



# CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD

KEITH BROWN • SARAH OGILVIE



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OF THE WORLD

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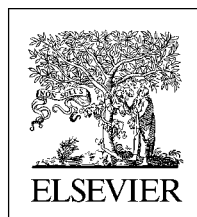
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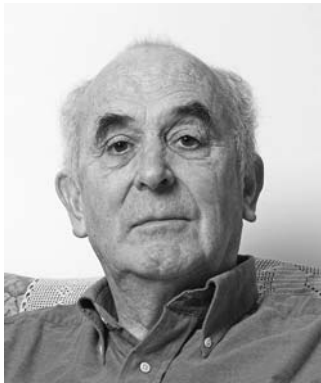
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**Keith Brown** was Editor-in-Chief of the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Elsevier, 2006). He is now an Associate Lecturer in the Faculty of English at Cambridge. From 2007 he has been President of the Philological Society. From 1990 to 1994 he was President of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain, and he has been a Member of Council of the Philological Society since 1998. He is author of *Linguistics Today* (Fontana, 1984) and co-author, with Jim Miller, of *Syntax: A Linguistic Introduction to Sentence Structure* and *Syntax: Generative Grammar* (Hutchinson, 1981). Keith was joint editor of *Concise Encyclopedia of Linguistic Theories* and *Concise Encyclopedia of Grammatical Categories* (Pergamon Press, 1997 and 1998), *Common Denominators in Art and Science* (Aberdeen University Press, 1983) and *Language, Reasoning and Inference* (Academic Press, 1986).



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## Armenian

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'Armenian' actually refers to several languages, including Standard Eastern and Western Armenian, Middle (/Medieval/Cilician) Armenian, and Classical Armenian, as well as Zok, formerly spoken by the Armenian inhabitants of southeastern Nakhichevan; Kistinək, spoken by the Armenian inhabitants of Musaler, Turkey; Kesbənuək, spoken by the Armenian inhabitants of Kesab, Syria; Homshetsma or Homshetsnak (referred to as Hemsince in Turkish), spoken by the Hemshinli of northeast Turkey and the Hamshen Armenians of the Black Sea coastal regions of Abkhazia and Russia; and dozens of other mutually unintelligible variants of Armenian originally spoken in Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Georgia, Abkhazia, Russia, and Israel. Lomavren, the language of the Boshā (or Posha) gypsies of Turkey

and Armenia, draws its grammar from the Erzerum dialect of Armenian but its lexicon is mostly of Indic origin; it therefore is not clear whether or not the language should be classified as a form of Armenian. All employ the Armenian alphabet (created by Mesrob at the beginning of the 5th century) except for the Turkish forms of Homshetsma, which normally appear only in oral contexts, but in recent years have begun to show up in Turkish orthography in collections of word lists from minority groups in Turkey, lyrics on CDs, and the like.

Armenian belongs to the Indo-European family, and is commonly believed to be most closely related to Greek and Indo-Iranian. (For instance, all three share a prohibitive particle \**me*: (Greek *me*.; Sanskrit *ma*.; Armenian *mi*) and the imperfect third-person singular augment \**e*- (as in Greek *e-pher-e*, Sanskrit *a-bhar-a-t*, Armenian *e-ber* '(s)he/it carried'). Many more such parallels are discussed in Clackson, 1994.) Because of its many loans from various Middle Iranian languages, especially Parthian, Armenian

was thought to be an Iranian dialect until Heinrich Hübschmann demonstrated in 1875 that it was a distinct branch of the Indo-European family. Scholars disagree on how the Armenians came to historical Armenia, the eastern half of present-day Turkey centered around Lake Van and Mount Ararat; some believe they came southward from the Russian steppe, others believe they and the Hittites came eastward from Greece, and others suggest they moved only a short distance from an original Indo-European homeland in the Transcaucasus. It is most likely that this settlement occurred in the second millennium B.C. The earliest mentions of the Armenians occur in the inscriptions of the Achaemenid Persian king Darius (6th century B.C.) and the Greek historian Herodotus (5th century B.C.)

The earliest written records of the Armenian language date from the 5th century A.D. shortly after the conversion of the Armenians to Christianity in the 4th century led to the creation of an Armenian alphabet by Mesrob around 401 and a systematic program of translating the books of the Bible. The language of the earliest translations was Classical Armenian (also called *grabar*, ‘written [language]’), which continued as the preferred literary form of Armenian until the 19th century, when it was supplanted by the three modern literary dialects.

In linguistic terms Armenian is notable for its significant divergences from Proto-Indo-European, particularly in terms of pronunciation and vocabulary. Some of the more striking phonological changes are the development of a rich set of affricates (*ts*, *dz*, etc.), the loss of final syllable rimes (e.g., PIE *\*worgʷom* ‘work’ > Classical Armenian *gorts*), the change of initial *\*dw* to *erk-* (e.g., PIE *\*dwo*: ‘2’ > Classical Armenian *erku*), and the change of original *\*w* to *g*. Most striking in the vocabulary of Armenian is the rarity of words inherited from Indo-European and the overwhelming predominance of words of unknown origin. Unsurprisingly, native IE words survive primarily in the core vocabulary: *mayr* ‘mother’ < *\*ma:ter*, *hayr* ‘father’ < *\*pater*, *kʰoyr* ‘sister’ < *\*swesor*, *kov* ‘cow’ < *\*gwows*, *tun* ‘house’ < *\*domos*, *em* ‘I am’ < *\*esmi*. The remainder of the lexicon is drawn primarily from Parthian, and to a lesser extent Greek and Syriac (q.v. Hübschmann, 1895); several hundred and perhaps as many as several thousand words are of unknown origin, most likely having come from Urartian, Hurrian, and other now-extinct autochthonous languages. Armenian also incorporated large numbers of Arabic words following the expansion of the Arabs in the Middle East in the 7th century, and the spoken language absorbed thousands of Turkish words following the arrival of Turkic tribes in Anatolia beginning in the 11th century.

Though there are dozens of mutually unintelligible varieties of Armenian, all share certain features. Proto-Armenian had four verbal conjugations, characterized by theme vowels -e-, -i-, -a-, and -u- (*ber-e-m* ‘I carry’, *χawsim* ‘I speak’, *χndam* ‘I rejoice’, *zgen-u-m* ‘I wear’); most modern dialects (including the Western and Eastern literary languages) have completely or partially lost the -u- conjugation, and standard Eastern Armenian has merged the -i- conjugation into the -e- conjugation. There were originally three morphologically distinct sets of personal endings for verbs – present, imperfect, and aorist – which were used in combination with additional tense and aspect markers to form the various tenses and moods. The system of nominal morphology in Proto- and Classical Armenian was rich, preserving the IE nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, ablative, and locative cases in both singular and plural (but the IE dual was lost); there were at least eight different declensions, distinguished primarily by different theme vowels. This system was significantly reduced by the medieval period; Middle Armenian and the modern varieties now use the singular endings for the plural as well, and have only one productive declension, formed from parts of the original -i- and -o- declensions. With the exception of pronouns, the inventory of cases has significantly reduced as well: the accusative has merged with the nominative, and the genitive with the dative. Proto-Armenian had several participial forms, but only two of these survive into the modern period: the original past participle -eal is now -el in the Eastern dialects, and the original present participle -oϝ is now used as a present participle and for relativizing subjects of subordinate clauses, as in the following Standard Western Armenian example:

ɑjn	kʰirkʰ-ə	kʰən-oϝ	gin-ə
that	book-def.	buy-pres.ppl.	woman-def.
‘the woman that is buying that book’			

The Western dialects have replaced -eal with -ats (> -adz) for past participles; all modern dialects also use the -ats participle to relative non-subjects of subordinate clauses, as in the following Western example:

(kʰu)	kʰən-adz	kʰirkʰ-ətʰ
2sg <sub>GEN</sub>	buy-past.ppl.	book-2sg <sub>POSS</sub>
‘the book that you (have) bought’		

Most of the changes between Classical and Modern Armenian first appear in the medieval period in Middle Armenian documents, associated with the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which flourished from the 11th to 15th centuries A.D. in what is now south-central Turkey. Middle Armenian is generally

Western in character, though it shares many features with Eastern dialects as well. It inverts the pronunciation of the Classical Armenian plain voiced and voiceless stops (e.g., *berem* ‘I carry’ > *perem*, *pat* ‘wall’ > *bad*), a feature that is preserved in the modern Cilician dialects of Zeytun and Hadjin but differs from the Western and Eastern literary varieties (Eastern preserves the Classical system [bɛrɛm]); Western devoices and aspirates the original voiced series [p<sup>h</sup>ɛrɛm]). The Cilician kingdom was in close contact with several Crusader kingdoms; as a result, it borrowed a significant number of words from Crusader French, most famously what comes out as the standard Western form for ‘mister’, *baron*.

In the 19th century Armenian nationalists became interested in developing a literary form of the modern language. This was brought about by excising most Turkish forms from the regional dialects and replacing them with new borrowings from the classical language. The intellectual center around which the new Western literary language was organized was Constantinople (modern Istanbul), though many features of the standard dialect (including the pronunciation of the consonants) do not come from the Armenian dialect originally spoken there. The same holds for Eastern Armenian with respect to Erevan. The relationship between the two modern literary dialects is somewhat complicated; there are many grammatical differences (e.g., W *gə sɪrɛm* vs. E *sɪrum ɛm* ‘I love’, W *bidi sɪrɛm* vs. E *kəsɪrɛm* ‘I will love’ (note that the same form is used for the present in W and the future in E) and lexical differences (e.g., W *dʒɛrmag* vs. E *spitak* ‘white’; W *həs* vs. E *ɛstɛɛ* ‘here’, W *bɛdk<sup>h</sup>aran* vs. E *zuk<sup>h</sup>aran* ‘bathroom’, W *havgit<sup>h</sup>* vs. E *dzu* ‘egg’), and most Western speakers have difficulty understanding Eastern, but many Eastern speakers are relatively comfortable with the Western dialect. This asymmetry in mutual intelligibility most likely results from the fact that large numbers of speakers of Western dialects fled to Eastern Armenia following the Russo-Turkish war in 1828 and the Turkish Genocide in 1915–1920, whereas before the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 most Western Armenians had little or no exposure to Eastern Armenian. The fact that there is some mutual intelligibility in both directions can also be linked to the fact that the literary dialects tend to borrow the same forms from Classical Armenian, and (at least in recent decades) employ the same newly coined words.

The destruction of the Armenian homeland and more than a million Armenians by the Ottoman government in 1915–1920 rendered most nonstandard varieties of modern Armenian moribund; with few exceptions the Armenians in the diaspora (primarily Lebanon, France, and notably in the Los Angeles area

**Table 1** The Armenian alphabet, with IPA equivalents for eastern pronunciation

ա	a	ծ	ts	ջ	dʒ
բ	b	կ	k	ռ	r
գ	g	հ	h	ս	s
դ	d	ձ	dz	վ	v
ե	(j)ɛ	ղ	ɣ	տ	t
զ	z	ճ	tʃ	ր	r
է	ɛ	մ	m	ց	ts <sup>h</sup>
ը	ə	յ	j	ու	u
թ	t <sup>h</sup>	ն	n	փ	p <sup>h</sup>
ժ	ʒ	շ	ʃ	ք	k <sup>h</sup>
ի	i	ո	(v)o	օ	ɔ
լ	l	չ	tʃ <sup>h</sup>	ֆ	f
խ	χ	պ	p		

of the United States) speak only Standard Western Armenian. There were approximately 6.8 million speakers of Armenian in 1996, but all varieties of the language except for Standard Eastern Armenian are in immediate danger of extinction as very few diaspora Armenians under the age of 30 speak the language fluently.

Whereas Classical Armenian was relatively Indo-European in its syntactic and morphological structure, all varieties of Modern Armenian are typologically much closer to Turkish and the Balkan languages. Compare, for instance, the formation of relative clauses, exemplified by ‘I saw the bird that was singing in the tree’: Classical – *tesɪ əz-t<sup>h</sup>ərtʃ<sup>h</sup>un-ən* or *ɛtɛr i veraj tsar-ɔj-n* (I.saw specific-bird-definite that was.-singing in on tree-genitive-definite), Western – *dzar-i-n vərə jɛrk<sup>h</sup>ɔɛ t<sup>h</sup>ərtʃ<sup>h</sup>un-ə dəsa* (tree-gen.-def. on singing bird-def.I.saw). Western Armenian has undergone additional influence from Turkish and Greek (cf. *sɛpɛɔin* ‘carrot’, *istak<sup>h</sup>ɔz* ‘lobster’, *bant<sup>h</sup>ɔg* ‘hotel’), whereas Eastern Armenian has been heavily influenced by Russian (e.g., the standard form for ‘potatoes’ is *k<sup>h</sup>art<sup>h</sup>ɔfli*, and the word for ‘gay’ is *galubɔj*, from the Russian word originally meaning ‘sky blue’; the native word for ‘blue’, *kapujt*, cannot be used in this sense).

### The Lord’s Prayer in Different Varieties of Armenian, Rendered in the IPA Classical Armenian (Edzmiatsin ms. 229, 989 A.D.)

Հայր մեր որ յերկինս. սուրբ եղիցի անուն քո.  
եկեցէ արքայութիւն քո. եղիցին կամք քո որպէս  
յերկինս եւ յերկրի. զհաց մեր հանապազորդ  
սուր մեզ այսար. եւ թող մեզ զպարտիս մեր.  
որպէս եւ մեք թողումք մերոց պարտապանաց.  
եւ մի տանիր զմեզ ի փորձութիւն. այլ՝ փրկեա  
զմեզ ի չարէ. զի քո է արքայութիւն եւ զարութիւն  
եւ փառք յաւիտեանս ամէն:

hajr mer or jerkinəs. surb eʁits<sup>h</sup>i anun k<sup>h</sup>o. ekets<sup>h</sup>e  
ark<sup>h</sup>ajut<sup>h</sup>iwn k<sup>h</sup>o. eʁits<sup>h</sup>in kamk<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>o orpes  
jerkinəs ew jerkri. əzhats<sup>h</sup> mer hanapazord tur mez  
ajswar. ew t<sup>h</sup>oʁ mez əzpartis mer. orpes ew mek<sup>h</sup>  
t<sup>h</sup>oʁumk<sup>h</sup> merots<sup>h</sup> partapanats<sup>h</sup>. ew mi tanir əzmez  
i p<sup>h</sup>ordzut<sup>h</sup>iwn. ajst<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ərkeə əzmez i t<sup>h</sup>arə. zi k<sup>h</sup>o ɛ  
ark<sup>h</sup>ajut<sup>h</sup>iwn ew zawrut<sup>h</sup>iwn ew p<sup>h</sup>ark<sup>h</sup> jawiteanəs.  
amen.

## Standard Eastern Armenian

Հայր մեր, վոր յերկնքում ես. սուրբ թող լինի  
քո անունը. քո թագաւորութիւնը թող գա. քո  
կամքը թող լինի յերկրի վրա, ինչպէս վոր յերկնքում ե.  
մեր հանապազօրյա հացը տուր մեզ  
այսօր. յեւ թող մեզ մեր պարտքերը, ինչպէս յեւ  
մենք ենք թողնում մեր պարտականներին. յեւ  
մի տար մեզ փորձութեան, այլ փրկիր մեզ շարից.  
վորովհետեւ քոն ե թագաւորութիւնը յեւ  
զորութիւնը յեւ փառքը համիտյանս. ամէն:

hajr mer, vor jekənk<sup>h</sup>um ɛs. surp<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>oʁ lini k<sup>h</sup>o  
anunə. k<sup>h</sup>o t<sup>h</sup>agavərut<sup>h</sup>junə t<sup>h</sup>oʁ ga. k<sup>h</sup>o kamk<sup>h</sup>a  
t<sup>h</sup>oʁ lini jerkri vəra, intj<sup>h</sup>pes vor jekənk<sup>h</sup>um ɛ. mer  
hanapazordja hats<sup>h</sup>ə tur mez ajswar. jev t<sup>h</sup>oʁ mez mer  
partk<sup>h</sup>erə, intj<sup>h</sup>pes jev menk<sup>h</sup> enk<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup>oʁnum mer  
partakan:erin. jev mi tar mez p<sup>h</sup>ordzut<sup>h</sup>jan, ajl  
p<sup>h</sup>arkir mez t<sup>h</sup>arits<sup>h</sup>. vorəvhetev k<sup>h</sup>o: ɛ  
t<sup>h</sup>agavərut<sup>h</sup>junə jev zərut<sup>h</sup>junə jev p<sup>h</sup>ark<sup>h</sup>a  
havitjanəs. amen.

## Standard Western Armenian

Ով հայր մեր որ երկինքն ես, քու անունդ սուրբ  
ըլլա. քո թագաւորութիւնդ գա. քո կամքդ ըլլա  
ինչպէս երկինքը՝ նոյնպէս երկրի վրայ. մեր  
ամէն օրուան հացը այսօր ալ մեզի տուր, մեզի ներք  
մեր պարտքերը ինչպէս մենք ալ կը ներենք մեր  
պարտականներուն. ու մեզ փորձութեան մի  
տանիր, հապա շարէն մեզ ազատ. քանզի քուկդ  
է թագաւորութիւնը եւ զորութիւնը ու փառքը  
յաւիտեանս: Ամէն:

ov hajr mer vor jergink<sup>h</sup>n ɛs, k<sup>h</sup>u anunət<sup>h</sup> surp<sup>h</sup> ə:lə.  
k<sup>h</sup>u t<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>avərut<sup>h</sup>junə t<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>a. k<sup>h</sup>u gamk<sup>h</sup>ət<sup>h</sup> ə:lə  
intj<sup>h</sup>bes jergink<sup>h</sup>ə, nujnbes jergri vəra. mer amen  
orvan hats<sup>h</sup>ə ajswar al mezi dur, mezi nere mer  
bardk<sup>h</sup>erə intj<sup>h</sup>bes menk<sup>h</sup> al gə nerenk<sup>h</sup> mer  
bardagan:erun. u mez p<sup>h</sup>oʁts<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>jan mi danir, haba  
tj<sup>h</sup>arən mez azadə. k<sup>h</sup>anzi k<sup>h</sup>ugət<sup>h</sup> ɛ  
t<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>avərut<sup>h</sup>junə jev zərut<sup>h</sup>junə u p<sup>h</sup>ark<sup>h</sup>a  
havidjanəs. amen.

## Zeytun Dialect (Cilicia, South-Central Turkey)

ov mej bobə vj ijgink<sup>h</sup>n-is, k<sup>h</sup>u anunət surp t<sup>h</sup>oʁna.  
k<sup>h</sup>u t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>evvyt<sup>h</sup>ynət t<sup>h</sup>uʁ kə. k<sup>h</sup>u gəmk<sup>h</sup>ət t<sup>h</sup>uʁ la,  
intj<sup>h</sup>bes ijgink<sup>h</sup>ə, inden el ijgejin vijo. mij amen  
əjven hoʁts<sup>h</sup>ə ɛsəej miz tuj. jev miz neje mij bojdk<sup>h</sup>ə,  
tj<sup>h</sup>oʁts<sup>h</sup> vor mink<sup>h</sup> el gə nejink<sup>h</sup> mij bojdk<sup>h</sup>i dejerun.  
jev miz p<sup>h</sup>oʁtsut<sup>h</sup>an mi danəj, habə tj<sup>h</sup>oʁjen miz  
azadə. tj<sup>h</sup>unk<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>in: ɛ t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>evvyt<sup>h</sup>ynə jev  
zojut<sup>h</sup>ynə u p<sup>h</sup>oʁk<sup>h</sup>ə. havidjanəs havidenits<sup>h</sup>. amen.

## Kesab

əv mier bybə, surp ɛʁni k<sup>h</sup>ɛ ənun,  
k<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>evvyrut<sup>h</sup>ynə t<sup>h</sup>oʁ kə, k<sup>h</sup>ɛ iradət<sup>h</sup>ət ən:ə,  
tj<sup>h</sup>ytshəʁ k<sup>h</sup>i igənk<sup>h</sup>ə t<sup>h</sup>əʁzen el ikədinə, mier amen  
evyr hoʁts<sup>h</sup>ə dur miez ɛs evyr ɛl, mier bərdk<sup>h</sup>ə miezi  
bəʁəʁlamuʁ əʁə tj<sup>h</sup>ytshəʁ k<sup>h</sup>i mienk<sup>h</sup> ginonk<sup>h</sup>  
mieronts<sup>h</sup>ə, vɛ zəzmiez p<sup>h</sup>oʁtsyt<sup>h</sup>jan mi danə, habə  
xələsə i tj<sup>h</sup>arjen, tj<sup>h</sup>ynk<sup>h</sup>i k<sup>h</sup>ɛ ɛ t<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>evvyrut<sup>h</sup>ynə,  
tj<sup>h</sup>erəfə, k<sup>h</sup>uvet<sup>h</sup>ə, havidicinəs havidonits<sup>h</sup> amən.

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