanem*, 3sg.aor. *anēc* ‘to curse’ < PIE sigm. aor. **h₃neid-s-*, *anēc-k*’ ‘curse, imprecation’, Skt. *ned-*: pres. *nīdati*, aor. *ānindiṣur*, desid. *nīnits-* ‘to revile; to blame; to mock’, YAv. 1sg.pres.act. *nāismī* ‘to curse’ (prob. from **nāid-s-mi*), Gr. *ὀνειδος* n. ‘reprimand, abuse’, Lith. *niedėti* ‘to despise’, Goth. *ga-naitjan* ‘to treat shamefully’, OHG *neizzan* ‘torment’, etc.

**sed-* ‘to sit’: Arm. *hecanim*, 3sg.aor. *hec-a-w* ‘to mount a horse’ (*hec-* from sigm. aor. **sed-s-*): Skt. 3sg.subj.act. *sātsat*, Gr. *ἕζομαι*, Lat. *sedere*, Goth. *sitan*, Lith. *sėdėti*, etc.

**mer-* ‘to vanish’: Arm. *meřanim*, 3sg.aor. *meř-a-w* ‘to die’ (*meř-* from sigm. aor. **mer-s-*): Skt. *mar-* ‘to die’, 1.sg.inj. *mṛṣ-i* ‘ich möchte sterben’, Hitt. *mer-^{zi}*, pret. 3sg. *me-ir-ta* ‘to disappear, vanish’, Lat. *moriōr*, OCS *mrěti*.

**g^{wh}er-* ‘warm’: Arm. *řerum* or *řeranim*, 1sg.aor. *řer-a-y* ‘to be/become warm, burn’ < **g^{wh}er-nu-*, cf. **g^{wh}er-n(e)u-*: Skt. *ghṛṇōti* ‘to glow, light’, etc. Arm. aor. *řer-a-* from sigm. aor. **g^{wh}er-s-*.

*skend-: Arm. *c'ncam* 'to joy, rejoice'; dial. to shine' (*c'inc- from sigm. aor. *skend-s-), Skt. *chand-* 'to appear (good); to please', 3sg.act. *achān*, 3pl.act. *áchāntsur*, subj. *chantsat*, imper. *chantsi*. Note also Skt. (*ś*)*cand-* 'to shine, glitter', *candrā-* 'shining, light', *hāri-ścandra-* 'glittering as gold', probably belonging to the same root.

Supplement: Armenian dialects

The Armenian dialects have been classified according to a phonological principle, namely the development of the consonant system, as well as morphological one, that is the formation of the indicative present.

Classical Armenian possesses a three-fold opposition: voiced – voiceless – voiceless aspirate. Most of the dialects display various developments of the voiced and voiceless stops, whereas the voiceless series is stable everywhere. Particularly interesting are the dialects of Group 4 (Sasun, Cilicia, Svedia, etc.) which display the following steps of the so-called Second / Modern Armenian Sound Shift: voiceless > voiced; voiced > voiceless. The dialects of the Group 6 (T'iflis, Ardvin, Ararat/Loři, Agulis, Křzen, etc.) have retained the system intact.

It has been argued, however, that the Classical Armenian voiced stops were actually voiced aspirates that continue the Proto-Indo-European series **b^h/*g^h/*d^h*. In these terms, the original opposition would seem to have been preserved in Group 2 (Karin, Muř, parts of Ararat, etc.). On the other hand, the glottalic character of the voiceless stops in some dialects has been interpreted as an inherited, Indo-European, feature. These two issues have been heavily debated, however. Are these phonological features archaic remnants of Proto-Armenian phonology or they are recent innovations in Armenian dialects? This basic question still awaits an answer.

The morphological classification of the Armenian dialects, developed mostly by Ačarıyan and Łarıbyan, is based on the formation of the present indicative. In Classical Armenian, the present indicative was of a simple synthetic type, e.g. *sirem* 'I love', *mnam* 'I stay'. Armenian gradually used this form to express the subjunctive and future, while a new present indicative developed in various ways: *kə sirem*, *sirum em*, *sirel(is) em*, etc. The development of these characteristic features dates to around the 11th century.³ Only Xotorjur has preserved the classical present intact: *sirim* 'I love' and *mənam* 'I stay'.

In a series of articles Weitenberg discussed a relatively homogenous set of dialectal isoglosses within a chronological framework starting from pre-literary times, all of which are anterior to the spirantization of *h* in the Van-Urmia group and the devoicing which are dated to approximately the 7th century or later:

- Retraction of the accent to the penultima.
- Diphthongization of stressed *o* (and perhaps *e*) in initial position; all dialects diphthongize any *o* in absolute anlaut, whereas the dialects having accent retraction (Łarabał, etc.) and the dialects of the Van-Urmia region do so only in monosyllables (these are marked in the Table "no").
- Monophthongization of *aw*; if *aw* (under penultimate accent) is followed by a dental stop or affricate, it spirantizes, e.g. *eawt'n* 'seven' > Melri *óxtə* (these are marked in the Table "yes").
- Ačarıyan's Law.
- Devoicing (7th century or later).

In Weitenberg 1996: 111 these isoglosses are combined in a table in relative chronological order, from left to right. In addition, the isogloss *-nul* vs. ClArm. *-anem* is represented by the example of *tesanem* 'to see'.

In the Table the phonological and morphological classifications are jointly demonstrated in combination with a revised and supplemented version of Weitenberg's aforementioned table data from my Table 1. The archaic set of isoglosses demonstrates an opposition between the South-Eastern periphery (Łarabał/Agulis area) on the one hand, and the Central and Western regions on the other. As Weitenberg (1996: 112) points out, the Van-Urmia intermediate area may originally have formed part of the South-Eastern area. Note also the sharp contrast between Muř and Łarabał.

³ For a general overview, see Weitenberg 2002: 145-146.

Dialect	Phon. classif.	Pres. indicative	Accent retr.	Diphth. o-	ɔxt '7'	Ačar. Law	Devoic.	tesanel
Ařtial	Gr. 1	gi sirim	no	no	yes	no	no	-nul
Arabkir	Gr. 1	sirim gu, g-ert'am ga, gə g-ert'am	no	no	no	no	no	-nal
Erznka	Gr. 1/4	k/gə sirim, k-udam	no	no	yes	no	yes	-nal
Hamšen	Gr. 1/4	sirim gu, g-udim	no	no	yes	no	yes	-nul
Karin	Gr. 2	sirem k/gə, k-udem k/gə	no	no	yes	no	no	-nil
Muš	Gr. 2	kə sirim, k-alam	no	no	no	no	no	-nul
Ararat	Gr. 2	sirə/um em	(yes)	(yes)	yes	no	no	(-nul)
Nor Jula	Gr. 2	sirum am, mořanum am; lalman am, talman am	no	no	yes	no	no	-nel
Polis	Gr. 3	ga sirem, g-ert'am	no	ABSENT	yes	no	no	-nal
Hačən	Gr. 4	ga siyiem, ga g-ařnum	no	no	no	no	yes	-nul
Svedia	Gr. 4	ga sirim, g'-ařnim	no	no	no	yes?	yes	-nul
Edesia/Urha	Gr. 5	sirem a / gə sirem g-ert'am a	no	no	no	no	yes	-nal
Tigranakert	Gr. 5	ga sirim, g-uzim	no	no	no	no	yes	-nal
Ararat/Loři	Gr. 6	siram em, mnəm em	yes	yes	yes	no	no	-nal
Agulis	Gr. 6	sayrım em, n-őtam em	yes	(yes)	yes	yes	no	-nil
Areř/Havarik	Gr. 6	1sg. sirelis em, sireli yem 2sg. sirelom es	no	no	yes	yes	no	-nel / -nal
Melri	Gr. 6	siris im, manas im	yes	(yes)	yes	yes	no	-nil
Karčewan	Gr. 6	siry im / im sirs	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	(-n)ul
Kak'avaberd	Gr. 6	xəmım em, əsəm em; mənáyis im, -lis im	yes	yes	yes	yes	no/yes	(-n)il
Łarabal	Gr. 7	siram em, xəsəm em	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	-nal
Urmia	Gr. 7	k'ires em/s, 3sg. k'irel i; manas em/s, 3sg. manal i	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	-nel
Marala	Gr. 7	üzeli im, amč'ənalə yim	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	-nel
Van	Gr. 7	kə sirem, k-uzem, ku k'əm	no	yes	no	yes	yes	-nal
Moks, řatax	Gr. 7	kə sirim, kə xalam, k-ənc'nim	no	yes	no	yes	yes	-nel / -nil

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