CLASSICAL ARMENIAN

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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.
labials	*p	h-/Ø-, -w-	*b	p	*bʰ	b, -w-
dentals	*t	tʻ, -w-/-Ø-	*d	t	*dʰ	d
palatals	*k̂	s	*ĝ	c	*ĝʰ	j, z
labiovelars	*kʷ	kʻ/čʻ	*gʷ	k/č	*gʷʰ	g/ǰ
sibilant	*s	h-/Ø-, s(C)				
laryngeals	*h₁	Ø-/e-	*h₂	h-/a-	*h₃	h-/a-
liquids	*r	(e/a)r-, -r/ř-	*l	(e/a)ł-, -l/ł-		
nasals	*m	m	*n	n		
semivowels	*i̯	í/Ø-´	*u̯	ú/Ø-´		
	*i̯	Ø, (R)ǰ	*u̯	g-, -g/w-, -w		
vowels	*e	e, i(N)	*a/h₂	a	*o	o, u(N)
	*ē/eh₁	i	*ā/eh₂	a	*ō/eh₃	u
diphthongs	*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***	tʻ-	-w-, -Ø-, -(r/n)d-	***k̂***	s- (-š-)	-s- (-š-)	***kʷ***	kʻ-, čʻ(e/i)-	-kʻ-, -(r/n)g-
b	p-	-p-	***d***	t-	-t-	***ĝ***	c-	-c-	***gʷ***	k-, č(e/i)-	-k-
bʰ	b-	-w-	***dʰ***	d-	-d-	***ĝʰ***	j-	-ǰ-, -z-	***gʷʰ***	g-, ǰ(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 Ə ə):

    sírt 'heart', gen. *srt-í*

    súrb 'pure, clean; holy', gen. *srbóy*, *srbém* 'I clean'

2. The vowel *ē*, etymologically **ei*, a diphthong) becomes *i*:

    sḗr '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 lerdḗ*

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. *paδa-* n. 'footstep', Gr. *πέδον* n. 'floor, ground', Hitt. *pedan* n. 'place', cf. Lat. *pēs*, gen. *ped-is* m. 'foot', OIc. *fet* 'step' vs. **pód-m̥* > **otn** 'foot', Gr. *πόδ-α*, etc.

Unlike PIE **Dr* and **Dʰr*, 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. *pitā́*, Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*, OHG *fater*, Toch. B *pācer*.

*pr̥Hu̯o-: Arm. **haraw**, *o*-stem 'south', Av. *pauruua-* 'being in front, southern', Skt. *pū́rva-* 'going in front', OCS *prьvъ* 'first', etc.

*peruti 'last year': Arm. **heru** 'last year', Gr. *πέρυσι*, Dor. *πέρυτι*, Skt. *parut* 'last year'.

*pénku̯e 'five': Arm. **hing**, Skt. *páñca*, Av. *paṇca*, MPers. *panǰ*, Gr. *πέντε*, Lat. *quīnque*, OIr. *cóic*, Goth. *fimf*, OCS *pętь*, Lith. *penkì*.

*pontH-: Arm. **hun** 'ford', Skt. *pánthās* 'path', Gr. *πόντος* 'sea', OCS *pǫtь* 'road', Lat. *pons*.

*p(e)h₂ur n. 'fire: Arm. **hur**, *o*-stem 'fire', Hitt. *paḫḫur*, Gr. *πῦρ*, *πῠρός*, OHG *fuir*, OIc. *fúrr*, *fýrr*.

*pre(i)sgʷu-: 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)peḱ-: Arm. **ałuēs**, gen. *ałues-u* 'fox': Gr. *ἀλώπηξ*, *-εκος* 'fox', Skt. *lopāśá-* probably 'fox', etc.

*septm̥ 'seven': Arm. **ewt'n**, Skt. *saptá*, Av. *hapta-*, Gr. *ἑπτά*, Lat. *septem*, OIr. *secht*, Goth. *sibun*, OCS *sedmь*, Lith. *septynì*.

*su̯op-no-: Arm. **k'un**, *o*-stem 'sleep': Skt. *svápna-* m. 'sleep, dream', Av. *xᵛafna-* m. 'sleep, dream', Gr. *ὕπνος* 'sleep', Lat. *somnus* 'sleep', Lith. *sãpnas* 'dream', OCS *sънъ* 'sleep', etc.

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

əmpem, 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. *píbati*, Lat. *bibō*, OIr. *ibid*. The Armenian verb derives from a secondary nasal present form: **pib-ne-mi* > PArm. **(h)ipném(i)* > *əmpem*.

yisun 'fifty': **penkʷē-(d)ḱomth₂* 'fifty': Skt. *pañcā-śát-* f., Gr. *πεντή-κοντα*, Lat. *quīnquā-gintā*, etc. PIE **penkʷē-ḱomth₂* > PArm. **hingisun-* > **hiŋisun* > **(h)i(ŋ)isun* > **(h)i-ísun* (perhaps with a glide, **i-y-ísun*) > *yisun*.

1.1.2 PIE **t*

*tr̥s-: **t'aṙamim** and **t'aršamim** 'to wither': Skt. *tarṣ-*: *tŕ̥ṣyant-* '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. *πτελέ-α*, Ion. *-η* 'elm, Ulmus glabra'.

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

treies 'three': Arm. ***erek'***: Skt. *tráyas*, Av. *ϑrāiiō*, *ϑraiias-ča* m., *ϑrī* n., *tišrō* f., Gr. τρεῖς, 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., MIr. *arathar*, Welsh *aradr*, OIc. *arðr*.

1.1.3 PIE **k/kʷ*

*(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*, *skìrti* '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. *kiřpti* 'to chop, cut', Latv. *cìrpt* 'to shave', etc.; note ***k'orem*** 'to scratch, itch' probably from an iterative formation **(s)kor(H)-eie-*.

*l(e)ikʷ- '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-infixed present **li-n-kʷ-* was remodeled to **likʷ-ṇ-* > Arm. pres. *lk'anem*. 3sg.aor. *e-lik'* is derived from thematic aorist **é-likʷ-e-t*, cf. Gr. ἔλιπε, and the imperative *lik'* reflects IE **líkʷe*, cf. Gr. λίπε.

*kʷetuores 'four': Arm. ***č'ork'***, Skt. *catvā́ras*, Av. *caϑβārō*, Gr. τέσσαρες, Lat. *quattuor*, OIr. *ceth(a)ir*, Goth. *fidwor*, OCS *četyre*, Lith. *keturì*. Arm. *č'ork'* is probably from **kʷetores* 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. *kiřpti* 'to chop, cut', Latv. *cìrpt* '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. *ā́tā-* f. pl. 'door-frame, door-posts', YAv. *qiϑiiā-* 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', OIc. *ǫnd* f. 'front room, corridor'.

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

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

*pénkʷe 'five': Arm. ***hing***, Skt. *páñca*, Av. *paṇca*, MPers. *panǰ*, Gr. πέντε, Lat. *quīnque*, OIr. *cóic*, Goth. *fimf*, OCS *pętь*, Lith. *penkì*.

*h₁erkʷ-o-: ***erg***, *o*-stem 'song; poem; 'playing (music)', ***ergem*** 'to sing; to play a musical instrument; to praise' < PIE **h₁erkʷ-*: Hitt. *ārku-ᶻⁱ*, *arku-* 'to chant, intone' (from **h₁erkʷ-/*h₁rkʷ-*), Toch. A *yärk*, B *yarke* 'worship, reverence', Skt. *árcati* 'to sing, to praise; to shine', thematic noun *arká-* m. 'ray, light, shine; song, magic song' (= Arm. *erg*, *o*-stem), root noun *ṛ́c-* f. 'song of praise, poem, stanza, verse', probably also OIr. *erc* 'sky'.

1.1.5 Intervocalic loss

*ph₂tēr 'father': ***hayr***, gen. ***hawr*** 'father': Skt. *pitā́*, 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-bʰi-*, cf. Skt. dative plural *pitṛ́-bhyas*.

*bʰreh₂tēr 'brother': ***ełbayr***, gen. ***ełbawr*** 'brother', Skt. *bhrā́tar-* '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)iṇh₂tér-*, Pers. *yārī* < **yāϑr-ī-*, Gr. ἐνάτηρ, gen. εἰνάτερος, Lat. plur. *ianitrīcēs*, Lith. *jentė* (17ᵗʰ cent.), *ìntė*, CS *jętry*, gen. *jętrъve*, etc.

*kʷetu̯ores ‘four’: Arm. **č‘ork‘**, Skt. *catvā́ras*, Av. *caϑβārō*, Gr. *τέσσαρες*, Lat. *quattuor*, OIr. *ceth(a)ir*, Goth. *fidwor*, OCS *četyre*, Lith. *keturì*. Arm.*č‘ork‘* is probably from *kʷetores* with dissimilatory loss of *-u̯- 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. **płpuǰ**, *a*-stem ‘bubble’ (prob. from *pułpułǰa- < *bul-bul-i̯eh₂), dial. ***pu(m)pul** ‘bud; pupil of eye’, ***purpuǰ** ‘bubble’, Lith. *bum̃bulas* ‘bud, ball’, *bumbulȳs* ‘bubble’, *bùmbulis* ‘pupil of eye’, *bur̃bulas* ‘water bubble’, etc.

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

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

1.2.2 PIE *d

*deh₂i̯u̯er- ‘husband’s brother’ > Arm. **ta(y)gr**, *er*-stem ‘husband’s brother’: Skt. *devár-*, Gr. *δāήρ* m. Acc. *-έρα*, voc. *δᾶερ*, GPl *δᾱέρων*, Lat. *lēvir*, OHG *zeihhur*, OCS *děver-ъ*, *dièveris*, etc.

*dek̂m̥ ‘ten’: Arm. **tasn**, Skt. *dáśa*, Av. *dasa*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *deich*, Goth. *taihun*, OCS *desętь*, Lith. *dẽšimt*.

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

*dóm, gen. *dém-s ‘house’: Arm. **tun**, gen. *tan* ‘house; stanza; family, tribe; land, region’: Skt. *dám-*, gen.pl. *dam-ā́m*, gen.sg. *dám-s in *pátir dán* ‘master of the house’, Av. *dam-*, gen. *də̄ṇg*, loc.sg. *dąm*, 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. *də̄ṇg pati-*); cf. also Skt. *dáma-* m. ‘house’, Gr. *δόμος* m. ‘house, room’, Lat. *domus* f. ‘house, household’, OCS *domъ* ‘house’, etc. Arm. *tun* derives from nom. *dōm or acc. *dom-m̥.

*drák̂u-r (> *drak̂ru-) 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/gʷ

*gʷén-(e)h₂, gen. *gʷn-éh₂-s ‘woman’: Arm. **kin**, gen. *kn-oǰ*, instr. *kna-w* or *kanam-b*, nom.pl. *kanay-k‘* ‘woman; wife’, Skt. *jáni-* f., OAv. *jə̄ni-* f., YAv. *jaini-* f. ‘woman, wife’, MPers. *zan* ‘wife’, etc. vs. Skt. *gnā́-* f. ‘divine female, mistress, lady’, OAv. *gənā-* f. ‘woman’, YAv. *γᵊnā-* f. ‘woman’ (Indo-Iran. *ǰanH-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’ < *gʷen-eh₂-n-, OCS *žena* ‘woman, wife’, Russ. *žená* ‘wife’, CLuw. *u̯āna-* ‘woman’, etc. For PArm. *kan-ay-, cf. Gr. *γυναι-κ-*.

*gʷou-: **kov** ‘cow’: Skt. *gaúḥ* ‘cow, bull’, Latv. *gùovs* ‘cow’, OCS *gov-ę-do*.

*h₁regʷ-e/os-: Arm. **erek(oy)** ‘evening’: 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. *røkkr* n. ‘darkness’ < PGerm. *rekwiz-, etc.

*sn̥gʷ- ‘to sink, fall’: Arm. **ankanim** ‘to fall/come down; to come to end, cease; to die, fall’: Goth. *sigqan*, OHG *sinke/an*, Germ. *sinken*, Engl. *sink*, etc.

1.3 The PIE voiced aspirates

1.3.1 PIE *bʰ

b^heh_2-: Arm. **bam** 'to speak, say', **bambasem** 'to malign, backbite, gossip', Gr. φημί 'to say, explain, argue', προ-φήτης 'announcer, seer, prophet', Lat. *fārī* 'to say', *fāma* 'rumour, fame', RussCS *bajati* 'to tell fables', etc.

$b^hr̥$-ti-: Arm. **bard**, *i*-stem 'heap of corn or grass': Skt. *prá-bhr̥ti-* f. 'offering', *bhr̥tí-* 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'.

$b^herĝ^h$-, $b^hr̥ĝ^h$-u-, $b^hr̥ĝ^h$-(e/o)nt-: Arm. **barjr**, gen.sg. *barj-u*, gen.pl. *barjan-c'* 'high'; **-berj** 'high' in compounds; **baṙnam** < *barj-nam 'to lift, bear away': Hitt. *parku-* 'high', Skt. *br̥hánt-* (f. *br̥hatī́-*) 'large, wide, abundant, lofty, high', YAv. *bərəzaṇt-* (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 *leṙn-a-berj* 'berghoch', cf. Skt. *-bárhas-* 'firmness, strength' in Vedic compounds such as *ádri-barhas* 'felsenfest'.

*b^heg- 'to break', nasal present *b^h-n-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^heh_1- 'to put, lay; to make, produce': Arm. **dnem**, 1sg.aor. *e-di*, 3sg.aor. *e-d*, impv. *di-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. *déti* 'to lay, put', Latv. *dêt* 'to lay eggs' (cf. Arm. dial. T'iflis), etc. Arm. *dnem* is composed as *di- + pres. suffix *ne-*.

*$d^hu(o)r$- 'door': Arm. **duṙn**, 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. *dvā́r-* f., dual *dvā́rā*, *dvárau*, acc.pl. *dúras* 'door, gate, the two leaves of a door', *dvā́ra-* 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' < *$d^hu(o)r$-eh_2*-, Goth. *daur* 'gate', OEngl. *door* 'door, gate, pas' < *d^hur-om, Lith. nom.pl. f. *dùrys*, dial. *dùres*, Latv. nom.pl. f. *dùrvis*, OCS *dvьrь*, *dvorъ* 'court-yard', Alb. *derë* f. 'door', Toch. B *twere* 'door' < *d^huor-o-; perhaps also Hitt. *andurza* 'inside, indoors' if from *h_1(e)n-d^hur-s 'indoors'. PArm. singulative *dur-n (from PIE acc. *d^hur-m̥) vs. pl. *dur-a- (from PIE fem.pl. *d^hur-eh_2-, cf. Gr. fem. θύρᾱ, θύρη, pl. θύραι, etc.). It is tempting to compare MidArm. and dial. dual *dṙ-u-i with Skt. dual *dvā́rau*.

*d^hugh_2-tēr 'daughter': Arm. **dustr**, gen. *dster*, gen.pl. *dster-c'* or *dster-a-c'*, instr.pl. *dster-aw-k'* 'daughter': Skt. *duhitár-*, Gr. θυγάτηρ, Lith. *duktē̃*, etc.

*n̥-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 *n̥- 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, -ένος '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 *$ph_2tr̥$-b^hi-: Skt. dative plural *pitŕ̥-bhyas*.

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

*$g^{(w)h}elĝ^h$-: Arm. **gełj-k'** 'glands' (twice in Gregory of Nyssa): Slav. *želza 'gland' and Lith. *gẽležuonys* '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. **ǰer**, *o*-stem 'warmth; warm and bright weather; warm', Skt. *háras-* n. prob. 'flame, glow', Gr. θέρος n. 'summer; harvest'; *$g^{wh}er$-mo-: Arm. **ǰerm**, *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.

$*g^{wh}iH\text{-}(s)leh_2$: Arm. ***jil***, ***jił***, *a*-stem, *i*-stem 'sinew, tendon', OCS *žila*, Russ. *žíla* 'vein, sinew, tendon', SCr. *žȉla* 'tendon, vein, root', Lith. *gýsla* 'vein', Latv. *dzî(k)sla* 'vein', OPr. **gislo* 'id.', Lat. *fīlum*, *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:

$*b^hreh_1\text{-}ur$ (obl. $*b^hrun\text{-}$): ***ałbewr***, ***ałbiwr***, gen. *ałber* 'fountain, spring': Gr. *φρέαρ* 'well, spring', Goth. *brunna*, etc.

$*b^hreh_2tēr$: ***ełbayr***, gen. *ełbawr* 'brother': Skt. *bhrắtar-* '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'.

$*drák̂u\text{-}r$ (> **drakru-*) n. 'tear': ***artawsr*** (uninflected), pl. ***artasu-k'***, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-c'* 'tear': Gr. *δάκρυ* n., OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc.

$*g^wr(e)h_2\text{-}n\text{-}$ > ***erkan*** '(hand-)mill': Lith. *gìrna*, *gìrnos*, OCS *žrъny*, OIc. *kvern* 'hand-mill', cf. Skt. *grávan-* m. 'pressing-stone', etc.

$*k̂ub^h\text{-}ro\text{-}$ or $*(s)kub^h\text{-}ró\text{-}$ > ***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. *μέχρι* 'near'; **me-ĝ̂hsr-i* according to Kortlandt.

1.4 Palatals

$*dek̂m̥$ 'ten': Arm. ***tasn***, Skt. *dáśa*, Av. *dasa*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *deich*, Goth. *taihun*, OCS *desętъ*, Lith. *dẽšimt*.

$*drák̂u\text{-}r$ (> **drakru-*) n. 'tear': ***artawsr*** (uninflected), pl. ***artasu-k'***, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-c'* 'tear': Gr. *δάκρυ* n., OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc.

$*su̯ek̂ru\text{-}h_2$ f. 'mother-in-law': Arm. ***skesur***, *a*-stem 'husband's mother', Skt. *śvaśrū́-*, NPers. *xusrū*, Pashto *xwāše*, Gr. *ἑκυρά*, Lat. *socrus*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, etc. Arm. *skesur*, *-a-* and Gr. *ἑκυρά* derive from QIE fem. **su̯ekur-(e)h_2*, with **-ur-* which has been taken from the PIE form for 'father-in-law', **su̯ekur-o-*: Skt. *śváśura-*, YAv. *x^vasura-*, Gr. *ἑκυρός*, Lat. *socer*, OLat. *socerus*, OHG *swehur*, CS *svekrъ* (**sweśur-* was replaced by **swekr < *swek̂r-* analogically after *svekry* 'mother-in-law'), Lith. *šẽšuras*, etc.

$*H(o)k̂t\text{-}$ 'eight': Arm. ***ut'***, Skt. *aṣṭắ(u)*, Av. *ašta*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octō*, OIr. *ocht*, Goth. *ahtau*, OCS *osmь*, Lith. *aštuonì*. The absence of palatalization of the **-k̂-* in Armenian is due to the influence of **septm̥ > ewt'n* 'seven'; cf. the Greek by-form *ὀπτώ*.

$*ĝonu\text{-}$ n. 'knee': Arm. uninflected ***cunr***, pl. ***cung-k'***, *a*-stem 'knee', Skt. *jắnu-*, MPers. *zānūg*, Gr. *γόνυ*, gen. **γόνϝατος*, Lat. *genū*, Goth. *kniu* 'knee', etc. (Note Arm. dial. Agulis *céynə*). PArm. pl. ****cung-a-*** probably reflects IE neuter pl. **ĝonu-h_2*.

$*ĝ^héi\text{-}ōm$: Arm. ***jiwn***, gen. *jean* 'snow', Gr. *χιών* 'snow', YAv. *ziiā̊*, accus. *ziiąm(ca)* 'winter', Lat. *hiems* 'winter'; cf. acc. **ĝ^hi-ém-m* (Gr. *χι-όν-α*, Lat. *hiem-em*), gen. **ĝ^hi-m-ós* (Av. *zimō*, Gr. *χι-όν-ος*, Lat. *hiem-is*, Arm. *jean*), loc. **ĝ^hi-m-i* (Hitt. *gim-i*, Lat. *hiem-i* 'in the winter').

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

$*smok̂ru\text{-}$: Arm. ***mawru-k'*** 'beard', Hitt. *zama(n)kur* n. 'beard', Skt. *śmáśru-* n. 'beard', Lith. *smākras*, *smakrà* 'chin', etc.

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

1.5 Cluster simplification

małtʻem 'to implore, pray': **me/old*^{h}*-*: Hitt. *māld-*^{i}*/mald-* 'to recite, make a vow', OS *meldōn* 'to report, tell', Lith. *maldýti* 'to implore', etc. The Armenian form has two apparent problems: the vowel and the aspirated dental stop. I propose to treat *małtʻem* as a denominative verb based on *małtʻ*, *i*-stem 'prayer, supplication', wich can be explained as a **ti*-deverbative with a regular zero-grade: **mld*^{h}*-ti-* > PArm. **mał(d)t*^{h}*i-* > *małtʻ, -i*.

1.6 Sibilant **s*

*seh₂l-s 'salt': Arm. **ał**, *i*-stem, only sg. 'salt' (cf. dial. *an-al-i* 'not salty'); pl. **alt-kʻ**, *i*-stem, *u*-stem 'salt, salt-mine': Gr. *ἅλς*, gen. *ἁλός* m., Lat. *sāl*, gen. *salis* m., OCS *solь* 'salt', etc. Arm. pl. **alt-kʻ** 'salt, salt-mine' < **s(e)h₂l-d-*: Goth. *salt* n., OEngl. *salt*, OHG *salz* 'salt'.

*septṃ 'seven': Arm. **ewtʻn**, Skt. *saptá*, Av. *hapta-*, Gr. *ἑπτά*, Lat. *septem*, OIr. *secht*, Goth. *sibun*, OCS *sedmь*, Lith. *septynì*.

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

*smh₂er-m: Arm. **amaṙn** 'summer', OHG *sumar* 'summer'; cf. Arm. **am** 'year', Skt. *sámā-* 'year, season', etc.

*smoḱru-: Arm. **mawru-kʻ** 'beard', Hitt. *zama(n)kur* n. 'beard', Skt. *śmáśru-* n. 'beard', Lith. *smākras, smakrà* 'chin', etc.

*ues-ṛ, 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. *vãsara* 'summer', OCS *vesna* 'spring', etc.; PIE **ues-ṛ* > PArm. **gehar* > **gar-*.

Ruki-rule

*sueḱs-deḱṃ 'sixteen': Arm. **veš-tasan**, Skt. *ṣó-ḍaśa*, Lat. *sē-decim*, etc.

*tṛs-: **tʻaṙamim** and **tʻaršamim** 'to wither': Skt. *tarṣ-*: *tŕ̥ṣyant-* '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-cʻ* in Isaiah 26.9, Gr. *ἐκ νυκτὸς*) 'night', Gr. *ἕσπερος* 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. *vãkaras* m. 'evening', OCS *večerъ*, etc. For the Armenian form, we can assume **ueksepero-*, a blend with **ksep-r/n-* 'night' (cf. YAv. **xšapar-, xšafn-*, Skt. *kṣáp-* f., Hitt. *išpant-* 'night', etc.) > PArm. **we(k)še(w)ero-* > **geššero-* > **gēšero-/*geišero-* > *gišer*. Note Welsh *ucher* from **ue(k)speros*.

1.7 Nasals

*pénk^we 'five': Arm. **hing**, Skt. *páñca*, Av. *paṇca*, MPers. *panǰ*, Gr. *πέντε*, Lat. *quīnque*, OIr. *cóic*, Goth. *fimf*, OCS *pętь*, Lith. *penkì*.

*pontH-: Arm. **hun** 'ford', Skt. *pánthās* 'path', Gr. *πόντος* 'sea', OCS *pǫtь* 'road', Lat. *pons*.

*deḱṃ 'ten': Arm. **tasn**, Skt. *dáśa*, Av. *dasa*, Gr. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *deich*, Goth. *taihun*, OCS *desętь*, Lith. *dẽšimt*. Arm. *tasn* probably reflects a zero-grade form taken from the ordinal **dḱmto-*, cf. also the compositional *–tasan*.

*pód-ṃ (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. *paδa-* n. 'footstep', Gr. *πέδον* n. 'floor, ground', Hitt. *pedan* n. 'place', etc.

*septṃ 'seven': Arm. **ewtʻn**, Skt. *saptá*, Av. *hapta-*, Gr. *ἑπτά*, Lat. *septem*, OIr. *secht*, Goth. *sibun*, OCS *sedmь*, Lith. *septynì*.

meh₁ns-o- 'month': Arm. **amis**, *o*-stem 'month', Skt. *mā́sa-* m. 'month', YAv. *mā̊ŋa-* m. 'moon; month' (note Arm. *mah-ik* 'crescent', Iranian loanword); cf. *méh₁n-s-s*: Skt. *mā́s-* m. 'moon; month', OAv. *mā̊* '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. *áṃsa-* m. 'shoulder', Gr. *ὦμος* 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 *u̯ > Arm. *g* or *w*

u̯rh₁ḗn, gen. *u̯rh₁no-*: Arm. **gaṙn**, *in/an*-stem: gen. *gaṙin*, instr. *gaṙam-b*, nom.pl. *gaṙin-kʻ*, gen.dat.pl. *gaṙan-cʻ* 'lamb', Skt. *úran-*, nom. *úrā*, acc. *úraṇam* m. 'lamb', NPers. *barra* 'lamb' < PIr. *varn-aka-*, Gr. *ἀρήν* m., *ϝαρην* 'lamb', *πολύ-ρρην-ες* 'possessing many lambs' < IE *-urh₁-n-*, etc.

ues-r̥, 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. *vãsara* 'summer', OCS *vesna* 'spring', etc.; PIE *u̯es-r̥* > PArm. *gehar* > *gar-*.

uelHu-: Arm. **gelum** 'to twist; to squeeze', Gr. *ἐλύω* 'to roll round', *εἰλύω* to enfold, enwrap; to press, squeeze', *εἴλω* 'to press; to contract his body, draw himself together', *εἴλῡμα* '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 **gałjn** 'a kind of convolvulus' and **gelj** 'bindweed, convolvulus; yew-tree' vs. the Germanic word for 'willow': MDutch *wilghe*, Dutch *wilg*, OLG *wilgia*, OEngl. *welig*, Engl. *willow*, etc.

h₂ulh₁-no/eh₂- 'wool': Arm. **gełmn**, gen. *gełman* 'wool, fleece', Hitt. *ḫulana-* c., Skt. *ū́rṇā-* f., YAv. *varənā-* f. 'wool', Gr. *λῆνος* n. 'wool, wool fibre', Lat. *lāna* f. 'wool', Goth. *wulla*, OHG *wolla* 'wool', Lith. *vìlna* f., SCr. *vȕna* f. 'wool', etc. For the full grade, cf. Lat. *vellus* n. 'fleece'.

u̯ed-os- n. 'water': Arm. **get**, *o*-stem 'river'; pl.-coll. **get-oray(-kʻ)** 'rivers' (Socrates, Alexander Romance): Gr. *ὕδος* n. 'water', cf. Skt. *útsa-* m. 'spring, fountain' < *ud-s-o-*, Phryg. *βεδυ*. For the full grade, cf. CLuw. adj. *uida(/i)-* 'wet'. Note PIE heteroclitic *u̯od-r*, gen. *u̯ed-n-s* 'water': Hitt. *u̯ātar/u̯eten-* n., Gr. *ὕδωρ -ατος*, etc. Arm. **get-or-ay(-kʻ)** 'rivers' – perhaps from QIE neuter plural *u̯ed-or-h₂*.

u̯éd-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-kʻ* (Agatʻangełos) 'earth, ground', Hitt. *utnē* < *-nēi*, obl. *utni-* n. 'land', deriv. *utniiant-* 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*.

u̯eid- 'to know, be acquainted with': Arm. ***gēt-*** 'to know': **gitem**, 1.sg.aor. *git-a-cʻ-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 *věděti* 'to know', etc. PArm. *woid-a-* from PIE perfect *u̯oid-h₂e*, cf. Skt. perfect *véda*, Gr. *οἶδα*, Goth. *wait*.

u̯es-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. *ὦνος* 'purchase price' and the verbal form in Hittite, *u̯āš-* 'to buy'.

u̯e/oi(H)n-io-: Arm. **gini**, *wo*-stem, *ea*-stem 'wine', Hitt. *u̯iian-* c. 'wine', CLuw. *u̯iniia-* 'of wine', HLuw. *wiian(i)-* 'vine', Gr. *(ϝ)οἶνος* m. 'wine' and Lat. *vīnum ī*, n. 'wine', Alb. *vérë/vẽnë* 'wine', etc. PArm. *ɣʷeinio-* > Kartv. *ɣwino-* 'wine': Georg. *ɣvino-*, Megr. *ɣvin-*, Laz *ɣ(v)in-*, Svan *ɣwin-e/äl*.

u̯(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) < *u̯ind-* or *u̯id-ti-* (note Arm. *an-giwt* adj. 'not found' vs. Skt. *á-vitti-* f. 'not-finding').

u̯e/orĝom: Arm. **gorc**, *o*-stem 'work, labour', **gorcem** 'to work, labour; to make; to produce; to influence; to cultivate; to weave',: Gr. *ϝέργον* 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. *ϝέργον*, etc.). Arm. *vard-*, *varž* 'tuition, instruction' and *varj* 'reward, wages, hire' < Iranian *$u̯arz$-* 'to do, work, till the land'.

$u̯īk̂n̥ti$ 'twenty' < *$dui-dk̂mt$-* 'two tens': Arm. **k'san**, Skt. *viṃśatí-* f., YAv. *vīsaiti*, MPers. *wīst*, NPers. *bīst*, Gr. *εἴκοσι* < *$euīkosi$*, cf. Dor. *ϝίκατι*, Lat. *uīgintī*, OIr. *fiche*, gen. *fichet* < *$u̯ikant-s$*, *-os*, MWelsh *ugeint*, etc. from *$u̯ikantī$*, Toch. A *wiki* and B *ikäm* < PToch. *$wīkän$*, etc. PIE *$u̯īk̂n̥ti$* > PArm. *$gisán(t)i$* > *$gsán(i)$* > *k'san*.

b^hreh_1-ur (obl. *b^hrun-*): Arm. **ałbewr**, **ałbiwr**, *r*-stem: gen. *ałber* 'fountain, spring', Gr. *φρέαρ* 'an artificial well, spring', Goth. *brunna*, etc.

$h_2reu̯-i$-: Arm. **arew**, *u*-stem, old gen. *areg* 'sun; sunlight; life': **Areg k'ałak'** '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(u̯a)nae-^{zi}* 'to become bright, get light, dawn'.

$g^u̯ou̯$-: Arm. **kov** 'cow', Skt. *gaúḥ* 'cow, bull', Latv. *gùovs* 'cow', OCS *gov-ę-do*; cf. *$g^u̯ou̯-io$-* (or *$g^u̯h_3eu̯-io$-*) > Arm. **kogi**, *kogw-o-* 'butter': Skt. *gávya-* 'coming from cow (as milk, curds, etc.)', YAv. *gaoiia-* 'coming from cattle, consisting of cattle', Gr. *-βο(ϝ)ιος*.

$deh_2iu̯er$- 'husband's brother': Arm. **ta(y)gr**, *er*-stem 'husband's brother', Skt. *devár-*, Gr. *δāήρ* m. Acc. *-έρα*, voc. *δᾶερ*, GPl *δᾰέρων*, Lat. *lēvir*, OHG *zeihhur*, OCS *děver-ъ*, *diẽveris*, etc.

$doru̯$-: Arm. **torg** 'wooden framework, loom' vs. Skt. *dárvi* f. and *darvī́* f. 'spoon', HLuw. *tarw-i(ia)-* prob. 'wooden beam'; Arm. **targ-al** 'spoon' vs. Hitt. ^{GIŠ}*taru̯-āli-* n. 'pestle'.

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

$du̯o(h_1)$: Arm. **erku** 'two': Skt. *dvā́(u)*, Gr. *δύο*, Lat. *duo*, Goth. *twai*, OCS *dъva*, etc.

$du̯eh_2-ro$-: Arm. **erkar** 'long': Gr. *δηρός*, Dor. *δᾱρός* 'lasting long', etc.

$meldu̯-i(h_2)$-: Arm. **mełk** 'soft, weak': Skt. *mr̥dvī́* f. 'delicate, weak, mild', Lat. *mollis* 'weak, soft' from *$moldu-i$-*.

1.10 PIE *$su̯$- > Arm. *k'-*

$su̯esanio$-, *$su̯e(i)ni̯eh_2$* vel sim.: Arm. **k'eni** 'wife's sister', Lith. *sváinė* 'wife's sister', *sváinis* 'wife's sister's husband', Latv. *svaîne* 'wife's sister'; cf. ORuss. *svestь* 'wife's sister', Russ. dial. *svest'*, *svestka* 'id.', Russ. *svojak* 'wife's sister's husband', OHG *ge-swīo* 'Schwager', MHG *ge-swīe* 'Schwägerin', etc.

$su̯id-r$- 'sweat': Arm. **k'irtn**, *an*-stem 'sweat', metaphorically 'toil, hard labour', Gr. *ἱδρώς*, *-ῶτος*, Latv. pl. *sviêdri* 'id.', Alb. *djérsë* f. 'perspiration, sweat', *djers* 'to sweat'; stem *$su̯eid$-*: Skt. *sved-* 'to sweat', *svéda-* m. 'sweat', YAv. *$x^u̯aēδa$-* m. 'sweat', MPers. *xwistan* 'to sweat', *xwěy* '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. *svîstu* 'to sweat', etc.

$su̯esōr$- 'sister': Arm. **k'oyr**, gen. *k'eṙ*, abl. *i k'eṙ-ē*, instr. *k'er-b*, NPl *k'or-k'*, GDPl *k'er-c'* 'sister', Skt. *svásar-* f. 'sister', YAv. *$x^u̯aŋhar$-* f. 'sister', Gr. (Hes.) *ἔορ ϑυγάτηρ*, *ἀνεψιός*, Lat. *soror* 'sister', OIr. *siur*, gen. *sethar* (instead of *$sesar$* in analogy to *máthair*, *máthar*, etc.), Goth. *swistar*, Lith. *sesuõ* 'sister', OCS *sestra*, etc. Arm. nom *k'oyr*, gen. *k'eṙ*, instr. *k'er-b* and nom.pl. *k'or-k'* derive from PIE *$suesōr$* (> *-ehu-* > *-eu-* > *-oy-*), *$suesr-ós$*, *$sues-r̥-b^hi$*, and *$suesor-es$*, respectively.

$su̯op-no$-: Arm. **k'un**, *o*-stem 'sleep', Skt. *svápna-* m. 'sleep, dream', Av. *$x^u̯afna$-* m. 'sleep, dream', Gr. *ὕπνος* 'sleep', Lat. *somnus* 'sleep', Lith. *sãpnas* 'dream', OCS *sъnъ* 'sleep', etc.

$su̯ek̂ru-h_2$ f. 'mother-in-law': Arm. **skesur**, *a*-stem 'husband's mother', Skt. *śvaśrū́-*, NPers. *xusrū*, Pashto *xwāše*, Gr. *ἑκυρά*, Lat. *socrus*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, etc. Arm. *skesur*, *-a-* and Gr. *ἑκυρά* derive from QIE fem. *$su̯ekur-(e)h_2$*, with *-ur-* which has been taken from the PIE form for 'father-in-law', *$su̯ek̂ur-o$-*: Skt. *śváśura-*, YAv. *$x^u̯asura$-*, Gr. *ἑκυρός*, Lat. *socer*, OLat. *socerus*, OHG *swehur*, CS *svekrъ* (*$sueśur$-* was replaced by *$swekr$* <

*swek̂r- analogically after *svekry* 'mother-in-law'), Lith. *šẽšuras*, etc. The Armenian, Indic and Baltic forms are explained through a distant assimilation *s...k̂ > *k̂...k̂.

suek̂s 'six': Arm. **vecʻ**, Skt. *ṣáṭ*, Av. *xšuuaš*, Gr. ἕξ, ϝέξ, Lat. *sex*, OIr. *sé*, Goth. *saihs*, OCS *šestъ*, Lith. *šešì*.

1.11 PIE *sk- > Arm. *cʻ-*

skeid- > Arm. **cʻtem** (***cʻit-***) 'to cut, tear, scratch (the skin with a knife, nails, etc.)', Lat. *scindō*, *scidī*, *scissum* 'to split, cleave, tear apart; to separate', Lith. *skíedžiu* 'to separate, divide', Latv. *šķiêst* 'to scatter, spill, cut', etc.; cf. also Gr. σχίζω 'to split, cut, separate', etc. (with a problematic anlaut).

skend-: Arm. **cʻncam** 'to joy, rejoice; dial. to shine' (***cʻinc-*** 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)i̯s-sk- > Arm. **aycʻ** 'visit, inspection, investigation', **haycʻem** 'to ask, supplicate; to look for, demand', OHG *eisca* 'question', OE *ǣsce* 'question, search', OCS *iskati* 'to look for, seek', Lat. *aeruscāre* 'to beg, ask for', Skt. *icháti* 'to wish, strive after, seek'.

pr̥k̂-ske/o- (*sk*-present) > Arm. **harcʻanem**, 3sg.aor. *e-harcʻ* 'to ask, question, inquire', Ved. *pr̥cchā́mi*, MPers. *pursīdan* 'to ask', Lat. *poscō* 'to ask, demand', etc. Arm. 3sg.aor. *e-harcʻ* derives from thematic imperfect *e-pr̥k̂-sk̂-et*, cf. Skt. *ápr̥cchat*. Note also Arm. imper. *harcʻ* vs. Skt. *pr̥cchá*.

Hh₃(o)sk-ieh₂ > Arm. **hacʻi**, *ea*-stem (gen. *hacʻw-o-y*, *hacʻeacʻ*) '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. ὀξύα, -η 'beech, spear'.

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

h₃nōri̯o- > Arm. **anurǰ** 'prophetic dream, vision', cf. Gr. ὄναρ n. 'dream', ὄνειρος m. 'god of dreams, dream', Aeol. ὄνοιρος m., Cret. ἄναιρον· ὄνειρον; Alb. *âdërrë* (Geg.), *ëndërrë* (Tosc.) from *andërrë < *h₃nr-i̯o-.

gʷm̥bʰur-i̯eh₂ > Arm. **kamurǰ**, *a*-stem 'bridge', cf. Gr. γέφῡρα f., Boeot. βέφυρα, Cret. δέφυρα, Lac. (Hesychius) δίφουρα 'bridge'.

ster-i̯(e)h₂ > Arm. **sterǰ**: Gr. στεῖρα 'barren, infertile (of cows, goats, women)', Skt. *starī́-* 'infertile cow'; cf. Lat. *sterilis* 'barren, sterile (of women, female animals, plants)', Goth. *stairo* f. 'infertile woman', etc.

gʷʰen-i̯e/o- 'to slay': Arm. **ǰnǰem** (***ǰinǰ-***) '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. *jaiṇti* 'to slay, kill', etc.

u̯el-i̯-óh > **gel-ǰ**, gen. of *giwł* 'village' (see #2.2.3).

Note also Arm. **šełǰ** 'heap, mass, pile, accumulation', borrowed from Hitt. *šēli-*, *šeli(i̯)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.
*h₁e- (*e-)	e-	e-	a-	a-	ε-	e-
*h₂e- (*a-)	ha-	ḫa-	a-	a-	α-	a-
*h₃e- (o-)	ho-	ḫa-	a-	a-	o-	o-
*Ho- (*o-)	o-	a-	a-	a-	o-	o-

*$h_1$es-mi, *$h_1$es-si, *$h_1$es-ti* 'to be': Arm. **em, es, ē**, Hitt. *ēšmi ēšši ēšzi*, Skt. *ásmi ási ásti*, OAv. *ahmī*, Gr. εἰμί, εἶ (Dor. ἐσσί), ἐστί, Lat. *sum es est*, OCS *jesmь*, OLith. *esmì*, etc.

$h_2$en-: Arm. **han**, *o*-stem (gen. *han-o-y*), **han-i**, *wo*-stem (*hanw-o-*) 'grandmother', Hitt. *ḫanna-* 'grandmother', Gr. ἀννίς 'mother-in-law', Lat. *anus* 'old woman', Lith. *anýta* 'husband's mother', etc.

$h_2$erh_3-ṷer/n-: Arm. **harawunkʻ** 'sowing, seeds; sowing-field; arable land', Gr. ἄρουρα f. 'tilled or arable land; pl. corn-lands, fields'; Skt. *urvárā-* f. 'arable land, field yielding crop', Av. *uruuarā-* f. pl. 'food plant, plant, ground covered with plants, flora'; MIr. *arbor*, nom.pl. *arbanna*, OIr. gen. *arbe* 'grain, corn', etc.

h_2éṷ-i- (genitive *h_2u-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/víḥ*, acc. *vím*, gen. *véḥ*, nom.pl. *váyaḥ*, ins.pl. *víbhiḥ* m. 'bird', YAv. *vaii-* m. 'bird', etc.

$h_2$euH-: Arm. **haw₂**, *o*-stem, *u*-stem 'grandfather, ancestor', Hitt. *ḫuḫḫaš* 'grandfather', Lat. *avus* 'grandfather', OIr. *aue* 'grandson', Goth. *awo* 'grandmother', Lith. *avýnas* 'maternal uncle', OPr. *awis* 'id.', Russ. *uj*, Pol. *wuj* 'maternal uncle', SCr. *ùjāk*, etc.

h_3eṷi- 'sheep': Arm. ***hovi-*** 'sheep', CLuw. *hāṷi-*, Skt. *ávi-*, Gr. ὄϊς, ὄϊος and οἰός, Lat. *ovis*, Toch. B *ā(ᵤ)w* 'ewe' and *eye*, etc. (Arm. **hoviw**, *a*-stem 'shepherd' < *$h_3$eui-peh_2-*, a compound of PIE *$h_3$eui-* 'sheep' and *peh_2(s)-* 'to protect, pasture': OCS *pasti* 'to pasture', Lat. *pāscō* 'to pasture', Hitt. *paḫš-* 'to protect', etc.; for the compound, cf. Skt. *go-pā́-* m. 'herdsman' < '*cowherd', *avi-pālá-* 'shepherd').

$h_3$edos-: Arm. **hot**, *o*-stem 'smell, odour', Gr. ὀδμή '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. ἀ- (and ὀ-) : Arm. *a-*, and Gr. ἐ- : Arm. *e-* vs. zero in other languages, is now interpreted as a vocalized reflex of PIE initial laryngeal followed by a consonant.

$h_1$regʷ-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. *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. *røkkr* n. 'darkness' < PGerm. *rekwiz-*.

$h_2$le/o(u)peḱ-: Arm. **ałuēs**, gen. **ałues-u** 'fox', Gr. ἀλώπηξ, -εκος 'fox', Skt. *lopāśá-* probably 'fox', etc.

$h_2$reṷ-i-: Arm. **arew**, *u*-stem, old gen. **areg** 'sun; sunlight; life': **Areg kʻałakʻ** '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(ṷa)nae-ᶻⁱ* 'to become bright, get light, dawn'.

$h_2$ster- 'star': Arm. **astł**, gen. **asteł** 'star', Hitt. *ḫaster(a)-*, nom. *ḫasterza* c., Gr. ἀστήρ, -έρος, pl. ἀστέρες m. (also old coll. ἄστρα), Skt. nom.pl. *tā́raḥ* (the absence of the *s-* is unexplained), instr. *stṛ́-bhiḥ*, Av. *star-* m., Lat. *stella* f. 'star', Goth. *stairno*, etc.

$h_3$neid-: Arm. **anicanem**, 3sg.aor. **anēc** 'to curse' < PIE sigm. aor. *$h_3$neid-s-*, **anēc-kʻ** 'curse, imprecation', Skt. *ned-*: pres. *níndati*, aor. *ánindiṣur*, desid. *nínits-* 'to revile; to blame; to mock', YAv. 1sg.pres.act. *nāismī* 'to curse' (prob. from *nāid-s-mi*), Gr. ὄνειδος n. 'reprimand, abuse', Lith. *niedėti* 'to despise', etc.

$h_3$néh_3-mn PD *n*-stem 'name' > PArm. *anuwn* > **anun**, gen. **anuan** 'name' (dial. also **anum, anəm**), obl. *$h_3$nh_3-mén-* (> *anumán* > dial. *anum-*): Hitt. *lāman* n., HLuw. *álaman-* n., Lyc. *alãman-*, Skt. *nā́man-* n., MPers. NPers. *nām*, Gr. ὄνομα, -ατος n., Lat. *nōmen, -inis* n., Goth. *namo*, OCS *imę*, 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 *h_1-* and *h_2-* 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^hreh_1-ur (obl. *b^hrun-*): **ałbewr, ałbiwr**, gen. **ałber** 'fountain, spring': Gr. φρέαρ 'well, spring', Goth. *brunna*, etc.

$b^h reh_2 tēr$: **ełbayr**, gen. **ełbawr** 'brother': Skt. *bhrā́tar-* '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'.

$drák̂u-r$ (> *$drak̂ru-$*) n. 'tear': **artawsr** (uninflected), pl. **artasu-kʻ**, *a*-stem: gen.dat.pl. *artasu-a-cʻ* 'tear': Gr. *δάκρυ* n., OHG *zahar* (beside *trahan*), etc.

$g^w r(e)h_2 -n-$ > **erkan** '(hand-)mill': Lith. *gìrna*, *gìrnos*, OCS *žrьny*, OIc. *kvern* 'hand-mill', cf. Skt. *grā́van-* 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. *r̄ang* from New Persian). Other examples: **erax** (cf. dial. *r̄ɛx* from New Persian), **erak**, **eram**, **eran-kʻ**, **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:

ar̄u 'brook, etc.' from PIE *$sru-$* and **ar̄og-** 'to water, wet, sprinkle, irrigate' from PIE *$srou-$* 'to strem, flow'. Better attested is the variant **or̄og(an)em**, which, as well as **oroč-** 'to chew, ruminate' (cf. Skt. *rádati* 'to gnaw, bite, scratch', Lat. *rōdere* 'to gnaw') and **orcam** 'to vomit' (vs. Gr. *ἐρεύγομαι*) can be explained by assimilation. Further: **artasu-kʻ** 'tears' from *$drak̂u-$*. 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 Ačar̄yan (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. *háyrik* 'father', *máyrik* 'mother', *éłbarkʻ* 'brethren', *Kárapet*, *Łázar(ē)*, *Pétr-ē/Pétros*, etc. The vocative frequently appears with the accented interjection particle *óv* (medieval and dial. *áy)*. In this case the word itself loses the accent, e.g. *óv (áy) mard* 'you man!', *áy tła* 'you boy!', etc.

Armenian dialects provide rich evidence for vocative forms accented on the first syllable, e.g. Hamšen *háyri* 'father', *máyri* 'mother', cf. *yéba*, *yéma*; Tʻiflis *áxpɛr* 'brother', *vúrtʻi* 'son', cf. *á šun* 'dog'; Akn *xáhrəman* '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 *łúrban harsε* "you, dear sister-in-law (to whom I may be sacrificed)", *Hŕopʻsəma Xatʻun* 'o you, Lady Hŕopʻsim', *Távitʻ čan* "o beloved Davitʻ".

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 *pitā́*. The same is found in Greek: *ἄδελφε* 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-kʻ* (*i*-stem) probably from PArm. dual *ot-i-* < QIE *pod-ih₁* analogically after neuter duals denoting body-part terms such as *ačʻ-kʻ* 'eye' < PIE *h₃(o)kʷ-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. *paδa-* n. 'footstep', Gr. *πέδον* n. 'floor, ground', Hitt. *pedan* n. 'place', cf. Lat. *pēs*, gen. *ped-is* m. 'foot', OIc. *fet* 'step'.

Compare *jeŕn* vs. pl. **jeŕ-kʻ** 'hand' < PIE *ǵʰes-r-* 'hand': Hitt. *keššar, kiššer-, kišr-* 'hand', Gr. *χείρ*, Dor. *χήρ*, gen. *χειρός*, Dor. *χηρός* f. 'hand', Toch. A *tsar*, Toch. B *ṣar* 'hand', Alb. *dórë, -a* f. 'hand'.

Further, note ***kałcʻ** vs. **katʻn** 'milk' < Mediterranean *gl̥gt-*: 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-kʻ* 'three' from PIE *treies* 'three': Skt. *tráyas*, Gr. *τρεῖς*, etc.

Note also **ar-s** from PIE acc.pl. *anr̥ns* vs. nom. *ayr* 'man' < PIE *h₂nēr*: Gr. *ἀνήρ*, etc.

2.1.5 Genitive

Archaic genitives:
aŕn from *arnos* < *anros* < PIE *h₂nr-ós*: Gr. *ἀνδρός*; cf. nom. *ayr* 'man; husband' < PIE *h₂nēr*: Gr. *ἀνήρ*, etc.
hawr from PIE *ph₂tr-ós*: Gr. *πατρός*, Lat. *patris*; cf. nom. *hayr* 'father' < PIE *ph₂tēr*: Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*
kʻeŕ from PIE *su̯esr-ós*, cf. nom. *kʻoyr* < PIE *su̯esōr* '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 > händi* (through Ačaṙyan'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. **yərkɛ́** and **haṙnɛ́** vs. **yɛrégi** and **héru** and Agulis **hǎ́rvi** (*erēk* '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-í*, 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, *$*h_1reg^w-i-ịo-$* > *$*erekí-yo$* > *$*ereki$*, 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, akṣáṇi, akṣṇí*, 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. *$*ałǰ-$* 'darkness, twilight', *ayg* 'morning', *ere/ik(-)* 'evening' and *erēk* 'yesterday'. Note also EArm. dial. *$*heru-i$* 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. *-bīš*, 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 *$*treịes$*: Skt. *tráyas*, Gr. *τρεῖς*, etc.

har-b from *$*ph_2tr̥-b^hi-$*: Skt. dative plural *pitŕ̥-bhyas*; cf. nom. *hayr* 'father' < PIE *$*ph_2tēr$*: Gr. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*;

jer-b continues *$*je(h)ar-b$* < *$*ĝ^hesr̥-b^hi$* vs. nom. *jeṙ-n* 'hand' from *$*ĝ^hes-r-$*;

k'er-b derives from *$*sụes-r̥-b^hi$*, cf. PIE nom. *$*sụesōr$* 'sister' > Arm. *k'oyr* (*$*-ehō-$* > *$*-e(h)u-$* > *-oy-*).

2.2 Inflectional types

2.2.1 Armenian *o*-stems

k'un, *o*-stem 'sleep' < *$*sụop-no-$*: Skt. *svápna-* m. 'sleep, dream', Av. *x^ʸafna-* m. 'sleep, dream', Gr. *ὕπνος* 'sleep', Lat. *somnus* 'sleep', Lith. *sãpnas* 'dream', OCS *sъnъ* 'sleep', etc.

gin, *o*-stem 'price, purchase price' < *$*ụes-no-$*: Skt. *vasná-* n. 'purchase price', Lat. *vēnum* n. in the formula *vēnum dare* 'to put up for sale', cf. Gr. *ὦνος* 'purchase price' and the verbal form in Hittite, *u̯āš-* 'to buy'.

gorc, *o*-stem 'work, labour' (cf. **gorcem** 'to work, labour; to make, produce') < *$*ụe/orĝom$*: Gr. *ϝέργον* 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. *ϝέργον*, etc.).

erg, *o*-stem 'song; poem; playing (music); scoffing song' (cf. **ergem** 'to sing; to play a musical instrument') < *$*h_1erk^w-o-$*: Skt. thematic noun *arká-* m. 'ray, light, shine; song, magic song'; cf. PIE *$*h_1erk^w-/*h_1rk^w-$*: Hitt. *ārku-^{zi}*, *arku-* 'to chant, intone'; Skt. root noun *ŕ̥c-* f. 'song of praise, poem, stanza, verse', *árcati* '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:

$*m̥b^hos-$ 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. *νέφος* n. 'cloud', OCS *nebo* 'sky', Lith. *debesìs* 'cloud' (cf. also Arm. **amprop** 'thunder').

ṷed-os- n. 'water': Arm. **get**, *o*-stem 'river', Gr. ὕδος n. 'water', cf. Skt. *útsa-* m. 'spring, fountain' < *ud-s-o-*, Phryg. βεδυ. For the full grade, cf. CLuv. adj. *ṷida(/i)-* 'wet'. Note PIE heteroclitic *ṷod-r*, gen. *ṷed-n-s* 'water': Hitt. *ṷātar/ṷeten-* n., Gr. ὕδωρ -ατος, etc.

h₁regʷ-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. *røkkr* n. 'darkness' < PGerm. *rekwiz-*.

gʷʰer-os 'warmth', PIE *s*-stem neuter: Arm. **ǰer**, *o*-stem 'warmth; warm and bright weather; warm', Skt. *háras-* n. prob. 'flame, glow', Gr. θέρος 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-kʻ**, gen.dat.pl. *ayt-i-cʻ* 'cheek', Gr. οἶδος 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 *sṷeḱru-h₂* f. 'mother-in-law': Skt. *śvaśrū́-*, NPers. *xusrū*, Pashto *xwāše*, Gr. ἑκυρά, Lat. *socrus*, OHG *swigar*, OCS *svekry*, etc. Arm. *skesur*, *-a-* and Gr. ἑκυρά derive from QIE fem. *sṷeḱur-(e)h₂*, with *-ur-* which has been taken from the PIE form for 'father-in-law', *sṷeḱur-o-*: Skt. *śváśura-*, YAv. *xᵛasura-*, Gr. ἑκυρός, Lat. *socer*, OLat. *socerus*, OHG *swehur*, CS *svekrъ* (*sweśur-* was replaced by *swekr < *sweḱr-* analogically after *svekry* 'mother-in-law'), Lith. *šẽšuras*, etc. The Armenian, Indic and Baltic forms are explained through a distant assimilation *s...ḱ > *ḱ...ḱ*. 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' < *awǵʰi-* (with *gʰ > *ǵʰ* before *u/w*) < *anʷgi-* from PIE *h₂(e)ngʷʰ-i-*: Lat. *anguis* m.f. 'snake', Lith. *angìs* f. 'snake', etc.; cf. **iž** 'viper'.

bard, *i*-stem 'heap of corn or grass' < PIE *bʰr̥-ti-*: Skt. *prá-bhṛti-* f. 'offering' (RV+), *bhṛtí-* 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' < *ṷord-iH*: Latv. *vařde* 'id.', cf. Lith. *varlẽ*, *vařlė* 'frog' probably from *vard-líaH* (Derksen 1996: 58); note also OEngl. *wearte*, etc. 'wart' and Arm. **gortnuk** 'wart'.

An irregular paradigm: giwł 'village'[1]

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	*ge(a)wł, giwł*	*ge(a)wł-kʻ, giwł-kʻ*
Acc.	*(z-)ge(a)wł, (z-)giwł*	*(z-)ge(a)wł-s, (z-)giwł-s*
Gen.	*gełǰ*	*giwł-i-cʻ, geł-i-cʻ*
Dat.	*gełǰ*	*giwł-i-cʻ, geł-i-cʻ*
Abl.	*i gełǰ-ē*	*i giwł-i-cʻ*
Instr.	*giwł-i-w*	*giwł-i-w-kʻ, geł-i-w-kʻ*

The isolated paradigm *ge(a)wł, gełǰ, giwłicʻ* 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.

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

-i̯-ós. Thus, Arm. gen. *gełǰ* derives directly from **gelyo-* (PIE **-R̥i-* > Arm. *-Rǰ-*, see #1.12) rather than from **gewlyos*.The base **gel-i-* < PArm. **wel-i-* has been compared with Gr. *ἁλίη*, Dor. *ἁλία* 'assembly of people', *(ϝ)άλις* adv. 'in crowds, in plenty' < **u̯l̥-i-s*, etc. For the semantic shift 'crowd' > 'village', cf. Skt. *grā́ma-* 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* > **gełu* / **geł^w* > *gewł* (through metathesis)
Gen. **wel-i̯-óh* > *geł-ǰ*
Instr. **wel-i-bʰi-* > *geł-i-w-*
GDPl **wel-i-sko-* > *geł-i-cʿ*

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 kʿałakʿ** '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. < **h₂reu-i-*: Skt. *ravi-* m. 'sun, sun-god' (Upaniṣad+), *ravi-putra-* m. 'son of the Sun' (Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa); cf. also Hitt. *ḫaru(u̯a)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 **h₂r̥-tu-* (based on **h₂er-* 'to fix, put together'): Skt. *r̥tú-* 'correct time; order', *r̥tá-* 'truthful; (world-)order', Gr. *ἀρτύς* 'σύνταξις' (Hes.), *ἀρτύω* 'to equip, prepare', Lat. *artus* 'joint, limb'. Compare ***ard(i)**, *ea*-stem 'work' (*ardea-w-kʿ* 'indeed'; *ardiwn-kʿ*, gen.pl. *ardean-cʿ* 'deed, work; (earth) products') < **h₂r̥-ti-*: Lat. *ars*, gen. *artis* 'art, manner'.

ayg, *u*-stem (cf. also *z-ayg-oy*) 'dawn, morning', perhaps reflects a frozen locative **h₂(e)u̯s(s)i* of PIE **h₂éu̯s-ōs* 'dawn': Skt. *uṣás-* f. 'morning light, morning, dawn', Gr. *ἕως*, *αὔως*, Ion. *ἠώς* f. 'dawn', Lat. *aurōra* f. 'dawn', etc.; with thematization: PArm. **awi̯o-* > *ayg* (the *u*-stem probably reflects PArm. nom. **awu* from PIE nom. **h₂éu̯s-ōs*); cf. also **aṙ-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. *álaman-* n., Lyc. *alãman-*, Skt. *nā́man-* n., MPers. NPers. *nām*, Gr. *ὄνομα*, *-ατος* n., Lat. *nōmen*, *-inis* n., Goth. *namo*, OCS *imę*, etc.

aṙn 'wild ram' (acc.pl. *z-aṙin-s*) < PIE **h₁r̥s-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. *r̥ṣabhá-* m. 'bull'.

gaṙn, *in/an*-stem: gen. *gaṙin*, instr. *gaṙam-b*, nom.pl. *gaṙin-kʿ*, gen.dat.pl. *gaṙan-cʿ* 'lamb' < PIE **u̯r̥h₁ēn*, gen. **u̯r̥h₁no-*: Skt. *úran-*, nom. *úrā*, acc. *úraṇam* m. 'lamb', NPers. *barra* 'lamb' < PIr. **varn-aka-*, Gr. *ἀρήν* m., *ϝαρην* 'lamb', *πολύ-ρρην-ες* 'possessing many lambs' < IE **-urh₁-n-*, etc.

2.2.6 Armenian *r-* and *ł*-stems

astł, gen. *asteł* 'star' < PIE **h₂ster-* 'star': Hitt. *ḫaster(a)-*, nom. *ḫasterza* c., Gr. *ἀστήρ*, *-έρος*, pl. *ἀστέρες* m. (also old coll. *ἄστρα*), Skt. nom.pl. *tā́raḥ* (the absence of the *s-* is unexplained), instr. *stŕ̥-bhiḥ*, Av. *star-* m., Lat. *stella* f. 'star', Goth. *stairno*, etc. Further, see ##Neuter.

dustr, gen. *dster*, gen.pl. *dster-cʿ* or *dster-a-cʿ*, instr.pl. *dster-aw-kʿ* 'daughter' < PIE **dʰugh₂-tēr* 'daughter': Skt. *duhitár-*, Gr. *θυγάτηρ*, Lith. *duktė̃*, etc.

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

ałbewr, **ałbiwr**, *r*-stem: gen. *ałber* 'fountain, spring' < **bʰreh₁-ur* (obl. **bʰrun-*): Gr. *φρέᾱρ*, *-ᾱτος* 'an artificial well, spring', Goth. *brunna*, etc.

A PIE *l-stem:

acuł, acux 'coal; soot' (Bible+, dial.) < PArm. *a(w)cúlo- from PIE *$h_1óng^w$-ōl, gen. *h_1ng^w-l-ós: Skt. áṅgāra- m. 'coal' (RV+), Lith. anglìs m. 'coal', OCS ǫglъ m., Russ. úgol' 'coal'.

2.3 Thoughts on archaic traces of PIE gender

*u̯e/oi(H)n-i̯o-: Arm. **gini**, wo-stem and ea-stem 'wine', Hitt. u̯ii̯an- c. 'wine', CLuw. u̯inii̯a- 'of wine', HLuw. wii̯an(i)- 'vine', Gr. (ϝ)οῖνος m. 'wine' and Lat. vīnum ī, n. 'wine', Alb. vérë/vẽnë 'wine', etc. PArm. *$γ^w$eini̯o- > Kartv. *γwino- 'wine': Georg. γvino-, Megr. γvin-, Laz γ(v)in-, Svan γwin-e/äl. Arm. ea-stem possibly from the plant name (fem.).

*$h_2$ster- 'star': Arm. **astł**, gen. asteł 'star', Hitt. ḫaster(a)-, nom. ḫasterza c., Gr. ἀστήρ, -έρος, pl. ἀστέρες m. (also old coll. ἄστρα), Skt. nom.pl. tā́raḥ (the absence of the s- is unexplained), instr. stŕ̥-bhiḥ, Av. star- m., Goth. stairno, etc. The Armenian form derives from fem. *$h_2$ster-l-eh_2 or *$h_2$stel-n-eh_2 (cf. Lat. stella f. 'star') or from coll. in *-h_2, cf. Gr. ἄστρα. Note that the stem vowel -a- only appears in the plural.

*u̯ek^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 νυκτὸς) 'night', Gr. ἕσπερος 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. vãkaras m. 'evening', OCS večerъ, etc. For Arm. gišer-o- vs. gišer-a-, cf. Gr. ἕσπερος vs. ἑσπέρα and Lat. vesper vs. vespera.

*u̯éd-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'angełos) 'earth, ground': Hitt. utnē < *-nēi, obl. utni- n. 'land', deriv. utnii̯ant- 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 *-h_2.

*u̯ed-os- n. 'water': Arm. **get**, o-stem 'river'; pl.-coll. **get-oray(-k')** 'rivers' (Socrates, Alexander Romance): Gr. ὕδος n. 'water', cf. Skt. útsa- m. 'spring, fountain' < *ud-s-o-, Phryg. βεδυ. For the full grade, cf. CLuv. adj. u̯ida(/i)- 'wet'. Note PIE heteroclitic *u̯od-r, gen. *u̯ed-n-s 'water': Hitt. u̯ātar/u̯eten- n., Gr. ὕδωρ -ατος, etc. Arm. **get-or-ay(-k')** 'rivers' – perhaps from QIE neuter plural *u̯ed-or-h_2.

***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-eh_2-, itself a fem. to *$h_1$os-r̥ 'after the summer', the oblique form of which, *$h_1$os-n-, is continued in Balto-Slavic and Germanic as an n-stem: CS jesenь, 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 *$h_1$esh_2r (cf. Gr. ἔαρ, Hitt. ēšḫar, etc.) and gar-un 'spring' from PIE *u̯es-r̥ (cf. Gr. ἔαρ, Lat. vēr, etc.). Thus: neuter plural or collective *$h_1$os-r̥-h_2 'harvest, summer' (or *$h_1$os-r̥ >> fem. *$h_1$os-r̥-eh_2) > PArm. *o(h)ár-a- > *ar-a- 'harvest, harvest time'.

*smoḱru-: Arm. **mawru-k'**, a-stem (gen.pl. mawru-a-c') 'beard', Hitt. zama(n)kur n. 'beard', Skt. śmáśru- n. 'beard', Lith. smākras, smakrà 'chin', etc. Neuter plural or collective *smoḱru-(e)h_2 > PArm. *(s)mawrú-a-.

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

PIE *péh_2ur, gen. *ph_2uén-s n. 'fire': Arm. **hur**, **o-stem** 'fire', Hitt. paḫḫur, gen. paḫḫuenaš, Gr. πῦρ, πῠρός 'fireplace, pyre', OHG fuir, OIc. fúrr, fýrr, Goth. fon < *pu̯ōn, gen. funins 'fire', OIc. funi m. 'fire', OPr. panno 'fire'. The oblique stem *ph_2u(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.

*dráḱu-r (> *drakru-) 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 *dráḱu-(e)h_2 > PArm. *(a)rtasú-a-.

ĝonu- n. 'knee': Arm. uninflected **cunr**, pl. **cung-kʻ**, *a*-stem 'knee', Skt. *jā́nu-*, MPers. *zānūg*, Gr. *γόνυ*, gen. **γόνϝ-ατος*, Lat. *genū*, Goth. *kniu* 'knee', etc. (Note Arm. dial. Agulis **céynə**). PArm. pl. ***cung-a-** probably reflects IE neuter pl. **ĝonu̯-h₂*.

*bʰr̥ĝʰ-u-, **bʰr̥ĝʰ-(e/o)nt-*: Arm. **barjr, gen.sg.** *barj-u*, gen.pl. *barjan-cʻ* 'high', Hitt. *parku-* 'high', Skt. *br̥hánt-* (f. *br̥hatī́-*) '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-cʻ*, *i*-stem, *a*-stem 'element, matter, substance, body, principle', Skt. *dā́ru-*, gen. *dróṣ*, *drúṇaḥ* n. 'wood', *dárvi* f. 'spoon', *darvī́* 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. *ὕλη* 'wood, timber', 'material, matter' > Arm. *hiwł(ē)* 'matter, element, substance, principle'.

*meli-t- 'honey': Arm. **mełr**, *r/u*-declension: gen. *meł-u* (Bible); *r*-stem: gen. *mełer* (Hexaemeron); later also *mełr-o-*, *mełu-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 **medʰu-* n. 'mead, sweet drink, honey'[2]: Skt. *mádhu-* n. 'sweet drink, anything sweet, honey, soma', YAv. *maδu-* n. 'wine made of berries', Gr. *μέθυ* n. 'intoxicating drink, wine', Toch. B *mīt* n. 'honey', OHG *mito* 'mead', OCS *medъ* '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. *pešù* 'to pluck, pull out', etc.) and **peḱu-* 'cattle' (*u*-stem neuter, cf. Skt. *páśu-*, *paśú-* n. 'cattle', Lat. *pecus, -oris* n. 'cattle; herd, flock', Goth. *faihu* n. 'property, money', OHG *fihu* n. 'cattle', Lith. *pẽkus* 'cattle, small livestock', etc.

2.5 Dual

akn, gen. *akan*, pl. < dual **ačʻ-kʻ**, *i*-stem (Plato+) and *a*-stem (Bible+) 'eye' < PIE **h₃(o)kʷ-* 'eye': Skt. *ákṣi-*, gen. *akṣṇás* n., dual *akṣ-ī́* n., Gr. dual *ὄσσε* n., Lat. *oculus*, Lith. *akìs* 'eye'; Arm. *akn* < **h₃(o)kʷ-* + the suffix *-kn* (perhaps cf. Gr. *ὄκκον* 'eye'), and *ačʻ-i-* < PIE dual **h₃(o)kʷ-ih₁* n. 'both eyes': Gr. *ὄσσε*, OCS *oči*, etc.; Arm. *ačʻ-a-* (abundant in the Bible) may reflect a neuter plural in **-h₂*, with *-čʻ-* analogical after the dual form. (Note also **yawn-kʻ**, *i*-stem, *a*-stem 'eyebrows', if *y-* 'in' + **awn-i-* 'both eyes').

ayt-kʻ, gen.dat.pl. *ayt-i-cʻ* in Nersēs Lambronacʻi (12ᵗʰ cent.), etc. 'cheek', **aytnum**, aor. stem **ayti-*: 1sg.aor. *ayteay* 'to swell', from PIE **h₂(o)id-*: Gr. *οἶδος* 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-kʻ, pl. *i*-stem 'foot' (sing. **ot-n** from acc. **pód-m̥*: Gr. acc. *πόδ-α*) < QIE **pod-ih₁* perhaps analogically after neuter duals denoting body-part terms such as **ačʻ-kʻ** 'eye' < PIE **h₃(o)kʷ-ih₁* n. 'both eyes': Gr. *ὄσσε*, OCS *oči*, etc.

3. The Verb

3.1 Nasal presents

*l(e)ikʷ- 'to leave': Arm. **lkʻanem**, 3sg.aor. *e-likʻ* '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-kʷ-* was remodeled to **likʷ-n̥-* > Arm. pres. *lkʻanem*. 3sg.aor. *e-likʻ* is derived from thematic aorist **é-likʷ-e-t*, cf. Gr. *ἔλιπε*, and the imperative *likʻ* reflects IE **líkʷe*, cf. Gr. *λίπε*.

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

bʰeg- 'to break', nasal present *bʰ-n-eg-*: Arm. **bekanem**, 3sg.aor. *e-bek* 'to break', Skt. *bhañj-*, *bhanákti* 'to break, shatter', OIr. *bongid*, *-boing* 'breaks', etc.

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

pr̥ḱ-ske/o- (*sk*-present): Arm. **harcʻanem**, 3sg.aor. *e-harcʻ* 'to ask, question, inquire', Ved. *pr̥cchā́mi*, MPers. *pursīdan* 'to ask', Lat. *poscō* 'to ask, demand', etc. Arm. 3sg.aor. *e-harcʻ* derives from thematic imperfect **e-pr̥ḱ-sḱ-et*, cf. Skt. *ápr̥cchat*. Note also Arm. imper. *harcʻ* vs. Skt. *pr̥cchá*.

dʰeh₁- '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. *dė́ti* 'to lay, put', Latv. *dêt* 'to lay eggs' (cf. Arm. dial. Tʻiflis), etc. Arm. *dnem* is composed as **di-* + pres. suffix **ne-* seen in e.g. *aṙ-ne-m* vs. aor. *ar-ar-* 'to make'. The aorist forms 1sg. *e-di* and 3sg *e-d* are derived from **é-dʰeh₁-m* (cf. Skt. *ádhām*) or sigm. **e-dʰeh₁-s-om* (cf. OCS *děxъ*) and **é-dʰeh₁-t* (cf. Skt. *ádhāt*), 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 Sg	Imperfect Sg	Subj. pres. Sg	Aorist Sg	Subj. aor. Sg	Imperative Sg	Cohortative Sg
lsem	lsēi	lsicʻem	luay	luaycʻ		
lses	lsēir	lsicʻes	luar	luicʻes	lur	luiǰir
lsē	lsēr	lsicʻē	luaw	luicʻē		
Pl	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**
lsemkʻ	lsēakʻ	lsicʻemkʻ	luakʻ	luicʻukʻ		
lsēkʻ	lsēikʻ	lsicʻēkʻ	luaykʻ	luiǰikʻ	luaykʻ, luarukʻ	luiǰikʻ
lsen	lsēin	lsicʻen	luan	luicʻen		

lsem, aor. *lu-a-*, impv. *lu-r* (new aor. *lseacʻ* > *lsecʻ* in Grigor Narekacʻi, 10ᵗʰ cent.) 'to hear, listen; to obey' from PIE pres. or sigm. aor. **ḱlu-s-* > new nasal present **ḱlu-n-s-*. Note that **-ns-* > Arm. *-s-* is regular.

bʰerĝʰ-, *bʰr̥ĝʰ-u-*, *bʰr̥ĝʰ-(e/o)nt-*: Arm. **barjr, gen.sg.** *barj-u*, gen.pl. *barjan-cʻ* 'high'; ***-berj** 'high' in compounds; **baṙnam** < **barj-nam* 'to lift, bear away': Hitt. *parku-* 'high', Skt. *br̥hánt-* (f. *br̥hatī́-*) 'large, wide, abundant, lofty, high', YAv. *bərəzaṇt-* (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 *leṙn-a-berj* 'berghoch', cf. Skt. *-bárhas-* 'firmness, strength' in Vedic compounds such as *ádri-barhas* 'felsenfest'.

h₂r-nu-: Arm. **aṙnum**, 1sg.aor. *aṙ-i*, 3sg.aor. *aṙ* 'to gain, obtain, win, take, grasp', Gr. ἄρνυμαι, aor. ἀρόμεν 'to win, gain', probably also Av. *ərənauu-* 'to grant, allot, provide'.

pleh₁-: Arm. **lnum** or **lnanim** 3sg.aor. *e-licʻ* 'to fill, be filled' (cf. *li* 'full, abundant, whole', **lir**, *i*-stem 'plenitude'), Gr. πίμπλημι, *-αμαι* 'to fill, make full', intr. 'to fill oneself, be/become full', πλήρης 'full', πλέως, Ion. πλέος 'full', Lat. *plēre* 'to fill', Skt. *parⁱ* 'to fill', pres. *píparti*, **píprati*, etc. For the aorist **e-li-cʻ** < **e-plē-ske* (with **-ske/o-* added to the old root aorist **plē-(s)-*, cf. Ved. *áprās*, Gr. ἔπλησε, etc.).

ṷes-nu-: Arm. **z-genum**, 3sg.aor. *zge-cʻ-a-w* 'to put on clothes', Gr. ἕννυμι 'to clothe'; cf. Hitt. *ṷeš-* 'to be dressed', Skt. *váste* 'to be clothed, wear', etc. Note Arm. **z-gest**, *u*-stem, *i*-stem, *o*-stem 'dress, garment, clothes' from **ṷes-ti-*: Lat. *vestis*, *is* f. 'garments, clothes; cloth', Goth. *wasti* 'garment, dress', Gr. Hesychius γεστία 'clothing', etc.

gʷʰer- 'warm': Arm. **ǰeṙnum** or **ǰeṙanim**, 1sg.aor. *ǰeṙ-a-y* 'to be/become warm, burn' < **gʷʰer-nu-*, cf. **gʷʰr̥-n(e)u-*: Skt. *ghr̥ṇóti* 'to glow, light', etc. Arm. aor. *ǰeṙ-a-* from sigm. aor. **gʷʰer-s-*.

bʰer-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-bʰer-et*: Skt. *á-bhar-at*, Gr. ἔ-φερ-ε.

3.2 PIE *$i̯e$-presents

*$g^{wh}en$-$i̯e/o$- 'to slay': Arm. ***ǰnǰem*** (****ǰinǰ-***) '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. *jaiṇti* 'to slay, kill', etc.

t'r-ǰ-em (stem *t'urǰ*) '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 *-$i̯e$-, through a regular sound change *-$ri̯$- > -$rǰ$-.

3.3 Reduplicated present

C_1i-$C_1(e)C_2$-: the type of Gr. ***iaύω*** 'to sleep, rest, spend the night' < *h_2i-h_2eus- vs. Arm. ***aganim*** 'to spend the night'. In Armenian – frequently with the secondary nasal suffix: C_1i-$C_1(e)C_2$-ne-.

*pi-ph_3-e- (reduplicated thematic present of the word for 'to drink', cf. Gr. *πίνω* 'to drink', etc.) > *$pibeti$: Arm. ***əmpem***, suppletive aor. *arb-i* 'to drink', Skt. *píbati*, Lat. *bibō*, OIr. *ibid*. The Armenian verb derives from a secondary nasal present form: *pib-ne-mi > PArm. *$(h)ipném(i)$ > *əmpem*.

nstim, 3sg.aor. *nst-a-w*, impv. *nist* 'to sit' < *ni- + *si-sd-: Skt. *sídati*, 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. *sátsat*, Gr. *ἕζομαι*, Lat. *sedēre*, etc.

The irregular verb *yaṙnem* (stems: pres. *yaṙn*, aor. *yari*, imper. *ari*) 'to rise, arise, get up; to wake'

Present Sg	Imperfect Sg	Subj. pres. Sg	Aorist Sg	Subj. aor. Sg	Imperative Sg	Cohortative Sg
yaṙnem	yaṙnēi	yaṙnic'em	yareay	yareayc'		
yaṙnes	yaṙnēir	yaṙnic'es	yarear	yaric'es	ari	yariǰir
yaṙnē	yaṙnēr	yaṙnic'ē	yareaw	yaric'ē		
Pl	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**
yaṙnemk'	yaṙnēak'	yaṙnic'emk'	yareak	yaric'uk'		
yaṙnēk'	yaṙnēik'	yaṙnic'ēk'	yareayk'	yariǰik'	arik'	yariǰik'
yaṙnen	yaṙnēin	yaṙnic'en	yarean	yaric'en		

yaṙnem (aor. stem *yari*, imper. *ari*) 'to rise, arise, get up, stand up; to wake; to resurrect, resuscitate, revive; to assail, attack' (Bible+); from PIE *h_3r-i- 'to rise': Hit. *arai-^{i} / ari-* 'to rise, arise, lift; to raise', CLuw. *ari(i̯a)-* 'to raise' < *h_3r-oi- / *h_3r-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. *íyarti*, med. *ŕte* 'to set in motion, move; to arouse, excite' < *Hi-$H(a)r$-, *ṛṇváti* 'to rise, move', Av. *ar-*, redupl. pres. *īra-* 'to reach', *īra-* n. 'attack', YAv. *ərənao-* 'to set in motion'; Gr. *ὄρνυμι* or *-ύω*, med. *ὄρνυμαι* 'to rise, rouse, stir (up), urge on, move, rush away; to excite, incite, revive'.

Armenian pres. *y-ar-ne- (< *h_3r-ne- or *h_3ri-ne-) vs. aor. *y-ar-i- and impv. *ari from *h_3r-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. *íyarti*) > 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 *$u̯e/orĝom$: Gr. *ϝέργον* 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. *ϝέργον*, 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*, *skìrti* 'to separate', etc.

The same pattern is reflected in denominative verbs, e.g. PIE *uosn-eie-* 'to buy, sell': Gr. ὠνέομαι and Skt. *vasnayáti*, from *uesno-* 'price': Skt. *vasná-*, Lat. *vēnum*, Arm. *gin* 'price', cf. also *uoĝʰ-eie-* from *uoĝʰo-* '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. *ərow-eye-mi > *ərowémi* (through contraction *-eye- > -e-* as in PIE *treies > erekʻ* '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', *moṙanam* 'to forget'
sirem 'to love', *ancʻanem* 'to pass; to pass away/over'
nayim 'to look at', *cnanim* 'to beget; to be begotten, born'
tʻołum 'to let, permit; to leave, desert', *ǰeṙnum* 'to be/get warm; to burn'

lam 'to weep, cry'	*sirem* 'to love'	*nayim* 'to look at'	*tʻołum* 'to let, permit'
pres. *l*, aor. *lacʻ*	pres. *sir*, aor. *sire(a)cʻ*	pres. *nay*, aor. *nayecʻ*	pres. *tʻoł*, aor. *tʻoł*
Sg	**Sg**	**Sg**	**Sg**
lacʻi	sirecʻi	nayecʻay	tʻołi
lacʻer	sirecʻer	nayecʻar	tʻołer
(e)lacʻ	sireacʻ	nayecʻaw	(e)tʻoł
Pl	**Pl**	**Pl**	**Pl**
lacʻakʻ	sirecʻakʻ	nayecʻakʻ	tʻołakʻ
lacʻē/ikʻ	sirecʻē/ikʻ	nayecʻaykʻ, -arukʻ	tʻołē/ikʻ
lacʻin	sirecʻin	nayecʻan	tʻołin

moṙanam 'to forget'	*ancʻanem* 'to pass'	*cnanim* 'to beget'	*ǰeṙnum* 'to get warm'
pr. *moṙan*, aor. *moṙacʻ*	pres. *ancʻan*, aor. *ancʻ*	pres. *cnan*, aor. *cn*	pres. *ǰeṙn*, aor. *ǰeṙ*
Sg	**Sg**	**Sg**	**Sg**
moṙacʻay	ancʻi	cnay	ǰeṙay
moṙacʻar	ancʻer	cnar	ǰeṙar
moṙacʻaw	(e)ancʻ	cnaw	ǰeṙaw
Pl	**Pl**	**Pl**	Pl
moṙacʻakʻ	ancʻakʻ	cnakʻ	ǰeṙakʻ
moṙacʻaykʻ, -arukʻ	ancʻē/ikʻ	cnaykʻ, -arukʻ	ǰeṙaykʻ, -arukʻ
moṙacʻan	ancʻin	cnan	ǰeṙan

3.6 Sigmatic aorist

h₃neid-: Arm. **anicanem**, 3sg.aor. *anēc* 'to curse' < PIE sigm. aor. *h₃neid-s-*, **anēc-kʻ** 'curse, imprecation', Skt. *ned-*: pres. *níndati*, aor. *ánindiṣur*, desid. *nínits-* 'to revile; to blame; to mock', YAv. 1sg.pres.act. *nāismī* 'to curse' (prob. from *nāid-s-mi*), Gr. ὄνειδος n. 'reprimand, abuse', Lith. *níedėti* '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. *sátsat*, Gr. ἕζομαι, Lat. *sedēre*, Goth. *sitan*, Lith. *sėdéti*, etc.

mer- 'to vanish': Arm. **meṙanim**, 3sg.aor. *meṙ-a-w* 'to die' (*meṙ-* 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. *morior*, OCS *mrěti*.

gʷʰer- 'warm': Arm. **ǰeṙnum** or **ǰeṙanim**, 1sg.aor. *ǰeṙ-a-y* 'to be/become warm, burn' < *gʷʰer-nu-*, cf. *gʷʰr̥-n(e)u-*: Skt. *ghṛṇóti* 'to glow, light', etc. Arm. aor. *ǰeṙ-a-* from sigm. aor, *gʷʰer-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', *candrá*- 'shining, light', *hári-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/Loṙi, Agulis, Kṙzen, 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, Muš, 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 Ačaṙyan and Łaribyan, 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 Xotorǰur 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' > Mełri *óxtə* (these are marked in the Table "yes).
● Ačaṙyan'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 Muš and Łarabał.

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

Dialect	Phon. classif.	Pres. indicative	Accent retr.	Diphth. *o-*	*ɔxt* '7'	Ačaṙ. Law	Devoic.	*tesanel*
Aṙtial	Gr. 1	*gi sirim*	no	no	yes	no	no	*-nul*
Arabkir	Gr. 1	*sirim gu, g-ɛrtʿam ga, gɔ g-ɛrtʿam*	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	*sirɛm k/gə, k-udem k/gə*	no	no	yes	no	no	*-nil*
Muš	Gr. 2	*kə sirim, k-ałam*	no	no	no	no	no	*-nul*
Ararat	Gr. 2	*sirə/um ɛm*	(yes)	(yes)	yes	no	no	*(-nul)*
Nor J̌uła	Gr. 2	*sirum am, moṙanum am; lalman am, talman am*	no	no	yes	no	no	*-nel*
Polis	Gr. 3	*gə sirɛm, g-ɛrtʿam*	no	ABSENT	yes	no	no	*-nal*
Hačən	Gr. 4	*gə siyiɛm, gə g-aṙnum*	no	no	no	no	yes	*-nul*
Svedia	Gr. 4	*gə sirim, gʸ-ärnim*	no	no	no	yes?	yes	*-nul*
Edesia/Uṙha	Gr. 5	*sirɛm a / gə sirɛm g-ɛrtʿam a*	no	no	no	no	yes	*-nal*
Tigranakert	Gr. 5	*gə sirim, g-uzim*	no	no	no	no	yes	*-nal*
Ararat/Loṙi	Gr. 6	*sirəm ɛm, mnəm əm*	yes	yes	yes	no	no	*-nal*
Agulis	Gr. 6	*sáyräm əm, n-ɔ́tam əm*	yes	(yes)	yes	yes	no	*-nil*
Areš/Havarik	Gr. 6	1sg. *sirɛlis əm, sirɛli yəm* 2sg. *sirɛləm əs*	no	no	yes	yes	no	*-nel / -nal*
Melri	Gr. 6	*siris im, mənas im*	yes	(yes)	yes	yes	no	*-nil*
Karčewan	Gr. 6	*siríy im / im sirís*	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	*-(n)ul*
Kakʿavaberd	Gr. 6	*xəmúm əm, ásəm əm; mənáyis im, -lis im*	yes	yes	yes	yes	no/yes	*-(n)il*
Łarabał	Gr. 7	*sírəm əm, xɔ́səm əm*	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	*-nal*
Urmia	Gr. 7	*kʸirɛs ɛm/s, 3sg. kʸirɛl i; mənas ɛm/s, 3sg. mənal i*	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	*-nel*
Marała	Gr. 7	*üzɛli im, amčʿənalɔ́ yim*	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	*-nel*
Van	Gr. 7	*kə sirem, k-uzem, ku kʸäm*	no	yes	no	yes	yes	*-nal*
Moks, Šatax	Gr. 7	*kə sirim, kə xałam, k-ənčʿnim*	no	yes	no	yes	yes	*-nel / -nil*

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