

Animacy effects in Armenian - an overview

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Roadmap

- **Morphology:**
 - 1) kinship terms
 - 2) nouns in *-ownk^c*
 - 3) copulative compounds
- **Syntax:**
 - 1) word order
 - 2) agreement
 - 3) DOM

1) kinship terms / GEN/DAT in -oĵ

- Classical Armenian: NOM : GEN/DAT/LOC
 - *mayr* : GDL *mawr* 'mother'
 - *hayr* : GDL *hawr* 'father'
 - *ełbayr* : GDL *ełbawr* 'brother'
 - *k^coyr* : GDL *k^cer* 'sister'
 - *ayr* : GDL *ařn* 'man, husband'
 - *kin* : GDL *knoĵ* 'woman, wife'

kinship terms / GEN/DAT in -oǰ

- other stems with -oǰ:
 - numeral '1': *mi* : GDL *mioǰ* Abl *mioǰē* beside GAbl *mioy* DL *miowm*
 - Bible: *mioǰ* 31, *mioǰē* 54, *mioy* 175, *miowm* 131 (~ ca. 21% : 79%)
 - “ea-”stems: *tari* ‘year’ : GEN *tarwoy*, LOC *tarwoǰ*, GEN.PL *tareac^c*
 - further e.g. *tefi* ‘place’, *gini* ‘wine’, *eketecⁱ* ‘church’ ...; all adj. in -i (*bari* ‘good’ etc.)
 - Schmitt 1981/2007: 96 adds *mard* ‘man’, *ǰerm* ‘warm’, *ji* ‘horse’ et al., but LOC.SG *mard* in John 2.25 *i mard=n*, ABL.SG Mt 12.43 *i mardoj* etc. No form *mardoǰ* in Zohrapean’s Bible edition nor in other classical texts, it seems. Nor for *ǰerm* nor *ji*.

kinship terms / GEN/DAT in -oř

- spread of -oř from *kin* : *knoř* to other kinship terms and [+human] referents:
 - cf. Dum-Tragut (2009: 75–76)

Classical Armenian	MEA
<i>anker</i> ‘friend’ : G <i>ankeri</i> , G.PL <i>anker-ac^c</i>	<i>anker</i> : GD <i>ankeroj</i>
<i>tēr</i> ‘Lord, Sir’ : G <i>teārn</i>	<i>tēr</i> : GD <i>tiroj</i>
<i>k^coyr</i> ‘sister’ : G <i>k^ceṛ</i>	<i>k^coyr</i> : GD <i>k^croj</i>
<i>ner/nēr</i> ‘sister-in-law’ : G <i>neri</i>	<i>ner</i> : GD <i>neri/niroj</i>
<i>tal</i> ‘sister-in-law’ : G <i>tal-i</i>	<i>tal</i> : GD <i>tali/taloj</i>
<i>aner</i> ‘wife’s father’ : G <i>aner-oy</i>	<i>aner</i> : GD <i>aneroj</i>
<i>ta(y)gr</i> : G <i>ta(y)ger</i> ‘brother-in-law’ (husband’s brother)’	<i>tagr</i> : GD <i>tagroj</i>
<i>skesowr</i> : G <i>skesri</i> ‘wife’s mother-in-law; husband’s mother’	<i>(s)kesowr</i> : GD <i>(s)kesroj</i>

- Medieval Cilician Armenian:
 - *knoĵ*, *anĵeroĵ*, *tiroĵ*, *k^cowroĵ*
- formal analogy, animacy irrelevant:
 - *gin* 'price' : *gnoĵ* after *kin* : *knoĵ*? (Karst 1901: 154)

kinship terms / GEN/DAT in -oĵ

- Some kinships terms are not affected:
 - *r*-stems: MEA *hayr, hōr, mayr, mōr, eġbayr, eġbōr*
 - ‘son’ and ‘daughter’: MEA *ordi*, G/D *ordow; dowstr, G/D dstri*
 - ‘husband’: *amowsin* : G/D *amowsni* and *amowsnow*
 - ‘maternal uncle’: *k^ceři*, G/D *k^ceřow*
- Rationale?
 - Cf. Karst 1901: 155: “ Warum ist alsdann das kilikische Nomen ἡνλιυσηρ nicht auch in diese Klasse aufgenommen worden, da es doch sowohl begrifflich, weil ein Verwandtschaftsname, als auch formal, da wie տէր, ընկեր und քոյր auf -r ausgehend, mit jenen Nominen verwandt erscheint?”

secondary ow-stems

- Dum-Tragut (2009: 72): “It is interesting to note, that in colloquial Armenian, some words belonging to the i-declension, are inflected following this u-declension, as e.g. *tła* “boy” < *tł-u* (DAT) instead of *i*-declension *tła-y-i* (DAT).”
- Also *amowsin* ‘husband’ inflects both as GEN/DAT *amowsni* and *amowsnow*.
- Model for this could be old o-stems like *mard* ‘man’ : *mard-ow* « *mardoy*
 - According to Karst 1901: 150 phonological development of Cl. -oy# > -o# > -ow#, cf. Cil. Arm. *payl-oy* / *payl-ow*, *Ayas-oy* / *Ayas-ow* etc.

2) nouns in *-ownk^c*

- various types of *n*-stems in Cl. Armenian:
 - *azn* ‘people, gens’, G *azin*, NPL *azink’*
 - *masn* ‘part’, G *masin*, NPL *masownk’*
 - *atamn* ‘tooth’, G *ataman*, NPL *atamownk’*
 - *anown* ‘name’, G *anowan*, NPL *anowank’*
 - *ankiwn* ‘corner’, G *ankean*, NPL *ankiwnk’*
 - *town* ‘house’, G *tan*, NPL *townk’*

nouns in *-ownk^c*

- *anjn* 'soul, body, self' : NPL *anjink^c* : *mi-anjn* 'monk', lit. 'one-soul' ~ Gr. μοναχός, PL *mianjownk^c*
- quoted in research literature as ex. for compositional *o*-ablaut as in Greek φρήν → ἄ-φρων
- against this Kim (2024: 86): PL in *-ownk^c* "spread by lexical diffusion from nouns denoting individuals, the core of which goes back to PIE derivatives in **-o-(H)on-*", i.e., possessives in **-Hon-* and individualizing type στραβός → Στράβων

nouns in *-ownk^c*

- secondary use obvious in loanwords, e.g. *episkopos* 'bishop' : *episkoposownk^c*.
- Meillet 1898: 274-275: *azn* : *azink'* 'people' : *skay-azownk'* 'who are of the race of giants'; *diwc'azownk'* 'of the race of gods', *t'agaworazownk'* 'of the race of kings'
- Meillet 1913a: 55 adds *datarkanjn* 'lazy (person)': PL *datarkanjownk'*
- contrast *bern* 'load' : *berink'*, *canr-a-berink'* 'who have heavy loads'
- *learn* 'mountain' : *lerink'*, *barjr-a-lerink'* 'which have high mountains'
- Jensen, 1959: 66–67 adds *vahanjownk'* 'high-minded', and *mecaberownk'* 'having great load'

Kim 2024

ark'ayazn 'of the race of kings'	(unk) Agat'angelos
diwc'azn 'of the race of gods, heroes'	(unk) Eznik + (in) Movsēs
t'agaworazn 'of the race of kings'	(unk) Agat'angelos + (in), Koriwn (also (a/i) Łazar)
skayazn 'of the race of giants'	(unk) P'awstos, Movsēs
naxararazn 'of the race of magnates'	(unk) Elišē, Movsēs
hamazn 'of the same race'	(unk) Łevond Vardapet, Yovhannēs Kat'ołikos
hskayazn 'of the race of giants'	(unk) Łevond Vardapet
haykazn 'Armenian, of the Hay race'	(iun) Movsēs (also (o) Movsēs)
višapazn 'of the race of dragons'	(iun) Movsēs

- Note also *xstaberownk^c* '(ships) carrying heavy loads' in Agat'angelos §17: *gteal lc'eal mecaberñ xstaberowns* 'finding heavy argosies filled with treasure' (NBHL 1: 987; tr. (Thomson, 1976): 31) – hapax! Influenced by *mecaberñ*?
- → PL in *-ownk'* a special feature of *azn* and *anjn*? At least most productive with these base words.
- *azn* Iranian loanword → not an inherited formation; on *anjn* cf. Kölligan (2022).

- Animacy: (Olsen, 1999): 123–124, 833: *n*-stems that go back to PIE forms in **-C-(s)no/eh₂-* > *Cn-* adopt the inflexion of the type NOM *-n*, GDL *-in*, NOM.PL *-ink'* "except for nouns indicating an individual where the pl. is in *-ownk'* with a formation parallel to the Germanic weak adjective"
- cf. *t'orin* 'grandchild', *harsn* 'bride' : PL *t'orownk'*, *harsownk'*
- Outside *n*-stems: *erēc'* 'elder, priest' : *eric'ownk'*; *episkopos-ownk'*; *sarkawag-ownk'* 'deacon(s)'; *paraw-ownk'* 'old women' (< Iran., cf. ModP *pārāv*).

- Double plural in *sermn* 'seed' : PL *sermank'* 'seeds/sowing'; *sermownk'* 'progeny, offspring' ?
- Claimed by Kim (2024: 83 with fn. 44) quoting Łazar P'arp. 2.20, where it refers to sowing:
 - 4 Kings 19.29 *ew yamin errordi` **sermank'** ew hownjk' ew townkk' aygeac`*, *ew kerijik' zptowł noc'a*:
 "And in the third year (there shall be) the **sowing** and reaping and the planting of vineyards and you shall eat their produce."

- Lazar P'arp. 2.20 *K'anzi o'v ok' oč' tesanē yamenayn tiezers zaregakann zp'araworowt'iwnn, oroy čaragayt'iwk' lowsaworin amenayn ełealk' xōsnoc' ew anasnoc'. ew kam zhroy ōgtakarowt'iwn, orov kerakrin ew vayelen amenayn banawork's. ew kam tarerk's ew k'ałc'raxarñ ōdoc' šnč'mownk', orov boysk' ew **sermownk'** atok'ac'ealk' ew hasealk' i katarelowt'iwn` matowc'anen mardkan zkealn bari ew zowraxanaln:*

For who in the entire world does not see the glory of the sun whose rays illuminate all rational and irrational beings, or the usefulness of fire with which all are fed, and which enjoy, or the elements or the breath of sweet air by which plants and **seeds** sprout and reach maturity which offer humankind the good life, and happiness.

- In the Žamagirk^c in a prayer to Gregory the Illuminator:
- *K'anzi k'o vardapetowt'eand **sermownk**' barepaštowt'ean bowsowc'in hasks, owraxowt'ean ptowł hatowc'anelov ew hawatac'eloc's p'rkowt'iwn šnorhelov. vasn oroy barexōsea ar tēr, vasn anjanc' meroc':*
 "Because the **seeds** of your teaching of worship have brought forth ears of corn, bringing the fruit of happiness and providing salvation for the faithful, therefore intercede for us before the Lord."

irawownk^c

- *irawownk^c* based on INSTR *iraw* 'justly, by right' from *ir* 'matter, case (at court)'.
 - ac.pl: *irawowns* (E.ms.: *z-datastan*) *het'anosac' patmesc'ē* 'he will pronounce the laws to the gentiles' Mt 12,18E (κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπαγγελεῖ. – quoting Jesaia 42.1-4, Jes. 42.1 LXX κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει)
 - istr.pl: *anc'anēk' z-irawambk' ew z-sirov-n AY* Lk 11,42 'you neglect justice and the love of God'
 - loc.pl: *gnayin y-amēnayn patowirans ew y-irawowns TN anaratk'* 'And they were both righteous before God, walking blamelessly in all the commandments and statutes of the Lord.' Lk 1,6

- Meillet *ELPA* 1.150 (Meillet 1962) on the plurale tantum *irawownk^c*: “Il s’agit d’un ensemble de choses prononcées.”
- What was the model for the formation of *irawownk^c*? Why not e.g. **irawank^c*?
- Cf. Olsen (1999: 614): “*Irawownk^c* ‘right, justice’ (-*anc^c*, -*ambk^c*) must be derived from *iraw* ‘just; justice’, itself apparently a lexicalized inst.sg. of *ir* ‘thing, fact’, but the selection of the suffix -*ownk^c* is unclear to me.”

- Anyway, compounds with *azn* and *anjn* always refer to persons or animals → productivity starts here.

3) copulative compounds

- Gregorio et al. 2025: 7350 “In Shona and Sesotho, conjoined noun phrases must follow an animacy-based order, with human referents appearing first, followed by non-human animates, and finally inanimates (Hawkinson and Hyman, 1974; Morolong and Hyman, 1977).”
- Cf. the Armenian compound *ayr-ew-ji* ‘army’ < ‘man and horse’, the only copulative compound attested in the Bible with animate referents.
- But is this systematically so in Armenian?

Syntax: 1) word order

- Generalization from typological studies: animate referents precede inanimate ones.
- Basic word order in Cl. Arm. SVO (>> MEA SOV).
- Check for pronouns:
 - Buzandaran 4.4 *gtc'ēs k'ez ganjs yerkins* 'you will find **for yourself** a treasure in heaven'
 - 4.13 *et k'ez ztefi ownel* 'he gave **you** the place to possess it'
 - 4.21 *Etow k'ez, asē, zNcbin k'ałak'* 'I gave **you**, he said, the city of Nisibis.'
 - 4.54 *na inj č'ar and barwoy hatoyc'* 'He gave **me** back evil for (my) good (deeds).'
 - 5.7 *towr inj hraman* 'Order me/Give **me** an order.'

- 3.13 *et noc'a zgitowt'iwn čšmartowt'ean hawatoc'n*
'He gave **them** the knowledge of the truth of the faith'
- 4.5 *beric'ē ink'n tal mez ziwroc' p'ařac'n zanmahowt'iwnn ew zanełcowt'iwn*
'He shall bring **us** the immortality and incorruptibility of His glory.'
- Focus inverts order:
 - 4.6 *yałags kenac' meroc' ew ink'n vasn mer hac' ełew, ew zariwnn iwr əmpel et mez*
'For our salvation he himself became bread and he gave **us** his blood to drink.'
- but in the same chapter a few clauses later:
 - *hawatov xndresc'owk', ew tac'i mez kerakowr:*
'Let us ask faithfully, and he will give **us** food.'

[+anim][+anim] : DO IO

- Pronouns could be in Wackernagel position. Check with full NPs: *et*, *etown* and *tayr* 'gave' in Buzandaran:
- D.OBJ [+anim] – IND.OBJ [+anim]:
- 3.5 *ew et ark'ayordin Tiran zdowstr iwr knowt'iwn Yowskann ordwoy Vrt'anisi*:
"Tiran, the king's son, gave his daughter in marriage to Yusik, the son of Vrt'anēs"
- 4.12 *Ew ēin nora erkow dsterk'. ew et zminn Asrkoy owwemmn kin. zkni aneroyn iwr`na kalaw zat'orin Xaday*: "He had two daughters, and he gave one in marriage to a certain Asurk, who ascended Xad's throne after his-father-in-law."

4.22 *Apa t'agaworn Aršak ew ziwr zōrsn bažanēr and eris. ew tayr zmi gowndn Vasakay sparapetin, ew zerkrord gowndn i jeṛn Bagasi eṭbōr norin*

“Then King Aršak also divided his army into three [parts], and he entrusted one contingent to the sparapet Vasak, and the second contingent to his brother Bagas.”

5.44 *Ew tayr spararetn Manowēl zdowstr iwr Vardandowxt kin Aršakay mankann aršakownoy*

“The sparapet Manuēl gave his daughter Vardanduxt in marriage to the young Aršak Aršakuni.”

[-anim][-anim]: DO IO

D.OBJ [-anim] – IND.OBJ [-anim] (NB marked with *i/y-*, not DAT):

3.4 *Ew et zawann ew zbown gahoyic' gewłn nahapetin Manawazenic' episkoposin Ałbianosi yeketec'i. zManawazakert amenayn sahmanōk'n ew gawařakawn handerj` or šowrj` znok'ōk' ēr, or kay i kołmans getoyn Ep'ratay:*

“And (the king) gave to the church of bishop Albianos the town and village that was the seat [bun gahoyic'] of the Manawazean nahapet-(that is to say) Manawazakert - together with the whole of its territories and the district around them that lies alongside the Ep'rat River.”

→ D.OBJ – IND.OBJ as default order?

[+anim][-anim]: IO DO

IND.OBJ [+anim] – D.OBJ [-anim]:

3.8 *et Vač'ēi zōravari zakans J'anjanakin ... noynpēs ew ayloc' naxararac'n mecamec pargews*

"And to the commander Vač'ē he gave the springs of Janjanak... and likewise (he gave) the greatest rewards to the other naxarars."

D.OBJ [-anim] – IND.OBJ[+anim]?

4.20 *Apa ark'ay Aršak bazowm pargews ganjowc' oskwoy ew arcat'oy tayr parskin aynmik, or asac' nma zbans zaysosik:*

"Then King Aršak gave a great treasure of gold and silver as a gift to the Persian who had spoken these words to him."

Is this an exception? IND.OBJ follows the predicate here, it is a heavy NP with a relative clause → right dislocation / heavy NP shift.

The same maybe in 5.35:

*Ark'ayn Varazdat tayr nšans yaŕaĵagoyn aynoc'ik, zor ēr spanōłn
patrastel*

“King Varazdat gave a preliminary sign to the prepared killers.”

apparent exception:

5.3 *etown zays amenayn zroyc' t'agaworin*

'They reported all this to the king.'

But *zroyc' tam/arnem/berem* is a lexicalized complex verb 'to bring news/to inform', so one possible analysis is [etown zays amenayn zroyc']_V [t'agaworin]_{IND.OBJ}

Similar behaviour in Agathangelos:

- §22 *Isk zōrac'n or ziwreawn ēin et pargews ew arjakeac' yiwrmē*:
“And to the soldiers who had followed him he gave gifts before dismissing them.”
- Probably different order of D.OBJ and IND.OBJ due to verb initial structure in the following case:
Agath. §46 *Yaynžam [mecac'oyc' yoyž]_v [t'agaworn]_s [zTrdatios]_o ew [mecamec pargews]_o [et]_v [nma]_{io}*:
“Then the emperor greatly honored Tiridates and bestowed handsome gifts on him.”
V-(S-)DO, DO-V-IO → chiastic structure? Or interpret *mecamec pargews tam* as a variation of *mecac'owc'anem*, i.e., as a complex verb? In that case parallelism: V-(S-)DO ew V-IO.

2) agreement

- Gregorio et al. 7350 (<https://aclanthology.org/2025.acl-long.364.pdf>):
 - “Smith-Stark (1974) observed that, in Georgian, verbs agree in number with animate subjects but default to singular when the subject is inanimate. Similarly, in Marind (Papuan), plural agreement is obligatory for humans and some animals but absent for inanimates (Corbett, 2000).”

coordinated / PL abstract nouns : SG predicate

- Buz. 3.3 *Xałałowt'iwn ew šinowt'iwn, mardašatowt'iwn ew arořjowt'iwn, pŧaberowt'iwn ew stac'owacašatowt'iwn ew šahekanowt'iwn ew mecn astowacasēr paštōn i hačoyakatarn barowt'iwn` yams yawowrs soc'a ačel **bazmac'aw**_[SG]:*

"In their days peace and prosperity, increase in population and well-being, fertility, serendipity and profit, and great God-loving service in pleasing virtuous ways **grew and multiplied.**"
- due to last pre-verbal noun *paštōn* in SG?

- contrast with this Buz. 4.4 with *bazmac'an* referring to priests:
- *Ew lowsaworowt'iwn kargi ekelec'woy amenapaycar' catkeac' amenamec liowt'eamb. kargec'an kargk' kat'ołikē ekelec'eac' amenayn vayelč'owt'eamb, ew **bazmac'an**_[PL] kargk' srbowt'ean paštamanc'n, ew paštōnēic'n yačaxowt'iwn:*

"And the illuminating order of the church shone forth to the full, and the ceremonies of the cathedral churches were regulated with utmost splendor. The **orders of holy service grew**, and [the number of] their ministers increased."

SG copula precedes series of abstract nouns:

- 3.6 *Apa sksan k'nnel zōrēnsn K'ristosi, ew owsan i nmanē` t'ē ateli ē_[SG] Astowcoy awararowt'iwn ew yap'stakowt'iwn, spanowt'iwn, agahowt'iwn, aylazrkowt'iwn, zayloc'kerowt'iwn, c'ankowt'iwn ayloc' stac'owacoc'.*
'Then they began to study the laws of Christ and they learned from him that not pleasing to God **are** plundering, robbery, murder, avarice, depriving others, eating others' goods, desiring others' goods.'
- 4.1 *Ayl ibrew **etew**_[SG] hačowt'iwn ew bazowm xałałowt'iwn i mēj t'agaworin Yownac' ew Nersehi ark'ayin Parsic'*
'And when **concord and profound peace were established** between the king of the Greeks and Nerseh, king of Persia.'

- 4.4 *Ew **etew**_[SG] xałałowt'iwn ew norogowt'iwn yawowrs nora amenayn ekełec'eac'*
'And **there was** peace and renewal of all churches during his days.'
- 4.5 *zia'rd ardewk' **linic'i**_[SG] t'ołowt'iwn ew bžškowt'iwn*
'How indeed **shall there be** forgiveness and healing?'

- Buz. 5.43 *vasn zi yAstowcoy aynpēs imn **etew**_[SG] irawownk' patrastowt'ean Hayoc' gndin*
 “for the Armenian contingent had [received] a God-given **faculty** for being ready.”
- MX 3.27 *ew et hraman, or ok' ankeal andr bnakesc'ē` mi **lic'i**_[SG] i veray nora irawownk' datastani*
 “ordonnant que, sur quiconque viendrait s’y établir les droits de la justice ne puissent s’exercer” (Vaillant)
- Contrast Buz. 3.3 *irawownk' ew ardarowt'iwn **całkeal ēin**_[PL] i darown yaynm*
 ‘**Righteousness and justice flourished** at that time.’ – due to plurale tantum *irawownk*^c?

- Agreement with animate subjects, predicate precedes:
- Buz. 3.4 *Apa arak'ec'in*_[PL] *t'agaworn Xosrov ew mec episkoposapetn Vrt'anēs zpatowakan zmec episkoposn Ałbianos i mēj noc'a, xōsel i haštowt'iwn xałałowt'ean*
 'Then king Xosrov and the great archbishop Vrt'anēs **sent** the honourable great bishop Albanus among them, to negotiate peace.'
- vs abstract nouns, predicate follows: Agathangelos §15 *ew kam órpēs yaynm hetē šinowt'iwn ew xałałowt'iwn, liowt'iwn ew ptałaberowt'iwn ew bžškowt'iwn ałōt'iwk' nora šnorhec'aw*_[SG] *yAstowcoy*
 'And how after this prosperity and peace, fullness and fruitfulness and healing through his prayers **was granted** by God.'

- Elišē p. 76 *dow es Tēr kenac' ew mahow , ew i jern k'o ē*_[SG]
yałt'owt'iwn ew partowt'iwn
'You are the Lord of life and death, and in your hand **is/are**
victory and defeat.'
- Contrast Movsēs Xorenac'i: 3.67 *K'anzi ambartawanowt'iwn ew*
*mardahačowt'iwn ar i nora vars tełi gtanel erbēk' oč' karac'in*_[PL]
"Jamais l'orgueil ni la flatterie n'**avaient pu** trouver place dans
sa vie." (Mahé/Mahé).

- Buz. 3.5 conjoined abstract nouns + singular verb vs animate plural subject + plural verb:
- *Ew xaławowt'iwn bazowm ew šinowt'iwn ew hastatowt'iwn bazowm ekełec'eac' i tearnē noc'a **tac'i**_[SG], bazowm yałt'owt'eamb ew mecaw zōrowt'eamb ew **bazowm molorealk' darjc'in**_[PL] i čanaparhs čšmartowt'ean. orov ew K'ristos bazowm lezowōk' p'araworesc'i nok'ōk'.*

“And great peace and prosperity, and the foundation of many churches **shall be given** to them by the Lord, with many victories and great might. And through them, many who have gone astray **shall return** to the path of truth and shall glorify Christ in many tongues.”

- **other abstract nouns:**

- Buz. 4.5 ew **ełew**_[SG] *mec šaržowmn ew xrovowt'iwn ew herjowack' yamenayn ekełec'is tiezerac':*

"Great changes, turmoil, and schisms **arose** in all the churches of the world."

- Buz. 4.13 *Ayl es tesi tesil, zi korowst ew k'andowmn yowzeal xałac'eal* **gay**_[SG] *i veray korstakan ašxarhis Hayoc' aysorik:*

"For I have seen a vision that **perdition and destruction are advancing** on this doomed realm of Armenia."

contrast subjects of *eʎen* in Buz.: count nouns, no abstracts

3.3	teʎik' 'places'	4.9	sk'anč'elik' 'miracles'
3.13	nok'a +human	4.9	zarmanalik' 'miracles'
3.13	nok'a +human	4.12	ač'k' 'eyes'
3.20	awowrk' 'days'	4.13	bank' 'words'
3.20	+human	4.22	čakat'k' 'battles'
4.4	sk'anč'elik' 'miracles'	4.54	bank' 'words'
4.4	sk'anč'elik' 'miracles'	5.8	nok'a +human
4.5	c'awk' ew tanʎank' 'pains and tortures'	5.15	naxarark' 'noblemen'
4.5	hoviwk' 'shepherds'	5.28	sowrbk' 'holy men'
4.6	sk'anč'elik' 'miracles'	5.37	xaʎnowrdk' 'mixtures'
4.6	amiss inn 'nine months'	6.8	nšank' 'signs'
4.7	sk'anč'elik' 'miracles'	6.8	irk' 'things, events'
		6.9	nšank' 'signs'

Łazar P'arpec'i

- ch. 10 ew **linēr** paštōnēic'n ašxatowt'iwn ew žołovrdoc'n anšahowt'iwn yanlrowt'enē lezowin asorwoy:
"The unusualness of the Syrian language gave labor to the officiants while bringing no profit to the people."
→ rather equi-VP deletion: *ew linēr ... ew (linēr)
- ch. 26 aydow **čanač'i** mer ar jez tērowt'iwn ew xnamarkowt'iwn, ew jer ar mez ardaramtowt'eamb cařayowt'iwn ew hnazandowt'iwn
"by which our lordship and guardianship over you **is/are** recognized, and your judicious service and obedience to us **is/are** acknowledged."

Łazar P'arpec'i

- ch. 51 *O'wm ardeōk' yał'ticē k'own yark'ayowt'eann, owr oč' **goy tk'nowt'iwn ew oč' canrowt'iwn** tałtkowt'ean. ew kam o' ardeōk' axtac'eal trtmesc'i yananc' barowt'eann, owsti **meržēal en c'awk' ew trtmowt'iwnk' ew hecowt'iwnk'**: Ew mez ōrs ays karapet ew arit' ē awowrn aynmik, owr **vardapetowt'iwnk'** sowrb k'ahanayic'n Astowcoy k'arozeal Iseli **linēr** i miži merowm:*
"Who can be conquered by sleep in the Kingdom, where there **is** no sleeplessness and no burden of weariness. And who will be grieved by disease in the eternal goodness, where **pain, sorrow, and sobbing are** absent? For us, today is a precursor of that day, and an opportunity to hear in our midst the **doctrines** of the blessed priests of God **sermonized.**"
(tr. Bedrossian)

animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976)

- pronouns 1st > 2nd > 3rd person > proper nouns > common nouns, human > animate > inanimate
- abstract nouns in *-owt^ciwn* etc. at the right end of the hierarchy → least likely to trigger agreement in the verb

3) DOM and animacy

- Scala (2022): typical features identified for DOM:
 - definiteness
 - animacy
 - affectedness of the object
 - topicality of the object
- basic idea: counter-prototypical cases need extra morphology , e.g., when animate referents – which are usually subjects – occur as objects:

- Croatian:
 - *pozdravljam brod-Ø* “saluto la nave” vs *pozdravljam kapetan-a* “saluto il capitano”.
- specificity as further feature, relevant e.g. in Turkish:
 - unspecific: *Hasan **bir film-Ø** görmek istiyor*
‘Hasan wants to see a movie (any movie).’
 - specific: *Hasan **bir film-i** görmek istiyor*
‘Hasan wants to see a (specific) movie.’
 - definite: *Hasan **film-i** görmek istiyor*
‘Hasan wants to see the movie.’

- Topicalization as trigger for DOM:
 - *a me questa ipotesi non convince vs *me questa ipotesi non convince and questa ipotesi non mi convince*
- Classical Armenian:
- Standard view in grammars: z- marks definite objects.
 - Personal pronouns as objects always preceded by z- since inherently definite (me, you, us, him/her, them).
 - Also marked with z-: proper nouns and nouns with unique reference such as “sun” and “moon”.

- Meillet (1936) [1st ed. 1903]:

“L’innovation la plus considérable de l’arménien est celle-ci: tout accusatif d’un nom déterminé reçoit la préposition *z q* s’il n’est déjà précédé de quelque autre préposition, ainsi Luc I, 32 *taçē nma . . . zathorn Dawthi* նազէ նմա զաթռն Ռաւթի δώσει αὐτῷ τὸν θρόνον Δαυεΐδ; les démonstratifs et les pro- noms personnels étant déterminés par essence sont toujours accompagnés de *z q*, et même l’interrogatif *zi qh* „quoi“ n’est attesté qu’avec la préposition *z q*, si bien que *zi qh* a fini par servir de nominatif. Cette innovation de l’arménien est achevée dès les plus anciens textes; il est donc impossible d’en suivre le développement; la valeur ancienne de *z q* était ici sans doute „par rapport à“.”

- Jensen (1959: 146):
- “Zur Kennzeichnung eines substantivischen oder pronominalen direkten Objekts tritt q- unmittelbar vor das betreffende Wort, und zwar in der Regel, wenn dieses irgendwie determiniert ist, entweder äußerlich durch demonstrative oder possessive Attribute (dazu gehört auch der suffigierte Artikel) oder wenn es sich um Eigennamen handelt oder das betreffende Substantiv eine formal nicht ausgedrückte Determination schon bedeutungsmäßig enthält.”
- „bedeutungsmäßig“ → meaning is relevant, as in unique reference like ‘sun’ and ‘moon’

- Jensen (1959: 149):

„Es sei noch ganz allgemein bemerkt, daß die Setzung und das Fehlen des Akk.-Exponenten q- nicht immer mit unseren Erwartungen übereinzustimmen scheint. Man beachte etwa ein Beispiel wie: $q\omega\eta\eta\ \eta\zeta\ q\eta\eta\eta\tau\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\ \omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$ (“einen Mann kenne ich nicht”) L. 1,34, wo sowohl das griechische Original wie auch die deutsche Übersetzung die Unbestimmtheit betonen. Man wird doch annehmen müssen, daß der armenische Übersetzer an etwas Bestimmtes, nämlich den der Maria zukommenden einen Ehemann denkt.“

- → obvious problem with the interpretation of z- as marking definiteness

- Minassian (1996: 368) also points out (without further explanation, however) that the ACC of *omn* 'someone, anyone' is always marked with z-.
→ Obviously, z- does not mark definite forms only.

- z- also marks indefinite objects, e.g. the numeral *mi* 'one, someone', *mi ok'* and *mi omn*, e.g.,
 - Mt 18.6 *ew or ok' gayt'agłec'usc'ē zmi i p'ok'rkanc's yaysc'anē yis hawatac'eloc'*
ὅς δ' ἂν σκανδαλίση **ἓνα** τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς ἐμέ
"If any of you cause one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, ..."
 - Lk 15.26 *ew koč'ec'eal ar' ink'n zmi i ca'ayic'n, harc'anēr t'ē zinč' ic'ē ayn*
καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος **ἓνα** τῶν παίδων ἐπυνθάνετο τί ἂν εἴη ταῦτα
"He called one of the slaves and asked what was going on." (NRSVUE)

- Acts 27.39 *ew ibrew ayg etew zerkirn oč' čanač'ēin, bayc' zgog mi nšmarēin et'ē ap'n covun ic'ē, yor xorhēin et'ē hnar inč' ic'ē zercuc'anel znawn*

ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκον, **κόλπον δέ τινα** κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἰγιαλὸν εἰς ὃν ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ δύναιντο ἐξῶσαι τὸ πλοῖον

“In the morning they did not recognize the land, but they noticed **a bay with a beach** on which they planned to run the ship ashore, if they could.” (NRSVUE)

- NB: *zi* 'what', *zinč'* 'what' with fixed z- → interrogative pronoun is per definitionem indefinite, but may be specific
 - cf. Span. *qué quieres* vs *cuál quieres* 'what/which one do you want'.
- But we do not have **zo(v) generalized 'who'? – why?
- In any case, generalization is guided by animacy: *zi* generalized, because inanimates are rarely subjects in contrast to animates where subject o(v) is more frequent than object zov.

- Scala (2022: 24) : “la marcatura differenziale dell' oggetto in armeno classico sembra da considerare una strategia che riguarda gli oggetti diretti specifici, cioè quelli definiti e quelli indefiniti specifici.”
- Acts 27.39 shows that also indef. spec. non-animate objects are marked with z-, hence, Scala concludes, animacy is irrelevant for DOM in Classical Armenian.

Persian

- Lazard: main feature is +/-definiteness: DEF always have *-râ*, INDEF have *-râ* when specific:
 - *yek ketâb-i xând*
'He has read a book.' INDEF, -SPEC
 - *yek ketâb-i-râ xând ke ...*
'He has read a (certain) book which ...' INDEF, +SPEC
- animacy: tendency: + ANIM + SPEC objects are marked with *-râ*, –ANIM + SPEC objects not:

*šâh-e tork nazd-e emperâtur-e rum **qâsed-i-râ** ferestâd tâ bâ u hamdast šavad*

«le roi des Turcs envoya **un messenger** auprès de l'empereur de Roum afin de s'allier avec lui ».

Also possible only *qâsed*, "mais la phrase est meilleure avec la postposition."

*šâh-e tork nazd-e emperâtur-e rum **payâm-i** ferestâd tâ bâ u hamdast šavad*

«le roi des Turcs envoya **un message** à (litt. auprès de) l'empereur de Roum afin de s'allier avec lui». — Here *-râ* is impossible.

- Animacy may override SPEC: +ANIM –SPEC has *-râ*:
- [20] *xarguš-râ dust dêram*
«j'aime les lapins (litt. le lapin) »
- [21] *xarguš dust dêram*
«j'aime le lapin»
- "[20] signifie: : « cet animal me plaît »; » le lapin y est considéré comme une sorte de personne qui inspire des sentiments d'affection. Dans [21] il s'agit du lapin dans la casserole ou dans l'assiette."

- Semantically bleached verbs like *dâšťan* 'have' often do not take *-râ*:
- ***baccehâ-i-râ*** *did ke nân-e xošk mixordand*
"il vit des enfants qui mangeaient du pain sec"
- VS
- ***baccehâ-i*** *dâšt ke nân-e xošk mixordand*
"il avait des enfants qui mangeaient du pain sec"

- If Scala is right, then MEA has shifted from marking specific objects to marking +def. animate and all human objects, → rise of animacy as decisive factor within DOM in the history of Armenian?
- cf. Dum-Tragut (2009: 85): “The dative of the (+human) direct object in its primary syntactic function denotes the (+human) direct object of a transitive verb.”, pp. 374–376: direct object is marked with dative if [+human], [+animate], both def. and indef.:

[+hum][+def]

Աշոտը	տեսավ	Արամ-ի-ն
<i>Ašot-ə</i>	<i>tes-av</i>	<i>Aram-i-n</i>
Ašot.NOM-the	see-AOR.3.SG	Aram-DAT-the

"Ašot saw Aram."

<i>T'urk'-er-ě</i>	<i>irenc'</i>	<i>amena-t'ank</i>	<i>ban-ě</i>
Turk-PL.NOM-the	their	most expensive	thing.NOM-the
<i>erexa-ner-i-n</i>	<i>vstah-um</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>hayastanc'i-ner-i-n.</i>
child-PL-DAT-the	entrust- PTCP.PRES.	they are	Armenian-PL-DAT-the

"The Turks entrust their most precious thing, **the(ir) children**, to Armenians."

[+hum.], [-def.]

<i>Ev</i>	<i>hanrapetut'y-an</i>	<i>naxagah-i</i>	<i>c'uc'um-ov</i>	<i>menk'</i>	<i>jeinamux</i>	
CONJ	republic-dat	president-dat	instruction-inst	we.nom	disposed	
<i>enk'</i>	<i>eł-el</i>	<i>šat</i>	<i>“erand</i>	<i>c'uc'aber-ac”</i>	<i>mardk-anc'</i>	<i>gt-nel</i>
we are	be-ptcp.perf.	many	“energy.nom	show-ptcp.res.”	person-pl.dat	find-inf

“And at instruction of the president of the republic we have disposed ourselves to find many **persons** ‘having shown energy”.

[+anim][+def]

<i>Ani-n</i>	<i>sir-um</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>hor</i>	<i>šan-ə</i>
Ani.NOM-the	love-PTCP-PRS	be.3SG	her	father.GEN	dog.DAT-the

“Ani loves her father’s **dog**”.

[+anim][-def]

<i>Ani-n</i>	<i>šn-er</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>sir-um</i>
Ani.NOM-the	dog.PL.NOM	be.3SG	love-PTCP-PRS

“Ani loves **dogs**.”

- Animacy scale for DOM in MEA according to Scala 2011: 474:

(7) Animacy scale

1st > 2nd > 3rd > Proper Names > kin > human > animate > inanimate

■ ■ □ ■ ■ ■ ○ x

(Legenda: ■ = object expressed in dative, □ = object expressed in dative if referred to an animate referent, ○ = object optionally but not infrequently expressed in dative, x object expressed in accusative)

- With animates there seems to be a distinction between domestic animals (including e.g. bees) and large non-domestic animals on the one hand and other creatures such as insects on the other:

(8)

animate



..... > domestic animals > non-domestic large animals > insects, worms > plants >

(including bees)

■

■

■ (x, rarely)

■/x

x

x

<i>ord-ə</i>	<i>spane-c'-i</i>
worm-DEF	kill-PST-1SG
I killed the worm.	

<i>metv-i-n</i>	<i>spane-c'-i</i>
bee-DAT-DEF	kill-PST-1SG
I killed the bee.	

intersection with specificity in MEA: definite + specific objects are marked and indefinite + specific objects are marked.

“Among the animate direct objects human beings, domestic and, often, also large animals require the dative morpheme only if referential.”

<i>Amen</i>	<i>ařavot</i>	<i>tesn-owm</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>ostikan-i-n</i>
every	morning	see-PTCP	be.1SG	policeman-DAT-DEF
“Every morning I see the policeman.” [DEF, SPEC]				

<i>Amen</i>	<i>ařavot</i>	<i>tesn-owm</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>mi</i>
every	morning	see-PTCP	be.1SG	one/a
<i>ostikan-i</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>amač'kot</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>tv-owm</i>
policeman-DAT	REL	shy	be.3SG	appear-PTCP
“Every morning I see a policeman who seems to be shy.” [INDEF, SPEC]				

<i>Amen</i>	<i>aṛavot</i>	<i>(mi) ostikan</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>tesn-owm</i>
every	morning	(one/a) policeman	be.1SG	see-PTCP
“Every morning I see a policeman.” [INDEF]				

- Bossong (1985: 177): DOM systems in typological frequency:

least common	--->	most common
animacy only	animacy+definiteness/specificity	definiteness/specificity
e.g. Russian	e.g. Spanish (cf. von Heusinger et al. 2024)	e.g. Coptic (Grossman 2018), Old Japanese (Frellesvig 2018)

Typologische Charakteristika ausgewählter Sprachen mit DOM

	Inhärenz	Referenz	Beides	Nomen	Verb	Beides	Präfix	Suffix	Beides	Acc'	Dat	Sonstiges
Spanisch			+			+	+				+	
Rumänisch			+			+	+					+
Russisch	+			+				+				+
Armenisch (kl.)		+		+			+					+
Jaghobi		+		+				+				+
Persisch (kl.)		+		+				+	+		+	
Persisch (md.)		+		+				+		+		
Sarykoli		+		+			+			+		
Gulbahári (Pashai)		+		+			+				+	
Hindu-Urdu			+	+				+			+	
Hebräisch		+		+			+			+		
Iraqi (Arabisch)		+				+			+		+	
Maltesisch (Arabisch)		+		+			+				+	
Amharisch		+				+		+		+		
Kemant		+		+				+		+		
Ungarisch		+			+			+		+		
Tavda (Wogulisch)		+				+		+		+		
Mordvinisch		+				+		+				+
Türkisch		+		+				+		+		
Mandschu		+		+			+				+	
Tamil		+		+				+		+		
Gurung		+		+				+			+	
Mikir			+	+				+			+	
Mandarin		+					+			+		
Sora	+			+				+			+	
Swaheli			+		+		+				+	
Woleai			+		+			+		+		
Palau			+			+			+	+		
Luiseno	+			+				+		+		
Guaraní			+	+				+			+	

Summary

- Effects of animacy visible in Armenian:
 - morphology:
 - spread of GEN/DAT *-oĵ* in kinship terms and similar nouns for human referents from Classical to Modern Armenian – but not in all of them
 - spread of *-ownk^c* as PL in nouns referring to human referents – but not in all of them
 - syntax:
 - word order: animate objects tend to precede inanimate objects (both pronouns and full NPs) in Cl. Arm.
 - agreement: lack of plural agreement with abstract nouns in Cl. Arm.
 - DOM: marking of specific object in Cl. Arm. develops into marking of animate obj. (human, domestic animal) in MEA
 - General rise of relevance of animacy in morphology and syntax due to language contact (Iranian, Turkish, Russian...)?

Thank you for your attention!

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Appendix: *harc'anem* 'to ask'

- NT 36x ACC, 35x *c'* (+ACC), 1x *i* (+ABL)
 - Mk 12.14 (Pharisees) *Ew nok'a ekeal **harc'anēin zna nengowt'eamb ew asēin***
καὶ ἐλθόντες ἤρξαντο **ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν** ἐν δόλῳ λέγοντες
 - Mk 12.18 (Sadducees) ***harc'anēin c'na ew asēin***
ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες
- Agathangelos:
 - §70 *sksaw **harc'anel c'na*** <> §105 *sksaw **harc'anel zna ew asē***
"He began to ask him (and said)."

Appendix: *harc'anem* 'to ask'

- Mt 21.24 *harc'ic' es zjez ban mi*
ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς κάγω λόγον
- Lk 20.3 *harc'ic' ew es c'jez ban mi*
ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς κάγω λόγον
- Apparently *harc'anem* *c'*- and *z*- synonymous, but *c'*- only occurs with animates

Appendix: *Isem* 'to listen, to hear'

- [+anim] 'to listen to/hear s.o': *Isem* + DAT
 - Lk 10.16 $\text{Nr } \delta\epsilon\tau\alpha \text{ } \mu\epsilon\text{ } \eta\lambda\theta\epsilon \text{ } \mu\epsilon\text{ } \text{Or } \mathbf{jez Is\bar{e}, inj Is\bar{e}}$
Ἵ ἀκούων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει
"The one who hears you hears me"
- [-anim] 'to hear s.th./about s.th.': *Isem* + ACC
 - John 3.8 $\text{hołm owr kami } \mathit{\acute{s}n\acute{c}\acute{e}}, \text{ ew } \mathbf{zjayn nora Ises}$
τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις
'The wind blows where it wishes and you hear its sound'
 - Mk 13.7 $\text{Ayl yor}\mathit{\acute{z}am} \mathbf{Isic'\acute{e}k' paterazmowns} \text{ ew } \mathbf{hambaws paterazmac'}$
ὅταν δὲ ἀκούσητε πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων
'And when you hear about wars and about news of wars...'

Appendix: *matowc'anem* 'to bring near' with [+anim] goal/recipient

- Mt 9.2 *matowc'in ar na andamaloyc mi*
προσέφερον **αὐτῷ** παραλυτικὸν
"They brought to him a paralytic."
- Mt 22.19 *matowc'in nma dahekan mi:*
οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν **αὐτῷ** δηνάριον
"They brought him a denarius."
- Difference due to object? 'putting a paralytic in front of him' vs 'handing him a denarius'.