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SeDyL – UMR 8202

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présentée par

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Relative clauses in colloquial Armenian: Syntax and typology

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List of abbreviations

1	first person/proximal
2	second person/medial
3	third person/distal
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
AH	Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy
AOR	aorist
AUX	auxiliary
DAT	dative
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
DEST	destination
CAUS	causative
CONJ	conjunction
DO	direct object
DOM	differential object marking
EA	Eastern Armenian
EANC	Eastern Armenian National Corpus
EXPL	expletive
FPT	future participle
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GR	grammatical relation
IMP	imperative
IND	indefinite article
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
IO	indirect object
IPT	imperfective participle
LOC	locative
MC	matrix clause
N	noun
NEG	negation, negative
NF	non-finite
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NPT	negative participle
O	object
OBL	oblique
ORC	object relative clause
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessor
PP	adpositional phrase
PPT	past participle
PRS	present
PST	past
PTC	particle
PVB	preverb
RC	relative clause
RPT	resultative participle
RP	relative pronoun
S	subject
SEA	Standard Eastern Armenian
SG	singular
SPT	subject participle
SRC	subject relative clause
SUBJ	subjunctive
SWA	Standard Western Armenian
TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
WA	Western Armenian

Transliterations

The Armenian alphabet is transliterated as follows, based on the pronunciation of Standard Eastern Armenian:

ա	a	է	e	խ	x	ճ	č	ջ	č’	տ	t	և	(y)ev
բ	b	ը	ə	ծ	ts	մ	m	պ	p	ր	r	օ	o
գ	g	թ	t’	կ	k	յ	y	ղ	j	ց	ts’	ֆ	f
դ	d	ժ	ž	հ	h	ն	n	ռ	ŕ	ու	u		
ե	(y)e	ի	i	ձ	dz	շ	š	ս	s	փ	p’		
զ	z	լ	l	ղ	ɣ	ո	(v)o	վ	v	ք	k’		

Examples taken from sound recordings are rendered phonetically, with the same system used for the transliterations: aspirated consonants are marked with ’, e.g. p’ (aspirated p) vs. p (unaspirated p). Vowels found in dialects that do not exist in standard Armenian are rendered ä (IPA æ), ï (ɯ), ö (œ), ü (y).

Résumé de thèse

Ce travail constitue une étude de typologie sur la syntaxe des propositions relatives en arménien moderne (informel) parlé en République d'Arménie. Son objectif est non seulement de proposer une analyse syntaxique ainsi qu'une classification des stratégies possibles de relativisation en arménien, avec comme cadre (théorique) les propositions théoriques et typologiques concernant les propositions relatives, mais aussi l'identification des facteurs déterminants associés à la distribution de ces différentes stratégies. Selon Andrews (2007 : 206), « une proposition relative est une proposition subordonnée qui délimite la référence d'un syntagme nominal (SN) en spécifiant le rôle du référent de ce SN dans la situation décrite par la proposition relative (PR) ». Il existe dans le monde une variété considérable de structures syntaxiques employées pour effectuer cette fonction selon le constituant auquel la PR est attachée, la stratégie morphologique de subordination ou même la forme et la position de l'élément relativisé. Il a été prouvé que les stratégies de relativisation sont fortement influencées par le contact de langues, avec lequel différentes types de structures sont associées à des aires géographiques déterminées. Le choix de la stratégie de relativisation est fortement lié aux propriétés syntaxiques, notamment la relation grammaticale de l'élément relativisé au sein de la PR, de même que les propriétés sémantiques et pragmatiques de la construction en question.

L'arménien constitue une branche indépendante de la famille linguistique indo-européenne pour lesquelles nous avons des données écrites depuis le Vème siècle avant J-C. Il était originellement parlé dans l'aire correspondant à l'Anatolie de l'Est, au Caucase du Sud et à l'Iran occidental, une aire d'une importante diversité linguistique où un grand nombre de langues génétiquement non apparentées (notamment indo-européennes, turciques et sud-caucasiennes, mais aussi d'autres familles linguistiques caucasiennes ainsi que certaines langues sémitiques) ont été dans des situations de contact durables. Cela a conduit à la diffusion de caractéristiques ayant une dimension aréale, ce qui inclut différentes stratégies de relativisation (Gandon 2016). L'arménien a été en contact avec des langues iraniennes à travers toute son histoire documentée ainsi qu'avec, dans une moindre mesure, des langues caucasiennes et le grec. Antérieurement, il est presque sûr qu'il était en contact avec des langues désormais éteintes d'Anatolie. Plus récemment, il a été en contact intense avec les langues turciques (en particulier avec le turc et l'azeri) et, depuis le XIXème siècle, dans les régions qui faisaient partie de l'Empire russe et de l'Union soviétique, avec le russe. Jusqu'au XVIIIème siècle, la production écrite utilisait généralement l'arménien classique, formé sur la variété littéraire du Vème siècle avant JC et exhibant des différences significatives par rapport à la variété parlée. À partir du XVIIIème siècle, l'arménien moderne s'est standardisé à travers deux formes distinctes : l'occidentale, formé sur la variété parlée d'Istanbul, et l'oriental, une variété artificielle basée sur les dialectes parlé à Tbilisi et l'Arménie contemporaine, mais différant de manière significative de ceux-ci. Les études actuelles de typologie et de syntaxe sur l'arménien oriental, comme celle de Dum-Tragut (2009), se concentrent généralement sur la variété standard (littéraire). La présente étude se focalise sur la variété parlée, celle-ci n'ayant pas fait l'objet d'études

concernant les stratégies de relativisation. En outre, elle est plus susceptible de montrer des effets du contact de langue et du changement diachronique, ce qui peut être masqué dans la variété littéraire formelle en raison des normes prescriptivistes.

On estime généralement que l'arménien classique utilisait des propositions relatives finies introduites par des pronoms relatifs (Hewitt 1978, Meyer 2013). Cette stratégie est toujours utilisée dans la variété moderne. Les travaux actuels comme Dum-Tragut (2009) donnent l'impression qu'il pourrait s'agit de la principale stratégie de relativisation en arménien moderne (et est présenté en tant que tel dans Gandon (2016)). Cependant, deux autres stratégies sont également utilisées : l'une avec des propositions finies introduites par une particule subordonnante invariable (une conjonction), l'autre avec des formes non-finies (participiales). Ces deux stratégies sont considérées comme étant des innovations récentes : la conjonction invariable est dérivée diachroniquement d'un pronom relatif désuet tandis que les participes sont dérivés de formes nominales et adjectivales qui n'étaient généralement pas utilisées pour la relativisation dans la variété classique. Il est possible que le contact de langue ait favorisé l'émergence de ces nouvelles stratégies, celle de la relativisation participiale ayant été avantagée par le contact avec les langues turciques, dans lesquelles c'est la stratégie dominante, tandis que celle comprenant les PR finies introduites par un subordinateur invariant aurait été favorisée par le contact avec les langues iraniennes, dont la stratégie principale est de ce type. Les trois types de stratégie se trouvent dans d'autres langues de l'aire Anatolie orientale – Caucase – Iran occidental, et sont dominants dans différentes sous-sections de cette aire. Il est donc possible que ce choix de stratégie soit affecté par le contact de langues ou des facteurs géographiques. Pour cette raison, des locuteurs de différents dialectes, de différentes aires géographiques et avec différentes expériences de contact de langues ont été choisis pour prendre part à cette étude.

Un autre type de facteur pouvant affecter le choix de stratégie de relativisation est celui des relations grammaticales. La hiérarchie d'accessibilité de Keenan & Comrie (1977) classe les relations grammaticales selon le niveau de facilité et de fréquences des propositions relatives dans lesquelles l'élément relativisé joue le rôle en question :

Sujet > Objet direct > Objet indirect > Oblique > Génitif > Objet de comparaison

La hiérarchie d'accessibilité de Keenan & Comrie (1977: 66)

Lehmann (1986) et d'autres auteurs ont observé que l'une des manifestations de la hiérarchie d'accessibilité est le fait que, quand une langue peut choisir entre différentes stratégies, la moins complexe et moins explicite soit restreinte à des rôles haut placés dans la hiérarchie. Les PR participiales, qui engagent des formes verbales réduites et ne présentent pas l'élément relativisé au sein de la PR, peuvent être considérées comme étant moins complexes et explicites que les PR finies. Dans certaines grammaires de l'arménien littéraire, notamment celle de Kahukyan (1974), il est reconnu que les formes participiales sont utilisées seulement si l'élément relativisé

joue le rôle de sujet ou d'objet direct du participe. Cependant, dans la grammaire d'Abeghyan (1912), qui contient des exemples d'œuvres littéraires plus anciennes – parmi lesquels certaines pourraient être qualifiées de non-standards –, l'on trouve des exemples de propositions relatives participiales dans lesquelles l'élément relativisé a le statut d'oblique (ablatif et objet postpositionnel).

Sakayan (1993) confirme que, dans certaines circonstances, les PR participiales peuvent être utilisées pour des éléments relativisés ayant des rôles autres que ceux de sujet ou d'objet direct. Au vu de ses données, leur distribution constitue une exception à la généralisation universelle proposée par Keenan & Comrie (1977) selon laquelle une stratégie donnée doit occuper une poste fixe dans la hiérarchie. En effet, il apparaît que les PR participiales peuvent être utilisées pour certains types d'obliques (notamment les expression spatiales et temporelles), mais pas pour l'objet indirect. Dum-Tragut (2009), pour sa part, propose une distribution discontinue englobant le sujet, l'objet direct et le génitif. Par conséquent, la distribution des PR participiales en arménien est d'un intérêt significatif dans le domaine typologique étant donné qu'elle contredit un universel largement accepté. Des rapports conflictuels au sujet de la distribution de ces formes nécessitent d'autres recherches.

Comme il a été mentionné précédemment, la variété parlée courante a été choisie par opposition au langage littéraire, et ce, en raison des effets des règles conservatrices et artificielles qui pourraient masquer les effets du contact de langue et des changements diachroniques. Afin de déterminer les éventuels facteurs géographiques ou les facteurs liés au contact de langues, des informateurs de différentes régions d'Arménie et avec différents historiques de contact de langues ont été choisis. Les enregistrements audio de production langagière spontanée ont été tout d'abord choisis comme le sujet principal de cette étude, étant donné qu'ils représentent la production langagière naturelle, sans aucune modification, et qu'ils permettent l'analyse des modèles d'intonation – un élément crucial pour la classification et l'interprétation d'une construction donnée. Cependant, afin d'engager une recherche plus détaillée des facteurs associés au choix d'une stratégie donnée, il est apparu nécessaire d'utiliser des méthodes plus précises. C'est d'autant plus vrai que les propositions relatives, dont les rôles sont placés à un bas niveau dans la hiérarchie d'accessibilité, sont peu fréquentes dans le discours. Un corpus oral de production spontanée dont la taille correspondrait aux limites de ce projet n'aurait donc pas pu contenir suffisamment d'exemples permettant une analyse détaillée des facteurs favorisant leur usage. En outre, il est utile de pouvoir examiner les contextes parallèles qui varient selon un facteur donné. De ce fait, les stimuli ont été réalisé par élicitation afin d'obtenir, parmi nos données, des propositions relatives ayant des combinaisons de propriétés précises. Afin de faciliter l'analyse, les résultats ont été enregistrés dans une base de données comprenant des filtres liés à des propriétés typologiquement pertinentes.

Ces résultats fournissent une image de la typologie de la relativisation en arménien assez différente de ce qui apparaît dans les études basées sur la variété écrite. Dans les travaux comme celui de Dum-Tragut (2009), l'arménien est présenté comme ayant des propositions relatives finies avec un pronom relatif comme étant la stratégie dominante, ce que Creissels (2005) a décrit comme postnominale, avec les PR participiales

prénominales comme étant une stratégie alternative généralement restreinte à la relativisation de sujets et d'objets directs. Cependant, une analyse plus fine de la variété parlée montre que cette image est incomplète voire inexacte.

En premier lieu, cette image ne prend pas compte du fait que la conjonction (subordinateur commun invariable) *vor*, dont l'existence est reconnue par Dum-Tragut (2009 : 292), puisse être utilisée pour introduire des propositions relatives au même titre que d'autres types de propositions subordonnées. Cette conjonction est même préférée, dans certaines circonstances, aux constructions avec les pronoms relatifs (PR). Ce modèle se retrouve dans de nombreuses langues d'Europe et en géorgien. Le fait qu'il ait été omis par certaines études est dû à la difficulté de distinguer la conjonction *vor* du pronom relatif *vor*, étant donné que le premier est diachroniquement dérivé du second et qu'il a la même forme que le pronom relatif nominatif singulier. Néanmoins, dans les constructions où l'élément relativisé doit apparaître dans un cas qui n'est pas le nominatif, il y a un contraste clair entre les formes avec le pronom relatif *vor*, comprenant un marquage casuel en (1), de celles avec la conjonction *vor*, qui n'en a pas, comme dans l'exemple (2) :

(1)	*Vorov*	*usanoɣ-ner-i*	*gəravor-ner-n*	*em*
	qui.INSTR	étudiant-PL-GEN	contrôle-PL-DEF	être.1SG.PRS
	stuge,	*eti*	*matit*	*er,*
	vérifier.PPT	DEM2.NOM	crayon	être.3SG.PST
	gərič'	*č'er.*		
	stylo	NEG.être.3SG.PST		

« C'est avec un stylo que j'ai corrigé les contrôles des étudiants, pas avec un crayon » (Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(2)	*Nəranov*	*vor*	*hianum*	*es,*	*eni*
	3SG.INSTR	CONJ	admirer.IPT	être.2SG.PRS	DEM3.NOM
	xelats'i-n	*e*			
	intelligent-DEF	être.3SG.PRS			

« Celui que tu admires est celui qui est intelligent »

(Mush: Shirak)

Cependant, contrairement à ce qui a été proposé pour certaines de ces langues, où les pronoms relatifs ont été décrit comme étant des éléments purement littéraires qui n'appartiennent pas vraiment à la grammaire de la variété parlée, en arménien parlé, les pronoms relatifs semblent être la stratégie privilégiée sous certaines circonstances (le pronom relatif datif animé *um* et le locatif *vorteɣ* sont préférés à l'indéclinable *vor*). Ils présentent fréquemment des caractéristiques phonétiques et morphologiques non-standards. Ces faits montrent qu'il existe une partie vivante de la langue parlée, y compris des formes dialectales, qui ne peut pas être décrite par des éléments littéraires artificiels dont la présence dans le discours parlé est probablement lié à de l'hypercorrection ou à une influence littéraire.

Le fait que les PR avec pronom relatif soit plus productives en arménien parlé que dans les variétés parlées de la majeure partie des langues d'Europe qui en possèdent est probablement lié à une autre propriété des propositions relatives finies ; propriété ignorée par les études typologiques précédentes sur l'arménien. Il s'agit du fait que, du moins dans la majorité des cas, les PR finies – que ce soit celles avec pronom relatif ou celles introduites par la conjonction *vor* – sont jointes à la proposition principale (PP) plutôt qu'enchâssées au syntagme nominal de l'élément qu'elles modifient. Cela signifie que l'élément relativisé n'est pas extrait de sa position dans la PR pour occuper sa place dans la PP ou à la périphérie de la PR, comme il aurait été convenu pour les PR enchâssées (exemple (3)). Au contraire, on assiste à des représentations séparées de l'élément relativisé dans la PR et dans la PP, connectés par une anaphore plutôt que par une dépendance syntaxique, représentée en (4). Les PR peuvent être positionnées à gauche ou à droite. Ce positionnement dépend principalement de la structure informationnelle de l'élément relativisé au sein de la PP. Les PR placées à gauche sont préférées pour les éléments thématisés et les PR à droite pour les éléments focalisés. Parmi nos données, tous les exemples dans lesquels une PR finie constitue une information nouvelle montrent des PR positionnées à gauche.

(3) $[_{MC}...[_{NP}N_i[_{RC}...gap_i...]]...]$

(4) $[_{RC}...NP_i...][_{MC}...NP_i...]$ or $[_{MC}...NP_i...][_{RC}...NP_i...]$

Il existe plusieurs arguments démontrant que les PR finies de l'arménien sont épithètes et non pas des structures enchâssées. Le premier est que l'élément relativisé peut apparaître comme syntagme nominal saturé dans les deux propositions (5,6), ce qui est impossible dans les constructions enchâssées, où il ne peut y avoir plus d'un nom lexical représentant le même élément au sein du même syntagme nominal : le nom peut apparaître dans la PP (pour les PR enchâssées prénominales ou postnominales) ou dans les PR (pour les PR enchâssées circumnominales), mais pas dans les deux à la fois *(*la fille [la fille qui se tient là] est grande, *la fille [qui la fille se tient là] est grande*).

(5) *Vor* *ayjka* *xayalis* *šat*

quel	fille.GEN	jouer.IPT	beaucoup
nver	*havak'ver,*	*ayn*	*ayjik-ə*
cadeau	récupérer.PASS.PST.SUBJ	DEM3	fille-DEF
ənker-ner-i	*mijin*	*partsenum*	*er.*
ami-PL-GEN	parmi	se.vanter.IPT	être.3SG.PST

« Pendant le jeu 'Quelle fille a récupéré le plus de cadeaux ?', cette fille avait l'habitude de se vanter parmi ses amies »

(Abeghyan 1912: 286)

(6)

En	*ənkeroj-ə*	*or*	*šat*
DEM3	ami.DAT-DEF	CONJ	beaucoup
č'i	*sire,*	*en*	*ənker-ə*
NEG.être.3SG.PRS	aimer.NPT	DEM3	ami.NOM.DEF
kəse	*yes*	*kugam.*	
PRS.dire.3SG	1SG.NOM	PRS.venir.1SG	

« L'ami qu'il n'aime pas beaucoup, cette ami a dit : « Je viens ».

(Gyumri)

Un deuxième argument est la possibilité d'avoir une subtile divergence sémantique entre les syntagmes nominaux, comme en (7), où l'on voit une divergence de nombre (singulier dans la PR, pluriel dans la PP), ce qui aurait été impossible s'il y avait eu les représentations syntaxiques du même élément.

(7)

Um	*hats'*	*em*	*təve,*	*asel*
qui.SG.DAT	pain	être.1SG.PRS	donner.PPT	dire.PPT
en	*hats'-ət*	*anspaŕ*	*lini.*	
être.3PL.PRS	pain-POSS2	inépuisable	être.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	

« Celui à qui j'ai donné du pain, ils disent « Que ton pain soit inépuisable » »

(Gyumri)

Un troisième argument est qu'ils permettent la relativisation multiple, ce qui aurait été impossible si les PR avaient été syntaxiquement attachées à l'un des éléments relativisés (de Vries 2002, Srivastav 1991, Bhatt 2003):

(8)	*Vor*	*tari-n*	*vor*	*mirk'-ə*	*šat*	*eɣe*
	quel	année-DEF	qui	fruit-DEF	beaucoup	être.PPT
	parz	*e*	*dranits'*	*enk'*	*patraste.*	
	clair	être.3SG.PRS	DEM2.ABL	être.1PL.PRS	préparer.PPT	

« Celui dont le fruit était abondant chaque année, évidemment nous avons fait des choses de ça »

(Mush: Vardenik)

Il est probable que la raison pour laquelle les PR finies en arménien aient été considérées comme étant des constructions postnominales soit que, parmi les deux configurations les plus fréquentes engageant la conjonction *vor*, cette dernière suive directement l'élément relativisé. L'une de ces configurations implique une PR positionnée à gauche avec l'élément relativisé précédent *vor*. L'autre implique une PR positionnée à droite avec l'élément relativisé en position finale de la PP. Quand la marque casuelle de l'élément relativisé est la même dans les deux propositions et que la représentation dans la proposition suivante est zéro, ce qui est généralement le cas, ces constructions ont l'apparence superficielle d'une PR enchâssée postnominale, comme en (9) et (11). Cependant, l'existence de formes similaires aux représentations d'un SN dans chaque proposition avec la marque casuelle appropriée montre que nous avons affaire à des constructions adjointes.

[$_{RC}$N vor …] [$_{MC}$…]

(9)	[*Ayn*	*ašakertə,*	*vor*	*janaser*	*e*
	DEM3	étudiant.DEF	CONJ	travailleur	être.3SG.PRS
	yev	*ir*	*gorts-ov*	*e*	*parapum,*]
	et	3SG.GEN	travailler-INSTR	être.3SG.PRS	pratiquer.IPT
	[0]	*aŕajadem*	*klini.*		
	3SG.NOM	avancé	FUT.être.3SG		

« Les étudiants travailleurs et qui s'exercent (Lit. qui pratiquent leur travail) vont faire des progrès »

(Abeghyan 1912: 281)

(10)	[*Ayn*	*ban-ə,*	*vor*	*k'o*	*už-its'*	*ver*
	DEM3	chose-DEF	CONJ	2SG.GEN	force-ABL	au-dessus
	e,]	*nran-its'*	*heŕu*	*kats'.*		
	être.3SG.PRS	DEM3-ABL	loin	se.tenir.IMP.SG		

« Éloigne-toi des choses qui sont au-dessus de tes forces »

(Abeghyan 1912: 159)

[MC …N] [vor… RC]

(11)	*Yuri*	*Gagarin-ə*	*hele*	*aŕač'i*	*mart'-ə*	[*vor*
	Yuri	Gagarin-DEF	être.PPT	premier	personne-DEF	CONJ
	t'əŕe	*kozmos*.]				
	voler.PPT	cosmos				

« Yuri Gagarin a été la première personne à voyager dans le cosmos »

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(12)	*hetov*	*pumbus*	*k'ar*	*unek'*	*mek',*
	ensuite	ponce	pierre	avoir.1PL.PRS	1PL.NOM
	[*or*	*šat*	*hetak'ərk'ir*	*patmuts'yun*	*uni*
	CONJ	très	intéressante	histoire	avoir.3SG.PRS
	at	*pumbus*	*k'ar-ə*]		
	DEM2	ponce	pierre-DEF		

« Et ensuite nous avons une pierre ponce qui a une histoire très intéressante »

(Agulis: Paraka)

Cette analyse permet également une interprétation simple des structures utilisant ce qu'on appelle « l'attraction inverse », où l'élément relativisé apparaît dans la PR précédent le connecteur propositionnel, comme en (13):

(13)	*an*	*mən*	*gərič-ov*	*or*	*yes*
	DEM3	un	stylo-INSTR	CONJ	1SG.NOM
	usanoɣ-ner-i	*gəravor-ner-n*	*em*	*stugats,*	*karmir*
	étudiant-PL-GEN	épreuve-PL-DEF	être.1SG.PRS	corriger.RPT	rouge
	guyn-i	*a*	*elats*		
	couleur-GEN	être.3SG.PRS	être.RPT		

« Le stylo avec lequel j'ai corrigé les copies des étudiants était rouge »

(Agulis: Paraka)

Cette construction est problématique si elle est analysée comme contenant une PR postnominale enchâssée, étant donné que le nom déterminé est au cas de la PR et non pas de la PP. Cependant, si elle est analysée comme impliquant une PR jointe à gauche, tandis que l'élément relativisé n'est pas exprimé dans la proposition matrice, ce n'est aucunement problématique. Cette analyse est confirmé par l'existence de formes avec une représentation manifeste de l'élément relativisé dans la proposition matrice tout comme dans la proposition relative, comme en (6). Kiparsky (1995) est arrivé à la même conclusion en étudiant des constructions similaires en vieil anglais, tout comme Bianchi (2000) pour le latin et d'autres langues.

Ce n'est pas étonnant que l'arménien possède des PR jointes, étant donné que ces dernières sont fort présentes parmi les langues de la région (Gandon 2016). Fiorentino (2007) soutient que les constructions jointes (correlatives) avec pronom relatif sont préférées aux constructions enchâssées en russe parlé, et ce, contrairement au russe écrit – ce qui implique que le premier est plus facile à traiter que le second. Cela pourrait expliquer pourquoi les PR avec pronom relatif sont souvent utilisées en arménien parlé, contrairement aux langues d'Europe dans lesquelles les PR avec pronom relatif sont des constructions enchâssées qui présentent certaines difficultés d'analyse, ce qui décourage leur utilisation dans la variété parlée. En arménien comme en russe, les PR avec pronom relatif peuvent apparaître sous la forme de propositions jointes, ce qui ne présente pas les mêmes problèmes.

Fiorentino (2007) affirme que la raison pour laquelle les PR introduites par un connecteur de proposition indépendante sont préférées à celles avec un pronom relatif est que la première permet l'utilisation d'un résultatif, soit un élément pronominal qui occupe la position d'un actant de l'élément relativisé dans la PR. Cette utilisation du résultatif permet d'expliquer pourquoi l'ordre des constituants dans la PR est le même que dans une proposition indépendante, alors que les PR apparaissent généralement en début de proposition, avec un trou syntaxique dans la position actancielle de l'élément relativisé, ce qui fait que la construction est plus difficile à analyser. Cependant, en arménien, la situation est différente. Tout d'abord, comme nous l'avons vu, la représentation de l'élément relativisé dans les PR a un statut de SN complet, que ce soit dans les propositions introduites par un pronom relatif (5) ou dans celles introduites par la conjonction *vor* (6). Même si le terme « résultatif » n'est ici pas le plus approprié, même quand l'élément en question a un statut pronominal, comme en (10), il s'agit d'un SN indépendant plutôt que d'un élément pronominal nécessaire au marquage d'un trou laissé par un mouvement syntaxique, comme il a été envisagé pour les résultatifs des structures enchâssées (*cf.* de Vries 2002, etc.). Dans les PR introduites par la conjonction *vor*, cet élément a la même forme qu'il aurait eu dans une proposition indépendante (SN complet, pronominal ou zéro), et ce, en rapport au degré d'accessibilité cognitive associée au référent. Quant il est manifeste, il occupe généralement la position initiale d'une PR, précédant *vor*, ce qui est prévisible pour un élément intrinsèquement thématique (exemple (13)). Cependant, si un thème plus proéminent apparaît, celui-ci peut apparaître en position initiale tandis que l'élément relativisé le suit – tout en précédent la partie principale du prédicat – comme thème secondaire (exemple (14)) :

(14)	*mer-ə*	*vor*	*ərexi*	*həmar*	*kanfet*	*a*
	mère-DEF	CONJ	enfant.GEN	pour	sucrerie	être.3SG.PRS
	aŕel,	*et*	*ərexe-n*		*urxats'el*	*a*
	acheter.PPT	DEM2	enfant-DEF	être.content.PPT	être.3SG.PRS	

« L'enfant à qui la mère a acheté une sucrerie était content »[1]

(Lori: Shnogh)

Ces caractéristiques positionnelles (généralement en première position, comme en (13), parfois en seconde position, comme en (14)) sont partagées par les pronoms relatifs en arménien. Comparons (15), où le pronom relatif est en position initiale, et (16), où le pronom relatif est en second position : dans les deux cas, nous avons

1 C'est une construction ambiguë qui pourrait également être interprétée comme « si/quand/depuis que la mère a acheté une gourmandise pour l'enfant, ce dernier était heureux ».

affaire à des SN indépendants représentant un élément thématique et qui occupent des positions typiques des éléments thématiques des propositions indépendantes.

(15)	*Um*	*hats'*	*em*	*təve,*	*asel*
	qui.SG.DAT	douleur	être.1SG.PRS	donner.PPT	dire.PPT
	en	*hats'-ət*	*anspaŕ*	*lini.*	
	être.3PL.PRS	douleur-POSS2	interminable	être.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	

« Celui à qui j'ai fait mal, ils disent « Que votre douleur soit interminable »

(Gyumri)

(16)	*zoravar-i*	*um*	*təvel*	*e,*	*anəndhat*
	général-DAT	qui.DAT	donner.PPT	être.3SG.PRS	constamment
	yerevi	*spasoɣakan*	*vičak*		
	probablement	attendant	état		

« Celui qu'il a donné au général [est] probablement constamment en train d'attendre »

(Gyumri)

Le fait que les pronoms relatifs ne soient pas sujets aux effets (de sous-jacence) d'« îlot » syntaxique liés à l'extraction depuis les propositions subordonnées (propositions en *wh-* finies en (17), SN complexe en (18)) sous-entend qu'ils ne réalisent pas le même type d'opération de déplacement proposé pour les pronoms relatifs antéposés dans les langues d'Europe :

(17)	*vin*	*el*	*vor*	*gidum*	*em*
	qui.DAT	PTC	CONJ	savoir.IPT	être.1SG.PRS
	um	*mot*	*a*	*ašxatum,*	*yerevi*
	qui.DAT	proche	être.3SG.PRS	travailler.IPT	probablement
	t'e,	*naxarar*	*a*		
	CONJ	ministre	être.3SG.PRS		

« Et celui dont je sais avec qui il travaille est probablement un ministre »

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(18)

vin	*el*	*vor*	*šef-ə*	*həraman*
qui.DAT	PTC	CONJ	patron-DEF	ordre
a	*təve*	*vor*	*ašxatavarts'-ə*	*havəlna*
être.3SG.PRS	donner.PPT	CONJ	salaire-DEF	augmenter.3SG.PRS.SUBJ
yerevi t'e	*šef-i*	*č'əsiruk*	*mart'kants'-its'*	*mek-n*
probablement	patron-GEN	NEG.aimer.RPT	gens-ABL	un-DEF
a	*ele,*	*tents'*	*vor*	*mi*
être.3SG.PRS	être.PPT	donc	CONJ	one
vat	*ban*	*ase,*	*šef-i*	*sərt-its'*
mauvais	chose	dire.PPT	patron-GEN	coeur-ABL
a	*hele,*	*ətu*	*xəmar*	*el*
être.3SG.PRS	être.PPT	DEM2.GEN	pour	PTC
barts'rəts're				
augmenter.PPT				

« Celui pour qui le patron a donné l'ordre que son salaire soit augmenté, [le client] était probablement quelqu'un que le patron n'aimait pas ; [le serveur] a donc dit quelque chose de mal [au client] et ça a plu au patron, et c'est pourquoi il l'a augmenté »

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

Par conséquent, d'un point de vie syntaxique, il n'existe aucune raison d'affirmer que les PR avec pronoms relatifs soient plus complexes que celles introduites par la conjonction *vor*, étant donné que les deux incluent des représentations de SN de l'élément relativisé occupant des positions typiques des actants thématiques, soit les mêmes positions qu'ils auraient occupé dans une proposition indépendante.

Cependant, comme il a été mentionné précédemment, dans plusieurs types d'environnements, les PR introduites par la conjonction *vor* semblent être privilégiées par rapport aux constructions avec pronom relatif. En outre, même dans les cas où les pronoms relatifs sont utilisé, il existe des indices, dont des cas fréquents d'erreur à l'oral, indiquant que ces constructions sont en effet plus difficiles à analyser que celles avec seulement la conjonction *vor*. Il s'avère que ce qui est problématique ici réside dans la nature duale des pronoms relatifs, comme connecteurs propositionnels et comme éléments anaphoriques, alors que pour les constructions avec la conjonction *vor* apparaît un schéma du type un morphème/une fonction (un connecteur propositionnel ainsi que la représentation de l'élément relativisé, tous deux étant séparés l'un de l'autre), ce qui semble être plus facile à analyser. Les locuteurs ont donc tendance à interpréter les pronoms relatifs soit comme des connecteurs propositionnels, soit comme des éléments anaphoriques, puis à ajouter d'autres éléments afin de les distinguer de l'autre rôle. Qu'il existe des pronoms relatifs analysés comme des connecteurs de propositions indépendantes plutôt que comme des représentations de l'élément relativisé entraîne l'existence de deux cas de figure. Le premier implique des pronoms relatifs apparaissant toujours au nominatif, et ce, alors que le rôle de l'élément relativisé dans la PR nécessite un cas différent :

(19)	*isk*	*ov*	[for *um*]	*hangist*	*e*
	et	qui.NOM	[qui-DAT]	calme	être.3SG.PRS
	t'oɣum,	*na*	*kəkaroɣana*	*ir*	*už-er-ov*
	partir.IPT	3SG.NOM	FUT.être.capable.3SG	3SG.GEN	force-PL-INSTR
	aŕač'	*gənal*	*yev*	*šarunakel*	*sovorel*
	devant	aller.INF	et	continuer.INF	apprendre.INF

"Et celui qui part en paix sera capable de faire des progrès grâce à ses propres efforts et continuera d'apprendre"

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

Le second fait référence aux constructions où le pronom relatif est accompagné d'une représentation séparée de l'élément relativisé au cas de la PR :

(20)	*isk*	*en*	*yerkr-um*	*vorte*	*ašxatum*	*em*,
	et	DEM	pays-LOC	où	travailler.IPT	être.1SG.PRS
	parz	*a*	*vor*	*ed*	*yerkir-n*	*el*
	clair	être.3SG.PRS	CONJ	DEM	pays-DEF	PTC

əndzi	*lik'ə*	*p'orts'*	*təvuk*	*kəlni*
1SG.DAT	complet	expérience	donner.RPT	FUT.être.3SG

« Et [concernant] le pays où je travaille, il est clair que ce pays m'aura aussi donné beaucoup d'expérience »

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

Dans ces deux cas, il s'avère que la morphologie liée aux pronoms relatifs a été sur-imposée sur un élément ayant le statut syntaxique de connecteur propositionnel invariable, telle que la conjonction *vor*. Un parallèle très clair avec des erreurs dans la production orale de plusieurs langues d'Europe ont été notamment présentées par Fiorentino (2007), celui-ci les interprétant comme des exemples d'hypercorrection, étant donné que les pronoms relatifs sont des formes littéraires prestigieuses tandis que les constructions avec un subordinateur invariant sont considérées comme étant plus familières dans la plupart des langues. Il est probable que ce type de facteur sociolinguistique joue également un rôle en arménien. Il pourrait également s'agir d'un changement syntaxique du pronom relatif vers un connecteur de propositions indépendantes, ce qui commencerait à affecter d'autres pronoms relatifs comme *vor*.

Face à ces types de constructions, considérées comme des erreurs de discours, il est plus courant de trouver les formes dans lesquelles le pronom relatif est interprété comme étant un élément purement anaphorique et nécessitant la présence d'un connecteur propositionnel séparé, la conjonction vor (exemple 21). Ces formes sont acceptables dans la variété standard. Par ailleurs, des équivalences ont été relevées dans d'autres langues de la région (Gandon 2016).

(21)	*Vorde*	*vor*	*himnakan*	*aprum*	*em*
	où	CONJ	surtout	vivre.IPT	1SG.PRS
	kapver	*em.*			
	attacher.PASS.PPT	être.1SG.PRS			

« Où je vis la plupart du temps, je me suis attaché [à cet endroit] »

(Mush: Shirak)

Or, même si les PR avec pronoms relatifs sont courantes dans la variété parlée – et ce, dans une plus large mesure que ce qui a été observé pour les langues d'Europe –, il existe des preuves d'une forte préférence pour les formes avec un subordinateur invariable ; subordinateur dont l'essor a commencé il y a fort longtemps et qui

est toujours en développement actuellement. Cette préférence semble être plus forte au sein des dialectes originaires d'Iran, comme le khoy, et plus faible ou absente en Arménie septentrionale (lori et gyumri). Cette différence implique que l'essor du subordinateur invariable soit favorisé par le contact avec les langues iraniennes parmi lesquelles il s'agit de la stratégie dominante. La présence d'autres langues utilisant des pronoms relatifs dans le Caucase méridional, vers le nord de l'Arménie, a pu contribué à une plus grande résilience de cette stratégie dans la région.

Dans certains dialectes, notamment ceux parlés en Turquie centrale et orientale et décrits par Mkrtchyan (2006), les formes participiales peuvent sans aucun doute être considérées comme étant la stratégie de relativisation privilégiée, représentant plus de 90% des PR apparaissant dans les textes fournis par Mkrtchyan (2006). Il est probable que le contact de langues ait joué un rôle dans la promotion de l'utilisation de plus en plus large des formes participiales, étant donné que la relativisation participiale est la stratégie privilégiée en turc et dans les autres langues turciques (même si c'est moins le cas en azéri). Il est également probable que le contact avec le turc ait été particulièrement important pour les dialectes décrits par Mkrtchyan (2006).

Les enregistrements collectés dans cette étude, qui incluent des dialectes parlés de nos jours au sein du territoire de la République d'Arménie, montrent tous une proportion significativement plus faible de l'usage de PR participiales par rapport aux textes de Mkrtchyan (1996) (40-60%). La variation de l'usage du participe parmi ces locuteurs, dont certains sont bilingues en azéri, ne semble pas avoir d'impact. En revanche, un facteur significatif semble être l'âge des locuteurs, étant donné que les personnes plus âgées utilisent non seulement un plus grand pourcentage de formes participiales par rapport aux PR finies, mais ils les utilisent également pour un plus grand nombre de relations grammaticales que les jeunes locuteurs, ces derniers ayant tendance à les restreindre au sujet et à l'objet direct des PR. On suppose que les jeunes locuteurs, dont l'éducation s'est faite entièrement dans l'Arménie indépendante, ont eu un plus haut degré d'exposition à l'arménien littéraire formel, d'où leur choix de stratégies de relativisation plus proche des normes littéraires. Cependant, même pour ces jeunes locuteurs, pour les sujets et certains objets directs des PR, la stratégie privilégiée implique les formes non-finies (participiales), ce qui a donné lieu, dans nos questionnaires comprenant des contextes à sujet et objet direct, à un taux de 100% de réponses non-finies. La distribution des PR participiales, qui sont des constructions moins complexes et explicites que les PR finies, ont été vues comme la manifestation de la hiérarchie d'accessibilité (*cf.* Lehmann 1986). Il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'elles soient restreintes aux rôles de sujet et d'objet direct, ce qui semble être le cas en arménien littéraire (Jahukyan 1974). Néanmoins, en arménien parlé, leur distribution, même si elle suit le même modèle général, est peu liée aux relations grammaticales. Cette situation est conforme aux affirmations d'études antérieures, théoriques comme expérimentales, pour lesquelles les relations grammaticales ne sont pas le facteur déterminant pour la relativisation.

Les tentatives d'explication des effets de la hiérarchie d'accessibilité ou des réflexes mécaniques de la relation grammaticale de l'élément relativisé au sein de la PR rencontrent toutes des problèmes conséquents. Celles qui s'appuient sur la distance linéaire entre un trou syntaxique et son occupant, comme pour Tarallo &

Myhill (1983), peuvent expliquer la préférence sujet > objet dans les langues ayant des PR postnominales et où le sujet précède l'objet dans l'ordre linéaire. En revanche, l'hypothèse ne tient pas pour les langues comme le turc qui a un ordre sujet – objet mais des PR prénominales, ou le malgache, qui a des PR postnominales mais un ordre objet – sujet. Néanmoins, il a été démontré que ces deux langues, comme d'autres ayant les mêmes propriétés, ont une forte préférence pour le sujet. D'autres approches s'appuyant sur la complexité des situations avec trou syntaxique/occupant ou de celles où la distance de dépendance est semblable, comme pour Hawkins (2004), permettent d'émettre des hypothèses qui ne sont pas infirmées par les données. Hawkins (2004) soutient que pour les PR sujets, la distance pertinente est entre l'occupant (le nom déterminé) et l'élément qui sous-catégorise l'élément relativisé dans la PR, normalement le verbe, tandis que pour les PR non-sujet il est également nécessaire d'accéder au sujet pour faire l'analyse grammaticale de la construction. Cette hypothèse permet de déterminer qu'en allemand, qui a des PR postnominales et un ordre SOV dans les PR (N[SOV]), il n'y aura aucune différence entre l'accessibilité du sujet et de l'objet des PR, étant donné que les deux éléments nécessitent un accès au verbe. Le degré de dépendance sera donc le même. Cependant, il existe de nombreuses preuves (Diessel & Tomasello 2005, Brandt *et al.* 2008 etc.) qui démontrent que l'allemand montre une préférence pour le sujet comparable à ce qui a été observé en anglais (N[SVO]). Une autre prédiction de cette théorie est le fait que les objets directs (OD) et indirects (OI) des ditransitifs auront le même degré d'accessibilité dans les langues SOV avec PR prénominales (S OI OD V]N), étant donné que les deux ont besoin d'accéder au sujet. Par conséquent, là encore, la portée des liens de dépendance sera la même. Plus généralement, il est surprenant de constater, en termes d'interprétation, les différences considérables liées à l'accessibilité entre des objets directs différents et des constructions pseudo-objets dans lesquelles il n'existe pas de couche structurelle supplémentaire, en particulier le fait que certaines constructions à objet direct aient le même niveau d'accessibilité que les sujets, tandis que d'autres sont bien plus problématiques (Mak *et al*. 2002, etc). Ces éléments inattendus impliquent donc qu'il existe d'autres facteurs à étudier.

Il a été avancé que la différence d'accessibilité de différentes PR objets (PRO) est la conséquence des propriétés d'éléments intervenant au sein du domaine occupant-trou syntaxique, notamment le sujet de la PR. Un facteur augmentant l'accessibilité des PRO est si le sujet est un pronom, notamment à la 1ère ou 2ème personne. Ce facteur a amené Gibson (1998) a affirmer que les facteurs d'impact qui ne sont pas de nouveaux référents discursifs n'ajoutent pas au coût de traitement. Cependant, Gordon *et al.* (2001) soutiennent que les noms propres sujets, qui représentent de nouveaux référents discursifs, augmentent également l'accessibilité des PRO, comme comparé à ceux avec des SN lexicaux sujets, ce qui sous-entend que le facteur décisif n'est pas le statut de nouveau référent discursif. D'après les analyses de certains générativistes (tels que Belleti *et al.* 2012 et Hamann & Tuller 2010), le facteur clé est la similarité en termes de caractéristiques formelles entre l'objet relativisé et le sujet de la PR du fait du principe de minimalité relativisée de Rizzi (un élément ayant des caractéristiques semblables à la cible va empêcher la formation d'un lien syntaxique entre les deux éléments).

Cela pourrait théoriquement être lié au fait que les sujets se manifestant sous la forme de pronoms ou de noms propres ne semblent pas interdire la relativisation des SN lexicaux objets de la même façon que pour les SN lexicaux sujets. Cette différence entre PR sujets et objets se retrouve dans un autre phénomène amplement documenté, à savoir le fait que les PRO dans lesquels l'objet est inanimé est reconnu comme étant comparable aux PR sujets (PRS) en termes d'accessibilité, tandis que ceux dont l'objet est animé exhibe plus de problèmes de production et de compréhension. Si l'on considère que le sujet est animé, ce lui-ci interviendra dans la formation d'un lien syntaxique entre la position objet [+animé] dans la PR et la dernière position de l'objet relativisé (à la limite de la PR ou dans la PP, selon la théorie), mais ne va pas poser de problèmes si l'objet exhibe des caractéristiques différentes du sujet, par exemple s'il est [-animé]. Notons que cette situation permettrait de déterminer que les PR des objets animés seraient problématiques seulement si le sujet avait été animé. Si le sujet est inanimé, il n'aurait pas empêché la formation d'un lien syntaxique. On se serait alors attendu à une accessibilité semblable à celle d'un sujet, comme pour les PR d'objets inanimés où le sujet est animé. Cependant, les données montrent que ce n'est pas le cas. Les PR d'objets animés avec sujet inanimé ne sont pas moins problématiques que les PR d'objets animés avec sujet animé, et peuvent même présenter des problèmes plus importants (Wu 2011, Traxler *et al.* 2002 etc.). En fait, ces études montrent que toutes les PR avec sujets inanimés sont problématiques, que ce soit pour les PR objets ou sujets. Cela signifie que la similarité entre sujet et objet n'est pas le facteur principal dans la différence d'accessibilité des constructions avec PRO.

Le fait que les constructions avec sujets inanimés et les PRO avec objets directs animés soient problématiques sous-entend que les modèles d'association rôle-référence sont ici le facteur principal, *i.e.* que les constructions dans lesquelles les différents éléments possèdent des propriétés référentielles typiquement (fréquemment) associées au rôle dans lequel ils apparaissent sont plus faciles à analyser. C'est l'essence même de l'universel de l'association rôle-référence de Haspelmath (2018), annoncé comme étant un exemple de traitement simplifié sur la base de la fréquence. De fait, on comprend mieux pourquoi les sujets pronominaux et les noms propres facilitent l'analyse, étant donné que ce type d'éléments apparaît fréquemment en position sujet. Une première généralisation serait que les constructions dans lesquelles le sujet est en position élevée dans la hiérarchie de Silverstein de proéminence cognitive tout en étant plus élevé que l'objet (si ce dernier est présent), sont plus faciles à analyser que celles où ce n'est pas le cas. Il s'agit ici du facteur principal derrière la préférence du sujet dans la relativisation. Une propriété essentielle des PR est que, du fait de leur fonction, elles sont intrinsèquement « sur » l'élément relativisé (Kuno 1976), i.e. l'élément relativisé constitue toujours le thème au sein de la PR. Le status thématique est l'un des facteurs qui contribue à la proéminence cognitive. Par conséquent, les éléments relativisés seront toujours haut placés dans la hiérarchie de Silverstein ; de même, les constructions où ils occupent le rôle de sujet seront plus faciles à analyser que les autres. Pour ces dernières, on suppose que de telles exceptions apparaîtraient s'il existait un autre élément dans la PR ayant un plus haut degré de proéminence cognitive que l'élément relativisé. Ceci explique pourquoi les PRO avec OD inanimé et sujet animé ou que celles avec OD à SN lexical et sujet pronominal ou à nom propre soient faciles à analyser.

Il s'avère que ce type d'effet basé sur la fréquence est plus puissant que celui basé sur la similarité pour l'ordre des constituants de base, une hypothèse avancée par Diessel & Tomasello (2005) pour expliquer la préférence du sujet dans les langues avec des PR postnominales et sujets initiaux, comme l'anglais et l'allemand (les PR sujets dans ce type de langues ont les constituants dans le même ordre que celui des PP, avec le référent du sujet précédent les autres constituants de la PR ; cependant, dans une PRO, l'objet précède les autres constituants). Cette théorie ne permet pas d'expliquer certaines exceptions à cette généralisation. Ces exceptions sont apparues dans nos données expérimentales pour lesquelles les locuteurs ont dû répété de mémoire une construction contenant une PR. En général, les locuteurs ont tendance à produire des PRS au lieu de PR non-sujets, « promouvant » l'élément relativisé en sujet. Cependant, il existe des cas de « dégradation » de sujets relativisés en OD, comme en (22) :

(22) *C'est l'homme que Pierre a vu dans le bus ce matin.*

pour *C'est l'homme qui a vu Pierre dans le bus ce matin*

(Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 888)

Des erreurs du même type sont observées en allemand. En outre, cet exemple est à l'encontre de ce à quoi l'on aurait pu s'attendre si le facteur déterminant avait été la préférence pour des sujets en position initiale, comme les auteurs suggèrent, et pour leur « très forte tendance à [exhiber un modèle] SN rel SN V > SN rel V (SN) » (Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 889), ce qui aurait donné comme résultat l'exact opposé :

(23)	NP	rel	NP	V >	NP	rel	V	(NP)
	l'homme	*que*	*Pierre*	*a vu >*	*l'homme*	*qui*	*a vu*	*Pierre*
	O		S	V >	S		V	O

Or, ce type de résultat est complètement en accord avec l'universel d'association rôle-référence, étant donné qu'il privilégie les constructions dans lesquelles l'élément avec un plus haut degré de proéminence cognitive (le nom propre « Pierre » par rapport au SN lexical « l'homme ») joue le rôle de sujet. En outre, l'attribution de la préférence pour le sujet comme similaire avec l'ordre des constituants de base au sein de la relativisation est problématique pour d'autres raisons. En effet, ce scénario ne permet pas d'expliquer la forte préférence pour le sujet existant dans des langues comme le malgache, qui a des PR postnominales mais le sujet en position finale, ou que les langues avec sujet en position initiale avec des PR prénominales, comme le turc, montrent également une préférence pour le sujet. Yip & Matthews (2007, etc.) soutiennent qu'il existe une possible préférence pour l'OD en cantonais ; langue se caractérisant également par des sujets en position initiale et des PR prénominales

semblables à l'ordre des constituants de base. Cependant, comme nous verrons ultérieurement, il existe des preuves contradictoires concernant la présence ou l'absence d'une préférence pour le sujet en chinois, ce qui n'est pas surprenant vu son faible rendement fonctionnel (voire même son absence de pertinence, selon LaPolla 1993) du statut de sujet syntaxique dans cette langue.

Les indices du chinois sont importants dans le contexte de manifestation de la préférence du sujet, à savoir la tendance à exprimer l'élément relativisé (thème) comme sujet syntaxique. Malgré le fait qu'il y ait une tendance typologique pour la propriété référentielle de thématicité à être associée au rôle syntaxique du sujet, cette association est bien plus forte dans certaines langues que dans d'autres. Or, l'on se serait attendu à ce que la préférence pour le sujet au sein de la relativisation soit plus forte dans les langues dans lesquelles l'association thème-sujet est forte plutôt que dans celles où elle est faible voire inexistante. Comme présenté par Keenan (1976), la catégorie du sujet syntaxique n'est pas une entité monolithique, mais plutôt un ensemble de propriétés généralement associées aux éléments ayant un thème pragmatique et/ou le rôle sémantique de l'agent, aucun des deux n'étant nécessaire ou suffisant pour catégoriser comme sujet l'élément en question. Ces propriétés incluent la position initiale, l'accord verbal ainsi que plusieurs propriétés de contrôle et de coréférence. En général, chaque verbe assigne le rôle de sujet syntaxique à un actant thématique particulier, celui-ci étant généralement, à la voix active, celui dont le rôle est le plus haut placé dans la hiérarchie thématique ; hiérarchie dont l'une des versions est présentée ci-dessous :

Agent > Patient > Destinataire > Bénéficiaire > Instrument > Lieu > Temps

Hiérarchie des rôles thématiques (Dik 1978: 76)

Néanmoins, de nombreuses langues possèdent des stratégies pour exprimer des actants autres que le sujet thématique comme sujet syntaxique – qui est généralement utilisé quand le thème principal n'est pas le sujet thématique. C'est par exemple le cas de la voix passive en anglais, où l'actant thème/patient d'un verbe transitif peut être exprimé comme sujet syntaxique, normalement quand il est plus thématique que l'agent. Dans les langues où ce type de procédé est courant, on se serait attendu à ce qu'il soit utilisé quand l'élément relativisé, soit le thème, n'est pas le sujet thématique. C'est bien ce qui a été observé dans des contextes expérimentaux prévus pour éliciter des PRO ; contextes où les PRS à la voix passive ont été fréquemment produites (Humphreys *et al.* 2016, Sanfelici *et al.* soumis etc.).

Dans certaines langues, en particulier les langues malayo-polynésiennes occidentales comme le malgache, les éléments thématiques, quel que soit leur rôle sémantique, sont invariablement exprimés comme sujets syntaxiques (et provoquent l'accord) par des procédés analogues au passif. Par conséquent, l'on se serait attendu à ce que tout élément relativisé puisse être promu en tant que sujet, ce qui est de fait obligatoire en malgache, où la relativisation est restreinte aux sujets. Dans d'autres langues comme le turc, on trouve des stratégies distinctes pour marquer le sujet thématique (par son accord verbal) et le thème (par sa position

initiale). Par conséquent, quand le sujet thématique ne coïncide pas avec le thème, cela ne pose aucun problème et le passif n'est pas fréquemment utilisé. Cependant, le turc possède une construction passive. Cette dernière est généralement utilisée quand le sujet thématique a un très faible taux de proéminence cognitive, par exemple quand il est générique ou non-référentiel (passif impersonnel). Dans la relativisation, on observe un phénomène analogue où les éléments relativisés qui ne sont pas des sujets thématiques sont « promus comme sujet » (en utilisant le participe sujet) quand le sujet thématique a une proéminence cognitive particulièrement faible (les « semi-sujets » de Haig (1998)). En chinois, il n'existe probablement pas de propriétés syntaxiques associées au statut du sujet thématique, contrairement au thème, et il n'existe pas de construction passive dans le sens d'une construction utilisée pour promouvoir les non-sujets thématiques à un statut de sujet syntaxique (Li & Thompson 1976). La majorité voire la totalité des manifestations de proéminence syntaxique sont associées au statut de thème, ce qui est distinct du rôle thématique (en effet, le thème n'a pas besoin d'avoir un rôle thématique dans l'action dénotée par le verbe). Nous ne verrons donc pas de « promotion en sujet » d'éléments relativisés en chinois, du moins pas dans le domaine syntaxique. Nous avons évoqué les manifestations de la hiérarchie d'accessibilité (HA) montrant une tendance pour l'élément relativisé – traité comme un référent thématique et donc cognitivement proéminent – à être exprimé ou interprété comme sujet syntaxique, ce qui peut être analysé comme un exemple de l'universel d'association rôle-référence de Haspelmath (2018). Ce cas de figure n'apparaît pas en chinois car la notion de sujet syntaxique comme étant distincte du thème a un rendement fonctionnel très faible voire inexistant. Par conséquent, la préférence pour le sujet dans cette langue est faible. Les études expérimentales sur la relativisation ont produit des résultats mitigés. Cependant, des manifestations d'une préférence pour le sujet ont été observées en chinois, ce qui inclut une tendance, parmi la production d'énoncés élicités, à altérer la sémantique de la construction afin que l'élément relativisé (le thème) joue le rôle thématique le plus proéminent :

(24) « le chat qui est derrière le dinosaure »

pour « le chat que le garçon place derrière le dinosaure »

(Lau 2016: 66)

Or, de même que la tendance à assigner le rôle le plus proéminent syntaxiquement (le sujet) à l'élément ayant le plus haut degré de proéminence cognitive (généralement l'élément relativisé), il existe également une tendance, pour la proéminence cognitive, à être associée à la proéminence sémantique. Cette tendance peut entraîner des changements dans la manière par laquelle la situation dénotée par la PR est présentée, et ce, afin que l'élément relativisé joue le rôle le plus proéminent sémantiquement, comme en (24). Cependant, la préférence à exprimer l'élément relativisé à travers des rôles sémantiques particuliers dépend, dans une certaine mesure, des propriétés sémantiques référentielles de l'élément en question. De fait, les éléments relativisés animés seront habituellement exprimés comme agents tandis que les éléments inanimés, peu fréquents dans le rôle de l'agent,

seront normalement exprimés comme patients, l'autre rôle thématique le plus proéminent. C'est pourquoi les PR d'objets inanimés ont un haut degré d'accessibilité. Si l'élément relativisé possède des propriétés typiques d'un rôle sémantique particulier autre que l'agent ou le patient, comme le lieu ou le temps, alors l'association rôle-référence nous permet d'annoncer que les PR dans lesquelles il joue ce rôle (l'expression d'un endroit pour le lieu, celle d'un temps pour le temps) devraient avoir un relativement haut degré d'accessibilité.

Néanmoins, le lieu et le temps, généralement exprimés comme obliques ou comme constructions adpositionnelles, occupent une position peu élevée au sein de l'HA. De ce fait, même si l'élément relativisé possède des propriétés référentielles qui coïncident fréquemment avec ce rôle, la construction en question est susceptible de ne pas avoir le haut degré d'accessibilité associé à un agent animé ou un patient inanimé exprimant un élément relativisé. Lehmann (1986) a remarqué que les éléments inhérents à la valence du verbe ont généralement un plus haut degré d'accessibilité à la relativisation que ceux n'en ayant pas. Cette situation peut s'expliquer par le fait que les éléments les plus fortement impliqués dans l'action ou l'événement dénoté par le verbe (en particulier comme agent ou comme patient affecté) sont plus faciles à relativiser que ceux occupant des rôles plus périphériques. Cela fait sens au regard de la fonction des PR qui est de caractériser ou définir la référence de l'élément relativisé. Il est peu probable qu'un référent soit catégorisé dans une situation où il occupe un rôle significatif. Ce facteur pourrait prendre en compte le fait que l'accessibilité de la relativisation des possesseurs semble grandement varier, des sujets (comme en turc, où ce rôle est le second rôle plus fréquent après le sujet pour utiliser le participe « sujet ») jusqu'au moins haut placé de ces rôles (comme il a été mentionné par Diessel & Tomasello 2005 concernant des expériences en anglais et allemand). Certains possesseurs, tels que les possesseurs de parties du corps affectées, peuvent être considérées comme occupant un rôle proéminent car étant directement affectés par la situation dénotée par la PR (e.g. « l'homme dont la tête fait mal »). Cependant, d'autres ne sont absolument pas impliqués, comme dans les constructions utilisées par Diessel & Tomasello (2005), par exemple « l'homme dont le chat a attrapé une souris » : il est difficile d'imaginer une situation dans laquelle cet état de fait aurait été parfaitement utilisé pour caractériser le possesseur relativisé. Concernant les PR de temps et de lieu, Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007 : 23 pour les PR de temps) ont observé que celles-ci sont souvent utilisées afin de fournir un cadre à l'état de fait dénoté dans la proposition matrice, par exemple à l'aide d'adverbes, plutôt que d'identifier un référent pertinent pour le discours, ce qui est souvent le cas avec les PR. Il est donc probable que les propositions adverbiales soient privilégiées aux PR comme un moyen d'exprimer cette information, et que la fréquence des PR à l'écrit, où l'élément relativisé occupe de ce type de rôle, ce qui est l'une des mesures de l'accessibilité, soit faible.

Afin de vérifier les effets de l'accessibilité de la relativisation en arménien, des questionnaires ont été préparés dans des contextes fait pour éliciter des PR comprenant distinctes relations grammaticales ainsi que d'autres propriétés pertinentes. Trois mesures différentes ont été utilisées : le pourcentage d'énoncés avec PR non-finies (plus simples et moins explicites) par oppositions aux énoncés avec PR finies, où un pourcentage plus élevé de PR non-finies indique un plus haut degré d'accessibilité, le pourcentage d'énoncés cibles, *i.e.* les

énoncés dans lesquels l'élément relativisé joue le même rôle ciblé par le contexte, où un plus haut pourcentage cible indique un plus haut degré d'accessibilité, ainsi que le nombre moyen de PR produites par informateur par contexte, où un plus haut pourcentage d'énoncés avec PR signifie un plus haut degré d'accessibilité.
Pourcentage de formes non-finies :

Sujet (68%) > OD (48%) > Possesseur du sujet (24%) > Temps (16%) > Possesseur de l'objet (12%) > Instrumental (11%) > Locatif (7%), Destination (7%) > OI (4%), Ablatif (4%) > Objet adpositionnel (2%)

Le pourcentage d'énoncés cibles pour des contextes privilégiant des relations grammaticales particulières :

Sujet (animé) (100%), Instrumental (inanimé) (100%) > OD (inanimé) (99%) > Temps (98%) > Locatif (lieu) (96%) > Objet adpositionnel (bénéficiaire animé ou pseudo-OI) (88%) > Possesseur du sujet (83%), Sujet (inanimé) (83%) > OD (animé) (81%) > Instrumental (pseudo-OI humain) (76%) > Destination (69%) > Possesseur de l'objet (66%) > OI (63%) > Ablatif (animé) (58%) > Ablatif (inanimé) (33%)

Nombre moyen de PR par contexte par consultant :

Sujet (0.6) > OD (0.5), OI (0.5), Objet adpositionnel (bénéficiaire ou pseudo-OI) (0.5) > Ablatif (0.4), Locatif (0.4), Possesseur (0.4) > Instrumental (0.3), Temps (0.3) > Destination (0.2)

Nous pouvons donc voir que les résultats correspondent globalement à la hiérarchie d'accessibilité, avec une tendance générale pour le modèle sujet > OD > autre. Ils contredisent les prévisions de la théorie de Diessel & Tomasello (2005) attribuant la hiérarchie d'accessibilité à des effets de fréquence résultant de similarités avec l'ordre des constituants de base (notamment une préférence pour les sujets en position initiale). Plus précisément, les auteurs prévoient une préférence envers les PR objets par rapport aux PR sujets dans les PR prénominales de langues à sujet initial, étant donné que dans le premier cas ([S_V]O) le référent du sujet apparaîtrait en position initiale, tandis que dans le second cas ([S_V]O) le référent du sujet apparaîtrait en position finale. Cependant, la distribution des PR non-finies en arménien, qui possèdent ces mêmes propriétés syntaxiques pour l'ordre des constituants, montre une préférence pour les sujets sur les OD et d'autres relations grammaticales.

Concernant les théories s'appuyant sur l'impact de la hiérarchie d'accessibilité au niveau de la longueur et/ou de la complexité des domaines de dépendance, comme Hawkins (2004), il existe là encore des prévisions particulières qui ne sont pas confirmées par les données, notamment le fait que les OI et OD des ditransitifs auraient dû avoir le même niveau d'accessibilité que la relativisation participiale (prénominale), ou que les constituants pseudo-objets sans une couche structurelle supplémentaire comme une proposition prépositionnelle (PP), par exemple la destination d'« aller », qui n'est pas marquée, comme les OD inanimés, en arménien, aurait dû avoir le même niveau d'accessibilité que les OD. Plus généralement, la grande différence d'accessibilité entre différents référents ayant la même relation grammaticale, avec certains OD inanimés et les possesseurs de

parties du corps affectées montrant des degrés pseudo-sujets, avec des sujets inanimés plus proches des OD animés, suggère que le mécanisme derrière ces modèles ne dépend pas de la position structurelle. D'autres indices à ce sujet ont été retrouvés. Les différentes mesures d'accessibilité montrent des différences cruciales parmi elles, ce qui est compréhensible à la lumière de l'opération combinée de différents modèles d'association rôle-référence et une préférence générale pour les rôles proéminents (directement impliqués), mais moins si l'on envisage la hiérarchie d'accessibilité comme la conséquence directe de propriétés structurelles syntaxiques.

La hiérarchie des énoncés élicités mesure le pourcentage de cas où l'élément relativisé est « promus » à un rôle autre que celui qu'il occupe dans un contexte déterminé. L'exemple le plus connu de ce type de procédé implique la « promotion » d'éléments relativisés (notamment des animés) en sujet, ce qui est l'une des preuves les plus importantes de l'existence d'une préférence pour le sujet dans la relativisation parmi celles citées dans les études comprenant des corpus expérimentaux. Cette situation peut s'expliquer par la manifestation directe de l'universel d'association de rôle-référence d'Haspelmath (2018), où le référent ayant le plus haut degré de proéminence cognitive (généralement l'élément relativisé) est associé au rôle du sujet. Les autres cas de « promotion » relevées dans cette hiérarchie sont moins étudiés. Il peut d'agir ici de l'expression des référents d'un sujet inanimé comme OD (patient) ou l'instrumental, ainsi que la préférence d'un locatif statif pour des expressions spatiales impliquant un mouvement (les référents comprenant une destination ainsi que des éléments à l'ablatif – dans un contexte particulier – étaient souvent exprimés sous la forme d'un locatif). Ici, l'on voit apparaître clairement différents niveaux d'accessibilité de différents rôles, et ce, selon les propriétés référentielles de l'élément en question – le célèbre cas où les OD animés sont moins accessibles à la relativisation que les OD inanimés n'est qu'un exemple. C'est justement ce à quoi l'on se serait attendu concernant un modèle s'appuyant sur des associations sémantiques rôle-référence où il existe une tendance à exprimer l'élément relativisé à travers le rôle sémantique le plus proéminent – rôle typiquement associé à ces caractéristiques référentielles, dépendant également des propriétés du verbe : l'agent ou l'expérient pour les animés, le patient ou l'instrumental, localisation statique pour des lieux.

La hiérarchie du nombre des énoncés élicités comprenant des PR (par opposition aux constructions sans PR) pour des contextes ciblant des relations grammaticales particulières peut être analysée comme reflétant le degré avec lequel l'élément relativisé est vu comme directement impliqué dans l'état de fait exprimé dans la PR. Ce facteur pourrait être qualifié de « proéminence de rôle ». Il existe deux types distincts de proéminence de rôle. Le premier est la proéminence pragmatique, ou thématicité, c'est-à-dire le degré auquel l'énoncé peut être parfaitement interprété comme étant « sur » l'élément relativisé. Ce facteur implique le degré de proéminence cognitive de l'élément lui-même et dans la relation avec les autres éléments de la proposition, de même que le degré avec lequel il peut être conçu comme impliqué dans ou affecté par l'état de fait. La thématicité a été reconnue comme étant la propriété principale connectant les actants les plus proéminents (agent d'un verbe transitif ou actant unique d'un verbe intransitif) au sein des alignements nominatifs-accusatifs (Dryer 1986 : 841). Le second type de proéminence de rôle est la propriété sémantique consistant à être affecté, celle-ci étant

associée au rôle du patient, ce dernier étant le plus extrême exemple de référent dont l'existence dépend de l'action exprimée par le verbe. Ceci constitue la propriété principale de l'argument le plus proéminent (patient) au sein des alignements ergatifs-absolutifs (Dryer 1986 : 841). Le fait qu'il existe deux différents types de proéminence de rôles permet d'expliquer pourquoi il existe de telles différentes entre les « hiérarchies thématiques » proposées, dont certaines, telles que celle de Dik (1978), placent le patient comme seconde position la plus élevée après l'agent, alors que d'autres, surtout des hiérarchie de thématicité, placent le destinataire/bénéficiaire au-dessus. Le fait que ces deux types de proéminence influencent le nombre d'énoncés avec PR s'explique par le fait que les OD et IO (destinataires) ont le même niveau d'accessibilité par cette mesure, de même que les actants bénéficiaires articulés par d'autres moyens syntaxiques. L'existence de différentes constructions possessives montre les fortes différences d'accessibilité qui découlent de cette mesure, avec des contextes où le possesseur de parties du corps (thématiques comme affectées) parmi ceux avec le plus grand nombre de résultats avec PR, alors que les possesseurs n'y occupant aucun rôle et qui ne sont pas affecté par l'état de choses dénoté par les PR ont l'un des plus faibles taux (voire même zéro pour « le chien d'un homme est en train d'aboyer »). Tous les types d'éléments présents en périphérie, soit des rôles circonstanciels dans l'état des choses dénoté par la PR – ce qui inclue des expressions de temps et de lieu ayant un haut degré d'accessibilité grâce à d'autres mesures (car elles introduisent de fréquentes combinaisons rôle-référence) –, occupent des positions peu élevées dans la hiérarchie. Cela peut s'expliquer par l'expression de la fonction communicative des PR, celles-ci impliquent généralement d'identifier un référent qui deviendra proéminent dans le discours : il est moins probable qu'un référent soit identifié dans une situation où il joue un rôle insignifiant. En outre, lorsque les PR sont produites au niveau d'éléments jouant des rôles périphériques comme le temps ou le lieu, elles ont souvent une autre fonction, à savoir celle de fournir un cadre pour l'état des choses dans la PP (Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2007), ce qui est plus facilement réalisé par l'usage d'une proposition adverbiale que par une vraie PR.

Dans les modèles d'accessibilité des relativisations participiales, il est possible d'observé une opération combinée de tous ces facteurs. Les deux participes utilisés dans la relativisation, le participe sujet et le participe perfectif, sont essentiellement définis par les deux types de proéminence de rôles présentées dans le contexte du nombre d'énoncés avec PR ; cependant, des effets d'association rôle-référence sont également observées. La forme connue sous le nom de participe sujet était au départ un nom agent ; son usage était donc déterminé par un rôle sémantique. En arménien littéraire, son usage est défini par un rôle syntaxique, étant donné qu'il est utilisé seulement pour relativiser des sujets syntaxiques, et pas seulement des sujets agentifs. En arménien parlé courant, la propriété le définissant est la propriété pragmatique de thématicité. Il est utilisé pour relativisé des thèmes principaux, à savoir l'élément ayant le plus haut degré de proéminence cognitive dans la PR, même s'il ne s'agit pas du sujet. La généralisation principale concernant les usages non-sujets du participe sujet est que le sujet doit avoir un plus faible degré de proéminence pragmatique que l'élément relativisé (il n'existe pas d'exemples avec un sujet animé, agentif, non-générique qui soit saillant dans son contexte). La proéminence de l'élément relativisé en soi-même semble également jouer un rôle : pour tous les exemples, celui-ci est soit

animé ou, dans un certain sens, agentif (les seules occurrences de non-sujets inanimés étant relativisés avec le participe sujets concernent des instruments qui, étant donné la non-saillance du sujet, peuvent être considérés comme étant agentifs, d'une certaine façon).

La caractéristique la plus fortement associée à l'utilisation du participe perfectif est le statut de patient affecté. Les constructions comprenant le perfectif, impliquant une action complètement réalisée, ont tendance à se focaliser sur le résultat de l'action. Les participes perfectifs ont généralement le statut d'adjectifs, à savoir, des formes dénotant une propriété – dans le cas des participes perfectifs, il s'agit d'une propriété résultant d'une action réalisée. Les PR utilisant ce participe dénotent habituellement une entité ayant acquis une propriété résultant d'une action, et qui est donc passé par un changement d'état, d'où le rôle de patient (Haspelmath 1994). Elles sont généralement associées à des configurations prédictibles de l'association rôle-référence (constructions comprenant des patients animés et des agents inanimés qui ont été reconnus comme ayant une accessibilité réduite hors contexte), mais ces effets peuvent être atténués quand les rôles des référents sont rendus clairs par le contexte. Il existe deux types de cas parmi nos données où ce participe est utilisé pour relativiser des éléments n'ayant pas un rôle de patient. Pour le premier, l'élément déterminé par le participe est un agent relativisé d'une action qui a, de façon décisive, une référence au passé. Ce type d'utilisation peut être plus fréquent dans les dialectes où ce participe est utilisé avec des formes au passé perfectif régulier, ce qui fait que le lien avec le patient a été affaibli tandis que celui avec une référence au passé a été renforcé. Dans l'autre cas, le participe fait référence à un patient ou thème affecté, sans que celui-ci soit l'élément relativisé. L'élément crucial ici est le fait la relation entre le patient affecté et l'élément relativisé se doit d'être transparente : elle est utilisé pour les constructions possessives dans lesquelles la relation de possession peut être facilement déduite des propriétés sémantiques de l'élément en question (personne et parties du corps affectées, conducteur et voiture affectée), et pour les expressions dénotant l'époque ou le lieu, dont le rôle, là encore, est facilement déductible de leur propriétés référentielles. Dans le dernier cas, l'élément relativisé est identifié en le connectant à un événement affectant une autre entité. Cette identification est plus efficace si l'entité et l'événement sont fortement saillants. Par conséquent, cette stratégie est plus souvent utilisée avec les patients à la première personne patient ayant été fortement affectés par l'événement dénoté par le verbe (par exemple « l'endroit où je suis né », « l'année où j'ai eu un enfant »).

Toute théorie s'appuyant sur l'ordre des constituants et les relations grammaticales (incluant la distance linéaire et structurelle entre un trou syntaxique et son occupant, et l'effet de fréquence de la similarité à l'ordre des constituants) est confrontée à des problèmes liés à des langues se caractérisant par différents types d'ordre des constituants, ce qui ne semble pas correspondre à différents modèles d'accessibilité, par des différence significatives dans l'accessibilité de différents types de PRO, par des indices contradictoires concernant l'accessibilité du possesseurs et les constructions impliquant des OI, ainsi que par des résultats expérimentaux qui semblent contraires à la hiérarchie – impliquant la « rétrogradation » de sujets en OD. J'affirme que le facteur principal dans l'accessibilité de la relativisation n'est pas la relation grammaticale en elle-même, mais la

proéminence d'un rôle déterminé en termes pragmatiques (thème) et sémantique (patient affecté), en parallèle avec la caractéristique principale de l'actant le plus proéminent dans les alignements nominatifs-accusatifs (thématicité) et ergatifs-absolutifs (statut du patient). La proéminence du rôle est crucial dans la relativisation pour deux raisons. L'une résulte de la fonction d'une PR pour caractériser l'élément relativisé : un référent aura plus tendance à être efficacement caractérisé par un événement dans lequel il joue un rôle proéminent plutôt que dans un événement où il occupe celui d'un participant plus périphérique. Cela a généralement pour conséquence la préférence pour le sujet et l'OD, tout en expliquant pourquoi les possesseurs thématique ou affectés peuvent montrer un haut degré d'accessibilité. Ceci constitue le facteur principal derrière le nombre d'énoncés avec PR comme mesure d'accessibilité, et est également crucial pour la distribution des PR participiales (participes sujets (PTS) pour le thème, participes résultatifs (PTR) pour le patient affecté).

L'autre raison pour laquelle la proéminence des rôles est importante concerne une manifestation de l'universel d'association rôle-référence d'Haspelmath (2018), selon lequel une construction est plus facile à analyser si les référents occupent des rôles fréquemment associés à leur propriétés référentielles. Conséquemment à sa fonction, une PR est, de façon inhérente, une affirmation « sur » l'élément relativisé. De fait, cet élément possède toujours un statut thématique, soit l'une des manifestations de la proéminence cognitive. L'universel d'association rôle-référence prévoit que les constructions privilégiées seront celles dans lesquelles les éléments cognitivement proéminents occupent des rôles syntaxiquement et sémantiquement proéminents. En termes syntaxiques, cela a pour conséquence la fameuse préférence pour le sujet dans la relativisation. L'étendue avec laquelle un langage donné fait usage de procédés syntaxiques comme le passif pour exprimer des thèmes comme sujets syntaxiques est lié à la force de la préférence pour le sujet au sein de la relativisation (fort en malgache, faible en chinois). En arménien, la promotion des éléments relativisés en sujets par le biais du passif n'est pas spécialement courant, mais l'extension du participe sujet à des non-sujets hautement thématiques peut être interprété comme un exemple de ce type de procédé.

Cependant, pour les référents inanimés en particulier, la préférence pour le sujet varie selon les manifestations sémantiques de l'universel d'association rôle-référence. Il s'agit du lien entre les propriétés sémantiques référentielles des éléments dans la construction (pas seulement l'élément relativisé) et leurs rôles sémantiques : les référents animés seront plutôt associés à l'agent ou à l'expérient, les référents inanimés avec le patient, et avec l'instrument plutôt qu'avec l'agent, tandis que les expressions de lieu seront plutôt associées à des localisation statiques – plutôt que celles désignant un mouvement. Les propriétés sémantiques du verbe sont également pertinentes. Elles constituent le mécanisme principal derrière l'accessibilité en termes de pourcentage de formes cibles (tendance à « promouvoir » l'élément relativisé à un rôle plus fréquemment associé à ses propriétés référentielles). Il existe également des indices pertinents pour la distribution des PR participiales ; ces dernières étant défavorisées quand les référents montrent des modèles d'association rôle-référence atypiques (comme les objets animés ou les sujets inanimés), même si ces effets peuvent être atténués quand les rôles sont clarifiés par le contexte. Ces facteurs permettent un taux d'accessibilité à la relativisation bien plus cohérent

que les théories s'appuyant seulement sur les relations grammaticales, et ce, en expliquant non seulement la tendance sujet > OD > autres, mais aussi les constantes exceptions à celle-ci telles que la différence d'accessibilité entre OD animés et inanimés ainsi que les fortes variations de statut du génitif et de l'OI pour différentes versions de la hiérarchie. Le fait que certaines langues possèdent d'authentiques règles syntaxiques restreignant la relativisation à des relations grammaticales particulières est un exemple intéressant de la tendance, observée par Haspelmath (2008), pour les règles syntaxiques d'une langue donnée à correspondre aux tendances fonctionnelles d'autres langues. Le mécanisme derrière le lien est encore flou, mais en arménien, il s'avère que les propriétés sémantiques et pragmatiques sont les facteurs principaux derrière la distribution des formes participiales, tandis que les règles syntaxiques proposées qui les restreignent à des relations grammaticales particulières sont la conséquence de généralisations s'appuyant sur cette distribution, ce qui, au moins dans certains cas, semble être des constructions artificielles et prescriptives.

En conclusion, cette étude apporte de nouveaux éclaircissements sur non seulement la syntaxe et la typologie de la relativisation en arménien, mais aussi sur les facteurs contribuant à l'accessibilité de la relativisation en général. Des études antérieures ont prouvé que la stratégie de relativisation dominante en arménien implique l'usage de PR finies avec pronoms relatifs, celles-ci ayant été reconnues par les études typologiques sur cette aire (Creissels 2005, Gandon 2016) comme étant postnominales. Cependant, une analyse plus fine des propriétés des propriétés syntaxiques des PR finies en arménien montre que, au moins dans la majorité des cas, il s'agit de structures adjointes plus qu'enchâssées, ce qui fait que la catégorisation de « postnominale » est inappropriée. Le fait que les configurations courantes ressemblent superficiellement aux constructions postnominales enchâssées a entraîné de mauvaises catégorisations et a même pu entraîner l'apparition de véritables RC enchâssées découlant d'une réanalyse. Cette étude démontre également que, du moins dans certains dialectes, les PR avec pronom relatif ne peuvent pas être considérées comme étant la stratégie dominante. Un développement diachronique est en train de prendre place ; développement où une marque de subordination indéclinable s'est développée depuis le pronom relatif *vor*. Cette stratégie semble s'étendre au détriment des véritables constructions avec pronom relatif, notamment dans les dialectes originaires d'Iran, où ce type de stratégie est prédominant. Dans certains dialectes parlés en Turquie, la stratégie dominante consiste en des relativisations participiales, ce qui reflète la situation existant en turc.

Même au sein du territoire d'Arménie, où l'utilisation des formes participiales est considérablement moins fréquente, il existe la stratégie privilégiée pour le sujet et certains types de PR avec objet direct. Cependant, contrairement aux affirmations de certains grammaires, elles ne sont pas restreintes à ces rôles, mais sont finalement utilisées pour n'importe quelle relation grammaticale réunissant les conditions appropriées. Pour le participe sujet, qui était initialement un nom agent, la propriété principale est désormais la proéminence pragmatique dans le sens de la thématicité similaire à l'actant le plus proéminent dans les alignements nominatifs-accusatifs. Pour le participe perfectif, la propriété principale est la proéminence sémantique lié au fait d'être affecté, similaire à l'actant le plus proéminent dans les alignements ergatifs-absolutifs. L'accessibilité

de la relativisation participiale est également augmentée si la construction implique des modèles d'association rôle-référence fréquents. Ces mêmes propriétés (proéminence de rôle dans le sens de thématicité ou du fait d'être affecté, combinaisons d'association rôle-référence fréquentes) peuvent être vues comme détenant la clé de l'accessibilité de la relativisation en général, fournissant un témoignage plus complet et cohérent que les théories s'appuyant seulement sur les relations grammaticales. Les phénomènes d'accessibilité de la relativisation présentent un cas intéressant dans lequel les règles syntaxiques dans certaines langues correspondent à des tendances fonctionnelles dans d'autres. En arménien, les tendances fonctionnelles semblent être prioritaires ; la recherche, dans ce contexte, de modèles similaires dans d'autres langues devrait clarifier les relations entre les règles syntaxiques et les tendances fonctionnelles en général.

1 Introduction

This is a study of the syntax and typology of relative clauses in modern colloquial (informal) Armenian as spoken in the Republic of Armenia. It aims to propose a syntactic analysis and classification of the relativization strategies available in Armenian within the framework of existing theoretical and typological proposals concerning relative clauses, and to identify the decisive factors associated with the distribution of these different strategies. According to Andrews (2007: 206), "A relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of a NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC". There is considerable variety in the languages of the world concerning the syntactic structures employed to perform this function, as regards the constituent the RC is attached to, the morphological strategy of subordination, and the form and position of the relativized element. Relativization strategies have been shown to be highly sensitive to language contact, with different types of structures associated with particular geographical areas. The choice of relativization strategy has also been observed to be associated with syntactic properties, notably the grammatical relation of the relativized element within RC, and possibly also with semantic and pragmatic properties of the construction in question.

Armenian constitutes an independent branch of the Indo-European language family, with written records going back to the 5th century AD. It was originally spoken in an area corresponding to Eastern Anatolia, the southern Caucasus and western Iran, an area of important linguistic diversity, where a large number of genetically unrelated languages (notably Indo-European, Turkic and South Caucasian, but also other Caucasian language families and Semitic) have been in long-lasting situations of contact. This has resulted in the spread of features that could be considered to have an areal dimension, including different relativization strategies (see Gandon 2016). Armenian has been in contact with Iranian languages throughout its recorded history, and also, to a lesser extent, with Caucasian languages and Greek. In ancient times, it was almost certainly in contact with now-extinct languages of Anatolia. In more recent times, it has been in intense contact with Turkic languages (especially Turkish and Azeri), and, since the 19th century, in the parts of its range that formed part of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, with Russian. Until the 18th century, written production generally made use of Classical Armenian, modelled on the literary language of the 5th century AD, and showing very significant differences from any spoken form. Beginning in the 18th century, modern Armenian was standardized in two forms: Western, based mainly on the Armenian of Istanbul, but still considerably different from any spoken form, and Eastern, based on dialects spoken in Tbilisi and present-day Armenia, but also differing significantly from any one of these. Existing studies of the typology and syntax of Eastern Armenian, such as Dum-Tragut (2009), generally focus on the standard (literary) language. This study focuses on colloquial language, as this has not previously been the subject of study as regards relativization strategies, and is likely to show effects of language contact and changes in progress which in more formal and literary language may be masked by prescriptive norms.

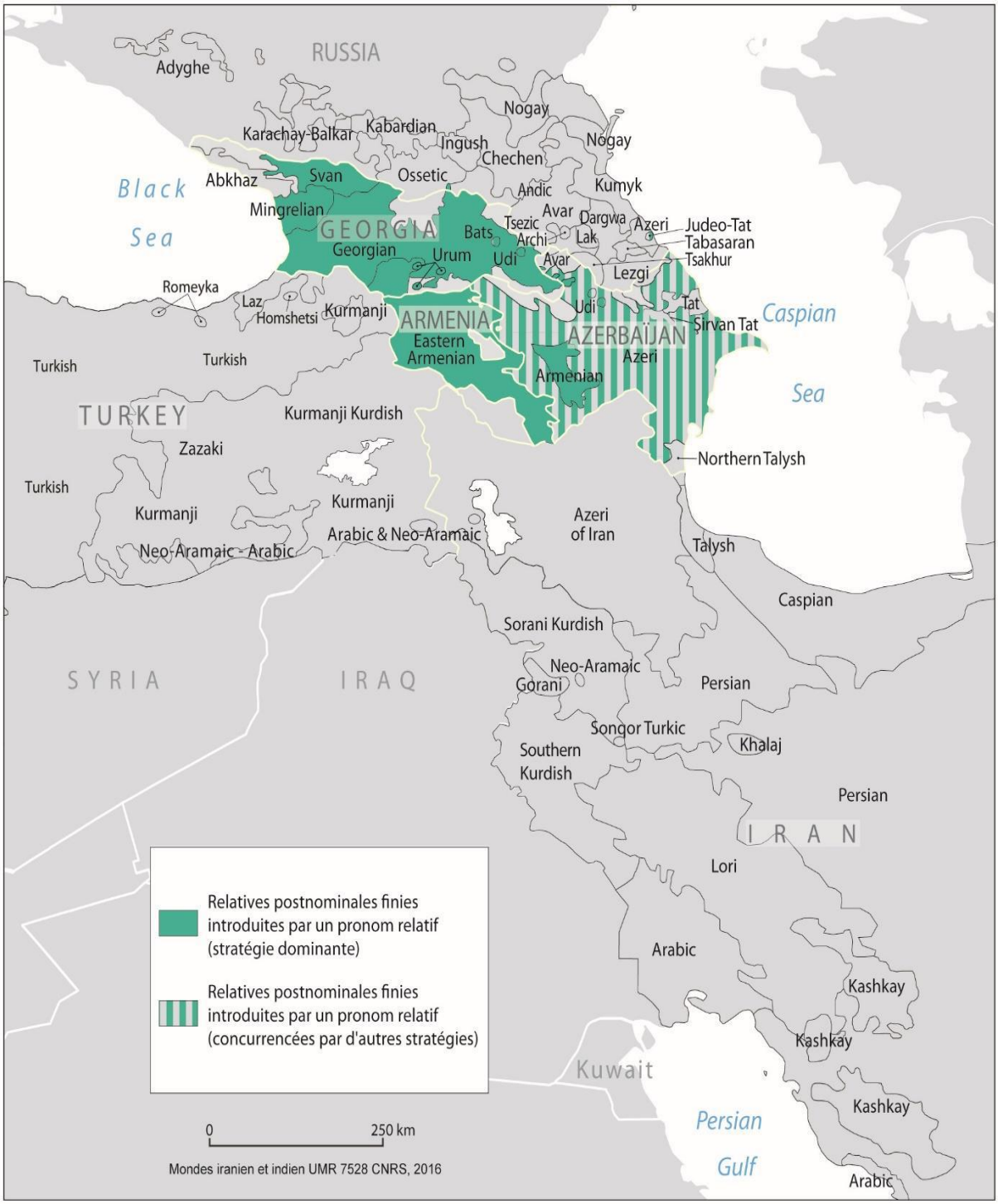
Classical Armenian is reported to have made use of finite relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns (see Hewitt 1978, Meyer 2013). This strategy is still current in the modern language, and existing works such as Dum-Tragut (2009) give the impression that it may be considered the principal relativization strategy in modern Armenian (it is represented as such in Gandon 2016). However, two other strategies are also used: finite clauses introduced by an invariant subordinating particle (conjunction[2]), and non-finite (participial[3]) forms. Both of these are considered later developments: the invariant conjunction is diachronically derived from a declined relative pronoun, and the participles are derived from nominal and adjectival forms that were not generally used in relativization in the classical language. Since these innovative strategies are paralleled by the main strategies in languages with which Armenian has been in intense contact (finite RCs introduced by indeclinable particle in Iranian languages, participial RCs in Turkic), it is possible that language contact could have favoured the emergence and/or spread of these new strategies. All three types of strategy are found in other languages of the Eastern Anatolia-Caucasus-Western Iran area, and predominate in different subsections of this area, as can be seen in the following maps, from Gandon (2016). Figure 1 (Gandon 2016: 322) shows the distribution of finite RCs introduced by a relative pronoun,[4] figure 2 (Gandon 2016: 315) that of finite RCs introduced by an invariant clause linker, and figure 3 (Gandon 216: 327) that of prenominal participial RCs. The solid colour indicates areas in which the strategy in question is the dominant one, while in the striped areas it exists as an alternative strategy.

Figure 1: Distribution of finite RCs introduced by a relative pronoun (Gandon 2016: 322)

[22] The term 'conjunction' as used in this thesis simply indicates an indeclinable clause-linking morpheme. The term was chosen as corresponding to the term *շաղկապ*, which is used for the element in question in traditional Armenian grammar, and as one that is relatively free from theoretical implications.

[3] The term 'participle' is commonly used to translate the Armenian *դերբայ*; the elements in question are parallel to those labelled converbs or masdars in other languages of the area.

[4] Gandon describes the two categories of finite RCs presented here as 'postnominal', but, as discussed in section 5.1.3, there is good evidence that, in many and perhaps all cases, finite RCs in spoken Armenian are in fact adjoined to MC, rather than embedded in the noun phrase of the relativized element, thus the designation 'postnominal' is not appropriate.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Andic
Kumyk
Mingrelian
GEORGIA
Avar
Dargwa
Azeri
Judeo-Tat
Tsezic
Bats
Archi
Lak
Tabasaran
Georgian
Urum
Udi
Avar
Tsakhur
Lezgi
Romeyka
Laz
Homshetsi
Kurmanji
ARMENIA
Uci
Tat
Caspian
Şirvan Tat
AZERBAIJAN
Eastern
Armenian
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TURKEY
Kurmanji Kurdish
Zazaki
Northern Talysh
Turkish
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Neo-Aramaic - Arabic
Talysh
Caspian
Sorani Kurdish
SYRIA
IRAQ
Neo-Aramaic
Gorani
Persian
Sonqor Turkic
Khalaj
Southern
Kurdish
Persian
IRAN
Lori
Relatives postnominales finies introduites par un pronom relatif (stratégie dominante)
Arabic
Relatives postnominales finies introduites par un pronom relatif (concurrencées par d'autres stratégies)
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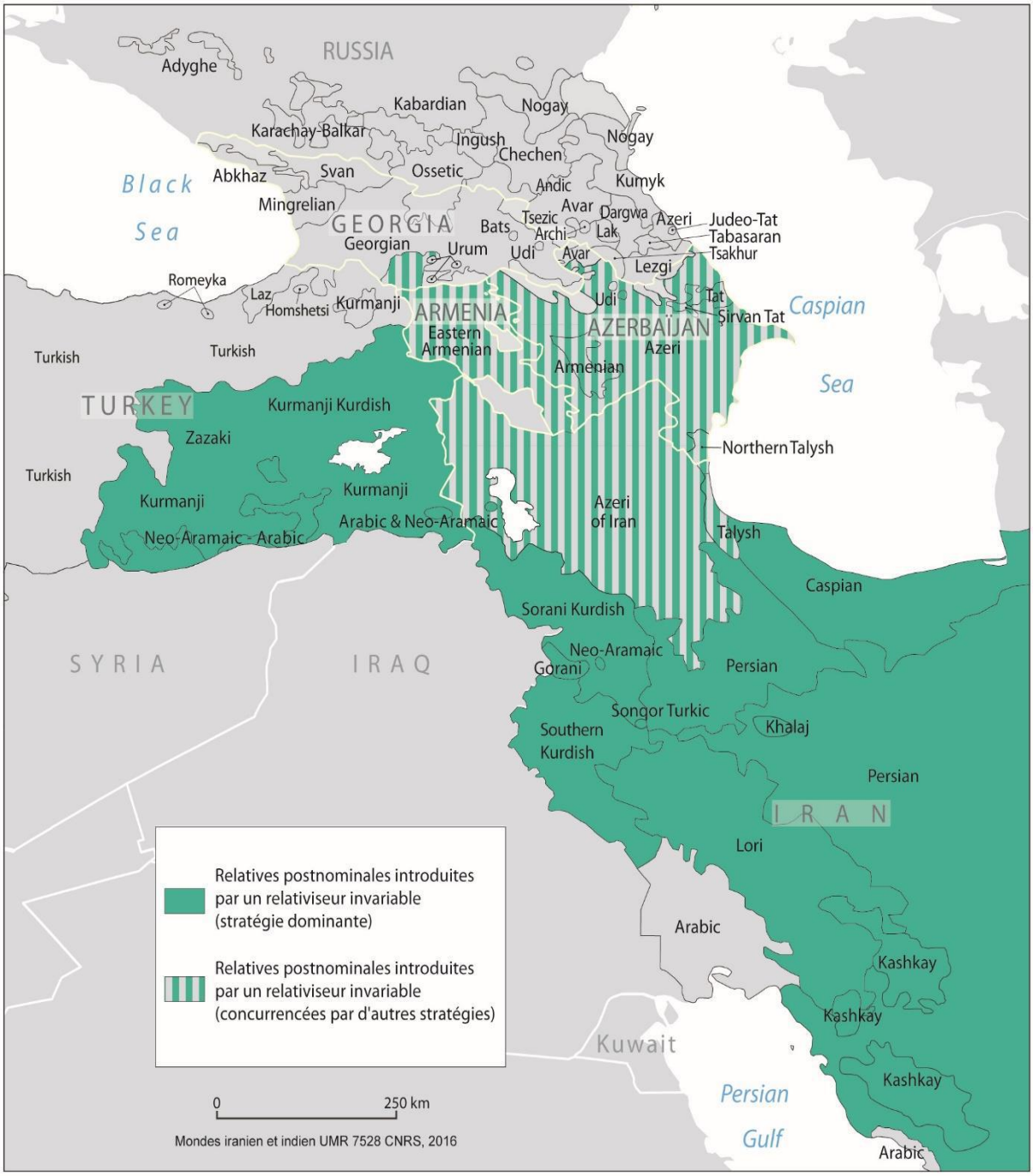

Figure 2: Distribution of finite RCs introduced by an indeclinable subordinator (Gandon 2016: 315)

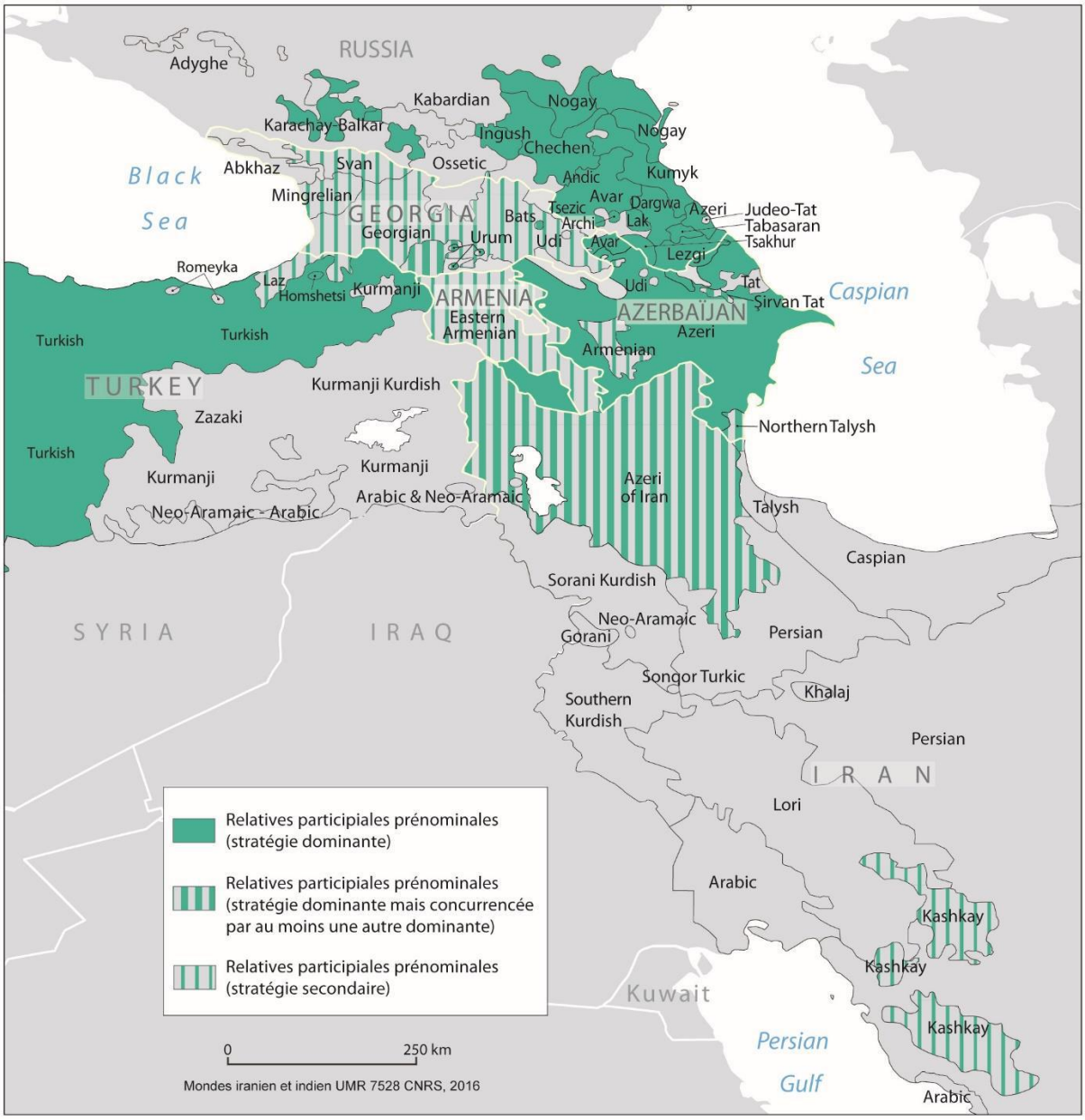

Figure 3: Distribution of prenominal participial RCs (Gandon 2016: 327)

Thus it is possible that the choice of strategy may be affected by language contact or geographical factors. For this reason, speakers of different dialects, from different areas and with different language contact backgrounds, were chosen to take part in this study.

Another type of factor that may be expected to affect the choice of relativization strategy is syntactic grammatical relation. The Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977) ranks grammatical relations according to the level of ease and frequency of relative clauses in which the relativized element plays the role in question:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive> Object of Comparison

Figure 4: The Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977: 66)

Lehmann (1986) and others have observed that one of the manifestations of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy is the fact that, when a language possesses a choice of different strategies, the less complex and explicit strategy may be restricted to roles high on the hierarchy. Participial RCs, which involve reduced verb forms and lack a representation of the relativized element in RC, may be considered less complex and explicit than finite RCs. In some grammars of literary Armenian, notably Jahukyan (1974), it is stated that participial forms may only be used if the relativized element plays the role of subject or direct object of the participial verb form. However, in the grammar of Abeghyan (1912), which contains examples from older literary works, some of which would today be considered non-standard, there are examples of participial relative clauses in which the relativized element has the status of oblique (ablative and postpositional object). Sakayan (1993) confirms that, under some circumstances, participial RCs may be used to relativize elements playing roles other than subject and direct object. Her evidence suggests that their distribution constitutes an exception to the proposed universal generalization of Keenan & Comrie (1977) that a given strategy must occupy a continuous section of the hierarchy, as she claims that participial RCs may be used for some types of obliques (notably spatial and temporal expressions), but not for indirect object. Dum-Tragut (2009) proposes a different discontinuous distribution, covering subject, direct object, and genitive. Thus the distribution of participial RCs in Armenian is of interest from a typological point of view, as it appears to violate a fairly widely accepted universal. Conflicting reports concerning the distribution of these forms make further investigation imperative.

As previously mentioned, the colloquial spoken language was chosen as opposed to the literary language, as in the latter, the effects of conservative and artificial rules could mask the effects of language contact and change. In order to investigate possible geographical and contact-related factors, consultants were chosen from different areas of Armenia, with different language contact backgrounds. All the major dialect groups spoken within the Republic of Armenia are included (Ararat including Bayazet, Karin, Mush, Khoy, Agulis, see section 2.2.2 for details), with the exception of Van and Karabagh. Sound recordings of spontaneous speech were initially chosen as the main subject of this study, as they represent natural speech production without editing, and allow the analysis of intonation patterns, which can be crucial for the classification and interpretation of a construction. However, in order to conduct a more detailed investigation of the factors associated with choice of strategy, it was necessary to make use of more targeted methods. In particular, relative clauses on roles low on the Accessibility Hierarchy are infrequent in discourse, so a spontaneous speech corpus of a size that it would be possible to construct within the framework of this project would be unlikely to contain sufficient examples to allow a meaningful analysis of the factors favouring their usage. In addition, it is useful to be able to investigate parallel contexts that vary in terms of a single factor. For this reason, stimuli were constructed with the aim of eliciting relative clauses with particular combinations of properties. The results were then entered into a database with filters for typologically relevant features, in order to facilitate analysis.

In order to decide which properties should be tested by the stimuli, it was necessary to examine the results of previous investigations of factors proposed to affect the choice of relativization strategy. This examination revealed that interpretations of the Accessibility Hierarchy effects based on word order and structural properties of different grammatical relations make predictions which are inconsistent with many aspects of the data. This led to the proposal of a novel interpretation of the mechanisms behind the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy, attributing them to the effects of pragmatic and semantic role prominence in conjunction with the characterizing function of RCs (a referent is more effectively characterized in terms of a state of affairs in which it plays a prominent role) and with the type of role-reference association patterns behind Haspelmath's (2018) Role-Reference Association Universal (accessibility is greater if the referents involved play semantic roles frequently associated with their own referential semantic properties, and if the relativized element, as an inherently topical, thus pragmatically prominent referent, plays a syntactically and semantically prominent role). Stimuli were constructed to compare the predictions of this theory with those of interpretations based on structural and word order properties, and administered to consultants from various geographical and dialect backgrounds.

The results confirm that accessibility to relativization in Armenian is generally determined by role prominence and role-reference association. This explains the fact that the distribution of participial forms conforms roughly to the Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977), but presents certain exceptions which would count as violations if the essential mechanism were linked directly to syntactic grammatical relations. Language contact and areal factors can also be seen to play a role in the distribution of different relativization strategies, with participial forms being preferred in dialects that have had intense contact with Turkish, and dialects originating in Iran showing a preference for indeclinable subordinating morphemes. In the north of Armenia, the RP strategy has been more resilient, and may have been reinforced by the presence of other languages using this strategy in the general area.

2 Armenian and its dialects

2.1 Typological profile

2.1.1 The noun phrase

2.1.1.1 Word order in the noun phrase

In modern Armenian, all types of modifiers generally precede the head noun. The unmarked order is Possessor Demonstrative Number Adjective N (Donabédian 2000: 41):

(1) *Nana-yi* *ayd* *yerku* *geɣets'ik* *vrats'akan* *yerg-er-ə*
Nana-GEN DEM2 two beautiful Georgian song-PL-DEF
'Those two beautiful Georgian songs of Nana's'

(2) *Nana-yi* *mi* *geɣets'ik* *vrats'akan* *yerg*
Nana-GEN one beautiful Georgian song
'a beautiful Georgian song of Nana's'

The definite article is enclitic on the noun (always on the head noun, as distinct from enclitic definite articles in the Balkan languages, which are enclitic on the 'highest' element of the noun phrase, which may be a modifier rather than the head noun itself (Giusti 2002)). The indefinite article in Eastern Armenian has the same form as or is derived from the numeral 'one', and appears to occupy the same position as other numerals, following possessors but generally preceding adjectives (2), while in many Western dialects, including SWA, there is a reduced form that follows the noun, parallel to the definite article. For details of the form and operation of articles and article-like elements, see section 2.1.1.3.

Armenian does not possess grammatical gender or noun classes, and in the modern language there is no agreement morphology on noun modifiers. Nouns may be marked for plural, but this is not obligatory when non-specific or otherwise non-individuated (see Donabédian 1993, Sigler 1996):

(3) *Zavak* *uni.*
child have.3SG.PRES
'He has a child/children.'

(Donabédian 1993: 180)

There is some word-order variation within the noun phrase, which may be connected to semantic and pragmatic factors. Although, as we have seen, in the unmarked order, adjectives follow possessive and demonstrative pronouns and the indefinite article, it is possible for them to precede these elements. This seems to be associated with a contrastive or emphatic reading of the adjective. For example, the example in (4) is judged to be degraded unless there is strong emphasis on the adjective *mets* 'big', with a meaning 'very big'. Looking at the behaviour of adjectives of nationality, such as *sovetakan* 'Soviet', it is noticeable that examples where they precede the indefinite article/demonstrative/possessive pronoun tend to be associated with contrastive contexts, where the entity in question is crucially Soviet, for example, as opposed to some other nationality in the context

of a conflict, as in (5), while when such adjectives follow the aforementioned elements, the meaning is often that of a specific type of entity (a Soviet citizen/person/novel etc. as a type of citizen/person/novel, as in (6), rather than a citizen/person/novel that happens to be Soviet).

(4)	*METS*	*mi*	*hat*	*yekɣets'i*	*ka.*
	big	one	piece	church	exist.3SG.PRS

'There is a very big church.'

(Hodgson 2013: 22)

(5)	*Ayd*	*rope-i-n*	*kayaran-i-n*	*er*	*motenum*
	DEM2	minute-DAT-DEF	station-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PST	approach.IPT
	sovetakan	*mi*	*zrahagnats'k'*		
	Soviet	one	armoured.train		

'At that moment a Soviet armoured train was approaching the station.'

(from EANC)

(6)	*Yerjanik*	*kyank'*	*kuzes,*	*verts'ru*	*mi*	*sovetakan*
	happy	life	FUT.want.2SG	take.IMP.SG	one	Soviet
	vep	*karda.*				
	novel	read.IMP.SG				

'(If) you want a happy life, take a Soviet novel and read it.'

(from EANC)

The positioning of these adjectives ahead of a possessive/demonstrative/indefinite article could be interpreted as a kind of focus, as proposed in Hodgson (2013). In semantic terms, focus has been analysed as indicating the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions (Krifka 2008, see also Rooth 1992 etc. for an analysis of focus based on the idea that the semantic value of a focused element is not simply the referent, but a set of alternatives composed of the set of denotations in the discourse universe that are of the same type as that of the focused expression). It has been proposed that in some focused expressions, the set of alternatives is internal to the denotation of the focused expression, leading to a prototypical/contrastive focus reading (Ghomeshi et al. 2004). The emphatic (extreme or prototypical) or contrastive reading of these fronted adjectives could be interpreted as an instance of this type of focus.

There is also evidence that adjectives can be fronted when they have topic status. The interrogative adjective *vor*, in the unmarked order, precedes other adjectives, as seen in (7)

(7)	*vor*	*haykakan*	*kusakts'ut'yun-ner-n*	*en*
	which	Armenian	party-PL-DEF	be.3SG.PRS

gortsum	*Avstralia-yum?*
work.IPT	Australia-LOC

'which Armenian parties operate in Australia?'

However, it is also possible for other adjectives to precede *vor*, as in the following example (8) from the EANC. Consultants have stated that in this example, *vor* would be stressed, and an appropriate context would be a discussion of Armenian parties or Armenian things in general, so that the adjective could be said to have topic status in the sense of representing what the utterance is 'about':

(8)	*haykakan*	*VOR*	*kusakts'ut'yun-ner-n*	*en*
	Armenian	which	party-PL-DEF	be.3PL.PRS
	gortsum	*Avstralia-yum?*		
	work.IPT	Australia-LOC		

'Which Armenian parties operate in Australia?'

(from EANC)

It is also possible for adjectives (as in (9)) and nominal modifiers (as in (10)) to follow the noun they modify. Again, this is subject to particular discourse conditions, and is associated with a particular intonational pattern, where the stress is on the noun and the modifier is characterized by a lack of prosodic prominence. The modifiers in question usually constitute given information, as in (9), (10) and (12), but this is not obligatory: in examples (11) and (13), the modifiers are not given information, but may be considered non-essential to the meaning:

(9)	*yekeɣets'-u-n*	*kits'*	*kan*	*DƏPROTS'-NER*	*haykakan*
	church-DAT-DEF	near	exist.3PL.PRS	school-PL	Armenian

'Near the church there are Armenian SCHOOLS' (the church is known to be Armenian) (Hodgson 2013: 24)

(10)	*ayntey*	*gətnəvum*	*e*	*MAYR*	*TAČAR-ə*
	there	find.PASS.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	mother	temple-DEF
	Hayastan-i				
	Armenia-GEN				

'there is to be found the main CATHEDRAL of Armenia' (talking about Armenia)

(Hodgson 2013: 25)

(11)	*Hayastan-ə*	*leŕ-ner-ov*	*šərjapatvats*	*a,*

Armenia-DEF	mountain-PL-INSTR	surrounded	be.3SG.PRS.	
inč'pes	*mi*	*hat*	*šəxt'a-yov*	*geγets'ik.*
as	one	piece	chain-INSTR	beautiful

'Armenia is surrounded by mountains, as if by a beautiful chain.'

(Hodgson 2013: 24)

All examples in the corpus used in Hodgson (2013) of noun phrases containing such modifiers are either left-detached topics, i.e. outside the main intonational phrase of the clause, as in (12), or in clause-final position, i.e. the modifier is always in final position in the intonational phrase.

(12)

yev	*nayum*	*en*	*t'e*	*inč'pes*	*hars-n*	*u*
and	look.at	be.3PL.PRS	CONJ	how	bride-DEF	and

p'esa-n	*irents'*	*aŕač'in*	*hamateγ,*	*hamateγ*
groom-DEF	3PL.GEN	first	together,	together

gorts-n	*en*	*katarum,*	*u*	*et*	*hamateγ*
work-DEF	be.3PL.PRS	carry.out.IPT	and	DEM2	together

gorts-ə	*irants'*	*aŕač'i,*	*da*	*linum*	*e*	*par-ə*
work-DEF	3PL.GEN	first	that	be.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	dance-DEF

'and they look at how the bride and groom carry out their first co-operative endeavour, and that first co-operative endeavour of theirs, it is the dance'

(Hodgson 2013: 25)

If the modified noun is not the final element in the intonational phrase, the modifier may be separated from the noun and placed in final position, as in (13):

(13)

patmut'yun	*ka*	*hetak'ərk'ir*
story	exist.3SG.PRS	interesting

'there is an interesting story'

(Hodgson 2013: 5)

Note that in (13) there is no intonational break between the verb and the adjective, as shown in figure 5[5], and modifiers that are part of idioms may be treated in this way, as in (14), demonstrating that these elements do not belong to the category of post-rhematic 'afterthoughts' identified by Donabédian (2018: 27).

[5] The rise in pitch at the end is a 'continuation rise' which is not relevant to the characteristics of this construction. The significant fact is the lack of any break between the verb *ka* and the modifier *hetak^{h}rk^{h}ir*.

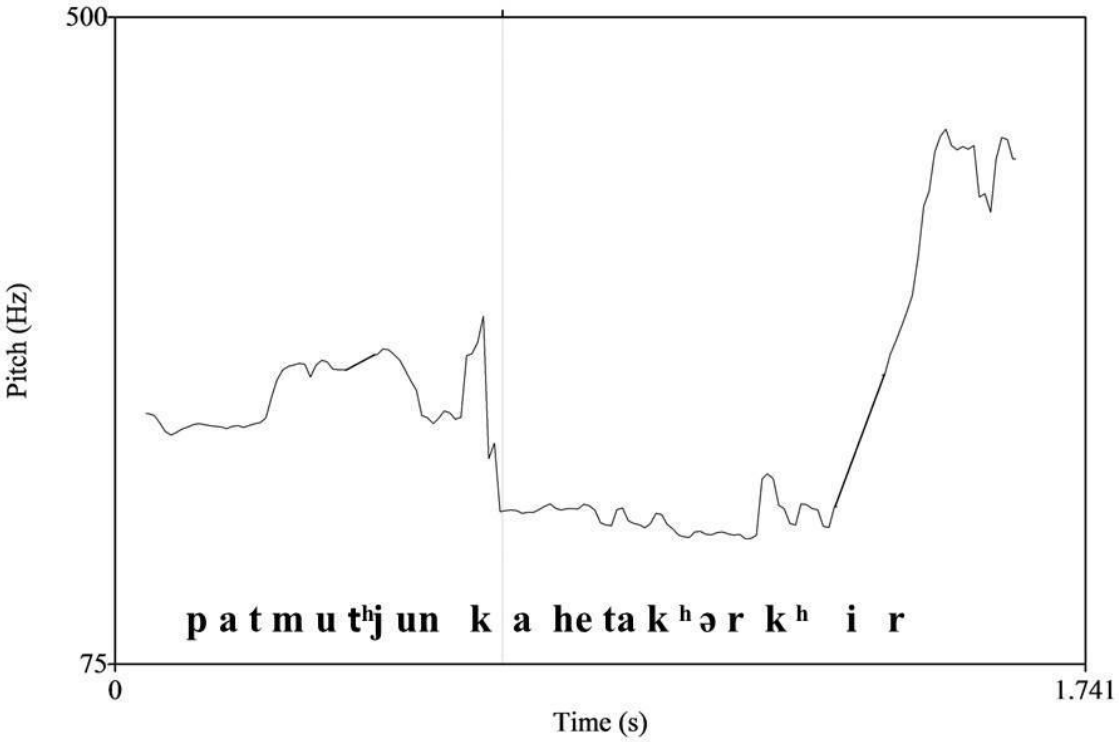

Figure 5: Intonation of example (13) (Hodgson 2013:6)

(14)	*Et*	*mart'-ə*	*ts'av-n*	*a*	*im*	*gəlx-i.*
	DEM2	person-DEF	pain-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	1SG.GEN	head-DEF

'That person is a real headache.' (lit. 'the pain of my head')

(Hodgson 2013: 38)

These constituents, being neither topic, focus, nor afterthought, and seemingly positioned so as to receive a lack of intonational prominence, can be described as 'backgrounded'. This does not apply only to noun modifiers: other constituents, too, may be backgrounded in this way, as described in section 2.1.4.

2.1.1.2 Case system

2.1.1.2.1 General overview

Nominals in modern EA generally show five morphological case forms, with nominative unmarked, and the other cases formed agglutinatively on the nominative stem, with the case morpheme following the similarly agglutinative plural morpheme:

(15)	Singular	Plural
NOM:	*k'ayak'* 'city'	*k'ayak'-ner*
DAT/GEN:	*k'ayak'-i*	*k'ayak'-ner-i*
ABL:	*k'ayak'-its'*	*k'ayak'-ner-its'*

INSTR:	*k'ayak'-ov*	*k'ayak'-ner-ov*
LOC:	*k'ayak'-um*	*k'ayak'-ner-um*

There are some nouns which have different declensional patterns; these mainly affect the form of the dat/gen, the other case endings generally being added to this (see (18)). Most nouns ending in *-i* in SEA show a slightly different declension, where *-i* is replaced by *-u* in gen/dat, and the vowel of the ablative ending is *-u-* rather than *-i-*. For instrumental and locative, there is some inter-speaker variation as to whether the vowel *-i* is retained or deleted before the case ending:

(16)		
	NOM:	*p'oši* 'dust, powder'
	DAT/GEN	*p'oš-u*
	ABL	*p'oš-uts'*
	INSTR	*p'oš(i)-ov*
	LOC	?*p'oš(i)-um* (more common: *p'oš-u mej*)

In SEA, the plural of these nouns is declined as shown in (15). However, in most Western dialects, plurals in *–(n)er* take the *-u*-endings (gen/dat *k'ayak'-ner-u* etc.).

Some personal and demonstrative pronouns show separate genitive and dative case forms, which are formed suppletively, rather than agglutinatively (in older forms of the language, a larger number of words showed separate dative and genitive forms, but morphological dative has progressively taken over the function of genitive (Abajyan 2006: 362)):

(17)	1SG	2SG	3SG
NOM:	*yes*	*du*	*na*
GEN:	*im*	*k'o*	*nra*
DAT:	*indz*	*k'ez*	*nra-n*
ABL:	*indz-(a)n-its'*	*k'ez-(a)n-its'*	*nra-n-its'*
INSTR:	*indz-(a)-nov*	*k'ez-(a)n-ov*	*nra-n-ov*
LOC:	*(indz-(a)n-um)*[6]	*(k'ez-(a)n-um)*	*(nra-n-um)*

It can be seen that in these examples, the agglutinative cases are formed on the dative stem, rather than the nominative;[7] in some dialects, forms based on the genitive stem are found (Grigoryan 1957: 130), but these do

[6] The locative forms for these pronouns are given in brackets, because modern literary Eastern Armenian does not use locative case for animate referents, although this restriction is absent from some dialects, including the Ararat subdialect of Vayots Dzor, which use forms such as those given in the table.

[7] The *–(a)n-* intervening between the stem and case ending in 1sg and 2sg pronouns is presumably extended to these from 3sg, where the final *-an* of the dative stem precedes the case morpheme. The forms with *-an-* are considered more colloquial than those with *-n-*

not seem to be common. It is likely that they result from the fact that some lexical nouns show a similar pattern, where a suppletive dative/genitive is used as the base for the other singular case forms, and since dative and genitive are not morphologically distinguished for lexical nouns, these forms were interpreted as being based on genitive, rather than dative, and pronominal forms were created according to this pattern:

(18)		Singular	Plural
	NOM:	*mayr* 'mother'	*mayr-er*
	DAT/GEN:	*mor*	*mayr-er-i*
	ABL:	*mor-its'*	*mayr-er-its'*
	INSTR:	*mor-ov*	*mayr-er-ov*
	LOC:	*(mor-um)*	*(mayr-er-um)*

As can be seen, the plural forms of such words are generally formed agglutinatively with the ending *-er* for monosyllabic words, *-ner* for polysyllabic words,[8] with the case endings following the plural morpheme, as in regularly declined nominals. However, there are some words and endings with a fusional gen/dat plural, combining number and case in a single morpheme, inherited from older forms of the language, which showed a larger number of fusional, rather than agglutinative, forms. In these instances, other cases are formed agglutinatively on the gen/dat stem. These are mainly words that take the Classical Armenian plural morpheme *-k'*, which has gen/dat *-ts'*, which here (19) forms part of the morpheme *-en-k'* 'family of/people associated with X':

(19)		
	NOM:	*Grigor-en-k'*
	GEN/DAT:	*Grigor-en-ts'*
	ABL:	*Grigor-en-ts'-its'*
	INSTR:	*Grigor-en-ts'-ov*
	LOC:	*(Grigor-en-ts'-um)*

Thus we can see the results of an almost but not totally complete change from fusional morphology typical of Indo-European languages to agglutinative morphology, affecting gen/dat less than the other oblique cases, which are always formed agglutinatively. We also find an almost completed merger between genitive and dative, which is paralleled in the Balkan languages (see Sandfeld 1930 and much other work on the Balkan Sprachbund). The EA locative case is a relatively recent development, which is absent from many dialects, including literary WA, and is restricted to use with inanimate referents in some others, including literary EA. In

(Asatryan 2004: 169). This *-an-* also forms the base for analytic forms of ablative, instrumental and locative cases in those dialects which possess them (see section 2.1.1.2.4). The *-n* which distinguishes dat from gen for the 3rd person/demonstrative derives diachronically from the definite article, but is not interpreted synchronically as such (Asatryan 2004: 172).

[8] There are other plural morphemes with a more limited distribution, some of which are more widespread in certain dialects.

older forms of the language, direct objects possessing some type of definiteness or specificity could be marked with the preposition *z-* (see Donabédian 2000: 39-40), a form of differential object marking (DOM)[9] that differs from that found in SEA and many other modern dialects, which is based on animacy and specificity and involves the use of gen/dat marking for specific animate DOs, while other DOs are morphologically unmarked. This marker has been lost in the standard languages and most modern dialects. Modern Eastern Armenian is not considered to possess a separate accusative case, while Western Armenian has a specific accusative form for personal pronouns only.

2.1.1.2.2. Nominative

'Nominative' is the morphologically unmarked form. Rather than being linked to any particular role or syntactic position, it is plausible to suggest that this form is used for unmarked elements in general, those whose role in the utterance is predictable and needs no further specification, notably those that appear in roles which are frequently played by elements with their particular referential properties (see Comrie 1986, Aristar 1997, Haspelmath 2018 for the general association of zero case marking with frequent role-reference combinations). It is used for syntactic subjects (the argument that the verb or auxiliary agrees with) of finite clauses (20). In dialects without DOM, it is also used for direct objects. In dialects with DOM, it is used for inanimate and non-specific DOs, i.e. elements with characteristics frequently associated with the role of DO (20). It is also used for certain place and time expressions, particularly those in which the nominal has referential properties typical of its role (i.e. when a place expression plays a spatial role, or a time expression plays the role of time). It is used for nominals expressing destination with verbs such as 'go' (21), and in dialects with no separate locative case, it is also the main form used to express location, although adpositional forms are also used. In dialects with locative case, nominative (unmarked) case can be used in place of locative with nouns denoting places, whose role as location is predictable from their semantics (22). A similar phenomenon is observed with time expressions, which are generally marked for case (dative for time of occurrence, instrumental for some expressions denoting length of time), but may be non-case-marked if they involve certain nouns explicitly denoting time (*or* 'day', names of days of the week, *tari* 'year') (23), (24). Vocative is not marked for case in Armenian (25).

SUBJECT and DO

(20)	*Vardan-ə*	*sirum*	*e*	*Yerevan-ə*
	Vardan-DEF	love.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	Yerevan-DEF
	'Vardan loves Yerevan'			

[9] Differential Object Marking: the marking of different kinds of direct objects by different morphological means, usually involving the distinctive marking of objects that have properties typical of subjects (e.g. animacy, specificity, definiteness, 1st/2nd person).

DESTINATION

(21)	*Vardan-ə*	*gnum*	*e*	*Yerevan*[10]
	Vardan-DEF	go.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	Yerevan
	'Vardan is going to Yerevan'			

LOCATION

(22)	*Vardan-ə*	*Yerevan*	*e*[11]
	Vardan-DEF	Yerevan	be.3SG.PRS
	'Vardan is in Yerevan'		

TIME OF OCCURRENCE

(23)	*Vardan-ə*	*yerkušabti*	*or-n*	*e*	*gnats'-el*
	Vardan-DEF	Monday	day.DEF	be.3SG.PRS	go.PPT
	'Vardan went on Monday'				

LENGTH OF TIME

(24)	*Vardan-ə*	*yerku*	*or*	*e*	*mnats'el*
	Vardan-DEF	two	day	be.3SG.PRS	stay.PPT
	'Vardan stayed for two days'				

VOCATIVE

(25) *Vardan!*

2.1.1.2.3 Genitive/dative

This case is usually formed by adding the ending *-i* to the nominative stem. As discussed in section 2.1.1.2.1, separate genitive forms have survived only for some pronouns (17). Some words, as seen also in (18), form genitive/dative by changes to the stem, mostly inherited from older forms of the language; these are mainly frequently used forms, such as nouns denoting family members, which due to their frequency have resisted the levelling spread of the agglutinative morpheme *-i*. The extent of the dominance of agglutinative forms varies between dialects, but the general tendency is present in all.

This case has two main types of use:

[10] Note the omission of the definite article on these spatial expressions (destination and location). When the noun representing the destination or location is modified, e.g. with a demonstrative, possessor, and/or adjective, the definite article is generally used (see section 2.1.1.3.1).

[11] Locative case can also be used here, but is often omitted with place names (i.e. nouns whose role as location is predictable without having to be signalled by case).

a) Genitive, used for nouns that modify another noun, i.e. entities conceived of in relation to another entity (the relationship can be of various kinds, including possession, origin, material, part, also subject of nominalized verb forms and object of true nouns derived from verbs):

POSSESSOR

(26) *Vardan-i* *girk'-ə*
Vardan-GEN book-DEF
'Vardan's book'

ORIGIN

(27) *Hayastan-i* *tsiran*
Armenia-GEN apricot
'Armenian apricot'

MATERIAL

(28) *tsiran-i* *jem*
apricot-GEN jam
'apricot jam'

PART

(29) *seɣan-i* *votk'*
table-GEN leg
'table leg'

SUBJECT OF PARTICIPLE

(30) *Vardan-i* *grats-ə*
Vardan-GEN write.RPT-DEF
'what Vardan wrote'

Genitive is also used for the objects of deverbal nouns that have fully nominal status:

(31) *im* *p'ərkič'-ə*
1SG.GEN saviour-DEF
'my saviour'

This contrasts with the objects of participles, which take object case (zero if inanimate, dative if animate):

(32) *indz* *p'ərk-oɣ-ə*

1SG.DAT save.SPT-DEF

'the one who saved/saves me'

These are the uses described as genitive, as revealed in cases where a personal or demonstrative pronoun may be used, as this appears in genitive, not dative form in these environments. Some dialects, including literary EA but not modern WA, distinguish the genitive and dative uses also by the fact that the genitive uses may not be accompanied by the definite article, while the dative ones may. This is what is ultimately behind the different genitive and dative forms of the demonstrative and 3rd person pronouns (the final *-n* that distinguishes the latter from the former is diachronically derived from the definite article (Grigoryan 1957: 172)). Mkhitar Sebastatsi, in his Western Armenian grammar of 1727, uses the definite article to distinguish dative (with article) from genitive (without article) (see Abajyan 2006: 257), a distinction that no longer exists in literary WA and is absent from the majority of Western dialects (Mush and Van being exceptions), as well as from the Eastern dialects of Karabagh and Agulis, where the definite article may be used on genitive forms as well as dative (the use of the definite article on genitive modifiers is Jahukyan's (1972) feature number 70).

The distinction is found today in most of the dialects spoken in the Republic of Armenia, including the Ararat dialects on which literary EA is based,[12] and the dialects of Bayazet and Khoy. The dialect of Karin, like most Western dialects, once lacked this distinction, but modern forms spoken in Armenia (notably Gyumri and elsewhere in Shirak province) have acquired it (Gevorgyan 2016: 21), presumably through contact with local dialects and/or influence from literary EA. The phenomenon could be part of a wider tendency to omit the definite article on nouns that occur as part of another noun phrase, also manifesting itself in the case of semantically definite arguments of participial forms, where the article is sometimes omitted, regardless of case, perhaps indicating that these nominals lack independent DP status (see section 5.1.1.3, examples (287), (289); all examples in the texts were in dialects that lack the article on genitive, namely, Lori, Vayots Dzor, and Khoy).

b) Dative, used for beneficiary and some goal arguments of verbs (e.g. goal of 'put', but not destination of 'go', which takes zero case), animate specific direct objects, some adverbials, mainly denoting endpoint or resting place, which Asatryan (2004: 68) suggests is the basic semantics behind this case, opposed to ablative as starting point, as well as time expressions denoting the moment of occurrence:

BENEFICIARY (IO OF DITRANSITIVE)

(33)	*Vardan-i-n*	*girk'*	*em*	*təvel.*
	Vardan-DAT-DEF	book	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT

'I gave a book to Vardan.'

[12] In the Lori and Vayots Dzor subdialects, the 3rd person pronoun *iran* is nonetheless sometimes used for genitive, possibly due to influence from neighbouring dialects that lack the distinction, most likely Karabagh.

GOAL

(34) *Girk'-ə* *seɣan-i-n* *em* *drel.*
book-DEF table-DAT-DEF be.1SG.PRS put.PPT
'I put the book on the table.'

ANIMATE DO

(35) *Vardan-i-n* *tesel* *em.*
Vardan-DAT-DEF see.PPT be.1SG.PRS
'I saw Vardan.'

PLACE ADVERBIAL

(36) *Havak'-v-ets'in* *sar-i* *glx-i-n.*
gather-PASS-AOR.3PL mountain-GEN head-DAT-DEF
'They gathered together on the top of the mountain.'

TIME

(37) *Havak'-v-ets'in* *žam-ə* *vets'-i-n.*
gather-PASS-AOR.3PL hour-DEF six-DAT-DEF
'they gathered together at six o'clock.'

According to Abraham (2006: 39), dative cases crosslinguistically are almost without exception linked to the semantic role of beneficiary. Referents playing the role of beneficiary are most often animate, so this identification of dative with the role of beneficiary is likely to be linked to the fact that dative case marking is crosslinguistically frequently associated with animacy-based differential object marking,[13] whereby we find dative marking for animate DOs, while inanimate DOs are either unmarked, as in Armenian, or marked with a different case. Crosslinguistically, dative is also more generally associated with objects which are not affected by the action of the verb,[14] e.g. for objects of verbs of interaction (e.g. greet, help, follow), where the action is directed towards the object (object as goal), but the object is not physically affected (lacks prototypical patient properties) (see Blume 1998). The objects of such verbs are also typically animate, further reinforcing the link

[13] The best-known example is Spanish.

[14] However, DOM (the differential marking of different objects of the same verb) differs here from differential marking among objects of different verbs, as the former is more commonly found with affected, rather than unaffected, objects. The need for disambiguation in cases of unexpected role assignment seems to play a role here: DOM is most commonly found when a referent with certain semantic properties (generally, those associated with subjects) plays a role that is unexpected for that referent (typical patient object). The idea that disambiguation really is a factor behind this process is supported by the fact that in some languages, it has been claimed that DOM is only used in cases where it is logically possible for the object to be the subject. For example, in Spanish, DOM is not normally used with inanimate objects, except in symmetrical constructions: 'the teacher replaces the book (no DOM)' = with another book (asymmetrical, i.e. no possibility of role reversal between object and subject), but 'the teacher replaces the book (DOM)' = himself, i.e. allowing the possibility that the book replaces the teacher (Kabatek 2017, García García 2014).

between animacy and dative case, but even if they are not animate, they typically take dative in Armenian, as seen in (38):

(38)	*Vardan-ə*	*hetevel*	*e*	*im*	*orinak-i-n*
	Vardan-DEF	follow.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	1SG.GEN	example-DAT-DEF

'Vardan followed my example'

This form of DOM, where dative case is used for animate, specific DOs, while inanimate and non-specific animate DOs are unmarked for case (see Hodgson (2012)), is found in SEA, but not SWA. It is absent from many of the *k*-dialects (not including Karin) (see section 2.2.1 for dialect classification), where all DOs are unmarked for case, but is found in all the dialects in this study. It was absent from the original dialect of Mush, where the old accusative preposition *z-* had survived, and was used for specificity-based DOM. However, most of the modern versions of Mush dialect spoken in Armenia, including those included in this study, have lost this form of DOM and adopted the dative-animacy-based one found in SEA and the local dialects of the Republic of Armenia, as well as Karabagh, Agulis and Khoy (according to Gevorgyan 2016; an exception is the village of Voskehask in Shirak province, where the old system with *z-* is preserved).

2.1.1.2.4 Ablative

Ablative case has quite a consistent semantic base, with all uses traceable to the basic meaning of starting point (see Asatryan 2004: 68). It is used for adverbials denoting starting point (in space or time), and also for the object of certain verbs, mainly those with causer/stimulus object such as *vaxenal* 'be afraid', *zzvel* 'hate, be disgusted by', where the object is the cause, thus metaphorical starting point, of the action or state denoted by the verb. It is also used for the demoted agent of passive verbs, which, again, could be considered the cause or metaphorical starting point of the action or state denoted by the verb. It is also used for partitives, and object of comparison:

STARTING POINT (PLACE)

(39)	*Vardan-ə*	*yekel*	*e*	*Yerevan-its.'*
	Vardan-DEF	come.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	Yerevan-ABL

'Vardan has come from Yerevan.'

STARTING POINT (TIME)

(40)	*Žam-ə*	*vets'-its'*	*spasum*	*em.*
	hour-DEF	six-ABL	wait.IPT	be.1SG.PRS

'I have been waiting since six o'clock.'

OBJECT

(41)	*Vardan-its'*	*vaxenum*	*em.*

Vardan-ABL be.afraid.IPT be.1SG.PRS

'I am afraid of Vardan.'

AGENT OF PASSIVE

(42) *Vardan-ə* *sirvel* *e* *žoɣovrd-its'.*

Vardan-DEF love.PASS.PPT be.3SG.PRS people-ABL

'Vardan was loved by the people.'

PARTITIVE OBJECT

(43) *Vardan-ə* *xmel* *e* *ayd* *jr-its'.*

Vardan-DEF drink.PPT be.3SG.PRS DEM2 water-ABL

'Vardan drank some of that water.'

OBJECT OF COMPARISON

(44) *Vardan-ə* *Voskan-its'* *xelats'i* *e.*

Vardan-DEF Voskan-ABL clever be.3SG.PRS

'Vardan is cleverer than Voskan.'

Ablative has two main categories of endings, *-e(n)*, the original ablative singular, found in SWA, and *-its'* (or *-uts'*), probably derived from the old ablative plural, and found in SEA. In modern Armenian, the difference is purely geographical, and no longer connected with number, as plural is always expressed by a separate morpheme. Most Ararat dialects have *-ts'*, but Vayots Dzor also has some *-e*-forms; Agulis, Bayazet, and Mush have both, Karin and Khoy originally had only *-e-*, but modern forms spoken in Armenia also use *-ts'*. The ending is added to the nominative or dative stem (there are some rare pronominal forms based on genitive stem (Grigoryan 1957: 130)). Some dialects (including Mush, Bayazet and Khoy, and also the Ararat subdialect of Vayots Dzor) have a category of words, mainly place-names, with a special genitive form in *-a*. For these words, this genitive ending is also used for ablative:

(45) *Sevan-a*

Sevan-GEN

'of/from Sevan'

In Karabagh and Agulis dialects, as well as some forms of the Sasun dialect of the wider Mush group, and the Moks subdialect of Van, ablative, instrumental and locative cases can be expressed with analytic forms, similar to postpositions, which most commonly involve the morpheme *(h)an-* plus the relevant case ending used in that dialect, and the dative form of the nominal in question:

(46) *Hayrapet-a* *hän-its'*[15]
Hayrapet-DAT STEM-ABL
'from Hayrapet (personal name)'

(Agulis, Sargsiants 1883: 91)

These analytic forms are most frequently associated with animate referents (Grigoryan 1957: 104), i.e. the true case endings are mainly used for inanimates. This recalls the operation of locative case marking in dialects such as SEA, the use of which is restricted to inanimate referents, while animate referents used for location in these dialects are marked with genitive case and the postposition *mej* 'inside'. The pattern can be interpreted as a manifestation of Haspelmath's (2018) Role-Reference Association universal, where elements with referential properties typical of their role (inanimate for ablative, instrumental and locative) receive 'lighter' marking (case endings), while those whose referential properties are atypical for their role (animate for the cases in question) receive 'heavier' marking (case ending plus postposition or postposition-like element expressing role). Another property shared by these three cases is that in many dialects, including SEA, they may not take the definite article, a characteristic that is also perhaps linked to their frequent association with inanimate, thus generally non-topical, referents (see section 2.1.1.3.1 for the operation of the definite article and patterns that suggest an association with topicality).

2.1.1.2.5 Instrumental

Instrumental case is used mainly for adverbials of manner (entity by means of which or accompanied by which something takes place), place (passing by/through), or time (duration), and also for the objects of a small number of verbs, e.g. *hianal* 'admire':

MANNER

(47) *Duŕ-ə* *bats'el* *em* *banali-ov.*
door-DEF open.PPT be.1SG.PRS key-INSTR
'I opened the door with the/a key.'

PLACE

(48) *Ants'el* *en* *Loŕu* *sar-er-ov.*
pass.PPT be.3PL.PRS Lori.GEN mountain-PL-INSTR
'They passed through the mountains of Lori.'

TIME

[15] The form *hän-i* is also found, where Sargsiants (1883: 91) states that *-i* is undoubtedly derived from the ablative morpheme *-e*. According to Sargsiants (1883: 92), the morpheme *han-* (or *hän-*, the difference is due to phonological processes operating in this dialect, for which see also Vaux 2008) to which the ablative ending is attached is in origin the same as the *-an-* found in pronouns such as *indz-an-its'* (see fn. 4); the development of initial *h-* is due to a regular phonological process (the form *an*+case ending is found in Karabagh).

(49) *Havak'-v-ets'-in* *gišer-ov.*
gather-PASS-AOR-3PL night-INSTR
'They gathered together by night.'

OBJECT

(50) *Hianum* *em* *Vardan-ov.*
admire.IPT be.1SG.PRS Vardan-INSTR
'I admire Vardan.'

In conceptual terms, it has been described as involving the idea of "accompaniment or taking part, from the beginning to the end" (Jahukyan 1974: 197), as opposed to dative as endpoint, and ablative as starting point. All dialects have the ending *-ov*, or phonetic variants thereof, added to nominative or dative stem. The dialects which have analytic forms for ablative also have them for instrumental (and locative, if present), with the same pattern of usage. Instrumental also patterns with ablative and locative as regards the use of the definite article (not used with this case in some dialects, including SEA).

2.1.1.2.5 Locative

Locative case denotes the place (or time) within the bounds of which something happens:

PLACE

(51) *Vardan-ə* *aprum* *e* *Yerevan-um.*
Vardan-DEF live.IPT be.3SG.PRS Yerevan-LOC
'Vardan lives in Yerevan.'

TIME

(52) *Ays* *girk'-ə* *kardats'el* *em* *mi* *or-um.*
DEM1 book-DEF read.PPT be.1SG.PRS one day-LOC
'I read this book in one day.'

This case form is absent from all the Western dialects, and some of the Eastern ones too (see section 2.2.1). It is the only case that is used only for adverbials, and in some dialects, including SEA and most of the Ararat dialects (Markosyan 1989: 107), but not the subdialect of Vayots Dzor (Vardanyan 2004: 93 etc.), it is generally restricted to use with inanimate referents. In all dialects in which it appears, it has the form *-um* (and phonetic variants), which is the same morpheme as that of the imperfect participle ending in the *-um* dialects (this participle is formed by adding the locative ending to the imperfective stem of the verb). This case form is a relatively recent development, which only took place in the Eastern dialects (*-um* dialect group, see section 2.2.1). In dialects which lack the case, non-case-marked forms may be used to express location (the most common strategy for place-names):

(53)	*Vardan-ə*	*Yerevan*	*e.*
	Vardan-DEF	Yerevan	be.3SG.PRS
	'Vardan is in Yerevan.'		

The postposition *mej* 'in(side)' may also be used:

(54)	*Girk'-ə*	*paharan-i*	*mej*	*e.*
	book-DEF	cupboard-GEN	in	be.3SG.PRS
	'The book is in the cupboard.'			

Both these strategies are also found as alternatives to locative case marking even in dialects which possess it.

2.1.1.3 Articles

2.1.1.3.1. Definite and possessive articles

The definite article, in most dialects, takes the form *-n* following and/or preceding a vowel, and *-ə* when it both follows a consonant and is followed by a consonant or a break:

(55)	(a)	*katu-n*	(b)	*šun-ə*	(c)	*Šun-n e.*
		cat-DEF		dog-DEF		dog-DEF be.3SG.PRS
		'the cat'		'the dog'		'It is the dog.'

In Classical Armenian, the form was always *-n*.[16] The Classical Armenian definite article had a three-way deictic contrast, parallel to demonstrative, and also to personal, pronouns (N-*s* = the N near me, N-*d* = the N near you, N-*n* = the N near neither of us, compare demonstratives *ays*, *ayd*, *ayn*, and personal pronouns *yes* (1sg), *du* (2sg), *na* (3sg)). In modern Armenian, the 3rd person/distal *-n* form has given rise to the ordinary definite article, while the 1st and 2nd person forms are mainly used as possessive clitics. The definite article can also be used to express a 3rd person possessor, the interpretation depending on contextual and semantic factors (Donabédian 2018: 18):

(56)	*tun-s*	'my house'
	tun-d	'your house'
	tun-ə	'his/her/its/the house'

These 'possessive articles' could be described in more general terms as genitive clitics, as they are used to express other kinds of genitive elements than just possessors, for example, postpositional object:

[16] In Mush dialect, this is still the case:

(i)	(a)	*katu-n*	(b)	*šun-ən*
		'the cat'		'the dog'

As can be seen, following a consonant, an epenthetic schwa is present. The phonologically conditioned loss of *-n* following this schwa led to the allomorphy of the modern definite article.

(57)	(a)	*im het*	*k'o het*	*nra het*[17]
		1SG.GEN with	2SG.GEN with	3SG.GEN with
	(b)	*het-s*	*het-d*	*het-ə*
		with-POSS1	with-POSS2	with-POSS3
		'with me'	'with you'	'with him/her/it'

This also applies to the genitive subjects of participial verb forms:

(58)	(a)	*im*	*kardats'ats*	*girk'-ə/s*
		1SG.GEN	read.RPT	book-DEF/POSS1
	(b)	*kardats'ats*	*girk'-s*	
		read.RPT	book-POSS1	
		'The book I read'		

In some dialects, including SEA, the clitic can attach to the participle, while the head noun takes the ordinary definite article (examples recorded from Gyumri, Artik-Maralik and Khoy):[18]

(59)	*kardats'ats-s*	*girk'-ə*
	read.RPT-POSS1	book-DEF
	'the book I read'	

In SWA, 1st and 2nd person possessive pronouns must be accompanied by the appropriate possessive clitic on the possessed noun, as in (a). In SEA this is not obligatory; the ordinary definite article may be used instead, as in (b):[19]

(60)	(a)	*im*	*tun-s*
		1SG.GEN	house-POSS1
	(b)	*im*	*tun-ə*
		1SG.GEN	house-DEF

In dialects with the SWA system, it follows that constructions such as (59), where the clitic attaches to the participle, and the head noun is marked with the ordinary definite article, would be impossible.

The definite article, as well as marking definiteness (essentially, the assumption that the referent is identifiable to the addressee), is also used as a marker of nominalization, converting non-nominal parts of speech to nominal use (Asatryan 2004: 96). In this role, it is not necessarily associated with semantic definiteness, as seen

[17] Note that 1st and 2nd person objects of many postpositions appear in the literary language with dative case, but in some dialects, including the spoken language of Yerevan, they generally appear in genitive case, like 3rd person (see section 2.1.3).
[18] Compare the distinction among Turkic languages between 'head-marking' and 'participle-marking' systems (see e.g. Pakendorf 2012, Kornfilt 2008).
[19] As Bert Vaux (p.c.) points out, the form with the ordinary definite article is preferred in SEA (EANC has 610 examples of *im tun-ə* vs. 54 examples of *im tun-s*).

in the following example (61), where the nominalized adjective *nor-ə* 'a new one' has an indefinite interpretation:

(61)	*Yet'e*	*mtadrvel*	*es*	*mek'ena*	*gnel,*
	if	decide.PPT	be.2SG.PRS	car	buy.INF
	aveli	*lav*	*klini*	*nor-ə*	*gnel.*
	more	good	FUT.be.3SG	new-DEF	buy.INF

'If you have decided to buy a car, it will be better to buy a new one.'

For generics, the definite article is sometimes present, sometimes not:

GENERIC SUBJECT

(62)	*Gini-n*	*hamov*	*ban*	*e.*
	wine-DEF	tasty	thing	be.3SG.PRS

'Wine is a tasty thing.'

GENERIC OBJECT

(63)	*Gini*	*sirum*	*em.*
	wine	like.IPT	be.1SG.PRS

'I like wine'

It appears to be more commonly used for generic subjects than for objects, implying that some issue of topicality may be at play (see Donabedian 2010). Another set of facts that could be considered to link the use of the definite article with topicality is its interaction with case marking, whereby, in certain dialects, including SEA, it is not used on cases typically associated with modifiers, either adverbial (ablative, instrumental, locative) or adnominal (genitive), which may be considered less likely to be topical than core arguments of the clause. The pattern is not limited to case marking. As we have seen in section 2.1.1.2.2, non-case-marked elements include both core arguments (subject and direct object) and non-core arguments, notably spatial expressions of destination and location. The latter generally do not take the definite article, even if semantically definite:

(64)	*Vardan-ə*	*gnum*	*e*	*Yerevan/xanut'.*
	Vardan-DEF	go.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	Yerevan/shop

'Vardan is going to Yerevan/the shop.'

(65)	*Vardan-ə*	*Yerevan/xanut'*	*e.*
	Vardan-DEF	Yerevan/shop	be.3SG.PRS

'Vardan is in Yerevan/at the shop.'

That some notion of topicality or cognitive prominence is relevant here is implied by the fact that when the spatial expression noun is modified, indicating a certain degree of cognitive prominence, the definite article is generally used:

(66)	*Vardan-ə*	*gnum*	*e*	*mer*	*tan*
	Vardan-DEF	go.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	1PL.GEN	house-GEN
	mot-i	*karmir*	*dran-ov*	*ežan*	*aprank'-ner-ov*
	close	red	door-INSTR	cheap	ware-PL-INSTR
	xanut'-ə.				
	shop-DEF				

'Vardan is going to the shop near our house with a red door and cheap wares.'

2.1.1.3.2. Indefinite article

Armenian also has an indefinite article, generally associated with specific indefinites, which in most Eastern dialects precedes the noun and is identical to or derived from the numeral 'one' (*me, mi* depending on dialect):

(67)	*mi*	*tun*
	one	house

'a/one house'

This is often followed, especially in colloquial language, by the 'classifier' *hat* (literally 'piece'), with no difference in meaning:

(68)	*mi*	*hat*	*tun*
	one	piece	house

'a/one house'

In many Western dialects, there is a reduced form *mə* which follows the noun:

(69)	*dun*	*mə*
	house	IND

'a house'

In some of these, including the dialect of Karin, this has reduced further, to become an enclitic form parallel to the definite article:

(70)	*tun-əm*
	house-IND

'a house'

2.1.1.4 Nominalization of adjectives and use of nouns as modifiers

In Armenian, the border between the categories of 'noun' and 'adjective' is fairly flexible. As seen in example (61), adjectives may be nominalized, taking the definite article and the full range of nominal morphology, as seen in (71):

(71) (a) *nor*
'new'

(b) *nor-ə*
new-DEF
'the/a new one'

(c) *nor-er-ə*
new-PL-DEF
'(the) new ones'

(d) *nor-er-i-n*
new-PL-DAT-DEF
'to the new ones' etc.

It is also possible for nouns to be used as adjective-like modifiers of other nouns. In this case, they remain indeclinable, like adjectives, with any articles, number or case morphology etc. appearing on the head noun, exactly as in the case of a noun modified by an adjective, as seen in (72c):

(72) (a) NOUN
ayjik-ə
girl-DEF
'the girl'

(b) NOUN WITH ADJECTIVE

lav	*ayjik-ə*
good	girl-DEF

'the good girl'

(c) NOUN AS MODIFIER

ayjik	*ašakert-ə*
girl	student-DEF

'the girl student' (i.e the student who is a girl)

In the context of relativization, these patterns are relevant for the understanding of participial relative clauses, discussed in section 5.1.1.3: the subject participle is classified as a noun, and functions as one when it appears in a free RC (73), but when the RC is headed (74), it functions as a modifier like the noun *ayjik* in (72c):

(73) *parapoɣ-ə*
practice.SPT-DEF
'the one who practises/studies'

(74) *parapoɣ* *ašakert-ə*
practice.SPT student-DEF
'the student who practises/studies'

The resultative participle is classified as an adjective, and functions as such in headed RCs (75), but in free RCs appears in nominalized form (76) like the adjective *nor* in (71b, c, d):

(75) *parapats* *ašakert-ə*
practice.RPT student-DEF
'the student who has/is practised/trained'

(76) *parapats-ə*
practice.RPT-DEF
'the one who has/is practiced/trained'

This nominalization process of adjectives also explains why we find the definite article on the relativizer *vor*, which is classified as an adjective, when it is not accompanied by a noun, as discussed in section 5.1.1.1.4.

2.1.2. The verb

grel = to write	Classical Armenian		Middle Armenian		Western Modern Armenian		Eastern Modern Armenian	
Present Imperfect	1SG gre-m 3SG grē 1SG gre-i 3SG grē-r	č'gre-m / oč' gre-m č'grē / oč' grē č'-gre-i / oč' gre-i č'-grē-r / oč' grē-r	kay u > ku gre-m ku grē ku grē-i ku grē-r (3)	[* č'kay u] (4)	kə gre-m[44] kə grē kə grē-i kə grē-r (5)	č'e-m grer č'i grer č'ē-i grer č'ē-r grer (6)	grum e-m grum ē grum ē-i grum ē-r (7)	č'e-m grum č'i grum č'ēi grum č'ē-r grum
Prst continuous Impft continuous	(affirmative) (1)	(negative) (2)	[* em i grel ? attested since 7th century?]	č'e-m i grel č'ē i / č'i grel č'ē-i i grel č'ē-r i grel	kə gre-m [gor] kə grē gor kə grē-i gor kə grē-r gor (11)	č'e-m grer [gor] č'-i grer [gor] č'ē-i grer [gor] č'ē-r grer [gor] (12)		
Obligative future	[datif + piti[45] grel] (9)	[datif + oč' piti grel] (10)	[piti grem piti grē] [kami-m grel kami grel][46] kay u > ku gre-m etc. = present)	(NB: grel = infinitive)	piti gre-m piti grē piti grē-i piti grē-r (15)	piti č'gre-m piti č'grē piti č'-grē-i [č'piti (pop)] piti č'-grē-r (16)	piti gre-m piti gri piti grē-i piti grē-r (13)	č'piti gre-m č'piti gri č'piti grē-i č'piti grē-r
Future	[imperf] gric'e-m gric'-ē grec'ic' gresc'-ē [perf.] (19)	oč' gric'e-m / č'- oč' gric'ē / č'- oč' grec'ic' / č'- oč' gresc'-ē / č'- (20)					grelu em / k-grem[47] grelu e / k-gri grelu ei / k-grē-i grelu er / k-grē-r (17)	č'e-m grelu / gri č'i grelu / gri č'ē-i grelu / gri č'ē-r grelu / gri
Subj Present Subj Past			gre-m gri/grê grē-i grē-r	č'gre-m č'gri/ č'grê č'grē-i č'grē-r	(resp. EArm and WArm see *13* vs *15*, *14* vs *16*) (21)			
Aorist	(greac' >)		grec'i grec'	č'grec'i č'grec'	(22)			
Present perfect Plus quam perfect	greal em greal ē (+Gen) greal ēi greal ē-r (23)	oč' greal em / č'em greal oč' greal ē / č'ē greal oč' greal ei / greal c'ēi oč' greal ē-r / greal c'ē-r (24)	grel (/grac[48]) em grel (/grac) ē grel (/grac) ē-i grel (/grac) ē-r (25)	grel /grac č'e-m grel /grac č'ē grel / grac č'ē-i grel / grac č'ē-r (26)	grer / grac em grer / grac ē grer / grac ē-i grer / grac ē-r (27)	grer / grac č'e-m grer / grac č'ē grer / grac č'ē-i grer / grac č'ē-r[49] (28)	grel e-m grel ē grel ē-i grel ē-r (29)	č'e-m grel č'i grel č'ē-i grel č'ē-r grel (30)
Imperative	grea (31)	mi grer (32)	grē (33)	mi grer / mi grel (34)	-el: grē (35) -al: karda	-el: mi grer (36) -al: mi kardar	-el: gri (37) -al: karda	-el: mi gri (38) -al: mi kardar

Figure 6: Diachronic development of the Armenian verb system (Donabédian 2018: 116-117, adapted from original in Donabédian & Ouzounian 2008: 2)

2.1.2.1 General overview

The verb in Armenian is inflected for tense, mood, and voice. Many verbs have two stems, one originally perfective, the other imperfective, which are used to form different tenses and participles, but they are not used consistently, so it is not really possible to say that this distinction forms a crucial part of the modern Armenian verb system. However, it may be said that the tenses that use perfective forms where these exist (aorist, perfect tenses) express perfective aspect. Note that perfective tense forms are only used in the indicative mood and with past time reference. Finite verbs agree with the subject in person and number, although for 3rd person, plural marking is not obligatory, with singular verb forms often used even when the subject is plural, especially in the colloquial language:

(77) *Ač'k'-er-s* *ts'av-um* *a*
eye-PL-POSS1 hurt-IPT be.3SG.PRS
'My eyes hurt'

There are 9 participles, which fall into two groups: a) those used only in periphrastic verb forms (the imperfective participle in *-um*, the future participle in *-u* and the past participle in *-el* (WA *-er*) (see section

2.1.2.3), as well as the 'negative participle' (see section 2.1.2.4.1)), and b) the participles used in clausal subordination (the infinitive, the subject participle, the resultative participle,[20] the future participle in *-ik'*, and the imperfective participle in *-is*), the properties and uses of which are described in section 2.1.5.2.2.

As can be seen from figure 6, the Armenian verb system has undergone substantial changes over the course of its history, which have taken different directions in different dialects (the table shows SEA and SWA; most dialects have approximately similar systems to one or the other, although there are differences, some of which will be outlined below).

The most striking tendency is the general change from synthetic to periphrastic forms, with all the modern forms of the indicative except the aorist being periphrastic, while in Classical Armenian, the only periphrastic forms are the perfect and pluperfect tenses, formed with a participle and the present and past forms of the auxiliary respectively.

2.1.2.2 Present > subjunctive

The main trigger for the total reorganization of the system seems to have been the loss of the subjunctive/future, and the subsequent loss of actualization of the imperfective (present and past) forms, leading to their adoption as a subjunctive, changes that reflect a well-known universal-typological tendency (Vaux 1995, Donabédian & Ouzounian 2008: 5). This created the need for new actualized imperfective and future forms, which was fulfilled in different ways in different dialects. A few verbs still have synthetic present and imperfect forms e.g. *unem* 'I have' (also *gitem* 'I know', *karam* 'I can' (colloquial EA)), which take the same endings as the subjunctive:

(78)		PRESENT	PAST
	1SG	*un-e-m*	*un-e-i*
	2SG	*un-e-s*	*un-e-ir*
	3SG	*un-i*	*un-e-r*
	1PL	*un-e-nk'*	*un-e-ink'*
	2PL	*un-e-k'*	*un-e-ik'*
	3PL	*un-e-n*	*un-e-in*

The auxiliary is also declined according to this pattern:

(79)		PRESENT	PAST
	1SG	*e-m*	*e-i*
	2SG	*e-s*	*e-ir*
	3SG	*e/a*[21]	*e-r*

[20] There is some overlap between these categories. For example, the resultative participle is also used in past tense forms in some dialects, as is the imperfective participle in *-is* for present tense forms. In many dialects, the infinitive is used instead of the 'negative participle'.

[21] 3sg present auxiliary has the form *a* in colloquial EA and most Eastern dialects.

1PL	*e-nk'*	*e-ink'*
2PL	*e-k'*	*e-ik'*
3PL	*e-n*	*e-in*

2.1.2.3. EA analytic indicative: present/imperfect, perfect, future

In EA, periphrastic imperfective and future forms were created with participles and the auxiliary, on the model of the old perfect tenses, which remained essentially unaffected. New participles were created from case-marked forms of the infinitive. The locative ending was added to the stem of the infinitive to create the new imperfective participle, in *-um* and phonetic variants, thus these forms are generally only found in dialects that have locative case.[22] However, there is another type of imperfective participle (inf + *-is*, also of locative origin), that in SEA is mainly used with adverbial meaning (see section 2.1.5.2.2.5), but also for the present of a small number of verbs (*gal-is em* 'I come', *tal-is em* 'I give', *lal-is em* 'I cry'), although these forms have been replaced by generalized *-um* (or phonetic variant) in some EA dialects, including Bayazet and Artik-Maralik (see section 2.2.2 for details of the dialects and their classification). In Agulis and related dialects, the *-is* participle is used for a larger number of verbs (e.g. *nös* (Paraka *näis*) < *gnal-is* 'go', Paraka *mənäis* < *mnal-is* 'stay'), while in the so-called *-lis* dialects, including Khoy, this (with phonetic variants) is the only imperfective participle. Combining with present and past forms of the auxiliary, it creates present and imperfect tense forms. The future participle is formed from the dative of the infinitive,[23] and combines with present and past forms of the auxiliary to create future and future-in-the-past tenses. These forms are absent from or used only for modal constructions[24] in most Western dialects, including SWA, but in Karin dialect constitute genuine tense forms as in EA (Grigoryan 1957: 343). They are absent from Bayazet dialect, which has *-um* present, but otherwise much in common with Western dialects (Katvalyan (2016a: 28); however, they are present in the corpus data from Bayazet, possibly due to SEA influence). Aspect is expressed in the stem of these participles, with the past participle having the same stem as the aorist (perfective stem), while the imperfective and future participles are based on the infinitive, which has the stem found in the old imperfective tenses (> modern subjunctive).

(80)

PRESENT		IMPERFECT	
mnum	*em*	*mnum*	*ei*
stay.IPT	be.1SG.PRS	stay.IPT	be.1SG.PST
PRESENT PERFECT		PAST PERFECT	
mnats'el	*em*	*mnats'el*	*ei*
stay.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	stay.PPT	be.1SG.PST

[22] The dialects of Bayazet and Artik-Maralik are exceptions, in that they have the *-um* participle, but lack locative case (see sections 2.2.2.4.2 and 2.2.2.4.3).
[23] In some dialects, particularly those of the Karabagh and Agulis-Meghri groups, other endings (*-akan*, *-ats'(u(k))* etc.) are used (Grigoryan 1957: 150).
[24] In SWA, they are used to express deontic modality: *mnalu em* = 'I should stay', rather than 'I will stay'.

FUTURE		FUTURE-IN-PAST	
mnalu	*em*	*mnalu*	*ei*
stay.FPT	be.1SG.PRS	stay.FPT	be.1SG.PST

Thus we have a symmetrical system where the three participles (imperfective, past, and future) show whether an action is conceived of as being in progress, completed, or in the future at the time denoted by the tense of the auxiliary. If the auxiliary is in the present tense, this is the time of speaking, so with the imperfective participle, we have an action in progress at the time of speaking, i.e. present tense, with the past participle, we have an action that is completed at the time of speaking (present perfect tense), and with the future participle, we have an action that is in the future at the time of speaking (future tense). If the auxiliary is in the past, the reference point is some contextually relevant point in the past, at which time the action was either in progress (imperfect), completed (past perfect), or in the future (future-in-the-past).

The auxiliary itself can take any of these tense forms, and combine with the participle of the lexical verb to form complex tenses (see Asatryan 2004).

2.1.2.4. WA present, imperfect and future periphrases, and the use of these forms in other dialects

2.1.2.4.1 *kə*

The *k*-dialects, including SWA, have also evolved periphrastic present, imperfect and future forms, though these come from different sources and lack the overall symmetry of the EA system. In fact, all the forms in question are also found in EA, but with mainly modal usage. The present and imperfect in *kə* are derived from a periphrasis *kay u* 'stand and' > *ku* + old present or imperfect (modern subjunctive), which became the particle *kə*, that serves as a marker of actualization, distinguishing the (actual) present from the (irrealis) subjunctive (Vaux 1995, Donabédian 2018: 22). The use of progressive-indicative aspectual prefixes has been suggested to be an Eastern Anatolian areal feature (Matras 2010: 75). However, this form, as well as realis present, is also used with future and conditional meanings (Donabédian & Ouzounian 2008: 5), while in EA it is only used as a future/conditional, referred to as 'conditional' mood in traditional Armenian grammar, although it is recognised that it can be used as a future tense (Asatryan 2004: 280):

(81) *kə-mən-am*
kə-stay-1SG.PRS
'I stay/am staying' (WA)

'I will stay'

The negative of the *kə*-forms is derived from a different periphrasis, *(č')em/ei i* + infinitive, i.e. the (negative) auxiliary plus the locative of the infinitive, directly parallel to the EA present and imperfect, but using the old locative particle *i* (in the modern forms preserved only in a few dialects, e.g. Kayseri and Diadin) rather than

the innovative EA locative ending *-um*, which is absent from the *k*-dialects. In many dialects, including SEA, the form of the lexical verb has undergone phonological changes, so that it is now a separate form, morphologically distinct from the infinitive, known as the 'negative participle': the final *-l* of the infinitive has been lost if the auxiliary precedes, and the preceding vowel *-e* has changed to *-i* (82a). In many of the *k*-dialects, including SWA, the final *-l* of the infinitive in these forms has changed to *-r* (82b). In Agulis, where the form is used as a future tense, the infinitive has been preserved (82c), and is also found in the affirmative (82d), which consists of inf + aux, totally parallel to the negative; *kə-* is absent from this dialect (Sargsiants 1883: 119):

(82) (a) *č'em asi* (EA)
(b) *č'em aser* (WA)
(c) *nahil č'im* (Agulis)
'I will not say'
(d) *nahil əm* (Agulis)
'I will say'

2.1.2.4.2 *piti*

The main future form in SWA is derived from another periphrasis, *piti* + subjunctive, originally meaning 'there is need for me to V'. This became the unmarked future in SWA (Donabédian 2018: 23), and other WA dialects such as Mush (Grigoryan 1957: 168):

(83) *piti mnam*
'I must stay'

'I will stay'

It is known as obligatory mood in EA, although besides its modal uses, it may also be used with future tense meaning, as it is in some EA dialects, notably Bayazet, which, like Mush dialect, with which it has been in contact, lacks the future participle (Katvalyan 2016a: 28). In some dialects, there is an alternative form of this periphrasis, in which instead of an invariant particle (*piti* or phonetic variant) and the declined subjunctive, parallel to the *kə*-forms, we have an auxiliary-like declined *pitem* and the infinitive, parallel to the aux + participle tense forms of EA (Grigoryan 1957: 184):

(84)

	FUTURE	FUTURE-IN-PAST	FUTURE	FUTURE-IN-PAST
1SG	*piti mnam*	*piti mnayi*	*mnal pitem*	*mnal pitei*
2SG	*piti mnas*	*piti mnayir*	*mnal pites*	*mnal piteir*
3SG	*piti mna*	*piti mnar*	*mnal piti*	*mnal piter*
1PL	*piti mnank'*	*piti mnayink'*	*mnal pitenk'*	*mnal piteink'*
2PL	*piti mnak'*	*piti mnayik'*	*mnal pitek'*	*mnal piteik'*

3PL	*piti mnan*	*piti mnayin*	*mnal piten*	*mnal pitein*

2.1.2.5. The aorist

The aorist, the only synthetic form in the indicative paradigm, with no corresponding present form, as the original synthetic present has become a subjunctive, occupies an asymmetrical place in the system, but has been preserved in most forms of the modern language. An exception is the dialect of Agulis, where the function of the aorist has been taken over by the original present perfect with the past participle, which is opposed to the present perfect with the *-ats* (resultative) participle, which functions as a genuine present perfect. Interestingly, the present perfect > aorist in Agulis dialect has undergone phonological changes to create a monolectic, apparently synthetic form parallel to the original aorist (*lsel em* > *ləsem* 'I listened/heard' etc), while the *-ats* perfect remains transparently analytic (Sargsiants 1883: 116-7), preserving the independence of the auxiliary as a temporal anchoring device.

Like the perfect tenses, the aorist has perfective aspect, expressed by the stem, shared with the past and resultative participles, and past time reference, expressed by the endings, which are almost identical to those of the old imperfect (now past subjunctive), also used for the past forms of the auxiliary:[25]

(85)

	AORIST	PAST SUBJUNCTIVE	PAST AUX
1SG	*mnats'-i*	*mnay-i*	*e-i*
2SG	*mnats'-ir*	*mnay-ir*	*e-ir*
3SG	*mnats'-0*	*mna-r*	*e-r*
1PL	*mnats'-ink'*	*mnay-ink'*	*e-ink'*
2PL	*mnats'-ik'*	*mnay-ik'*	*e-ik'*
3PL	*mnats'-in*	*mnay-in*	*e-in*

It differs from the perfect tenses in that it is not temporally anchored to the moment of speech or any other moment in time (unless explicitly stated in the context). This means that it lacks the resultative, experiential etc. dimension of the present perfect, the use of which implies the relevance of the event for the time of speech. It focuses on the event itself, which is presented as dynamic, rather than stative or resultative, and is often used in narrative contexts, prototypically expressing the chronological succession of events. In contexts that block its temporal meaning (e.g. if there are elements in the context implying future reference), the aspectual meaning

[25] Some verbs have a different set of endings for the aorist, which were associated with passive voice in Classical Armenian:

(ii)

1SG	*yek-a* 'I came'	1PL	*yek-ank'*
2SG	*yek-ar*	2PL	*yek-ak'*
3SG	*yek-av*	3PL	*yek-an*

In SEA, the link with voice has been totally lost, but in some dialects, including Bayazet, Mush and Khoy, the 'passive-type' endings are associated with verbs denoting state or situation (Katvalyan 2016a: 21): *k'n-a*, not *k'nets'-i* 'I slept'; as passives of transitive verbs tend to focus on the result (generally state or situation) of the action, rather than the action itself, it could be said that some semantic traces of the original usage have remained in these dialects.

remains, giving rise to various modal uses associated with emphasis on the arising of the event, the change involved (gnomic, mirative, in threats etc.), some of which are parallel to the subjunctive:

(86)	*Mard-ə*	*vor*	*siraharv-ets',*	*hor-n*
	person-DEF	CONJ	fall in love-3SG.AOR	father-DAT-DEF
	u	*mor-ə*	*kə-tsax-i*	
	and	mother-DAT-DEF	FUT-sell-3SG	

'If/when a person falls in love, he will sell his father and mother'

(Donabédian 2016: 24)

Compare (87), with the present subjunctive in the first clause:

(87)	*Yete*	*mard-ə*	*siraharv-i,*	*hor-n*
	If	person-DEF	fall in love.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	father-DAT-DEF
	u	*mor-ə*	*kə-tsax-i*	
	and	mother-DAT-DEF	FUT-sell-3SG	

'If a person falls in love, he will sell his father and mother'

For a detailed discussion of the semantics of the Armenian aorist, see Donabédian (2016).

2.1.2.6 Evidentiality

Asatryan (2004), discussing EA, implies that there is a contrast in evidential status between the aorist (eyewitness) and the present perfect (evidential). However, Donabédian (2016: 17) shows that the eyewitness meaning is not an essential characteristic of the aorist, and that evidential meaning is only one of a wide range of possible meanings of the EA present perfect (Donabédian 2018: 24). In WA, the essential evidentiality contrast seems to be between the original present perfect with the *-er* < *-el* < *-eal* (past) participle, which has acquired evidential/mirative meaning, and the equivalent with the *-ats* (perfective/resultative) participle. In SEA, the status of the *-ats* + aux forms as part of the tense system is debatable, as they are only used to denote actions that result in or become states, and could be analysed as involving a predicative adjective rather than a true tense form (see Asatryan 2004), but in SWA and some other dialects, these forms are used for all verbs, and have taken on the role of unmarked present perfect (Donabédian 2018: 23-4), in contrast to the evidential *-er* forms. The evidential function of the present perfect with *-er* in WA means that this, rather than the aorist, is used for some of the modal functions characteristic of the aorist in EA, e.g. mirative (Donabédian 2016). Donabédian (2018: 24) suggests that the semantic development of the present perfect is associated with language contact, as WA parallels Turkish, while EA parallels modern Persian.

2.1.2.7. Diathesis marking: passive and causative

One of the areas in which agglutinative morphology has replaced fusional morphology is that of diathesis marking. In Classical Armenian, this was expressed by the thematic vowel of the verbal suffix: *-el* (transitive and intransitive/unergative), *-al* (intransitive/unaccusative), *-il* (passive, medio-passive). Vestiges of this system survive in SWA and some other dialects, notably medio-passive verbs in *-il* with causative in -el: *godril / godrel* ('to break' intr. / 'to break' tr.), *ayril / ayrel* ('to burn' intr. / 'to burn' tr.), *mašil / mašel* ('to wear out' intr./ 'to wear out' tr., etc. (Donabédian 2018: 24); this phenomenon is absent from SEA, which lacks the *-il* ending altogether. In modern Armenian, including both SEA and SWA, the basic system for diathesis marking involves agglutinative morphemes, *-v-* for passive, SEA *-ts'n-* for causative:

(88)	BASIC VERB	PASSIVE	CAUSATIVE
	xm-el	*xm-v-el*	*xm-e-ts'n-el*
	'drink'	'be drunk' (for drink)	'cause someone to drink'

These agglutinative structures are parallel with the way passive and causative are expressed in Turkish, but in the case of causative at least, it is possible that we are dealing with a wider areal feature. As well as being found in other local languages, such as Laz, an agglutinative causative also exists in the Greek dialects of Asia Minor, where there is some evidence that it represents extension of a pattern already present in Ancient Greek, observable in the Hellenistic Koine of Asia Minor and the Levant, thus predating the Turkish presence in the area (Tzitzilis 2017).

2.1.2.8. Past particle

In some dialects, notably Agulis and Khoy, the past tense endings of the auxiliary and the subjunctive (the same endings) have been lost, and past time reference is expressed analytically, by an invariant particle that accompanies the original present tense form, which is declined for person:

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE 'say' (SEA and Khoy *asel*, Agulis *nahil*)

(89)		AGULIS	KHOY	SEA
	1SG	*naham əm nel*	*ases*[26] *em er*	*asum ei*
	2SG	*naham əs nel*	*ases es er*	*asum eir*
	3SG	*naham (a)*[27] *nel*	*ases er*	*asum er*
	1PL	*naham ək' nel*	*ases enkʲ er*	*asum eink'*
	2PL	*naham ək' nel*	*ases ekʲ er*	*asum eik'*
	3PL	*naham ən nel*	*ases en er*	*asum ein*

[26] Some forms of Khoy dialect, including that spoken in Karaglukh, have imperfect participle in *-l* rather than *-s*, both being ultimately derived from *-lis*, i.e. the infinitive + ending *-is* (see section 2.2.1 for details).
[27] The 3sg auxiliary is often omitted in complex tense forms in these and some other dialects (including Bayazet and Mush).

The origin of these particles is uncertain; the Khoy form *er* is the same as the 3sg imperfect auxiliary, and this has been suggested as its source (Scala 2017). However, Sargsiants (1883: 108) derives Agulis *nel əm* from the old present perfect of the verb 'to be' (*eal em*), which has been lost in most modern dialects, while the imperfect has been preserved. In Agulis, there are other cases where vowel-initial verb forms take a prothetic *n-* (*nahil* for *asel* etc.), which Sargsiants (1883: 114) links with an old locative preposition related to *in / en* in other IE languages. Since the reflex of the *-eal* past participle ends with *-r* in Khoy dialect, it is possible that Khoy *em er* is derived from the same source as Agulis *əm nel*. Whatever the case, analytic tense marking patterns using an invariant past particle are common in the languages of the area (Scala 2017), so language contact could have played a role in creating or reinforcing this system.

2.1.3. Adpositions

As is usually the case with OV languages, most adpositions in Armenian are postpositions. There is a small number of prepositions, which reflects the fact that Classical Armenian was predominantly VO with prepositions (Donabédian 2000). There are some adpositions that can either precede or follow their complement, without any difference in meaning:

(90)	*bats'i*	*dran-its'*	/	*dran-its'*	*bats'i*
	except	DEM2-ABL		DEM2-ABL	except
	'except that'				

There are some cases where the meaning remains the same, but the case is different, with the complement of a preposition taking dative, that of a postposition, genitive:

(91)	*handep*	*indz*	/	*im*	*handep*
	towards	1SG.DAT		1SG.GEN	towards
	'towards me'				

(Asatryan 2004: 377)

In Mush dialect, this phenomenon has a wider extent, with many elements that are only postpositions in other dialects having the option of appearing as prepositions, the complement taking genitive case in the former instance, dative in the latter:

(92)	*geɣ-i*	*mieč'*	/	*məč'*	*geɣ-i-n*
	village-GEN	in		in	village-DAT-DEF
	'in the village'				

(Grigoryan 1957: 372)

The construction with noun in genitive case + postposition, which is the most common adpositional construction in modern Armenian, mirrors the possessive construction, and reflects the fact that many of the

postpositions originate diachronically from nouns. This is also reflected in the fact that the object of many postpositions can be expressed by the genitive clitic 'possessive article' (see section 2.1.1.3.1), in place of a genitive noun or pronoun:

(93)	*het-s*	*het-d*	*het-ə*
	with-POSS1	with-POSS2	with-POSS3
	'with me'	'with you'	'with him/her/it'

Compare the straightforward noun + possessor construction in (94), which has the same diachronic origin as the postpositional construction in (93):

(94)	*votk'-s*	*votk'-d*	*votk'-ə*
	foot-POSS1	foot-POSS2	foot-POSS3
	'my foot'	'your foot'	'his/her/its foot'

which has the same diachronic origin.

Certain adpositions show what could be described as a form of differential object marking, distinguishing between 1st and 2nd person objects, which take dative (a), and 3rd person objects, which take nominative (b):

(95)	(a)	*depi*	*indz*	/	*k'ez*
		to	1SG.DAT	/	2SG.DAT
		'to me/you'			
	(b)	*depi*	*na*	/	*Suren-ə*
		to	3SG.NOM	/	Suren-DEF
		'to him/her/Suren'			

A more widespread phenomenon is that 1st and 2nd person objects take dative (a), while 3rd person objects take genitive (b):

(96)	(a)	*indz*	/	*k'ez*	*mot*
		1SG.DAT	/	2SG.DAT	close
		'close to me/you'			
	(b)	*nra*	/	*Suren-i*	*mot*
		3SG.GEN	/	Suren-GEN	close
		'close to him/her/Suren'			

In many dialects, including the colloquial language of Yerevan, this distinction has been eliminated, and genitive case is used for 1st and 2nd person too:

(97) *im* / *k'o* *mot*
1SG.GEN 2SG.GEN close
'close to me/you'

Note that this form of differential object marking is based on a different hierarchy (that of person) from those operating on the objects of verbs (based on animacy and specificity).

An example of nominative (zero) case being the default when roles are predictable from the semantics of the noun (see section 2.1.1.2.2) is the fact that the postpositions *aŕaj* 'before' and *heto* 'after' usually take ablative objects (a), but when the object is a time expression, it can be unmarked (b):

(98) (a) *gorts-its'* *araj* / *heto*
work-ABL before after
'before/after work'

(b) *mi* *žam* / *or* / *tari* *araj* / *heto*
one hour day year before after
'one hour/day/year ago / after one hour/day/year'

2.1.4. Word order in the clause

In Armenian, the basic clause constitutes a single intonational phrase, with the nuclear stress on the leftmost constituent. In Eastern Armenian, if there is an auxiliary, this cliticizes onto the constituent that carries the stress.[28] In the minimal clause, in which all arguments are expressed by zero anaphora (see section 2.1.6), this element is the lexical verb:

(99) *UTUM* *em*.
eat.IPT be.1SG.PRS
'I eat/am eating.'

If the verb is a compound including a 'preverb', such as *kul tal* 'swallow', the stress and auxiliary fall on this element:

[28] In Western Armenian, there is much less use of complex tenses with an auxiliary (see section 2.1.2), and the behaviour of the auxiliary is different: it generally attaches to the predicate, or to the negative particle if this is present.

(100) *KUL* *em* *tvel.*
PVB be.1SG.PRS give.PPT
'I swallowed (it).'

If there is a non-topical direct object, the stress and auxiliary fall on this element:

(101) *MI* *GIŠATIČ'* *GAZAN* *em* *kul* *tvel.*
one predatory beast be.1SG.PRS PVB give.PPT
'I swallowed a predatory beast.'

If there is an adverb such as a manner adverb that modifies the verb phrase rather than the whole sentence, the stress and the auxiliary fall on this element:

(102) *ARAG* *em* *mi* *gišatič'* *gazan* *kul* *tvel.*
quick be.1SG.PRS one predatory beast PVB give.PPT
'I quickly swallowed a predatory beast.'

A more natural example would be (103):

(103) *ARAG* *es* *hats'* *utum.*
quick be.2SG.PRS bread eat.IPT

'You eat (bread) quickly.'

If there is a non-topical subject, the stress and the auxiliary fall on this element:

(104) *MARD* *e* *yekel.*
person be.3SG.PRS come.PPT
'A person (someone) has come.'

If there is one or more overt argument that can be considered topical, this precedes the element that carries the stress and auxiliary, and generally constitutes a separate intonational phrase (one for each element, marked by brackets), as has been reported of pre-focal material in Hungarian (cf. Szendrői 2001).[29] This category of elements includes agentive/experiencer subjects and specific objects:

(105) (*Siran-ə*) *(Surik-i-n)* (*SIRUM* *e*).
Siran-DEF Surik-DAT-DEF love.IPT be.3SG.PRS
'Siran loves Surik.'

[29] In many cases, these elements have a distinctive fall-rise tone followed by a break, but there are some other patterns which are worthy of further investigation. The crucial fact here is that these elements precede the constituent that carries the stress and the auxiliary.

Kahnemuyipour & Megerdoomian (2008) show that non-specific objects and subjects that have patient/theme role, unlike specific objects and agent/experiencer subjects, remain within the unit that carries the auxiliary on its outermost constituent. However, in fact the key factor is not patient/theme status for subjects or non-specificity of objects in itself, but rather that of not having topic status, which is the default status for agent/experiencer subjects and specific objects, but is subject to exceptions brought about by particular circumstances. For example, specific objects can be included in the main clausal unit when they are not topics, but rather part of the rheme/comment (the non-topic part of the sentence),[30] as in (106):

(106)	Q:	What happened?		
	A:	*SURIK-I-N*	*em*	*tesel.*
		Surik-DAT-DEF	be.1SG.PRS	see.PPT
		'I saw Surik.'		

Agentive subjects can also be included in this unit when they are non-topical, as in the following example where the subject is non-specific and may be considered to have a low level of animacy:

(107)	*(Surik-i-n)*	*MOTSAK*	*e*	*ktsel.*
	Surik-DAT-DEF	mosquito	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT
	'A mosquito bit him/(Surik).'			

These facts imply that the unit with the stress and auxiliary on its initial constituent can be described as the rheme/comment, while elements that precede this are topics. This is consistent with a further set of facts which are somewhat problematic if we assume that the constituent whose edge is marked by the stress and clitic auxiliary is the verb phrase or some similar constituent. When an individual constituent is focused, this element generally receives the stress and the auxiliary:

(108)	*Siran-ə*	*SURIK-I-N*	*e*	*sirum*
	Siran-DEF	Surik-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	love.IPT
	'Siran loves SURIK'			

In this example, the focus is on the object, while the subject may be considered topical (this would be naturally interpreted as a comment about Siran, for example, an answer to the question 'Who does Siran love?'). If the subject does not have topic status, for example, in a context of corrective focus, where the utterance functions

[30] Topic/theme is defined as 'what the utterance is about', while comment/rheme has been defined as 'what the speaker says about it' (von Heusinger 1999: 30), but as not all sentences have a topic (for example (104)), it is here used simply to refer to the non-topic part of the sentence. The division of an utterance into topic/theme and comment/rheme does not necessarily coincide with the division into focus (new, non-presupposed) and background (already known information) (von Heusinger 1999: 30); the comment/rheme can contain both focused and background information.

to correct a false assertion rather than to increase our knowledge concerning Siran, it is possible for this to follow the focused object, if the latter is specific (non-specific objects must remain adjacent to the verb):

(109)	*SURIK-I-N*	*e*	*Siran-ə*	*sirum.*
	Surik-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	Siran-DEF	love.IPT

'It is SURIK that Siran loves.'

Assuming an underlying SOV order, here it could be proposed that the focused object is moved to precede the non-topical subject in order to place it in initial position, where it can receive the nuclear stress. This type of analysis has been proposed for focus movement in other languages where the main intonational prominence is in peripheral position (left-peripheral in Hungarian, right-peripheral in Italian, for example) (see Büring 2005). This differs crucially from analyses that propose that all focused elements move to a special peripheral focus position, as in other analyses of these languages (e.g. the Cartographic approach initiated by Rizzi 1997), in that it proposes that movement is motivated by prosody, and only takes place when necessary, i.e. when the default syntactic position of the element in question coincides with the nuclear stress, no movement occurs. Another consequence of this is that it need not be the focused element that moves: it is possible for non-focused elements to move in order to create the desired configuration. This is also possible in Armenian: an alternative to (109), (110), has the has the non-topical, non-focused subject in final position, where it is unaccented and can be described as 'backgrounded'. Kılıçaslan (2004) describes a similar process of 'backgrounding' non-focused elements by placing them in peripheral positions in Turkish.

(110)	*SURIK-I-N*	*e*	*sirum*	*Siran-ə.*
	Surik-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	love.IPT	Siran-DEF

'It is SURIK that Siran loves.'

When it is the subject that is separately focused, we have the same possibilities:

(111)	*Surik-i-n*	*SIRAN-N*	*e*	*sirum.*
	Surik-DAT-DEF	Siran-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	love.IPT

'(It is) SIRAN (who) loves Surik.'

(focus on subject, with topical object preceding in separate intonational phrase)

(112)	*SIRAN-N*	*e*	*Surik-i-n*	*sirum.*
	Siran-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	Surik-DAT-DEF	love.IPT

'(It is) SIRAN (who) loves Surik.'

(non-topical object between subject and verb, typically corrective focus)

(113)	*SIRAN-N*	*e*	*sirum*	*Surik-i-n.*
	Siran-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	love.IPT	Surik-DAT-DEF

'(It is) SIRAN (who) loves Surik.'

('backgrounded' object)

It is also possible for focused elements to occur in postverbal position, as in (114). In this case, the auxiliary always cliticizes onto the verb. It can never cliticize onto a postverbal element.

(114)	*Siran-ə*	*sirum*	*e*	*SURIK-I-N.*
	Siran-DEF	love.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	Surik-DAT-DEF

'Siran loves SURIK.'

This configuration appears when the verb itself has topic status, for example, in response to a question such as 'who does Siran love?', where the answer is interpreted as a comment about Siran loving, rather than just about Siran. In this case, the verb has a fall-rise-break intonation parallel to that of other topics: the intonation of *sirum e* mirrors that of *Siranə*, and the intonation of the whole clause is parallel to that of (105), with topical subject and object followed by the verb carrying the nuclear stress.

Thus it can be seen that word order in the clause in Armenian is determined by information structure to a much greater extent than by grammatical categories and relations, to the extent that this can affect the relative order of verb and object. However, when the verb and the object represent a single unit of information structure, as in (101, 102, 103) or (106), the order is OV, thus in terms of word order typology, Armenian can be classified as an OV language, as in Donabédian (2018).[31]

Tamrazian (1994) demonstrates that interrogative pronouns in Armenian have essentially the same behaviour as focused elements: they receive the stress and the auxiliary, but cannot be analysed as moving to a specific syntactic position: the preferred order is SOV in both subject (115) and object (116) wh-questions, and non-specific objects must remain adjacent to V, as in (117a), while specific ones need not (117b):

(115)	*OV*	*e*	*Siran-i-n*	*sirum?*
	who	be.3SG.PRS	Siran-DAT-DEF	love.IPT

'Who loves Siran?'

(Tamrazian 1994:14)

(116)	*Siran-ə*	*UM*	*e*	*sirum?*
	Siran-DEF	who.DAT	be.3SG.PRS	love.IPT

'Who does Siran love?'

(117)	(a)	*Siran-ə*	*banali-ov*	*INČ'(-N)*	*e*	*bats'um?*
		Siran-DEF	key-INSTR	what (-DEF)	be.3SG.PRS	open.IPT

[31] The OV preference is stronger in Western Armenian than in Eastern Armenian. This may be linked to the fact that some Eastern Armenian dialects (notably Bayazet and Khoy) appear to have quite a consistent tendency to place focused elements in postverbal position in clauses with no auxiliary (see Hodgson 2018). The phenomenon is certainly worthy of further investigation.

'What (specific) does Siran open with a key?'

(b)

Siran-ə	*INČ'*(-N)*	*e*	*banali-ov*	*bats'um?*
Siran-DEF	what*(-DEF)	be.3SG.PRS	key-INSTR	open.IPT

'What *(specific) does Siran open with a key?'

(Tamrazian 1994: 51)

Tamrazian claims that interrogation and focus are subject to some, but not all, of Ross's (1967) 'island' constraints on extraction, which she takes as evidence that these elements are subject to the same type of movement operation found in English and other European languages, but that this operation affects the logical form rather than the visible syntactic form of the sentence. This includes the apparent inability to extract such elements from adjunct clauses (118) and from complex NPs (119), but not from finite subordinate clauses introduced by an interrogative element ('wh-island'), which is impossible in English (120):

(118)

**Inč'-ə*	*Siran-ə*	*neɣvets'*	*vorovhetev*
what-DEF	Siran-DEF	be.bothered.3SG.AOR	because
Surik-ə	*bats'atrets'?*		
Surik-DEF	explain.3SG.AOR		

*'What was Siran bothered because Surik explained?'

(Tamrazian 1994: 32)

(119)

**Inč'-n*	*es*	*ayn*	*mard-u-n*	*vor*	*norogel*
what-DEF	be.2SG.PRS	DEM2	person-DAT-DEF	CONJ	repair.PPT
e	*čanač'um?*				
be.3SG.PRS	know.IPT				

*'What do you know the man who has repaired?'

(Tamrazian 1994: 29)

(120)

Inč'-ə	*č'es*	*imanum*	*inč'pes*	*em*
what-DEF	NEG.be.2SG.PRS	know.IPT	how	be.1SG.PRS
norogel?				
repair.PPT				

'what do you wonder how I fixed?'

(Tamrazian 1994: 24)

However, Comrie (1984) demonstrates that the constraints surrounding extraction from subordinate clauses in Armenian are in fact quite different from those that we find in English. He states that, with a particular category

of exception discussed below, it is generally impossible to extract any element from a subordinate clause. For example, when an element inside a subordinate clause is questioned, in English, the interrogative pronoun appears at the left edge of the whole construction, as seen in (123), (124) and (125):

(121) *Petros thinks that Aram has left.*

(122) *Petros thinks that Aram has seen Ruben.*

(123) *Who does Petros think has left?*

(124) *Who does Petros think has seen Ruben?*

(125) *Who does Petros think Aram has seen?*

However, in Armenian, the interrogatives cannot be fronted in this way, but must remain in their argument positions in the subordinate clause, even though the semantic scope is over the whole construction, thus (131) is a question about the individual of whom it is true that Petros thinks he left, rather than the person of whom it is true that he left (Comrie 1984: 13):

(126)	*Petros-ə*	*kartsum*	*e*	*(vor)*	*Aram-ə*
	Petros-DEF	think.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	(CONJ)	Aram-DEF
	gnats'el	*e.*			
	go.PPT		be.3SG.PRS		

'Petros thinks that Aram has left.'

(127)	*Petros-ə*	*kartsum*	*e*	*(vor)*	*Aram-ə*
	Petros-DEF	think.IPT	be.3SG.DEF	(CONJ)	Aram-DEF
	tesel	*e*	*Ruben-i-n.*		
	see.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	Ruben-DAT-DEF		

'Petros thinks that Aram has seen Ruben.'

(Comrie 1984: 12)

(128)	**Petros-n*	*OV*	*e*	*kartsum*	*(vor)*	*gnats'el*
	Petros-DEF	who	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT	(CONJ)	go.PPT
	e?					
	be.3SG.PRS					

'Who does Petros think has left?'

(129)	**Petros-n*	*OV*	*e*	*kartsum*	*(vor)*	*tesel*
	Petros-DEF	who	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT	(CONJ)	see.PPT

e	*Ruben-i-n?*
be.3SG.PRS	Ruben-DAT-DEF

'Who does Petros think has seen Ruben?'

(130)	**Petros-n*	*UM-N*	*e*	*kartsum*	*(vor)*	*Aram-ə*
	Petros-DEF	who-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT	(CONJ)	Aram-DEF
	tesel	*e?*				
	see.PPT	be.3SG.PRS				

'Who does Petros think Aram has seen?'

(131)	*Petros-ə*	*kartsum*	*e*	*(vor)*	*OV*
	Petros-DEF	think.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	(CONJ)	who
	e	*gnats'el?*			
	be.3SG.PRS	go.PPT			

'Who does Petros think has left?'

(132)	*Petros-ə*	*kartsum*	*e*	*(vor)*	*OV*
	Petros-DEF	think.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	(CONJ)	who
	e	*tesel*	*Ruben-i-n?*		
	be.3SG.PRS	see.PPT	Ruben-DAT-DEF		

'Who does Petros think has seen Ruben?'

(133)	*Petros-ə*	*kartsum*	*e*	*(vor)*	*Aram-ə*
	Petros-DEF	think.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	(CONJ)	Aram-DEF
	UM-N	*e*	*tesel?*		
	who.DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	see.PPT		

'Who does Petros think Aram has seen?'

(Comrie 1984: 13)

Thus Tamrazian's unacceptable example (118) is improved if the interrogative remains in the subordinate clause:

(134)	*Siran-ə*	*neɣvets'*	*vorovhetev*	*Surik-ə*	*INČ'*
	Siran-DEF	be.bothered.3SG.AOR	because	Surik-DEF	what
	bats'atrets'?[32]				

[32] The unacceptability of the complex NP construction (119) remains even if the interrogative is placed inside the subordinate clause:

(i)	**Ayn*	*mard-u-n*	*vor*	*INČ'-N*	*e*	*norogel*
	DEM3	person-DAT-DEF	CONJ	what-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	repair.PPT
	čanač'um	*es?*				

'What was Siran bothered because Surik explained?'

According to Comrie (1984), the only exceptions to the rule that it is impossible to extract from subordinate clauses involve a 'raising to object' construction, in which the extracted element, regardless of its role in the subordinate clause, appears in object case in the matrix clause, as if it were object of the matrix verb:

(135)	*Petros-n*	*UM-N*	*e*	*kartsum*	*vor*	*gnats'el*
	Petros-DEF	who-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT	CONJ	go.PPT
	e?					
	be.3SG.PRS					

'Who does Petros think has left?'

(Comrie 1984: 14)

Comrie observes that there are some constraints on this construction, but these appear to be quite different from the 'island' constraints affecting extraction in languages such as English. He suggests that the element that is raised must be the subject of the subordinate clause ((136), with extraction of subordinate clause object, is unacceptable), and must be the type of element that takes dative rather than nominative case as object (see section 2.1.1.2) ((137), with nominative object, is unacceptable). This implies that some issue of cognitive prominence may be relevant here (syntactic subjects and dative objects are associated with a higher degree of cognitive prominence than non-subjects and nominative objects, see section 3.2.2.3):

(136)	**Petros-ə*	*UM-N*	*e*	*kartsum*	*vor*	*Aram-ə*
	Petros-DEF	who-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT	CONJ	Aram-DEF
	tesel	*e?*				
	see.PPT	be.3SG.PRS				

'Who does Petros think Aram has seen?'

(137)	**Petros-ə*	*INČ'*	*e*	*kartsum*	*vor*	*ənkel*
	Petros-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT	CONJ	fall.PPT
	e?					

---

know.IPT be.3SG.PRS

*'What do you know the man who fixed?'

(Tamrazian 1994: 29)

However, the unacceptability of this construction may be due to the centre-embedding of the RC, with non-nominative relativized element *ayn mardun* in MC case preceding RC, while the rest of MC follows RC. This construction should be impossible if finite RCs in Armenian are adjoined, rather than embedded constructions, as proposed in section 5.1.3. Indeed, without centre-embedding, the level of acceptability is improved:

(ii)	*Čanač'um*	*es*	*ayn*	*mard-u-n*	*vor*	*INČ'-N*
	know.IPT	be.2SG.PRS	DEM3	person-DAT-DEF	CONJ	what-DEF
	e	*norogel?*				
	be.3SG.PRS	repair.PPT				

'What do you know the man who fixed?'

be.3SG.PRS

'What does Petros think has fallen?'

(Comrie 1984: 14)

Tamrazian's acceptable example (120) is an example of such a construction with a nominative object, so it appears that case-marking in itself is not the decisive factor here. As stated above, this example constitutes a violation of the constraint on extracting out of finite subordinate clauses introduced by an interrogative ('wh-islands'), which is further evidence that this process is subject to quite different restrictions from those that apply to the movement of interrogatives etc. in English and other European languages.

2.1.5. Subordination

2.1.5.1. General overview

According to Creissels (2006: 189), subordination is the term for the situation in which one clause (the subordinate clause) plays the role of a constituent of another clause (the matrix clause). This can be understood in a semantic sense, i.e. that the subordinate clause does not have its own illocutionary force, but falls under that of the matrix clause, as it is not independently asserted (see also Cristofaro 2003: 32[33]), or in a syntactic sense, i.e. that the subordinate clause has the syntactic position of a constituent of the matrix clause (complement of V for complement clauses, noun modifier for RC, adverbial for adverbial clauses, subject for clausal subjects). These two properties do not always coincide; for example, non-restrictive RCs constitute independent assertions, and are thus not semantically subordinated (see Cristofaro 2003: 195), while adjoined RCs do not occupy the position of a constituent of the matrix clause (see section 3.1.2.1.2). In general, subordination may be understood as a gradient phenomenon, a cluster of properties of which no single one can be isolated as the unique, defining feature.

Morphologically, subordination can be expressed in various ways. This includes particles, known as conjunctions or complementizers, and special verb forms, often with reduced articulation of typically 'verbal' characteristics such as tense, mood and aspect, and sometimes also the appearance of noun morphology, such as

[33] Cristofaro (2003: 32) gives two types of assertiveness tests:
(a) Negation: when the whole construction is negated, what is negated is the matrix clause, not the subordinate clause:
(i) *It is not the case that, alarms ringing, the burglar fled.*
Here, what is denied is that the burglar fled, not that alarms were ringing.

(b) Illocutionary force, e.g. sentential questioning or question tags:
(ii) *Is it the case that, alarms ringing, the burglar fled?*
(iii) *Alarms ringing, the burglar fled, didn't he?*
Here, what is questioned is that the burglar fled, not that alarms were ringing.
However, by this logic, non-restrictive relative clauses are not subordinate, as both clauses can be affected by sentential negation:
(iv) *It is not the case that they went to a number of Bach concerts, for which they had booked tickets several months in advance.*
(Cristofaro 2003: 195)

case or definiteness marking. In some cases, subordination is not expressed by morphology at all, but only by intonation (see Palancar 2012). The reduction in verb-type morphology and the appearance of noun-type morphology, referred to by Cristofaro (2003) as verb deranking, reflects the fact that subordination generally involves the use of a construction denoting an event or state (State of Affairs (SoA) in Cristofaro's terminology) to denote an entity or a property (see also Creissels 2006: 206). The degree to which the subordinated element is construed as an entity or property, and the consequent weakening of the event/state meaning, is one of the factors determining the degree of subordination as manifested crosslinguistically in terms of morphosyntactic properties (Cristofaro (2003: 235) refers to 'construal as object', but this seems to be just one type of instance of a wider phenomenon). It is linked to the reduction or loss of TAM marking, as tense, aspect and mood are less relevant for entities or properties, and may also be linked to omission of arguments, as all participants in the event/state may not be relevant for the entity or property meaning. Obviously, construal as an entity is linked to the appearance of nominal morphology. Construal as a property can lead to adjective-like characteristics.

The other main factor associated with the degree of morphological subordination is the extent to which semantic features of the subordinate clause are predetermined by or shared with the matrix clause (see Cristofaro 2003 section 8.3); these predetermined or shared features then need not be expressed separately in the subordinate clause. For example, some predicates, such as those of perception, predetermine the time reference and/or aspect of the subordinate clause (a state of affairs that is perceived must necessarily coincide in time with the state of affairs of perceiving it). In the case of RCs, the time reference and aspect of the subordinate clause are independent of the state of affairs expressed in the matrix clause, but there is necessarily a shared participant, the relativized element, which may be omitted from the RC (see section 3.1.2.2.1). Argument omission is one of the main morphological manifestations of subordination (the other being verb deranking) taken into account in Cristofaro's (2003) hierarchy of different types of predicates according to the degree of morphological subordination they have been shown to exhibit in her crosslinguistic study, discussed in section 2.1.5.3. Thus relativization strategies in which the relativized element is omitted in RC may be considered to have a greater degree of morphological subordination. This very property (lack of representation of relativized element in RC) is generally associated with high positions on the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977) (see section 3.2.1). It is also the case that deranked verb forms (e.g. participles) are generally associated with high positions on the AH (see e.g. Lehmann 1986). Thus there is a link between high degree of morphological subordination and high level of accessibility to relativization.

2.1.5.2 Subordination in Armenian

2.1.5.2.1 Finite subordination

Finite subordinate clauses may mark subordination with special morphemes: conjunctions (138) or relative pronouns (139) (the two may co-occur, see sections 5.1.1.2 and 5.2.5.1):

(138)	*Drank'*	*ayn*	*mardik-n*	*en,*	*vor*	*irants'*
	DEM2.PL.NOM	DEM3	people-DEF	be.3PL.PRS	CONJ	3PL.GEN
	k'sak-ner-i	*mej*	*gyuɣats'u*	*k'rtink'-n*	*e*	*lts'vats*
	purse-PL-GEN	in	villager.GEN	sweat-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	pour.RPT

'Those are the people into whose purses the villager's sweat is poured'

(Abeghyan 1912: 159)

(139)	*yes*	*gorts-i*	*kəverts'nem*	*vari*	*afto-n*
	1SG.NOM	work-GEN	FUT.take.1SG	which.GEN	car-DEF
	koxts'ir	*en*			
	steal.PPT	be.3PL.PRS			

'I will hire the one whose car they stole'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

Another way of marking subordination is by the use of special verb forms. One such is the subjunctive, which is fully inflected for person, but limited compared to fully finite verbs as regards aspect, which is only imperfective (it lacks an aorist form, and cannot be used in perfect tenses with *-el* (past) participle). In traditional Armenian grammar, it is referred to as 'optative', and it is generally associated with irrealis meaning (purpose and conditional clauses, complement of verbs of desire and verbs of manipulation such as 'ask' and 'demand', that do not entail that the action actually took place). Subjunctive clauses may (b) or may not (a) be introduced by a conjunction. Forms introduced by a conjunction are generally used when the subject of the subordinate clause is not coreferent with that of the matrix clause, as in (140b); when there is coreference between the subjects, as in (140a), forms without a conjunction are preferred (EANC has 26 examples of *uzum em gnam* as in (140a), vs. 1 with conjunction *uzum em vor gnam*):

(140)	(a)	*Uzum*	*em*	*gn-a-m.*	
		want.IPT	be.1SG.PRS	go-SUBJ-1SG.PRS	
		'I want to go.'			
	(b)	*Uzum*	*em*	*vor*	*(na)*	*gn-a.*
		want.IPT	be.1SG.PRS	CONJ	3SG.NOM	go-SUBJ.3SG.PRS
		'I want him/her to go'				

2.1.5.2.2. Non-finite (participial) subordination

The other types of reduced verb forms used in subordination are participles, which are non-finite forms that may not be introduced by a conjunction or RP. When a subject is present, it is usually expressed with genitive case, like a noun modifier, and in nominal uses, the full range of nominal inflection is possible (case, number,

articles). However, these participles maintain some crucial properties associated with verbs, such as the ability to take an object with the case it would have in a finite clause, generally, zero for inanimate (142), dative for animate (141), and diathesis (passive (143) and causative (144)) morphology, and to be modified by adverbs (145):

(141)	*es*	*mart'ə*	*azgayin*	*heros*	*a,*
	DEM1	person.DEF	national	hero	3PL.PRS.SUBJ
	T'alyat'	*p'ašay-i-n*	*əspanoɣ-n*	*a*	
	Talyat	Pasha-DAT-DEF	kill.SPT-DEF	3PL.PRS.SUBJ	

'This person is a national hero, he's the one who killed Talyat Pasha'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(142)	*Mesrop Maštots'-ə*	*mer*	*taŕ-er-ə*	*stextsoɣ-n*
	Mesrop Mashtots-DEF	1PL.GEN	letter.PL-DAT-DEF	create.IPT-DEF
	a			
	be.3SG.PRS			

'Mesrop Mashtots is the one who created our letters'

(Lori: Shnogh)

PASSIVE

(143)	*im*	*tsənvats*	*teɣ-ən*	*č'em*	*sirum*
	1SG.GEN	be.born.RPT	place-DEF	NEG.be.1SG.PRS	love.IPT

'I don't like the place where I was born'

(Mush: Shirak)

CAUSATIVE

(144)	*Hiats'noɣ-ə*
	admire.CAUS.SPT-DEF

'The one who caused me to admire him'

(Khoy: Gladzor)

WITH ADVERB

(145)	*isk*	*šut*	*zärt'noɣ-n*	*el*	*šat*	*pan-its'*
	and	early	wake.up.SPT-DEF	PTC	much	thing-ABL
	kok'təvi					

FUT.benefit.3SG

'and the one who gets up early will benefit from many things'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

Armenian has five types of participle that are used in subordination, which differ in their meaning and function:

2.1.5.2.2.1. Infinitive

The infinitive is a noun denoting the action or state expressed by the verb. It is declined for case, taking the *-u* declension (see section 2.1.1.2.1). For verbs that have separate imperfective and perfective stems, the infinitive always uses the imperfective stem, with the endings *-el* or *-al* (in some dialects, also *-il* and/or *-ul*; the choice may be associated with diathesis marking, see section 2.1.2.7). It is used for certain types of complement and adverbial clauses, but not for relativization.

(146)	*Vardan-ə*	*sksel*	*e*	*yergel.*
	Vardan-DEF	start.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	sing.INF

'Vardan started singing.'

(147)	*Vardan-ə*	*p'oɣots'-n*	*ants'el*	*e*	*yergel-ov.*
	Vardan-DEF	street-DEF	cross.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	sing.INF-INSTR

'Vardan crossed the road singing.'

2.1.5.2.2.2. Subject participle

The subject participle was originally an agent noun, but in the modern language may refer to the subject of any verb, even if it is non-agentive, as in (148):

(148)	*heto*	*patmakan*	*nəšanakuts'yun*	*unets'oɣ*
	then	historical	significance	have.SPT
	menk'	*xač'k'ar-er*	*unenk'*	
	1PL.NOM	khachkar-PL	have.1PL.PRS	

'then we have khachkars which have historical significance'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

It takes the *-i* declension. It has the ending *-oɣ*, which may be added to the imperfective or perfective stem, depending on the morphological category of the verb,[34] with no difference in meaning. It is mainly used for subject relativization, but under some circumstances may be used to relativize other roles (see section

[34] In SEA, the general rule is that regular verbs with infinitive in *-el* form the SPT on the imperfective stem, while verbs with infinitive in *-al* and irregular verbs form the participle on the perfective stem.

5.2.2.9.2). When there is an overt head noun, the participle takes the position of an adjectival modifier of this nominal, and remains uninflected, like an adjective (see section 2.1.1.4):

(149) (a) *yergoɣ-ner-ə*
sing.SPT-PL-DEF
'those who sing'

(b) *yergoɣ* *tɣa-ner-ə*
sing.SPT boy-PL-DEF
'the boys who sing'

2.1.5.2.2.3. Resultative participle

The resultative or perfective participle, according to Asatryan (2004: 225), although it may be nominalized, has the status of an adjective, rather than a noun. This means that its primary purpose is to denote a property, rather than an entity. This property may be a state or situation that comes about as the result of an action, or an action that has become a state or situation (Asatryan 2004: 235). For this reason, especially when used predicatively, it is primarily associated with intransitive verbs that denote or result in a state or situation (unaccusatives), and with passive verbs (active transitive verbs tend to focus on the action, passive on the result, as the state or situation denoted by or resulting from a transitive verb generally affects the object, rather than the subject). In spoken EA, including Bayazet and Khoy as well as Ararat dialects (Katvalyan 2016b), morphologically active transitive verbs, when used in this way, receive a passive interpretation: *gr-ats a* refers to the object, rather than the subject, receiving the interpretation 'it is written', not 'he has written' (in literary SEA, the passive form *gr-v-ats* would be used (Asatryan 2004)). It has been stated (Jahukyan 1974: 552) that the same applies to the use of this participle in relativization, i.e. it is used to relativize transitive object and intransitive subject. However, although this represents a general tendency, it is by no means absolute (see section 5.2.2.9.3). Note that in some dialects, including most Western dialects and Agulis, this participle is used in regular perfect tense forms for all types of verbs (see sections 2.1.2.5, 2.1.2.6), thus the association with resultative meaning is weaker. In most dialects it has the ending *-ats*, in some, *-uk* (see section 2.2.4.2), which is added to the perfective stem if the verb possesses one.

(150) (a) *Vardan-i* *grats* *grk'-er-ə*
Vardan-GEN write.RPT book-PL-DEF
'the books Vardan wrote'

(b) *Vardan-i* *grats-ner-ə*
Vardan-GEN write.RPT-PL-DEF
'the things Vardan wrote'

2.1.5.2.2.4. Future participle in *-ik'*

The future participle in *-ik'* also has the basic meaning of a property, that of something that is to happen or be done, but, like the resultative participle, it may be nominalized to produce a free RC. It is formed by adding the ending *-ik'* to the infinitive:

(151) (a) *anelik'* *gorts*
do.FPT work
'work (that is) to be done'

(b) *anelik'*
do.FPT
'thing(s) (that is/are) to be done'

It is not much used for subordination in modern EA (Arakelyan (1964: 127) refers to it as 'the old future participle'), and there are no examples in the corpus.

2.1.5.2.2.5. Imperfective participle in *-is*

The imperfective participle in *-is*, as an independent participle, is used only with adverbial meaning, and for this reason, does not receive nominal morphology like the other independent participles. It denotes the situation of an action being in progress, and is formed by adding the ending *-is* to the infinitive:

(152) *Hišelis* *txrum* *er.*
remember.IPT be.sad.IPT be.3SG.PAST
'Remembering, he felt sad.'

In some dialects, it is also used instead of or alongside the other (*-um*) imperfective participle to form imperfective tense forms, including for a small number of verbs in SEA (see section 2.1.2.3).

2.1.5.3. Subordination hierarchy

Cristofaro (2003), based on observations concerning verb deranking phenomena and argument omission crosslinguistically, has produced a hierarchy of different types of predicates according to the extent to which they are typically associated with these phenomena, i.e. the degree of subordination typically associated with each type of predicate. As seen in the following examples, finite subordination in Armenian seems in general terms to be compatible with her hierarchy (with the exceptional of conditionals, which only use the subjunctive due to their intrinsically irrealis meaning), not being used at all with predicates at the top of the hierarchy, then progressing through bare subjunctive (most subordinate finite) > conjunction + subjunctive (intermediate degree of subordination) > conjunction + finite clause (least subordinate). Participles, which show a higher degree of subordination than finite clauses, may be used for all types except verbs of utterance or propositional attitude, implying that perhaps these should be placed lower on the hierarchy than IO/oblique RCs, for which participles may be used. By this criterion, also, perception (finite preferred) should be placed lower than

temporal or Agent/Subject RC (participle preferred). However, in general, there is indeed a tendency for participial forms (morphosyntactically the most subordinate, according to Cristofaro's theory) to be used more for the higher roles and less for the lower roles. This applies in general terms to RCs, although there are some crucial exceptions, which are discussed in detail in section 5.2.2.9. The main semantic issues at play for RCs seem to be the ease with which the role of the shared argument can be inferred in RC (facilitating argument omission), and the degree to which the RC is construed as representing an entity or property, rather than an independent state of affairs (facilitating the use of reduced verb forms, and sometimes also argument omission). The following examples show the different verb forms associated with the positions on Cristofaro's (2003) hierarchy, proceeding from highest (153) to lowest (167, 168).

PHASALS: Infinitive only:

(153)	*Sksel*	*em*	*yergel.*
	start.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	sing.INF
	'I started to sing.'		

>

MODALS (deontic): Infinitive or bare subjunctive[35]:

(154)	(a)	*Karoɣ*	*em*	*gnal.*	
		able	be.1SG.PRS	go.INF	
		'I can go.'			
	(b)	*Karoɣ*	*em*	/	*karam*[36]	*gnam.*
		able	be.1SG.PRS		be.able.1SG.PRS	go.1SG.PRS.SUBJ
		'I can go.'				
	(c)	*Petk'*	*e*	*gnam.*	
		PTC	be.3SG.PRS	go.1SG.PRS.SUBJ	
		'I must go.'			
	(d)	*Petk'*	*e*	*gnal.*	
		PTC	be.3SG.PRS	go.INF	
		'One must go.'			

DESIDERATIVES / MANIPULATIVES: Infinitive or bare subjunctive for same subject:

(155)	*Uzum*	*em*	*gnam*	/	*gnal.*
	want.IPT	be.1SG.PRS	go.1SG.PRS.SUBJ		go.INF

[35] The subjunctive is preferred in colloquial language (Asatryan 2004: 299).
[36] The synthetic form *karam* 'I am able to' (see section 2.1.2.2.) is more colloquial than *karoɣ em*.

‘I want to go.’

The infinitive can also be used for different subject with verbs of manipulation that actually entail that the action took place:

(156)	*Vardan-i-n*	*stipel*	*em*	*hražarvel.*
	Vardan-DAT-DEF	force.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	refuse.INF

‘I forced Vardan to refuse.’

However, when the subject is different, subjunctive with conjunction is normally used:

(157)	*Xndrel*	*em*	*vor*	*(ink’ə)*	*hražarvi.*
	ask.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	CONJ	3SG.NOM	refuse.3SG.PRS.SUBJ

‘I asked him to refuse.’ (lit. ‘I asked that he refuse.’)

PURPOSE ADVERBIAL: Conjunction with subjunctive:

(158)	*Tun*	*gnats’*	*vor*	*verarku*	*verts’ni.*
	house	go-3SG.AOR	CONJ	coat	take-3SG.PRS.SUBJ

‘He went home to get a coat.’

Declined infinitive with adposition (INF-GEN *hamar*) is also possible if there is coreference:

(159)	*Tun*	*gnats’*	*verarku*	*verts’nel-u*	*hamar.*
	house	go.3SG.AOR	coat	take.INF-GEN	for

‘He went home to get a coat.’

>

PERCEPTION: Finite clause with conjunction:

(160)	*Tesel*	*em,*	*vor*	*tun*	*ekav.*
	see.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	CONJ	house	come-3SG.AOR

‘I saw that he came home.’

Less commonly, the infinitive may also be used:

(161)	*Voč’ vok’*	*č’nkatets’*	*nra*	*gal-ə.*
	NEG.PRON	NEG.notice.3SG.AOR	3SG.GEN	come.INF-DEF

‘No-one noticed that he arrived.’

>

TEMPORAL (before, after, when): Participial forms (declined infinitive) are preferred, at least for ‘before’ and ‘after’:

(162) (a) *tun* *gnal-uts’* *aŕaj* / *heto*
house go.INF-ABL before after
‘before/after going home’

(b) *tun* *gnal-u* *žamanak* / *pah-i-n*
house go.INF-GEN time moment-DAT-DEF
‘when he went/was going home’

(c) *Tun* *gnalis* *tesel* *e…*
house go.IPT see.PPT be.3SG.PRS
‘(While/when) going home, he saw…’

Finite forms with the conjunction *vor* are also used for ‘when’:

(163) *Vor* *tun* *gnats’,* *tesav…*
CONJ house go.3SG.AOR see.3SG.AOR
‘When he went home, he saw…’

AGENT OR SUBJECT RELATIVIZATION: Participial forms are preferred:

(164) *yergoɣ* / *nstats* *tɣa-n*
sing.SPT sit.RPT boy-DEF
‘the boy who is singing/sitting’[37]

Finite clauses with conjunction *vor* and/or relative pronoun may also be used (see section 5.1.1).

>

REASON: Finite clause with conjunction is preferred:

(165) *Das-i* *č’ekav,* *vorovhetev* *mayr-ə* *hivand*
class-GEN NEG.come.3SG.AOR because mother-POSS3 ill
be.3SG.PRS
e.
‘He did not come to the class, because his mother is ill.’

At least in some dialects, declined infinitive is also possible if there is coreference (not necessarily with the same subject):

[37] These participles do not express tense or aspect, so the same forms could be translated ‘the boy who sings/sits’, ‘the boy who sang/sat’, ‘the boy who was singing/sitting’, etc., according to the context (see section 5.1.1.3).

(166) *Mayr-ə* *hivant* *əllal-u-n* *hamar* *das-i*
mother-POSS3 ill be.INF-GEN-DEF for class-GEN
č'egav.[38]
NEG.come.3SG.AOR
'He did not come to the class, because his mother is ill.'
(Donabédian 2018: 28)

DO RELATIVIZATION: Finite forms with conjunction and/or RP may be used, as may participial forms. The preference varies depending on factors discussed in detail in section 5.2.

>

IO / OBLIQUE RELATIVIZATION: Finite forms with conjunction and/or RP are usually used, but there are some cases where participles may also be used (see section 5.2.2.9).

KNOWLEDGE, PROPOSITIONAL ATTITUDE, UTTERANCE: conjunction (*vor* or *t'e* depending on assertive status (see Donabédian 2018: 31)) are used; participles are not used:

(167) *Gitem,* *vor* *Vardan-ə* *tun* *ekav.*
know.1SG.PRS CONJ Vardan-DEF house come.3SG.AOR
'I know that Vardan came home' (propositional content of subordinate clause taken for granted).

(168) *Voskan-ə* *asum* *e,* *t'e* *Vardan-ə* *tun*
Voskan-DEF say.IPT be.3SG.PRS CONJ Vardan-DEF house
ekav.
come.3SG.AOR
'Voskan says that Vardan came home' (responsibility for truth value of subordinate clause on the utterer).

2.1.6. Anaphora

2.1.6.1. General overview

Anaphora is the way referents are expressed in discourse. According to Ariel (1994:26), all potentially anaphoric expressions must be identified with a mental representation in the memory of the addressee, and what determines the choice of expression is the level of cognitive accessibility of this referent, that is, how easy it is for the addressee to access its mental representation. When the mental representation of the referent is easy for the addressee to access, its representation in the discourse does not need to be very informative, and vice versa.

[38] This example is from SWA, where participle use is somewhat more widespread than in SEA, perhaps due to the higher degree of Turkish influence (see Donabédian 2018).

Less informative elements, representing more cognitively accessible referents, tend to be physically smaller (shorter or quieter). Ariel (1994) presents the following hierarchy (adapted here) of anaphoric elements, according to the level of cognitive accessibility with which they are associated:

Zero > reflexive pronoun > agreement marker > clitic pronoun > unstressed pronoun > stressed pronoun > proximal demonstrative (+NP) > distal demonstrative (+NP) > definite NP (> indefinite NP for referents that are not cognitively accessible, i.e. for which the addressee has no mental representation)

Figure 7: Cognitive accessibility hierarchy of anaphoric expressions, adapted from Ariel (1994)

Cognitive accessibility, according to Ariel (1994), is determined by two main factors:

a) Prominence, i.e. salience, of the referent. This may be semantic (1st /2nd person > 3rd person, animate > inanimate), pragmatic (topic > non-topic), and/or syntactic (subject > object > non-core argument). In practice, these properties often coincide, but this is not always the case.

b) Relation, i.e. distance in terms of clauses/paragraphs from the last mention of the referent and/or cohesion between the clause containing the potentially anaphoric expression and that containing its antecedent (embedding of clauses involves a higher degree of cohesion than conjoining, pauses between clauses reduce cohesion). When there is a close relation with a high degree of cohesion, cognitive accessibility is high.

Competing antecedents for the anaphoric expression also lower each other's cognitive accessibility.

2.1.6.2. Anaphoric expressions in Armenian

In Armenian, the default anaphoric expression for highly accessible subjects and objects is zero[39] (although the subject is represented by verb agreement):

(169) *Təvel* *em.*
give.PPT be.1SG.PRS
'I gave it to him.'

For the highly accessible objects of certain postpositions (non-core arguments, so less prominent in syntactic terms than subjects or objects), instead of zero, a genitive clitic 'possessive article' is used (see section 2.1.1.3.1):[40]

(170) *Mot-ə* *p'oɣ* *č'ka.*
near-POSS3 money NEG.exist.3SG.PRS
'He doesn't have any money on him.' (lit. 'Near him there isn't any money.')

[39] EANC has 27 examples of sentence-initial *Tvel em* 'I gave' with zero subject vs. 5 examples of sentence initial *Yes tvel em* with overt subject pronoun (thanks to Bert Vaux for pointing this out).
[40] In the dialect of Khoy, these clitics are used for the objects of verbs too, possibly due to Persian influence (see section 2.2.2.3).

There are two 3rd person personal pronouns, *na* (the same as the distal demonstrative) and *ink'ə* (originally a reflexive pronoun, but a 'long-distance' one bound by prominent topics that can be extrasentential, rather than a rigid 'condition A' reflexive (see Huang 2000)). As *ink'ə* is obligatory for elements that are coreferent with the subject of the predicate of which they form part, it appears superficially that it should be considered to occupy a higher position on the hierarchy of cognitive accessibility than *na*, as would be expected given that the one is also a reflexive, and the other also a demonstrative:

(171) (a) *Šušan-ə*$_i$ *ir*$_i$ *glxark-ə* *təv-ets'* *Ani-i-n.*
Shushan-DEF INK'Ə-GEN hat-DEF give-3SG.AOR Ani-DAT-DEF
'Shushan$_i$ gave her$_i$ hat to Ani.'

(b) *Šušan-ə*$_i$ *nra*$_{*i}$ *glxark-ə* *təv-ets'* *Ani-i-n.*
Shushan-DEF NA-GEN hat-DEF give-3SG.AOR Ani-DAT-DEF
'Shushan$_i$ gave his/her$_{*i}$ hat to Ani.'

However, a closer examination reveals that although this is essentially the case, it is not really a meaningful generalization, as the distribution of the two pronouns is determined by different factors involved in cognitive accessibility. The use of *na* as opposed to zero is determined by the factors termed by Ariel (1994) 'relation': it is used when there is a longer distance to the previous mention, or a lower level of cohesion in the intervening discourse. It is used for the subject of a subordinate or co-ordinate clause that is different from the subject of the matrix/preceding co-ordinate clause (zero would mean coreference, *ink'ə* would usually imply coreference, unless the referent was far more prominent than the subject of the previous clause), and after any kind of pause or element that intervenes between the clause it occurs in and the one containing its previous mention:

(172) *Vardan-ə*$_i$ *uzum* *e,* *vor* *na*$_{*i/j}$ *gna.*
Vardan-DEF want.IPT be.3SG.PRS CONJ NA` go.3SG.PRS.SUBJ
'Vardan$_i$ wants him$_{*i}$/her to go.'

Ink'ə, on the other hand, could be fairly described as a marker of prominence/salience (Donabédian 2007). As seen in (171), *ink'ə*, rather than *na*, must be used for elements that are coreferent with the subject of the clause that they appear in. This is its only syntactic restriction (Donabédian 2007: 175); note that syntactic subjecthood is one of the manifestations of 'prominence' according to Ariel (1994). Discourse topichood is another factor affecting the distribution of *ink'ə*; examination of a small corpus of a little over 10,000 words of spontaneous speech by speakers from Yerevan reveals that it is mainly used for highly continuous topics that have been established for many clauses (8 on average), or for referents that the addressee has specifically asked about, so that they could be considered the topic of the resulting discourse paragraph. Sigler (2001) and Donabédian

(2007) reveal that there is also a logophoric element to the use of *ink'ə*, i.e. it is used for elements coreferent with the speaker of a reported utterance, which could be considered another form of prominence. However, cognitive status is not the only information encoded by a referring expression; the degree to which the referent is intended by the speaker to be salient to the addressee is also relevant to the choice of expression. This is a function of *ink'ə*: to render the referent salient to the addressee. This additional functional load explains why it is physically 'larger' than *na*, thus fits awkwardly into Ariel's hierarchy of referential expressions, which essentially go from small to large as cognitive accessibility decreases.[41]

Below personal pronouns in the cognitive accessibility hierarchy are demonstratives, with proximal demonstratives being higher than distal ones. Armenian has a three-way system of demonstratives[42], which reflects the system of personal pronouns (1st person *yes*, 2nd person *du*, 3rd person *na*), with proximal forms containing the consonant *s* (pronoun *sa*, indeclinable adjective *ays*, sometimes also used independently), medial forms with *d* (*da*, *ayd*), and distal forms with *n* (*na*, *ayn*):[43][44]

(173)

	PROXIMAL		MEDIAL		DISTAL	
	SING	PL	SING	PL	SING	PL
NOM	*sa*	*srank'*	*da*	*drank'*	*na*	*nrank'*
GEN	*sra*	*srants'*	*dra*	*drants'*	*nra*	*nrants'*
DAT	*sran*	*srants'*	*dran*	*drants'*	*nran*	*nrants'*
ABL	*sranits'*	*srants'its'*	*dranits'*	*drants'its'*	*nranits'*	*nrants'its'*
INSTR	*sranov*	*srants'ov*	*dranov*	*drants'ov*	*nranov*	*nrants'ov*
LOC	*sranum*	*srants'um*	*dranum*	*drants'um*	*nranum*	*nrants'um*

Demonstratives are deictic elements, i.e. elements that serve to point out the identity of the referent when it is not totally obvious to the addressee. They may refer to elements in the physical environment (close to speaker (proximal), addressee (medial), or neither (distal)), but they may also refer to elements present in the discourse, often indicating a topic switch, used for non-topical, less expected antecedents, particularly second mention of referents that will become prominent topics (Diessel 1999: 96). Demonstratives are very commonly used for the relativized element of finite relative clauses in Armenian; particularly common is the cataphoric use of distal demonstratives:

(174) *Ayn* *ban-ə,* *vor* *k'o* *už-its'* *ver*

[41] This applies to reflexive pronouns in general, and could also be associated with the fact that coreference with the clausal subject (especially when the object is concerned) is generally a marked (unexpected) state of affairs that requires a larger and more informative expression.
[42] A few dialects, notably Mush, Khoy, and some Van subdialects, have a two-way system, lacking the *-s-* forms used as proximal demonstratives in most dialects (Jahukyan 1972).
[43] These show a variety of forms in different dialects, but the main *s/d/n* distinction is constant.
[44] There is a whole series of demonstrative adverbs and adjectives based on these forms, including (*ays/d/n- teɣ* 'here/there', *-pes* 'like this/like that', *-k'an* 'this/that many/much', *-č'ap'* 'this/that size', *-pisi* 'this/that kind of', etc.).

DEM3	thing-DEF	CONJ	2SG.GEN	strength-ABL	above
e,	*nran-its'*	*heŕu*	*kats'.*		
be.3SG.PRS	DEM3-ABL	far	stand.IMP.SG		

'Stay away from things that are beyond your strength.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 159)

These demonstratives may be taken to indicate to the addressee that the reference of the element in question is to be found in the following discourse; when the reference has already been given in the recently preceding discourse, i.e. when RC precedes MC, proximal or medial demonstratives may be used in MC (Jahukyan 1974: 539).

In Armenian, demonstratives, if they modify a noun, require the presence of the definite article on the noun:

(175)	*ayn*	*ban-*(ə)*
	DEM3	thing-DEF

'that thing'

For details of the use of articles, see section 2.1.1.3.

2.2 Armenian dialects

2.2.1 General overview

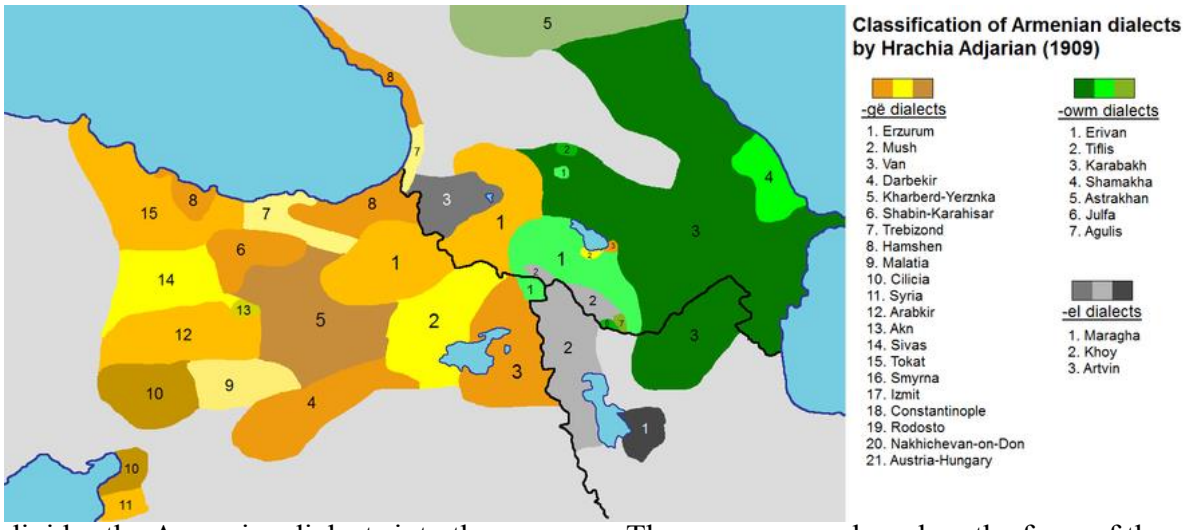

Figure 8: Classification of Armenian dialects by H. Acharyan (1909)

As can be seen in figure 8, Acharyan divides the Armenian dialects into three groups. These groups are based on the form of the present tense (see sections 2.1.2.3-2.1.2.4): the Western dialects, which use the marker *gə* or *kə*, the Eastern dialects where the imperfective participle used in the present tense ends in *-um*, and a smaller group where participles derived from the imperfective participle in *-lis* (actually infinitive + *-is*) are used, referred to by Acharyan as *-el*, which is the form that appears in some of these dialects.[45] Jahukyan's (1972) statistical analysis of the Armenian

[45] The forms derived from *-lis* (i.e. the infinitive + suffix *-is*), include, as well as *-lis* (*aselis* 'say', *mənalis* 'stay') and *-l* (*asel*, *mənal*), also forms in *-li* (*aseli*, *mənali*) and *-s* (*ases*, *mənas*), with deletion of *-li-*. Gharibyan (1939 et seq.) places the dialects with forms in *-s*

dialects, based on the presence or absence of 100 key features, proposes a binary division into Western (*kə*) and Eastern, placing the *-lis* dialects of Khoy and Maragha as a separate branch of the Eastern group (the other *-lis* dialect, Artvin, is classed as belonging to the Tiflis subgroup of the wider Ararat branch of the Eastern group, while the dialect of Meghri, not shown on the map, which also has *-lis* present, is grouped together with the *-um* dialect of Agulis). This division also correlates generally with the historical division between the areas that were under Ottoman (Western) and Persian (Eastern), later also Russian and Soviet, control. This last fact implies a greater influence from Turkish on the Western dialects and Persian on the Eastern dialects, which is to some extent true (see Donabédian 2018), but does not exclude Turkic influence on the Eastern dialects and Iranian influence on the Western dialects, especially given the presence of large Azeri and Kurdish-speaking populations in the areas concerned. Russian influence is more recent, but fairly strong in the spoken language of the areas that were under Soviet control, including all the dialects in this study.

The dialects in this study (Erzurum (Karin), Mush, Erivan (Ararat), Agulis and Khoy) include representatives of all three of Acharyan's groups, but originally occupied a geographically contiguous area (which also includes Van), roughly the central part of the map, on the border between the three dialect groups. An examination of the distribution of the features described in Jahukyan (1972) reveals that there are some that can be described as typically Eastern (present in Ararat, Karabagh and Agulis, generally absent from other dialects), and some Western (absent from Ararat, Karabagh and Agulis, present in most other dialects). Typically Eastern features include, as well as present tense formed with participle + aux, and the presence of locative case, the gen/dat in *-i*, not *-u*, of plurals in *–(n)er*, the 3sg present auxiliary *a*, the marking of animate direct objects with dative case (also Karin and Van), and 1st and 3rd demonstratives with *t/d* following the typical *-s-* (1st) and *-n-* (3rd) (*estra*, *endra* etc. corresponding to SEA *səra*, *nəra*, see section 1.6.2.) (also Mush and Erznka, and, according to Katvalyan (2016a: 21), who recognizes this as a generally Eastern feature, Diadin from the wider Van dialect group). Typically Western features include, as well as present tense formed with particle + subjunctive, the past participle in *-r*, oblique pronouns in *-i* (1sg dat *indz-i* for SEA *indz* (see section 1.1.2.1.) etc.), and ablative and instrumental case forms with *-m-* (1sg abl *indz-m-e* etc.) (not Mush). Also present in most Western dialects and generally absent from Ararat and Karabagh are pronominal forms in *-ik* (1sg dat *indz-ik* for SEA *indz*, proximal demonstrative *es-ik* for SEA *ays*, etc.), also found in Khoy and Agulis. As can be seen, the dialects of Mush, Van and, to a lesser extent, Karin, being the easternmost of the Western dialects, occupy a somewhat intermediate position here. Interestingly, there are also some important features that appear to have a 'central' distribution, i.e. they are found in Mush, Van and Ararat (in one case also Karin), which are geographically contiguous but not closely related, and not in the typical Western dialects or the far Eastern dialects. The distribution of these features reflects Vaux's (2008b) observation that many features in Armenian dialects have spread in 'waves' between geographically contiguous but not necessarily genetically closely related varieties.

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in a separate 's branch', a major division parallel with the *k*-branch, *-um* branch and *-l* branch, but, as Grigoryan (1957: 70-73) and others have recognized, the *-l* and *-s* forms are actually variants of the same ending. The use of a particle to express past tense (see section 2.1.2.8), considered by Gharibyan to be a characteristic of the *-s* dialects, is in fact characteristic of the Khoy-Maragha and Agulis-Meghri dialects, some, but by no means all of which have present participle in *-s*.

One of these is the ablative case ending in *-ts'* (which co-occurs with *-e-* in Mush, Van, Agulis and many Ararat subdialects, but is absent from Karabagh, Khoy and the other Western dialects[46]), which has often been considered a typical Eastern feature. Others include the absence of the definite article with genitive case (Mush, Van, Ararat, Khoy, not Karabagh, Agulis or West), and the existence of a special 'negative participle' for the negative of *k*-forms resulting from loss of the final *-l* of the infinitive, found in Karin, Mush, Van, Khoy and some Ararat dialects including SEA, but generally absent from the further Western dialects (in some of which the *-l* changes to *-r*), and from Karabagh and Agulis.

Due to lack of evidence, it is not known how far back in time these dialect differences go, but Grigoryan (1957: 57) proposes that the dialects showing the greatest differences from Classical Armenian (essentially, the Eastern Armenian dialects, including Ararat, Karabagh and Agulis) were probably already differentiated from it before the 5th century AD. Classical Armenian texts (5th-10th centuries AD) do show some differences among them, e.g. nouns and verbs declined/conjugated differently (see Acharyan 1951: 136-7), and Jahukyan (1972) claims, with some reservations, to have found evidence that there was already a split between Byzantine (Western), South-Central (including the areas of Mush and Van), and North-Eastern dialects, based on some of the same features associated with the modern dialect divisions. However, the fact that Classical Armenian was a literary language that was partly standardized and differed from the spoken language of any particular area means that the evidence for this is limited. Middle Armenian texts are attested from the 11th century from the Kingdom of Cilicia, where Armenian was used for the first time as an administrative language. This needed to be accessible to a wider audience than literary Classical Armenian, which was the preserve of an educated elite, and thus shows features of the language spoken in the area, including some of those that distinguish modern Western from Eastern Armenian (Donabédian 2018: 2).

During the 18th century, the evolution of the new concept of the nation state in Europe led to a movement for secular education in vernacular Armenian. This would require the standardization of the spoken language, which took place at approximately the same time on either side of the Ottoman-Russian border, notably in Constantinople and Tiflis, based on the local dialects. The former gave rise to modern Western Armenian, the latter to modern Eastern Armenian. The two standard languages show significant differences in phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax. In the Republic of Armenia, a quasi-standard colloquial language has emerged based on the Ararat dialect of Yerevan and the surrounding area, which differs somewhat from SEA, essentially an artificial literary language rarely used in spoken communication (see Aghayan (ed.) 1981). Some of the influence of the 'standard' language on local dialects is in fact from this form, rather than from literary SEA.

Acharyan's map presents the situation in 1909, before the massive upheavals associated with the Armenian Genocide of 1915, after which the majority of Western Armenian dialects have either become extinct, or are

[46] It appears in Karin dialect in the interrogative/relative adverb *y'urd-its'* (corresponding to SEA *vorteɣ-its'*, 'from where'); Mkrtchyan (1952: 61) assumes that this is borrowed from Eastern dialects, but note that the ablative morpheme *-its'* is also present (together with *-e-* forms) in several Western dialects, including Mush and Van.

only spoken outside their area of origin. However, movements of populations had occurred before this time. A significant proportion of the present-day population of Armenia originates from migrations that took place around 1830, following the 1828-1829 Russo-Turkish war and 1827-1828 Russo-Persian war. This includes many important dialect-speaking communities which have survived until today and are included in this study, such as the speakers of Bayazet dialect established in the area of Lake Sevan (including the town of Gavar), the speakers of Mush dialect present in Gegharkunik and Shirak provinces and elsewhere, the speakers of Karin (Erzurum) dialect in Shirak province (including the town of Gyumri), and the speakers of Khoy dialect present in Vayots Dzor and other areas. Large numbers of speakers of Van dialect also settled in Armenia at this time, but their dialect has not survived in most areas (with exceptions including Atarbekyan village in Kotayk province and Lernanist village of Aragatsotn province (Katvalyan 2017)). There have also been more recent movements of population. In 1946, there was a migration of Armenians from Iran to Armenia, notably to areas of the Ararat plain. The second-generation speakers included in this study have adopted the local Ararat dialect of Ejmiatsin, while their parents, from the region of Peria (Fereydan) near Isfahan, also spoke an Ararat dialect, that of Nor Jugha, with influence from literary Eastern Armenian, as there were many Armenian schools in the region. In the late 1980s and 1990s, as a result of the Nagorno-Karabagh conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, much of the Armenian population of Azerbaijan fled to Armenia, including speakers of Karabagh and Agulis dialects.

In Yerevan, speakers from diverse dialect backgrounds have converged, and, as previously mentioned, a quasi-standard colloquial language has emerged, based mainly on local Ararat dialects similar to that of Ejmiatsin, with influence from literary SEA. A very similar colloquial language is used by speakers in urban areas elsewhere in Armenia (a notable exception being Gyumri, where the local dialect is still the main means of communication). This is represented here by speakers from the towns of Yeghegnadzor and Artashat, both situated in regions where Khoy dialect predominates in rural areas, but where the urban speech is heavily influenced by that of Yerevan. This involves the use of features of colloquial Yerevan Armenian that are not found in either literary SEA or Khoy dialect, such as the 3sg present auxiliary *a*, and the interrogative *vonts'* 'how'. A similar form of language is used by the Armenian communities in the area of Marneul in Georgia, which are said by speakers to have been settled from diverse regions. These forms of language are referred to here as 'colloquial EA'.

2.2.2. The dialects in this study

MAJOR DIVISION	DIALECT GROUP	DIALECT	SUBDIALECT
WESTERN	Asia Minor	Karin	Gyumri
		(SWA)	
	Mush-Tigranakert	Mush	Khnus
			Alashkert
EASTERN	Khoy-Maragha	Khoy	
	Ararat	Ararat	Ejmiatsin
			Lori
			Vayots Dzor
		(SEA)	
		Artik-Maralik	
		Bayazet	
	Agulis-Meghri	Agulis	Paraka

Figure 9: Relationships among the dialects in this study according to Jahukyan (1972)[47]

[47] Jahukyan calculates these relationships on the basis of 100 characteristics (50 phonological, 50 morphological). Gyumri and Gavar are referred to by the names current at the time, Leninakan and Kamo. Lori is represented by the villages Ghalacha and Gyargyar. Vayots Dzor and Artik-Maralik are not included in Jahukyan's study, but Vardanyan (2004) and Gevorgyan (2016) analyse these dialects using the same system. SEA and SWA are not included in Jahukyan's (1972: 132-136) dialect classification tables, but are included here for the sake of comparison (SWA belongs to the wider Asia Minor group that includes Karin, and SEA to the wider Ararat group).

Figure 10: Map of Republic of Armenia showing regions

2.2.2.1. Gyumri

This dialect is spoken in and around the city of Gyumri (formerly Leninakan, formerly Alexandrapol) in Shirak province, the second largest city in Armenia. As mentioned above, it was brought to the area around 1830 by migrants from Western Armenia speaking Karin dialect (Erzurum on the map), a fairly typical Western dialect belonging to the same Asia Minor/'Byzantine' group as SWA, possessing all the typical Western features described in section 2.2.1., and only one of the Eastern ones (dative-based DOM). It is used for everyday communication by the majority of the inhabitants of all ages, some of whom have limited proficiency in SEA. However, the gradual influence of SEA and/or the local Ararat dialects may be seen by a comparison of the Karin dialect as it was spoken in Western Armenia, Gyumri (Leninakan) dialect as described by Jahukyan in 1972, and modern Gyumri dialect. The modern dialect has lost some features that are not present in SEA (e.g. past participle in *-r*), and gained several SEA/Ararat features not present in Karin dialect (e.g. absence of

definite article with genitive, gen/dat of plurals in *–(n)er* in *-i*, not *-u*, ablative in *-ts'*, used alongside the original *-en*) (Gevorgyan 2016).

2.2.2.2. Mush

Mush dialect was originally spoken around the western part of Lake Van and to the north, as shown on figure 8. Communities of Mush dialect speakers, mainly from Khnus and Alashkert, became established in Shirak and Gegharkunik provinces around 1830, following the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829. These communities were reinforced by refugees from Western Armenia after 1915. There are also communities originating from the Mush area in Armavir province and elsewhere. The dialect has been maintained to varying degrees. Both the forms examined here (one from a community in Shirak province originating from Duman village in the area of Khnus, one from the village of Vardenik in Gegharkunik province, founded in 1828 as Gyozaldara by settlers mainly from Alashkert) have undergone influence from local dialects, acquiring features that were not present in Khnus or Alashkert, e.g. use of *a* auxiliary in Vardenik, as in Bayazet and Ararat dialects, differential object marking with dative (though not consistent in Shirak), found in all local dialects and SEA, and some use of *-um* present, as in Bayazet and Ararat dialects and SEA. However, they have preserved some distinctive features of Mush dialect, e.g. definite article *-ən* in all environments, resultative participle in *-uk*, past participle in *-r*, and omission of definite article from nouns with possessive pronoun (see Acharyan 1911: 118) (also recorded here with other possessed nouns, proper nouns, and nouns with demonstrative, i.e. nouns that may be considered inherently definite) (only Vardenik).

2.2.2.3. Khoy

This dialect originated in northern Iran, and was brought to the territory of present-day Armenia, including Vayots Dzor province, after the 1828 treaty of Turkmencha following the 1827-1828 Russo-Persian war, when the area passed from Persian to Russian control, and attracted large numbers of Armenian migrants from Khoy and other areas of Iran. Today, according to Vardanyan (2004), approximately 80% of the population of Vayots Dzor province speaks Khoy dialect, as do many village communities in Ararat (Artashat area) and Armavir provinces, and some in Kotayk, Aragatsotn, Syunik and Shirak (Artik area). The texts in this study come from the villages of Karaglukh, Aghanjadzor, Gladzor and Vernashen in Vayots Dzor region, where there are neighbouring villages speaking the Vayots Dzor Ararat subdialect. Until 1988, some villages in the area, including Aghanjadzor, had a mixed population of Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and there is some bilingualism with Azeri among the older generation.

The original Khoy dialect area shares borders with both Eastern and Western dialects, and the dialect reflects this, showing a combination of Eastern (dative-based DOM, gen.pl. in *-i*, pronouns with *-t/d-* epenthesis), Western (PPT in *-r*, oblique pronouns in *-i*, pronouns in *-ik*, presence of *-m-* ablative) and 'central' (lack of article on genitive, negative participle) features, but lacking others from each group. It also possesses some very distinctive features with a much more restricted distribution. One of these, as mentioned in section 2.2.1, is the

imperfect participle derived from infinitive + *-is*, which in some villages (including Karaglukh, Aghanjadzor and Gladzor) ends in *-l*, in others (including Vernashen) in *-s*, and in *-li* when it follows the auxiliary. Another is the expression of past tense of the auxiliary, the subjunctive and complex forms involving these (i.e. all past tense forms except the aorist) not by the usual imperfect endings, which are absent from this dialect, but by a special past particle combined with the present form of the verb in question. This characteristic is shared by the neighbouring dialects of the Agulis-Meghri group, although it is not certain whether the particles found in these dialects have the same origin as the one used in Khoy (see section 2.1.2.8). Another distinctive innovation with a restricted distribution is the use of the ending *-m* for the 1sg. aorist, which appears to have originated in Iran, either through analogy with the 1sg present ending, through influence from Persian, or a combination of both (Vaux 2008b). A characteristic thought to be unique to Khoy among Armenian dialects (Asatryan 1962: 136) is the use of the 1st and 2nd person possessive articles (see section 2.1.1.3.1) enclitic on the verb to denote 1st or 2nd person object. Acharyan (1911: 284) proposes that this usage is the result of influence from Persian, which has object clitics enclitic on the verb. The texts show some degree of influence from SEA, notably the appearance of *-um* present, *-its'* ablative and past participle in *-l*, but the dialect forms, including the analytic past forms, are still very much present and part of the living language in Vayots Dzor region today.

2.2.2.4. Ararat dialects

2.2.2.4.1. 'Narrow' Ararat group: Ejmiatsin, Lori, Vayots Dzor

Most of the dialects originating in the area of present-day Armenia belong to the Ararat dialect group. Three of those included in this study belong to the 'narrow' Ararat subgroup as defined by Jahukyan (1972): the dialect of the area of Ejmiatsin, represented by the village of Aratashen, which is close to, but still distinct from, colloquial EA as spoken in Yerevan, and those of Lori and Vayots Dzor, which are distinctive enough to each have merited separate studies (Asatryan 1968 and Vardanyan 2004 respectively). Lori dialect is spoken in the central part of northern Armenia. It is represented here by the village of Shnogh, near the border with Georgia. Vayots Dzor is the northern part of southern Armenia. It is now mainly inhabited by Khoy dialect speakers, but there are some villages where the local Ararat dialect is preserved. This dialect once extended across the border into Nakhijevan, and in fact the inhabitants of the village of Hors migrated from Otsop in Nakhijevan in 1918-20. The village of Hors had a mixed Armenian and Azerbaijani population until 1988, and bilingualism in Azeri is common among the older generation. The other villages represented in this study are Rind and Khachik. In Khachik, in addition to the local population, there was also some settlement from Western Armenia, including Van. Bilingualism in Azeri is common among the older generation in Khachik. The dialects of both Lori and Vayots Dzor share certain features with Karabagh dialect that distinguish them from the dialects of the Yerevan area, notably the form of the negative of complex tenses, with postposed negative auxiliary and the infinitive rather than a special negative participle, postposed negative particle for imperative, and also the plural of polysyllabic words in *-ni* (*-ne* in Karabagh), and a preference for *-e(n)* ablative over *-its'* in Vayots Dzor (the Karabagh form is *-a(n)*). The distinctive strong penultimate stress of Lori dialect is also associated with

Karabagh dialect. Vayots Dzor has the 1sg aorist ending *-m* also found in Khoy. In Vayots Dzor, it is also used for the imperfect (in Khoy, as seen in section 2.1.2.8, a totally different form is used for the imperfect, involving present tense forms plus an invariant past particle). This is one of the innovations observed by Vaux (2008b) to have spread across genetically unrelated but geographically contiguous dialects, being concentrated in a fairly compact area of Northern Iran and Nakhijevan (also extending into Vayots Dzor area of Armenia), which nonetheless includes dialects from at least three distinct groups (Khoy, Ararat and Agulis).

2.2.2.4.2. Bayazet

Bayazet dialect, originating in the area of what is now Doğubeyazit in Eastern Turkey (on figure 8, the part of the Erivan dialect area inside the Turkish border), is now spoken in the town of Gavar and the surrounding area by Lake Sevan in Gegharkunik province in Armenia, where the inhabitants of Bayazet migrated en masse in 1830. The form represented here is from the village of Hatsarat, now effectively a suburb of Gavar. Although Bayazet is classed by both Acharyan (1911) and Jahukyan (1972) as a member of the Ararat dialect group, it also has many features in common with the dialects of Mush, Van and Khoy, which were originally its neighbours, some of which are not found in the other Ararat dialects. These include typical Western features such as the past participle in *-r*, the presence of pronouns in *-ik*, and oblique pronouns in *-i*, and also the forms of the resultative participle in *-uk*, present in Khoy and a roughly horizontal swathe of Western Armenia including Van, Mush, Kharberd-Erznka, Shabin-Karahisar, Akn, Tokat (Evdokia) and Sivas (Sebastia) (see Jahukyan 1972). Like the Western dialects, it also lacks locative case, which is interesting, because it forms the present tense like the other Ararat dialects, with the imperfective participle in *-um*, i.e. the locative case ending attached to the verbal stem. Katvalyan (2016a: 22) considers that this participle, with all its forms and uses, was borrowed from the Ararat dialects, probably in the 18th century, a scenario he considers more probable than the alternative, i.e. the loss of locative case. Other typically Eastern features of Bayazet dialect include the 3sg. present auxiliary *a*, the gen. pl. *–(n)er-i* (also in Khoy), dative-based DOM (also in Khoy, Van and Karin), and pronouns with epenthetic *-t/d-* (also in Khoy, Mush, and Diadin from the wider Van group). It shares with Mush, Van and Ararat the presence of the *-ts'* ablative, and the lack of article on genitive (also in Khoy). For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between the dialect of Bayazet and its neighbours, see Katvalyan (2016a).

2.2.2.4.3. Artik-Maralik

The dialect of Artik-Maralik is spoken in the southern part of Shirak province. It combines features of Ararat and Karin dialects. With the Ararat dialects it shares the present in *-um* (actually in the phonetic variant *-əm* found in many of these dialects including Ejmiatsin, Vayots Dzor, and some parts of Lori), genitive plural *–(n)er-i*, pronouns with epenthetic *-t/d-*, presence of *-ts'* ablative, as well as dative-based DOM and the negative participle, which are also found in Karin. Other characteristics shared with Karin dialect are pronominal forms in *-ik*, oblique pronouns in *-i*, 3sg. present auxiliary *e*, appearance of postposed indefinite article (contra

Gevorgyan (2016), but appears in texts[48]), as well as characteristic lexical items such as the adverbs *inč'əɣ* ('how') and *eman* ('thus'). Like Bayazet, it lacks the *-is* participle altogether, with the *-um* ending extended to those verbs that take *-is* in other *-um* dialects (*gal-əm* 'come' (SEA *gal-is*), *tal-əm* 'give' (SEA *tal-is*)). Also like Bayazet, it combines the presence of the *-um* participle with the lack of locative case. In order to decide whether we are dealing with borrowing of the participle or loss of the case, we would have to decide whether this should be described as a dialect of the Karin group that has borrowed Ararat features, or a dialect of the Ararat group that has borrowed Karin features. The question is not straightforward, and perhaps not even appropriate, given that the dialect presumably originated among a mixed population of locals and migrants including speakers of both (and other) dialects, and is thus a prime example of the problems raised by Vaux (2008b) associated with imposing a straightforward 'family tree' model on Armenian dialects. Based on Jahukyan's morphological/syntactic criteria, it is closer to Ashtarak (dialect centre of Ararat) than to Karin.[49] Thus, for the sake of convention, it is included in the Ararat group in (126). However, more closely than either of these, it resembles the modern dialect of Gyumri, which, given its history as well as its properties, can be described as a form of Karin dialect that has undergone Ararat influence. If Gyumri were taken as a dialect centre, Artik-Maralik would easily qualify as a subdialect. Culturally, too, this area has closer links to Gyumri than to Yerevan. The texts are from the village of Meghrashen, which was settled primarily from Kars and Basen (modern Pasinler), where Karin dialect was spoken.

2.2.2.5. Agulis

The dialect of Agulis was spoken in a small area of Nakhijevan, now part of Azerbaijan, but together with the neighbouring dialect of Meghri, which extends into the southernmost part of Armenia, constitutes a separate division of Eastern Armenian on a level with Karabagh and the wider Ararat group. Agulis dialect in particular is said to be mutually unintelligible with other forms of Armenian, largely but not only due to the dramatic

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[48] In Karin, the postposed indefinite article is enclitic on the noun, with the form *–(ə)m*, rather than the independent form *mə* found in most Western dialects. It is sometimes accompanied by the numeral *me* 'one', which precedes the noun (Mkrtchyan 1952: 62). It appears in the recordings from both Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen) and Gyumri:

(i)	*haryur*	*hits'un*	*hektaranots'*	*ard-**əm***	*kar*
	hundred	fifty	hectare-ADJ	field-IND	exist.3SG.PST

'there was a hundred and fifty hectare field'
(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

(ii)	*dəžvar*	*etpes*	*lurj*	*k'erakanakan ...*	*sxal-**əm***	*ene*
	difficult	thus	serious	grammatical	mistake.IND	do.3SG.PRS.SUBJ

'he would be unlikely to make that sort of serious grammatical mistake'
(Gyumri)

With the numeral *me*:

(iii)	*haraf-arevelyan*	*koɣm-ə*	*me*	*p'ok'ər*	*pedut'yun-**əm***	*ka*
	south-east	side.DEF	one	small	state-IND	exist.3SG.PRS

'To the south-east there is a small country'
(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

[49] It has 11,5/50 differences from Ashtarak and 14/50 from Karin. If we double these numbers to get figures out of 100 (Gevorgyan 2016 does not give the 50 phonological criteria), according to Jahukyan's criteria, Artik-Maralik qualifies as a separate dialect of the wider Ararat group, and not as a Karin subdialect (ԹՈՒՍԱԾՔ) (see Jahukyan 1972: 127 for the precise criteria he uses). However, with a difference of only 6/50, if modern Gyumri were taken as a dialect centre, Artik-Maralik would easily qualify as a subdialect. Note that Jahukyan's (1972) characteristics include conservative features as well as innovations, so that, even discounting the non-arboreal spread of innovations as a result of population movements, they cannot be taken as indicative of genetic relatedness, an important issue raised by Vaux (2008b).

changes to the vowel system described by Vaux (2008a). Morphologically, too, it is highly distinctive, though it shares many features with its neighbouring dialects of Khoy and, especially, Karabagh. With Khoy it shares the use of an indeclinable past particle instead of the indefinite endings in complex past tenses, although it is uncertain whether the particles have the same origin (see section 2.1.2.8), as well as the presence of pronouns in *-ik*, the only one of the 'typically Western' features that appears in this dialect. With Karabagh it shares the use of analytic case forms for ablative, instrumental and locative (see section 2.1.1.2.4), the instrumental ending *-av* rather than *-ov*, the plural marker *-ne*, the ablative ending *-a* (though *-ts'* is also found in Agulis), and the use of the article with genitive case, as well as the typically Eastern features of imperfective participle and locative in *-um* (or phonetic variants), the 3sg prs auxiliary *a*, dative-based differential object marking, the presence of pronouns with epenthetic *-t/d-*, and the genitive in *-i* of plurals in *–(n)er* (also found in Khoy), although in Agulis this is not the only option. With both Karabagh and Khoy, as well as some Ararat dialects, including Vayots Dzor and Lori, it shares the postposing of negative markers. Karabagh and Agulis lack a special negative participle, using the infinitive + neg. aux. to form the negative of the 'conditional' mood (see section 2.1.2.4.1), which is also used as a future tense. In Agulis, the affirmative forms of this mood (with the particle *kə* + subjunctive) have been lost, and remodelled on the form of the negative, i.e. inf + aux (Sargsiants 1883: 118). The dialect represented here is from the village of Paraka, the last Armenian inhabitants of which left in 1988, to settle mainly in Armenia and Russia. Due to the small number of speakers and the fact that they are widely dispersed, the dialect is unlikely to survive. The Paraka subdialect differs from that of Agulis itself in several ways, e.g. the form of the past particle is *nal*, rather than *nel* as in Agulis, and there is a future participle in *-o(v)* (compare future participle in *-o* of some forms of Vayots Dzor dialect, e.g. Khachik), while Agulis itself has *-ats'* (Grigoryan 1957: 150)). There are also phonological differences, including a somewhat different and seemingly more extensive system of vowel harmony from that described for Agulis in Vaux (2008a).

3 Typology of relativization

3.1 Typology of relativization strategies

3.1.1 What is a relative clause?

A typical definition of a relative clause as found in the typological literature is that of Andrews (2007: 206):

"A relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of a NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC"

This description makes reference to several concepts which it is necessary to clarify in order to decide which constructions fall under the scope of this study. The concept of subordination may be defined either in morphosyntactic terms, according to which a subordinate clause is one that cannot stand alone as an independent clause, and generally possesses particular morphological characteristics, such as subordinating particles or special verb forms, or in functional terms, as containing information that is non-asserted, lacking an independent profile (Cristofaro 2003). As discussed in section 2.1.5.1, these criteria do not always coincide, and neither are unproblematic (for example, the first excludes paratactic structures, which may nonetheless be classed as subordinate in terms of the second, the second excludes appositive relatives, which may be classed as subordinate in terms of the first). As it is desirable in a typological study to include the widest possible range of data, we include structures that may be classed as subordinate either in morphosyntactic or functional terms, not necessarily both. The definition of 'clause' adopted here is purely functional, a structure that can express a complete proposition involving something being predicated of an implied or overt subject, regardless of the morphosyntactic properties of the construction in question. As regards the semantic function of the relative, although certain aspects of this study, notably the issues surrounding accessibility to relativization, are specific to restrictive RCs, as regards the typological classification we take a broader approach than Andrews, including not only subordinate clauses that serve to delimit the reference of the relativized element, but more generally those that express some attribute of this element, on condition that it plays some sort of role (not necessarily syntactic) in both clauses, and is the topic of the subordinate clause in the sense that the clause must be understood to be 'about' this element. It is also worth noting that, while this 'pivot' element that plays a role in both clauses is typically a NP, as stated in Andrews's description, this is not necessarily the case (de Vries 2002, Grosu 2012 etc.).

3.1.2 What are the typologically relevant parameters?

3.1.2.1 Structural relationship between clauses

3.1.2.1.1 HOW is RC attached? Morphological means of subordination

The process of subordination of the relative clause is associated with various morphosyntactic means, notably the use of relative pronouns, conjunctions (this term is used here to refer to indeclinable clause linkers in general), and nominalization of the verb. We also have cases of apparent parataxis, with no morphological

marking of subordination. A relative pronoun is a pronominal representation of the pivot element that appears in the relative clause, usually in initial position (although there are some languages in which it may appear in its argument position, e.g. Hindi (Bhatt 2003)). It is associated with morphological marking (e.g. case marking or adposition) showing the syntactic role of the relativized element within the relative clause. When the RP does not appear in its argument position, the argument position must remain 'empty' (genuine RPs (as opposed to indeclinable clause linkers derived from them) do not co-occur with resumptives, according to de Vries 2005). There may be restrictions on the number and type of constituent boundaries that can intervene between a clause-initial RP and its argument position. It has been argued that RPs undergo the same type of syntactic movement operation, known as wh-movement, as interrogatives (see e.g. de Vries 2002 for details), and thus are subject to the same constraints on extraction (Ross's (1967) 'islands').[50] Relative pronouns are apparently not found in prenominal embedded RCs, but constitute the most common strategy in adjoined RCs (de Vries 2005).

Conjunctions, too, are most frequently found in clause-initial position (in prenominal RCs they may be clause-final, though they are mainly found in postnominal constructions (de Vries 2005)). These elements are often also used for other forms of subordination, such as clausal complementation. They are simply subordination markers, rather than representations of the relativized element, and thus do not bear morphology showing the role of this element in the clause, nor do they preclude the appearance of representations of this element in its argument position (these are usually pronouns, termed 'resumptives', but in adjoined RCs, full NPs are also found). Constructions with conjunctions are not necessarily subject to the restrictions on intervening boundaries between the conjunction and the argument position of the relativized element that apply in the case of RPs (see Goodluck & Stojanovic 1996, Klein 1993).

Another means of expressing subordination is the use of nominalized verb forms. Nominalization is what happens when a form describing a process (typically a verb) becomes adapted to describe a property or thing (Cristofaro 2003). All embedded RCs are nominalized to some degree, but here we are referring to the use of special verb forms termed 'non-finite', which show a reduction in verbal characteristics (e.g. reduction or lack of TAM marking, suppression of arguments) and/or possess nominal characteristics (e.g. case marking, determiners), as discussed in section 2.1.5. Subordination may also be expressed without morphological marking (Palancar 2012), in which case it may be possible to speak of parataxis.

3.1.2.1.2. WHAT is RC attached to? Embedded and adjoined RCs

Relative clauses may be categorized as either embedded (attached to the element they modify, forming part of the same phrasal unit) or adjoined (attached to the matrix clause) (de Vries 2002, Lehmann 1984, 1986, etc.). Embedded relatives form a phrasal constituent that includes the element they modify, which has the category and distribution of this type of element (typically a noun phrase), and may also possess morphological

[50] Chomsky's (1973, 1977) Subjacency principle represents an attempt to define these in syntactic-structural terms, though it has been proposed that at least some of them are the result of processing factors not directly to syntactic structure (Sag et al. 2007).

characteristics of this category (typically, nominal morphology such as case markers or determiners). In some cases, the clausal part of an embedded relative may be extraposed to a position at the periphery of the matrix clause (typically to the right), but these constructions may be distinguished from adjoined relatives in that they do not allow the relativized noun to be repeated in RC (see Srivastav 1991):

(176) *The girl is tall [which (*girl) is standing].*

Adjoined relatives allow the relativized element to be expressed as a lexical noun in the RC, the relativization of multiple elements in the same clause, and typically do not require exact semantic identity between the representations of the relativized element in the two clauses. They do not occupy argument positions within the matrix clause, being situated at its periphery (typically, the left periphery, de Vries 2002, Srivastav 1991 etc., constructions often referred to as 'correlatives'). They have clausal (CP) status, and thus never take nominal morphology such as determiners or case markers. Within the category of adjoined RCs, we find constructions with significantly different properties, resulting in a proposed distinction between 'strong' and 'weak' correlatives (Davison 2009). In the former case, there are restrictions on the form of the relativized element in MC that appear to be determined by the properties of the RC, causing some to propose an underlying syntactic link between the representative of the pivot in MC and the relative clause (Bhatt 2003 for Hindi, Pietraszko 2015 for Polish). In these cases, we find obligatory maximalizing ('all and only') semantics (Grosu & Landman 1998), with the attendant determiner restriction and ban on stacking (see section 3.1.2.3). 'Weak' correlatives, as found, for example, in Sanskrit (Davison 2009) and medieval Russian (Mitrenina's (2012) 'pseudo-correlatives'), do not have restrictions on the form of the relativized element in MC, and do not necessarily have maximalizing semantics or its attendant properties.

3.1.2.1.3 Position of RC

Embedded RCs can be prenominal, postnominal, or circumnominal[51]. The position of the RC correlates to some extent with the order of object and verb in the language in question, in that prenominal RCs are mostly found in languages with OV order (Dryer 1992), although there are exceptions (notably Chinese, and also Finnish, where it has been proposed that the situation is the result of contact-induced change from OV to VO, without attendant change in position of RC (Campbell 1997: 60)). These facts have led to the suggestion that prenominal RCs are 'marked' in comparison with postnominal forms, which are equally common in OV and VO languages (Croft 2002). Prenominal relatives are generally more highly nominalized (see 2.1.5.1) and more tightly attributed (Lehmann 1984, 1986) than postnominal forms. In their morphosyntactic properties they often resemble adjectives or modifiers with nominal status (Lehmann 1984, Haig 1998). Postnominal relatives generally show a lower degree of nominalization, and frequently make use of morphosyntactic means associated with clausal complementation. As regards adjoined RCs, their position may be linked to information structure, with left-

[51] This terminology, which is in general use, assumes that the relativized element is a nominal, which, as we have seen, is not always the case: the important factor is the position of the subordinate clause with regard to the relativized element, not the category of this element.

adjoined RCs being associated with topicalization in many languages, e.g Polish (Pietraszko 2015), Dutch (de Vries 2002), Old English (Kiparsky 1995) etc. Adjoined relative clauses may contain a representation of the relativized element as a full NP, but should be distinguished from embedded circumnominal RCs, which occupy argument positions in the matrix clause (the RC itself is the representation of the relativized element in the matrix clause), and may take nominal morphology (Culy 1990). It has been suggested that appositive relatives must linearly follow the element they modify (de Vries 2005), but evidence from Turkish (Haig 1998, Göksel 2005) as well as Armenian suggests that this is not necessarily the case.

3.1.2.2 Expression of relativized element

3.1.2.2.1 In RC

The relativized element, i.e. the 'pivot' element that links the matrix clause and the relative clause, may be expressed as a full noun phrase (177), a pronominal element (178), or not at all (Ø) (179).

(177) *[Which girl is standing], that girl is tall.*

(178) *The girl [who is standing] is tall.*

(179) (a) *The girl [that Ø is standing] is tall.*
(b) *The [Ø standing] girl is tall.*

Expression as a full noun phrase is apparently not attested in embedded non-appositive relatives, hence the impossibility of constructions such as (176) and non-extraposed equivalents such as **the girl [which girl is standing] is tall*, **the girl [that the girl is standing] is tall*. It occurs in adjoined relatives, exemplified by (177) (marginal in English but common in many languages, including Armenian), and in appositives in some languages, including Dutch (de Vries 2005: 15), which may not be truly syntactically embedded (de Vries 2002).

Pronominal elements found in relative clauses are of two basic types: resumptives, which are ordinary pronouns expressing the relativized element in its expected place in the clause, and relative pronouns, the key properties of which are described in section 3.1.2.1.1, and which are usually morphologically distinct from ordinary personal pronouns, often resembling interrogative or demonstrative pronouns, though some languages have forms uniquely specialized for relativization. The distribution of resumptive pronouns is said to be associated with the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977, see section 3.2.1), in particular, with roles low on the hierarchy; if they are obligatory for one role, they are obligatory for all the roles below this. However, the facts of their distribution are not straightforwardly linked to the grammatical relation of the relativized element (see e.g. Joseph 1983), and it has been suggested (Fiorentino 2007:278) that their appearance is determined by essentially the same factor of cognitive accessibility that is relevant for the distribution of other anaphoric elements (see section 2.1.6.1).

There are several different types of case where the relativized element is not expressed in the relative clause. One involves zero anaphora of highly accessible elements, in languages which allow this (essentially, a 'null resumptive'). The existence of what may be conceived of as 'null relative pronouns', often termed 'null operators', has also been proposed, notably in constructions which apparently show constraints on extraction analogous to Ross's (1967) 'island' effects without the presence of an overt relative pronoun (e.g. Kornfilt 2000 etc.). In some languages, there is no requirement that the pivot element play a syntactic role in the relative clause; the link appears to be purely pragmatic, simply that the relative clause is understood to be 'about' the relativized element (Comrie's (1998) 'attributive clauses', as seen in example (196), see also Kuno 1974, Wu 2011 etc.). In these cases, there need be no syntactic representation of the pivot element in the relative clause, either overt or otherwise. Non-expression of the pivot in the relative clause may result from argument suppression associated with nominalization processes. According to Haig (1998), following Lehmann (1984), this 'gap formation' is what makes the nominalized form 'relational'; the gap creates a link to another element, the element that is modified, allowing the nominalization to function as an attribute of this element.

3.1.2.2.2 In MC

All languages seem to allow the expression of the relativized element in the matrix clause as a full noun phrase. Most languages allow it to remain unexpressed in the matrix clause, in constructions where the semantics of the relative construction are determined entirely within the relative clause ('free relatives', see Grosu & Landman 1998), but there are some languages where, in such cases, embedded relatives must be attached to a 'dummy' or 'light' head in the matrix clause, for example a noun meaning 'person' or 'thing' (as in Japanese, de Vries 2005), or a pronominal element (so-called 'false free RCs', de Vries 2002). In some types of adjoined relatives (so-called 'strong' correlatives, as termed by Davison 2009), there are restrictions on the expression of the pivot in the matrix clause, generally that it must be or contain a demonstrative (this is generally the case in Hindi (Srivastav 1991, Bhatt 2003), modern, but not medieval, Russian (Mitrenina 2012), and obtains under some circumstances in Polish (Pietraszko 2015)). In 'weak' correlatives, the form of the element in the matrix clause seems to be essentially similar to what we would expect to find in an independent clause, subject to general pragmatic principles concerning anaphora and information structure.

3.1.2.3 Semantic role of RC

Relative constructions are generally divided into two categories with regard to their semantic role: restrictive relatives (which serve to delimit the reference of the modified element), and appositive relatives (which simply add extra information about the referent). For some subtypes of these, see Creissels (2006). Restrictive relatives operate by set intersection (Grosu & Landman 1998, following Partee 1975), i.e. the denotation of the construction may be described as the intersection of the sets of the denotation of the RC and of the relativized noun, while appositives contain an element that stands in a discourse anaphora relation to the modified element (Grosu & Landman 1988, following Sells 1985). However, as Grosu & Landman (1988) point out, there are some relative constructions that do not fall into either category, notably degree relatives and free relatives, and

also ‘strong’ correlatives. These do not operate by set intersection of the denotations of the relative clause and the element it modifies, but rather the semantics is determined entirely within the relative clause, with the modified element playing the role of a sortal (term classifying the referent as being of a particular kind) inside the relative clause (regardless of where it is actually expressed). These relatives refer to a unique or maximal individual, set or degree that possesses the property denoted by the RC, i.e., when the construction refers to individuals, all and only those individuals that possess the property in question. Grosu & Landman (1998) refer to these as maximalizing relatives. They may only take definite or universal determiners, i.e. ones that do not reset the cardinality from the maximal degree (as, for example, ‘most’ or a numeral would). They are also unable to stack (there can only be one per relativized element), which Grosu and Landman (1998: 127) explain as a further consequence of their semantic properties; in maximalizing relatives, the sortal and cardinality properties are fixed RC-internally, and they assume it is not possible to independently fix these properties more than once for the same construction, thus stacking is impossible.

Izvorski (1996) suggests that the ‘all and only’ semantics characteristic of correlatives is a function of the obligatory presence of a fronted demonstrative in MC (she does not explicitly state this, but this fronting could be associated with exhaustive focus, which would explain the ‘all and only’ meaning). In similar constructions without a demonstrative, the ‘all and only’ presupposition does not exist; in the examples (180) from Russian, in which a) has a fronted demonstrative, and the presupposition that we will appoint all and only those who you suggest, but b) has a non-fronted non-demonstrative personal pronoun, and does not have this presupposition:

(180) (a) [*Kogo* *ty* *predložiš’*]$_i$ *togo*$_i$ *my* *vyberem*
whom you suggest that-one we will-appoint
‘We’ll appoint who you suggest.’

(b) [*Kogo* *ty* *predložiš’*]$_i$ *my* *vyberem* *ego*$_i$
whom you suggest we will-appoint him
‘We’ll appoint who you suggest.’

(Izvorski 1996: 146)

Consistent with this interpretation, ‘weak’ or ‘pseudo-’ correlatives, which lack the restrictions on the form of the relativized element in the matrix clause that are characteristic of ‘strong’ correlatives, show neither the requirement for maximalizing semantics and the consequent determiner restriction, nor the ban on stacking associated with ‘strong’ correlatives, in which the demonstrative is obligatory (Davison 2009, Mitrenina 2012).

3.1.2.4 Summary

Relative clauses differ with regard to three main structural parameters:

- the structural relationship between the clauses (embedded vs. adjoined)
- the position of the relative clause with regard to the element it modifies

- the morphological type of subordination

The form of the relativized element inside the relative clause is partly determined by this last parameter, especially when there are forms of subordination specific to relativization, such as relative pronouns, or special forms of nominalization with a gap in place of the relativized argument which is what allows them to modify another element. Some constructions, such as 'strong' correlatives, may also have restrictions on the form of the relativized element in the matrix clause.

From the point of view of semantics, there are three main types, restrictive, appositive, and maximalizing. These types may be expressed by the same types of structures, or the structures used may differ. Some types of structure have been claimed to be associated exclusively with one type of semantic interpretation, notably, prenominal with restrictive (de Vries 2005) and correlative with maximalizing (de Vries 2002), but in fact neither of these claims is strictly true (Göksel 2005, Haig 1998 for non-restrictive prenominal RCs in Turkish, Davison 2009, Mitrenina 2012 for non-maximalizing correlative or correlative-like constructions).

3.2 Factors affecting choice of relativization strategy

3.2.1. The Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy

The best-known expression of factors affecting the choice of relativization strategy crosslinguistically is the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy, originally formulated by Keenan & Comrie (1977). The hierarchy is expressed in terms of syntactic grammatical relations, with subject as the most accessible to relativization, and object of comparison as the least:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive> Object of Comparison

Figure 4: The Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977: 66)

The hierarchy is associated with the following constraints:

1. A language must be able to relativize subjects.

2. Any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH.

3. Strategies that apply at one point of the AH may in principle cease to apply at any lower point.

(Keenan & Comrie 1977: 67)

With regard to the properties of different strategies, the main generalization made by Keenan & Comrie (1977) is that less explicit strategies, notably those that do not express the case role of the relativized element within RC, are often confined to positions high on the hierarchy, while maximally explicit strategies, notably those involving the use of resumptive pronouns (see section 3.1.2.2.1), are often needed in order to relativize

positions at the bottom of the hierarchy. They claim that every language has a primary strategy, that which is used to relativize subjects, but that languages may also possess other strategies, particularly for lower roles.

The formulation of the AH implies that accessibility to relativization, which affects the choice of strategy, is universally defined by syntactic grammatical relations. However, Keenan & Comrie (1977) observe that there is some variation in the syntactic grammatical relations that exist in different languages, for example, in some languages, there is not a separate 'indirect object' grammatical relation, as indirect objects (in semantic terms, generally beneficiary or goal) are expressed syntactically either as direct objects or as obliques. The same is true of object of comparison (for example, in Armenian, it is expressed as ablative, i.e. a type of oblique). As a result, subsequent formulations of the AH vary greatly in the number, nature and order of the lower positions. These facts, i.e. the difficulty of universally defining syntactic functions (which in fact extends to subject and object)[52] have led Bakker & Hengeveld (2001) to produce a maximally simple version: subject > object > other (in combination with a separate hierarchy non-embedded > embedded, dealing with possessives and other embedded constructions); they also suggest that semantic roles, as well as syntactic position, are relevant to the operation of the AH, an issue that will be discussed in detail in section 3.2.2.

Keenan & Comrie (1977) are also aware that exactly what constitutes syntactic 'subject' can vary between languages; the category 'subject' involves a collection of morphosyntactic properties generally associated with the semantic category of agent and/or the pragmatic category of topic. No one of these properties is necessary or sufficient to categorise a particular referent as subject (Keenan 1976), and they may be split between different arguments, thus there are some situations where it is not straightforward to decide which argument constitutes the 'subject'. This is apparently the case with the languages that can only relativize 'subjects' (many Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, including Malagasy and Philippine languages), as well as ergative languages. Keenan & Comrie (1977: 80), referring to Li & Thompson's (1976) 'topic-prominent' languages, in which syntactic subject has a relatively low functional load compared to pragmatically-defined topic, suggest that in some languages, as far as the top of the AH is concerned, it is possible that it would be more appropriate to speak of 'topic' than 'subject', although it is not clear whether they are thinking in terms of a syntactic 'topic' position, or suggesting that pragmatic factors such as topicality play a direct role in relativization accessibility. The issue of the relationship between topicality and accessibility to relativization is discussed in section 3.2.2.3.

In fact, Keenan & Comrie (1977) admit that further research is needed to determine the precise mechanism behind the AH, i.e. why it is 'psychologically easier' to relativize subjects than objects etc. They make two somewhat tentative suggestions, neither of which is directly linked to syntactic structure in itself. One of these could be put under the general category of probability/frequency: they note that (virtually) every predicate requires a subject, many require DO, a few require obliques, etc., and suggest that, based on these facts, there is

[52]See Keenan (1976) on the lack of necessary and sufficient properties defining subjecthood, and Deutscher (2000) for the lack of a clear distinction between object complement and adjunct, etc.

a ‘universal recognition strategy’ such that if an NP plays a role in another clause interpret it as subject, unless there are indications to the contrary, in which case try DO etc. (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 93-94). Their other suggestion could be put into the category of complexity, suggesting that accessibility is a function of the number of independently referring expressions present in the construction. For example, if we relativize on a non-subject, we will have 2 necessarily independently referring expressions, the relativized element and the subject, but if we relativize on a subject, there will be only one, thus the structure is psychologically less complex, and therefore ‘easier’ (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 95). Subsequent research has produced various more detailed proposals concerning the mechanism behind the AH, which can generally be categorized as hinging on three key properties: complexity, probability/frequency, and topicality.

3.2.2. Factors proposed to play a role in relativization accessibility

3.2.2.1 Complexity

3.2.2.1.1. Amount of material between filler and gap

As seen in section 3.2.1, one of the mechanisms proposed by Keenan & Comrie (1977) to be behind the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy was complexity in terms of the number of independently referring expressions present in the construction. However, although the overall number of referents has been proposed to play a role (see Diessel & Tomasello 2005), most complexity-based proposals focus specifically on the amount of material intervening between filler (the head noun, or, in some proposals, the relative pronoun if there is one) and gap (argument position of the relativized element in RC, or, in some proposals, the element in RC that subcategorizes for the relativized element). Essentially, the less intervening material there is, the easier the RC will be, although proposals differ as regards what type of material is important, and why, and how it should be quantified. The simplest version of this type of theory can be found in Tarallo & Myhill (1983), who measure complexity in terms of linear distance between filler and gap, counted as number of words. Thus, an English subject relative clause (SRC), such as (181a), will be easier than an object relative clause (ORC), such as (181b), because in (181a), there is only one word (‘that’) between filler (domain nominal ‘the man’) and gap, but in (181b) there are four words (‘that the woman likes’):

(181) (a) *The man that [_likes the woman]*

(b) *The man that [the woman likes _]*

3.2.2.1.2. New discourse referents between filler and gap

Gibson (1998 etc.), in a somewhat similar vein to Keenan & Comrie’s (1977) proposal that the relevant measure of complexity involves the number of independently referring expressions, proposes that what is important is not simply the number of words, but the number of new discourse referents introduced between filler and gap. His Syntactic Prediction Locality Theory is based on the relative processing cost incurred by various dependency relations. If there are more new discourse referents intervening between one of the members of the dependency and the other, the processing cost will be higher. In terms of relativization

accessibility, like Tarallo & Myhill (1983), he illustrates the proposed difference in complexity between subject and direct object RCs in English, but relates the difference in accessibility to the number of new discourse referents that have to be processed in the course of processing the coindexation dependency between the gap and the relative pronoun[53] . For example, ORCs in English with the form [RP S V_] should be more difficult than SRCs with the form [RP_V(O)], as in the case of an ORC, there are two new discourse referents (subject and verb) between the RP and the gap, while for a SRC, there are none. The reason why he proposes that only new discourse referents are relevant is that ORCs such as (182b), with a 1st or 2nd person pronoun subject, which does not constitute a new discourse referent, have been shown to be easier to process than ones such as (182a), where the subject is a lexical noun phrase. However, Gordon et al's (2001) results show that processing of ORCs is also eased in cases such as (182c), when the subject is a proper name,[54] even though this constitutes a new discourse referent, casting doubt on this aspect of Gibson's theory.

(182) (a) *The banker that the barber praised climbed the mountain.*

(b) *The banker that you praised climbed the mountain.*

(c) *The banker that Ben praised climbed the mountain.*

Another major problem raised by theories such as these, which work by counting the number of surface elements between filler and gap, is that they give different results depending on the word order properties of the construction in question. For example, the theories of Tarallo & Myhill (1983) and Gibson (1998 etc.) predict that the typologically frequent construction type involving prenominal RCs in SOV languages, as seen in (183a) (such as those found in Japanese; this also applies to participial RCs in Armenian), will show a preference for DO RCs over (transitive) subject RCs, as will the typologically rare construction (prenominal, SVO) found in Chinese, as shown in (183b), in which ORCs should be preferred over intransitive subject RCs as well as transitive ones:

(183)	(a)	SRC (transitive):	[_OV]N	2 intervening elements
		SRC (intransitive):	[_V]N	1 intervening element
		ORC:	[S_V]N	1 intervening element
	(b)	SRC (transitive):	[_VO]N	2 intervening elements
		SRC (intransitive):	[_V]N	1 intervening element
		ORC:	[SV_]N	0 intervening elements

[53] Presumably, for RCs without a relative pronoun, such as those shown in (181), the coindexation would take place between the gap and the relativized noun; for the constructions in question, the results would be the same.

[54] Note that Gibson (1998), who in fact analyses more complex constructions with self-embedded RCs, does not find this effect with personal names, i.e. in (i), the version with subject 'I' was judged more acceptable than those with proper name 'Jen' or lexical NP 'the scientist' subjects, with apparently no significant difference between the acceptability of the latter.

(i) *The student who the professor who I/Jen/the scientist collaborated with had advised copied the article.*

Gordon et al (2001) find a gradient effect, where the version with proper name subject is easier to process than that with lexical NP subject, but not as easy as that with pronoun subject. This indicates that we are not dealing simply with a binary distinction between elements that introduce a new discourse referent and those that do not, as proposed by Gibson.

A fairly large amount of experimental work has been done comparing the accessibility of subject and direct object RCs in Chinese and Japanese, and some on other SOV languages with prenominal RCs. As regards SOV languages with prenominal RCs, there are few studies claiming a clear preference for ORCs over SRCs (with the exception of Tarallo & Myhill 1983, whose methodology and data have been deemed unreliable by subsequent researchers),[55] although there is some evidence that, at least in Japanese, the preference for SRCs over ORCs may be weaker than that in languages with postnominal RCs or non-existent, for example the evidence from the acquisition of L1 Japanese in Ozeki & Shirai (2007), which shows that ORCs are produced earlier or at the same time as SRCs, contrasting with children learning English, who produce SRCs earlier than ORCs. Also, Ishizuka, Nakatani & Gibson (2003), who in fact find a preference (faster reading time) for SRCs compared to ORCs in Japanese as well as English, claim that when the context is adjusted to eliminate temporary ambiguities affecting Japanese ORCs but not SRCs, there is no significant difference in the reading time between the two types of RCs in Japanese, whereas English shows a consistent subject preference.[56]

However, it is worth noting that Slobin's (1986) study of the acquisition of Turkish, which has the same word order properties as Japanese, but lacks the ambiguity affecting Japanese ORCs,[57] reveals a substantial subject preference, as does Özge et al (2009). There are also a number of experimental studies indicating a subject preference in Japanese and Korean (which has the same word order properties as Japanese), including Lin & Bever (2006), Kwon, Polinsky & Kluender (2015), O'Grady et al. (2003). As regards Chinese, the experimental data has given very mixed results, with some studies (notably Hsiao & Gibson 2003, which contains references to other studies giving similar results) finding a preference for ORCs over SRCs, while others (Lin & Bever 2006, Hsu et al. 2009, Lau 2016 etc.) find a preference for SRCs over ORCs. It is significant that the predictions of the linear distance theories run contrary to the proposed universality of the AH; the problem is not so serious in the case of Chinese, which is virtually the only language with the word order properties in question, but for [SOV]N, a very common order, the consequences would be serious, as we would expect a large number of languages and constructions to disobey the AH, showing a preference for ORCs over SRCs. As we have seen, this does not seem to be supported by the majority of the data.

3.2.2.1.3 Structural depth

Another type of theory proposes that what is important in determining the complexity of different constructions or dependencies is not linear distance or number of intervening referents, but rather structural distance, in terms

[55] The data in Tarallo & Myhill (1983) involve grammaticality judgments by English-speaking learners of the languages in question, and concern RCs with resumptives, which are claimed by O'Grady et al (2003: 436) to actually be unacceptable in Chinese and Japanese; Comrie (p.c.) states that they are very rare, but have been claimed by linguists working on these languages to occur in natural discourse.
[56] Note that the context they provide means that none of the RCs contain any new discourse referents, thus rendering Gibson (1998 et seq.) irrelevant; the authors simply suggest here that old discourse referents also incur some cost.
[57] This temporary ambiguity is such that the subject NP of a Japanese ORC could be interpreted initially as the subject of an independent clause, as it takes nominative case, and the verb has the same form as that in an independent clause. In Turkish, this ambiguity does not exist, as the subject of a RC generally takes genitive case, and the verb form is specialized to subordinate clauses.

of the depth of syntactic structure between the elements linked by the dependency. This is used by O'Grady et al. (2003) to explain the fact that they find a subject preference in Korean, contrary to the predictions of linear distance theories outlined above. Rather than counting the number of words (or new discourse referents) between filler and gap, they count the number of syntactic nodes:

(184)	(a)	$[_{S}$_OV]N	(SRC)
		Linear distance:	2 words
		Structural distance:	1 node
	(b)	$[_{S}$S$[_{VP}$_V]]N	(ORC)
		Linear distance:	1 word
		Structural distance:	2 nodes (VP, S)

(O'Grady et al. 2003: 436)

Hawkins (2004), within the framework of a wider theory of processing efficiency and complexity in grammars, explains the AH in essentially similar terms, as an instance of his proposed universal principle 'Minimize Domains', which states that one way that efficiency is increased is by "minimizing the domains (i.e. the sequences of linguistic forms and their conventionally associated properties) within which certain properties are assigned" (Hawkins 2004: 9). Properties can be assigned in dependency relationships between different categories. Examples of such relationships include theta-role assignment (agent, patient etc.) to NPs by verbs, and coindexation relations between an anaphoric element and its antecedent. Hawkins's theory, like that of Gibson (1998 etc.), states that processing is more efficient when there is as little material as possible intervening between the two dependent elements. However, unlike Gibson, he measures the material in terms of depth of syntactic structure, similar to O'Grady (O'Grady et al 2003 etc.), although there are some significant differences in the way he measures the domains.

Hawkins's (2004) theory claims to explain not only the reason why SRCs are easier to process than ORCs, but is extended to the whole length of the AH (see footnote 59), and also attempts to explain why different constructions in different languages cover different positions on the hierarchy. He states that languages with rich morphology permit more processing and property assignments within words and phrases, while isolating ones will have more dependency assignments, so there will be tighter adjacency requirements. For example, when a nominal has morphological case, e.g. the nominative pronoun in 'he ran', there is not a case dependency between the pronoun and the verb; the parser does not need to access the verb to assign case. For a caseless NP 'the boy ran', the parser must access the verb, thus there is a dependency relationship between these two elements (Hawkins 2004: 21). The same applies to constructions; for example, types of RCs that show the case of the relativized element within RC, notably those with resumptives, which also show its argument position, will have fewer dependency relations, thus looser adjacency restrictions, than those which do not, although there will still be a coindexation dependency between the filler and its subcategorizor in RC (see Hawkins 2004: 183).

Note that for Hawkins, the dependency relation that is key to the operation of the AH is that between filler (head noun or RP) and subcategorizor, i.e. the verb or adposition that subcategorizes for the relativized element in RC, rather than between filler and gap.[58] The main reason why this is proposed is the existence of languages such as Malagasy and Tagalog, which only relativize subjects, but have postnominal RCs and VOS order; if it was needed to link the relativized nominal with the subject position in RC, the domain of this dependency would be very large, but in Hawkins's proposal, it is only necessary to reach the verb, which is adjacent to the relativized nominal: N[VOS] (see Hawkins 2004: 173). To account for the fact that ORCs are more difficult than SRCs (in fact impossible in the languages in question), he proposes that for ORCs, the processor needs to access the subject as well as the verb to assign the correct roles, but for SRCs it does not need to access anything except the verb. This leads us to expect a subject preference for [SOV]N. For IO (of ditransitive), the processor needs to access DO as well as subject, making these constructions potentially more complex than DO, but it is notable that for [S IO DO V]N, there should be no difference between the complexity of IO and DO in terms of size of domain, as both need to access the subject. Note that for Chinese ([SVO]N), there is predicted to be no difference between SRC and ORC, possibly explaining the mixed results of experimental work on this language. However, the same is predicted to apply to German (N[SOV]), as for both SRC and ORC it is necessary to access the verb, but in fact a robust subject preference is generally reported for this language (e.g. Tarallo & Myhill 1983, Mak et al 2002, Brandt et al. 2008).

According to Hawkins (2004: 178), obliques are less accessible than objects because they often appear within an adpositional phrase (PP), giving extra syntactic depth, but he does not provide an explanation for obliques that do not have PP; at face value, one would expect them to have the same accessibility as objects. However, according to Lehmann (1986: 5), the key factor in the accessibility of these elements seems not to be the presence or absence of PP, but rather whether or not the element in question is inherent in the valency of the verb; if it is, it is more accessible than if it is an adjunct. This does not seem to be captured by Hawkins's interpretation. As regards genitives, Hawkins states that possessor of X (subject, object, etc.) is always more complex than X, because a genitive NP is dominated by a possessor phrase within a higher dominating NP, which, like PP, adds another layer of complexity to the structure (Hawkins 2004: 178). However, Lehmann (1986: 5) observes that the behaviour and accessibility of genitives varies greatly across languages; in some, such as Turkish, possessor of subject seems to have a high degree of accessibility, using the same strategy as subject (see section 3.2.2.3.3), while in others, genitives are impossible to relativize (this claim has been made about Basque, but in fact there are some exceptions, discussed in section 3.2.2.3.3). Thus, Lehmann (1986: 4-5) proposes that the hierarchy of adnominal functions (possessive attribute > standard of comparison > prepositional attribute) is not strongly ordered with regard to that of adverbal functions (subject > DO > IO > local complement > temporal complement > other complement > adjunct), as the syntax of nouns depending on

[58] When there is no subcategorizor, the filler-gap domain will proceed from the filler to the head of the phrase that actually constructs the mother node containing the gap and to which the gap must be attached (Hawkins 2004: 172).

NPs differs from that of nouns depending on verbs, thus the hierarchies cannot be straightforwardly integrated as Hawkins proposes to do.

3.2.2.1.4 Referential properties of 'interveners': another problem for filler-gap domain interpretations

Another problem for Hawkins's theory, which applies to any theory ascribing the AH effects solely to complexity in terms of filler-gap domains,[59] is the fact that even within languages such as English that generally have a fairly uncontroversial S > DO preference as regards relativization, the level of accessibility of different DOs varies greatly, with some ORCs showing no apparent difference from SRCs, while others present considerable difficulty both in production and comprehension. We have already referred to the evidence presented by Gibson (1998) and Gordon et al. (2001) that the nature of the subject has an effect on the accessibility of the object; when the subject is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the accessibility of the object approaches that of subjects, and accessibility is also improved when the subject is a proper name. The latter fact is not explained by Gibson's (1998) proposal that what counts is the number of new discourse referents (which is also problematic for other reasons and has been effectively disavowed by the author, see footnote 51). There is also a considerable body of evidence showing that the accessibility of ORCs is improved when the object is inanimate (the subject generally being animate) (see e.g. Mak et al 2002 et seq.). These facts have led some, including Gordon et al. (2001), to propose that the key factor here is similarity: ORCs are problematic when the subject and the object are similar.

Attempts have been made by generativists such as Belletti et al. (2012) and Hamann & Tuller (2010) to integrate these similarity effects into syntax-based explanations of the AH using the principle of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1991). Their theory proposes that the relativized element is inevitably 'extracted' from its position in the RC, and an object, being 'lower' in the structure than the subject, must 'cross over' the subject to reach its ultimate position,[60] i.e. that regardless of the linear order, a subject will intervene in the formation of a dependency between the argument position of the object in RC and the ultimate position of this element (which may be conceived of as that of the RP at the left edge of RC, or that of the domain nominal in MC; for details of various theoretical proposals, see e.g. de Vries 2002). Relativized Minimality states that in a configuration X Z Y, a chain cannot be formed between Y and X if an intervening Z has the same properties as the target X. Thus, a subject with the same properties as the object will inhibit the formation of a syntactic link between the original position of the object in RC and its ultimate position, but a subject whose properties are different from those of the object will not. Therefore, when the subject and the object differ in syntactically active features,

[59] In fact, Hawkins (2004: 179) states that node quantity is not the only index of relative complexity for filler-gap domains, thus implying that other factors also play a role in AH effects, but still considers it 'fundamental', and presents his version of the AH (**S > DO > IO/OBL(PP)/Poss of Subj > Poss of DO > Poss of IO/PossOBL)** based solely on this variable (Hawkins 2004: 178).

[60] More recent versions of the theory (e.g. Chomsky 2001) conceive of copies of the element in question in both positions, rather than actual 'movement'; the important thing is the idea of a syntactic link between the argument position of the relativized element in RC and a position outside or at the edge of the relative clause.

ORCs do not cause problems, but when the relevant features of the subject and the object are the same, they do (these features have been proposed to include animacy and pronoun vs. lexical NP status).

However, the fact that what we are dealing with is not similarity per se is indicated by the fact that constructions where the animacy difference is reversed, i.e. the subject is inanimate and the object is animate, have been shown to cause considerable problems (affecting SRCs as well as ORCs) (Traxler et al. 2002, 2006, Wu et al. 2011, etc.). This is completely unexpected in terms of RM (and other proposals suggesting that similarity is the main issue here), as a) ORCs of this type should cause no more problems than ones where the subject is animate and the object is inanimate, as once again the subject has different properties from the object, and should not impede its extraction, and b) the effect on subject RCs is totally unexpected; the subject does not have to 'cross over' anything, so all subjects should have the same level of accessibility, regardless of their properties. It indicates that what we are actually dealing with is an association of particular properties with subject and object status. In particular, structures in which the subject is higher than the object on the Silverstein Hierarchy (see section 3.2.2.3), which has been described as a hierarchy of salience or topicworthiness of different types of nominal, cause fewer problems than those in which the subject and the object are at the same level, or the object is higher than the subject. This implies that what is actually relevant here is the notion of role-reference association (see Haspelmath 2018), with constructions being easier to process when the elements involved have referential properties frequently associated with the roles in which they appear.

3.3.2.1.5 Summary of complexity-based theories

It can be seen that attempts to explain the existence of the AH solely in terms of structural complexity have met with serious problems and inconsistencies. Those that operate in terms of linear distance between filler and gap would give an AH that essentially applied only to languages with subjects preceding objects and postnominal RCs. These are the typologically most frequent types of languages, but there is evidence that the AH is not confined to them; in fact, we find the strongest AH effects in languages with clause-final subjects and postnominal RCs (Malagasy and Philippine languages), which is the reverse of what we would expect if linear distance between filler and gap were the main issue. There is also evidence for the existence of AH effects in languages with prenominal RCs and SO order, notably Turkish, but also, to some extent, Japanese, Korean, and possibly Chinese, which also runs contrary to these theories. Gibson's (1998) proposal that only new discourse referents are relevant as interveners between filler and gap is rendered unconvincing by work such as Gordon et al (2001), and is effectively disavowed in later work by Gibson and associates (e.g. Ishizuka et al 2003).

Interpretations based on complexity in terms of depth of structure, such as those of O'Grady (e.g. O'Grady et al. 2003) and Hawkins (2004), can capture a universal S > O preference, but run into trouble as regards other grammatical relations. Hawkins (2004) discusses obliques that are part of a PP, and genitives as part of a possessor phrase, both adding an extra layer of syntactic structure that adds to their complexity, but does not discuss obliques that are not associated with adpositions. Lehmann (1986) also points out that genitives and

other embedded elements do not seem to be universally ordered with regard to adverbal elements, which would be unexpected if the same metric and motivation applied to all, as proposed by Hawkins. Hawkins's theory also makes some specific predictions that do not seem to be supported by the data. For example, it predicts that in German (N[SOV]) the accessibility of subject and object will be the same, while the relevant data shows a subject preference comparable to that found in English, and that in [S IO DO V]N, there will be no difference in accessibility between the direct and indirect objects of a ditransitive. The differences in accessibility between different DOs, with some showing no difference from subjects, also implies that something other than syntactic complexity is at work. Attempts to explain this purely in terms of similarity effects (DOs that are semantically similar to the subject are the ones that are problematic, others are not) are not convincing, as they only apply when the difference involves the subject being more topicworthy than the object; when the object is more topicworthy than the subject, the construction is just as problematic as when they are similar, if not more so (Wu et al. 2011, Traxler et al 2002. etc.).

3.2.2.2 Similarity to basic word order

As well as complexity, another factor that has been proposed to affect language processing is frequency. More frequently encountered constructions and combinations of properties are said to be more easily activated, and thus easier to process. Frequency effects have been linked to the AH in several different ways. One of these is the theory of Diessel & Tomasello (2000, 2005 etc.), which proposes that greater accessibility to relativization is linked to similarity to basic (independent clause) word order. This theory makes the same predictions as complexity-based theories such as that of Hawkins for SVO languages with postnominal RCs, such as English, as the word order of a postnominal subject-gap RC is S[_VO], the same as that of a typical independent clause, while that of an object-gap RC is O[SV_], an order that is rarely, if ever, encountered in these languages, and thus is expected to cause processing problems. However, note that its predictions differ significantly as regards German, which has typical word order SOV in subordinate (including relative) clauses, but SVO in matrix clauses (although there is a considerably greater degree of word order flexibility than in English), and postnominal RCs. Recall that Hawkins's (2004) theory predicted that in German (N[SOV]), there would be no difference in the accessibility of subject and object RCs, as both require access to the verb to process the filler-gap dependency. However, Diessel & Tomasello predict that German will show a subject preference, for the same reason as English. This seems to be supported by the data, which generally show a preference (in terms of both comprehension and production) for SRCs over ORCs (Brandt et al. (2008), Mak et el. (2002), Sanfelici et al. (submitted) etc.). Diessel and Tomasello (2005) also find no significant difference between the accessibility of DO (referred to as P), IO and oblique RCs in English, which runs contrary to the predictions of Hawkins and other filler-gap distance theories, as DO RCs in English should have a shorter distance between filler and gap than IO (with 'to') or oblique RCs. They attribute this to the fact that these structures share a common word order. However, in German, an advantage of DO over IO and OBL was found.

Diessel & Tomasello's theory has also been used to explain a preference for ORCs over SRCs found in some studies of Chinese (Yip & Matthews 2007 etc. for Cantonese, Chen & Shirai 2015, Hsiao & Gibson 2003 for Mandarin, etc.), which has basic word order SVO and prenominal RCs, thus an object-gap RC would have the order [SV_]O (the same as the basic word order), while a subject-gap RC would have the order [_VO]S. Yip & Matthews (2007) and Chen & Shirai (2015) present spontaneous speech data from children acquiring Chinese, with the former showing that at least some children appear to produce ORCs before SRCs. Their evidence does not actually present a clear bias in favour of ORCs, but contrasts with analogous data from English and other languages showing that SRCs are acquired earlier than ORCs. Chen & Shirai (2015) find that ORCs are significantly more frequent than SRCs in the speech of young Mandarin-speaking children, although they do not refer to a difference in the age at which the two structures are first produced. It is also worth noting that the input to the children contained an analogous proportion of ORCs to SRCs with that which was found in the children's speech, so perhaps it is again not fully justified to speak of an object preference, but rather a lack of the subject preference that we find in English, despite the similar preponderance of ORCs reported in English child-directed speech (Diessel 2004: 146). Hsiao & Gibson (2003) present evidence from a self-paced reading task undertaken by adult speakers of Mandarin from Taiwan, in which processing times were faster for ORCs than SRCs, implying that ORCs do have an advantage in comprehension over SRCs. Again, the authors attribute this to frequency effects arising from similarity to basic word order.

Note that Diessel & Tomasello (2005: 899) ultimately suggest that what actually facilitates processing is the initial position of the agent, rather than the word order schema as a whole. By this logic, we would expect a general preference for ORCs over SRCs in subject-initial languages with prenominal RCs, including the common [SOV]N pattern, which would have [_OV]S for SRC and [S_V]O for ORC. Studies of languages with these word order properties have given mixed results, but to our knowledge, none have found a genuine preference for ORCs over SRCs. Acquisition studies of Japanese described in Ozeki & Shirai (2007) show that SRCs and ORCs, as well as those with other grammatical relations or no grammatical relation at all, are acquired at approximately the same time, and used with similar frequency, that is, grammatical relations do not seem to play a significant role in the acquisition of RCs in Japanese. However, studies of Turkish (Slobin 1986 looking at frequency in production by young children and those who interact with them, Özge et al. 2009 in a study of comprehension by young children) have found a strong subject preference; as well as greater accuracy of comprehension by children and greater frequency in their production, it has been found that, in contrast to data from Chinese (Chen & Shirai 2015) and English (Diessel 2004), there is actually an overwhelming majority of SRCs over ORCs in the input (Slobin 1986 reports 88% SRC vs. 12% ORC). This seems to be characteristic of Turkish discourse in general, as Haig (1998) also finds a significantly greater frequency of SRCs as compared to other grammatical relations in his corpus of texts. Also, as mentioned in section 3.2.2.1.1, some studies, mainly involving elicited production, have found a subject preference (fewer errors in production of SRCs than other GRs) in Chinese (Lau 2016, Hu 2014, Hsu et al. 2009, etc.) and Japanese (Ozeki & Shirai 2007 experiment 2). Note also that in languages such as Malagasy, which have postnominal RCs but clause-

final subjects, and relativize only subjects, the subject preference cannot be due to similarity to basic word order.

3.2.2.3 Topicality and grammatical relations: pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic prominence

3.2.2.3.1 Subjects

In order to understand the nature of the subject preference, and thus the AH more generally, it is useful to examine the type of evidence from experimental data that is attested to support this preference. It is striking that much of this evidence, notably that which has been taken to indicate a subject preference in Chinese and Japanese, involves the results of elicited production experiments, whether elicited imitation (Diessel & Tomasello 2005, Lau 2016) or experiments of the Hamburger & Crain type (involving either pictures/toys or short stories, see section 4.3.2) where the subject is required to identify one of a pair of identical referents involved in different states of affairs, as in Humphreys (2016). In these types of experiments, it is very common for subjects to produce subject RCs in circumstances designed to elicit RCs in which the relativized element plays the role of object or some other grammatical relation. These include both cases where the semantic roles are reversed, with the relativized element being expressed as agent rather than patient (185), and cases where the semantic roles remain the same, but the relativized patient is expressed as the subject of a passive construction (186):

(185) a) *This is the girl that teased the boy at school this morning*.

for b) *This is the girl who the boy teased at school this morning.*

(Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 888)

(186) a) *The man who's being punched by the woman*

for b) *The man who the woman is punching*

(Humphreys et al. 2016: 201)

These are recorded as errors in the production of ORCs (or other non-subject RCs), and taken as evidence that these structures present more difficulties than SRCs. It is also quite common in situations designed to elicit non-subject RCs for experimental subjects to choose another (generally animate) entity from the context as the relativized element rather than the intended referent, especially when this is inanimate:

(187) *The mouse is watching the girl that is sitting on the car* as response to

Which truck is the mouse watching?

Hsu et al. (2009: 347)

Similarly, Jeon & Kim (2007: 265), in a task where the subjects had to identify the referent in a picture marked by a circle, note that in some cases they identified the woman reading a newspaper, when the circle was on the

newspaper (designed to elicit ORC 'the newspaper that the woman is reading'). Diessel & Tomasello (2005), in an elicited imitation task carried out by English- and German-speaking children, note that most of the errors involve 'promotion' of the relativized element to subject, e.g. example (185). However, they did find some examples of 'demotion' of subject to DO, for example (188):

(188) *This is the man who Peter saw on the bus this morning.*

for *This is the man who saw Peter on the bus this morning.*

(Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 888)

Parallel errors are found in German. Note that this example is also contrary to what we would expect if the decisive factor were a preference for subjects in initial position, as the authors suggest, and to their reported "very strong tendency for NP rel NP V > NP rel V (NP)" (Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 889), which would give exactly the opposite result:

(189)	NP	rel	NP	V >	NP	rel	V	(NP)
	the man	*who*	*Peter*	*saw >*	*the man*	*who*	*saw*	*Peter*
	O		S	V >	S		V	O

What all these errors have in common is that the referent with the highest position on the Silverstein Hierarchy is expressed as the subject of the relative clause.

1st person pronoun > 2nd person pronoun > 3rd person anaphor > 3rd person demonstrative > proper name > kin term > human / animate NP > concrete object > container > location > perceivable > abstract

Figure 11: The Silverstein Hierarchy (Silverstein 1976)

The Silverstein hierarchy was originally formulated by Silverstein (1976) to deal with split ergative systems found in certain Australian languages, in which some nominals receive nominative/accusative marking, and others receive ergative/absolutive marking. Essentially, it is a hierarchy of prototypical subjecthood, with the nominals at the top being the most prototypical subjects, and those at the bottom, the least. In the split ergative systems described by Silverstein (1976), if the agent is high on the hierarchy, it receives nominative case (typically unmarked), while if it is low, it receives ergative case (typically involving special marking), i.e. prototypical subjects tend to be morphologically unmarked, while non-prototypical ones are marked. Differential object marking is also a manifestation of this hierarchy, where patients that are high on the hierarchy (prototypical agents, likely to be misinterpreted as agents) are morphologically marked, while those which are low are typically unmarked (see Montaut & Donabédian 2011 for further manifestations of this hierarchy in Armenian and Hindi). Thus we see that many of the ORC errors involve interpreting the 'higher' referent as thematic subject (typically agent or experiencer), a universal tendency that is not specific to RCs. These patterns are captured by Haspelmath's (2018) role-reference association universal, discussed further in

section 5.2.2.6, whereby constructions with frequently occurring role-reference combinations (e.g. subjects high on Silverstein hierarchy, DO lower) are easier to process, therefore there is a tendency to prefer interpretations where the most referentially prominent element has subject role (and constructions which violate these expectations tend to have 'heavier' marking to obviate such interpretations). Thus Diessel & Tomasello (2005) are correct to propose that frequency effects are key to relativization accessibility, but role-reference association patterns appear to be more relevant than word order patterns in this context.

This factor is also relevant to results such as those of Gibson (1998) and Gordon et al. (2001), who found that ORCs were easier to comprehend if the subject was higher on the hierarchy than the (lexical NP) object (greatest effect for 1st and 2nd person pronoun subject (Gibson 1998), lesser but still significant facilitating effect for proper name subject (Gordon et al. (2001), and to the considerable body of evidence that ORCs are easier to comprehend and to produce when the object is inanimate and the subject is animate (Mak et al. 2002 etc.). Thus, what we find is in fact a preference for RCs in which the agent is a prototypical agent and the patient is a prototypical patient, and a tendency to reinterpret situations where this is not the case as ones that conform to expectations. This frequently leads to a preference for subject RCs, especially when the relativized element is animate, but in some cases, such as *the man that saw Peter > the man that Peter saw*, in which the proper noun object is higher on the hierarchy than the animate NP relativized element and is promoted to subject status, it can lead to the reverse result.

However, this factor alone cannot explain the cases where SRCs are produced in place of ORCs when the subject and object referents occupy the same place on the hierarchy, as is typically the case in elicitation experiments, where, unless they are specifically testing for these effects, the referents are deliberately semantically parallel to control for the influence of this factor. The Silverstein hierarchy, which expresses prototypical subjecthood, has also been described as a hierarchy of salience. Thus a prototypical subject is a referent which is salient, i.e. cognitively prominent. In semantic terms, cognitively prominent referents are those which are most frequently associated with the most prominent semantic roles, especially agent. In pragmatic terms, cognitively prominent referents are typically associated with the most prominent pragmatic role, that of topic, in the sense of what the discourse or the clause is primarily interpreted as being 'about'. These typically coincide, but this is not inevitably the case. For example, due to the function of a RC, it is inherently 'about' the relativized element (see Kuno 1976: 420), thus this referent necessarily has topic status, i.e. pragmatic prominence, within the RC, although it may not play the semantically most prominent role. Thus the fact of being the relativized element inherently increases the salience of a referent in the RC. This means that in ORCs where the agent and patient referents occupy the same position on the Silverstein hierarchy, as they typically do in elicited production experiments, there will be a tendency to correlate pragmatic prominence with semantic prominence, and misinterpret the relativized element as agent, as seen in example (185), repeated here:

(185) a) *This is the girl that teased the boy at school this morning.*

for b) *This is the girl who the boy teased at school this morning.*

(Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 888)

This is the essence of the 'similarity' issue discussed in section 3.2.2.1.4, i.e. the fact that ORCs cause more problems when the subject and the object referents are similar than when the subject is higher on the Silverstein hierarchy than the object. That the main factor is not actually similarity per se, but the wider issue of the problems caused by violations of the expected correlation of referential (Silverstein hierarchy), semantic (thematic role) and pragmatic (topicality) prominence, is implied by the fact that when the difference is in the opposite direction, i.e. the subject (agent) is lower than the object (patient), even SRCs (relativized element = pragmatically prominent because it is the relativized element, semantically prominent because it has agent role, but not referentially prominent), as in (190a), as well as ORCs (relativized element = pragmatically prominent because it is the relativized element, semantically less prominent because it has patient role, referentially prominent), as in (190b) are difficult to process:

(190) (a) *the stone that hit the reporter*

(b) *the reporter that the stone hit*

(Wu et al. 2011, see Lau 2016: 28)

However, not all examples of ORC > SRC 'errors' involve misinterpreting a relativized patient as agent. In some languages, including English, Dutch and German (Humphreys et al 2016, Mak et al. 2002 etc.), scenarios such as (190b) are typically articulated as passive, i.e. the relativized element retains its semantic status as patient, but is articulated as syntactic subject, as seen in example (186a). Thus the factor of syntactic prominence may be added to those of semantic, pragmatic and referential prominence; the syntactic prominence (subject status) of the relativized element in (186a) means that this construction is preferred to (186b), where it has the same pragmatic, semantic and referential properties, but a lower degree of syntactic prominence. In fact, the notion of syntactic subject is essentially the grammaticalization of semantic (agentivity) and pragmatic (topicality) prominence. In order to understand the nature of the subject preference in RCs, and thus the AH in general, it will be useful to analyse exactly what constitutes a syntactic subject, as it has generally been assumed that the AH operates in terms of syntactic roles, rather than the semantic and/or pragmatic properties generally associated with them (although Bakker & Hengeveld 2001 propose that semantic roles are also relevant). Keenan (1976) lists a number of properties generally associated with syntactic subjecthood, but notes that no one of these is either necessary or sufficient for subject status; thus there are more (having more of these properties) and less typical subjects, and the notion of subject can mean different things in different languages. The properties associated with syntactic subject status include verb agreement, where the verb agrees with the subject, typically in person and number, special case marking (frequently, but not always, zero, while other arguments are more likely to be marked), position (usually, but not always, initial), and various control and

coreference properties, including control of reflexives and coreference under deletion ('John talked to Mary and then died').

Generally, verbs take a particular argument as subject depending on its semantic (thematic) role, for example, 'talk' takes an agent subject, 'die' takes a patient subject. If the state of affairs described by the verb involves an agent, this will usually be the subject. Hierarchies of semantic roles have been produced according to their likelihood of being articulated as subject, for example figure 12:

Agent > Patient > Recipient > Beneficiary > Instrument > Location > Time

Figure 12: Hierarchy of thematic roles (Dik 1978: 76)

However, the choice of argument as subject does not depend on semantics alone. In many languages, including English, there is a strong tendency for the subject to also be the topic of the clause, such that in situations where this is not the case, there is a mechanism, passivization, for promoting topical non-subjects to syntactic subject status. In some languages, notably Western Malayo-Polynesian languages such as Philippine languages and Malagasy, this type of process is more widespread or even obligatory, with a wide range of 'voices' for promoting various arguments to subject (agreement trigger) when these are the topic of a clause. Thus in these languages, the concept of 'subject' in the sense of agreement trigger[61] is essentially linked to pragmatic properties (topic status) rather than semantic properties. Since a crucial property of the relativized element in a relative clause is that it inherently has topic status in this clause, it is not surprising that these languages, i.e. the ones where syntactic subject status is most closely linked to topichood, are the ones that have the strongest subject preference (in Malagasy and Tagalog, for example, only subjects can be relativized), something which word order-based theories fail to capture, as Malagasy and many Philippine languages have N[VOS] order, so that a SRC (S[VO_]) would present the largest possible distance between filler and gap, and conflict maximally with basic word order as regards the position of the subject. Languages such as English, where the correlation between topichood and syntactic subject status is not absolute, but is still strong (giving productive use of passivization), would be expected to show a strong, but not absolute, subject preference when it comes to passivization, involving non-agent relativized elements being frequently articulated as passive subject. This is confirmed by the data. However, referential prominence also plays a role, as passivization, at least in English, mainly affects animate referents (see Humphreys et al 2016 etc.). Thus we would expect the syntactic subject preference in such languages to be confined to animate (referentially prominent) relativized elements, and this is indeed what we find, with inanimate ORCs showing no difference in ease of comprehension or production from SRCs (Mak et al. 2002 etc.).

[61] These languages are often described as having split subject properties, with some associated with the topic (notably verb agreement), and some with the thematic subject. What is important here is that it is the status of topic (agreement trigger) rather than that of thematic subject that is crucial for relativization, which makes sense, as being the relativized element is inherently linked to topic status, but not to any particular thematic role (although of course there is a tendency for certain thematic roles, notably agent and experiencer, to be associated with topic status).

In other languages, the association of topichood with syntactic subject status is weaker. In some languages, such as Old Norse (see Faarlund 1988) and Turkish (see Kılıçaslan 2001), there are separate strategies for marking thematic subjects (e.g. by case) and topics (e.g. by position), so that there is not the same need to use a passive construction to express a topical non-subject, as the topic status of the latter is articulated by position, while case and agreement properties continue to express the thematic structure of the clause:

(191)	(a)	*Oya-yı*	*Fido*	*ısır-dı.*	
		Oya-ACC	Fido	bite-PST	
		'Fido bit Oya.'			
	(b)	*Oya*	*Fido*	*tarafından*	*ısır-ıl-dı.*
		Oya	Fido	by	bite-PASS-PST
		'Fido bit Oya.'			
		Kılıçaslan (2001: 10)			

Kılıçaslan (2001: 9) notes that passive is rarely used in such contexts in Turkish; the possibility of expressing topic status by fronting renders it to some extent redundant. Thus we would expect a weaker subject preference in these languages, as we would not find the tendency for non-subject relativized elements to be articulated as subject by means of passive. As we have seen, this does not seem to be the case in Turkish, for which a particularly strong preference for subject RCs has been found, especially in terms of frequency in discourse (Slobin 1986, Haig 1998). Kılıçaslan (2001: 10) notes that most uses of passive in Turkish involve 'impersonal passive', such as:

(192)	*Bu*	*şehir-de*	*pazar*	*gün-ler-i*	*uyu-n-ur.*
	this	town-LOC	Sunday	day-PL-POSS	sleep-PASS-AOR

'In this town people sleep (lit. 'it is slept') on Sundays.'
Kılıçaslan (2010: 10)

These, too, are constructions where the expected combination of pragmatic, referential and semantic prominence is violated, as they are used when the agent (semantically prominent) lacks pragmatic and/or referential prominence, i.e. what is crucial here is syntactic demotion of pragmatically and/or referentially non-prominent (essentially, non-topical) thematic subjects, rather than syntactic promotion of prominent objects. Thus it is not the case that the notion of pragmatic and referential prominence is not associated with syntactic subject status in Turkish, as a thematic subject lacking these properties will tend not to be expressed as syntactic subject. In independent clauses, this does not entail the promotion of non-topical elements to syntactic subject status; these clauses simply have no overt subject, and can be understood as analogous to constructions with expletive subjects used with non-topical thematic subjects in non-pro-drop languages such as English, and to a greater extent in other Germanic languages such as German (193):

(193) *Es* *wird* *getanzt.*
EXPL AUX.3SG dance.PPT
'Dancing is going on.' (lit. 'It is danced.')

In relative clauses, too, there is an analogous 'demotion' of non-prominent subjects, which manifests itself mainly in the fact that they are unmarked for case, while subjects of subordinate clauses generally receive genitive case. In Turkish, relative clauses use participial verb forms.[62] Two participles are commonly used in relativization, often termed the 'subject' (*-An*) and 'non-subject' (*-DIK*) participle, with the former mainly being used to relativize subjects, the latter, non-subjects. The 'subject' participle is only used for relativization, while the non-subject participle, which has obligatory agreement with the subject of the clause, is also used for other forms of subordination, such as adverbial and complement clauses. What the distributional data presented in Haig (1998) and Slobin (1986) tell us is that relative clauses using the subject participle are far more frequent in discourse than those using the non-subject participle (Slobin 1986 gives 88% vs. 12%). This has led to the conclusion that Turkish has a very strong preference in discourse for subject RCs over non-subject RCs of all kinds. However, the so-called 'subject participle' (termed 'free participle' by Haig) is not in fact only used to relativize subjects. As discussed in detail in Haig (1998), Kornfilt (1997 et seq.) and Cagri (2005), it may in fact be used to relativize non-subjects, when the subject has been 'demoted', i.e. does not receive genitive case marking.[63] This may be considered 'promotion to subject' analogous with passivization, and in fact formal syntactic analyses explicitly propose that in these constructions, the relativized element in some sense ultimately occupies syntactic subject position (Kornfilt 1997 et seq., Cagri 2005, whose analyses are quite different, but share this crucial feature).[64]

There are two main types of cases in Turkish where RC subjects do not take genitive case. One is when the subject is possessed by the relativized element.[65] It is known that possessors often have topical status, with the utterance being interpreted as 'about' the possessor rather than the possessee, especially (but not only) when this is inanimate and/or has patient status (in e.g. John's leg hurts, his car has broken down, his dog died, the

[62] There is also a finite construction using the conjunction *ki*, borrowed from Persian, but this is not widely used (Haig 1998: 10).
[63] The rule that the subject of a nominalised form (such as the participles used in relativization) must be genitive is actually quite recent in Turkish (Haig 1998: 67); in earlier forms of the language, "expression of pragmatic topic overrides certain syntactic relations" (Haig 1998: 69). Thus it is probable that the use of the 'subject' participle was even more closely linked with the status of pragmatic topic in older forms of the language, and only subsequently became directly linked with the genitive case rule. In any case, it seems clear, and is effectively stated by Haig, that the cases where genitive case is not used for subjects and the subject participle is used for non-subjects share the crucial feature that the subject is less pragmatically and/or referentially prominent ('topical' or 'topicworthy') than the relativized element.
[64] The relativized element moves to SpecTP (the usual subject position) in Cagri's analysis. In Kornfilt's analysis, an expletive pro in subject position receives the index of the relativized element, thus the relativized element "ends up in subject position, in a sense" (Kornfilt 1997: 49).
[65] This is in fact one instance of a more general tendency whereby when the relativized element is coreferent with any subconstituent of RC subject (not only possessor), RC subject does not take genitive case. However, when the relativized element is coreferent with possessor of subject, this is considered a rule, whereas with other subconstituents, it is a tendency (Haig 1998: 164). The general principle behind all these seems to be the same, though: the subject does not receive genitive case when it is not the primary topic of the clause (with RCs, this is normally the relativized element).

main point would usually be understood as the effect of these states or events on John).[66] Thus here we are dealing with cases where the subject is lower than the relativized element in pragmatic prominence. The other type of case involves subjects which are low in referential prominence (inanimate, non-specific, generic, non-individuated etc.) and/or semantic prominence (they are almost never agents, occurring with low-activity transitives, or passivized transitive predicates, or with presentational or existential verbs) (Haig 1998: 175). Haig (1998: 181) notes that these non-case-marked 'semi-subjects' often occur in RCs that modify a "definite and topical entity"; what is important is not simply the lack of prominence of the subject, but its relative lack of prominence compared to the relativized element. Thus the Turkish 'subject participle' can be better described as a 'primary topic participle'. Since the relativized element is expected to be the primary topic of the RC, we may expect that most instances of relativization will make use of this participle, as indeed appears to be the case.

There are, however, languages which do not make use of mechanisms such as passive for promoting topics to syntactic subject status. The lack of a passive-type construction used in this way is one of the characteristics of Li & Thompson's (1976) 'topic-prominent' languages. In topic-prominent languages, the topic typically receives some surface coding (most often initial position, sometimes morphological marking, rarely verb agreement), while the subject may not. Some other properties typical of subjects, such as controlling coreferential constituent deletion, as seen in (194), a literal translation of a Manadarin sentence, are associated in these languages with topics, not with subjects.

(194) *That tree*$_i$ (topic)*, leaves*$_j$ (subject) *big, so I not like* $\_{}_{i/*j}$.

(Li & Thompson 1976: 469)

The subject in purely topic-prominent language such as Chinese is described as having a very low functional load; the only process cited by Li & Thompson (1976) as being sensitive to subjecthood rather than topic status is reflexivization, while LaPolla (1993) goes further, proposing that syntactic subjecthood is not a viable concept in Chinese. Li & Thompson (1976: 478) state that "There is simply no noun phrase in Mandarin sentences which has what Keenan [1976] has termed 'subject properties'". As the notion of topic plays a more fundamental role than that of subject in sentence construction in these languages, there is no need for a construction promoting topical non-subjects to subject status, and the link between topic and subject status is weak. In fact, not only does the topic not have to be the subject of the clause it is associated with, it need not have any syntactic relation with this clause, e.g.

(195) *This field the rice is very good.*

(Li & Thompson 1976: 462)

[66] In fact, it is quite common for subject properties in possessive constructions to be split between the possessor and the thematic subject (especially if this is inanimate and/or has patient role) (Givón 2001: 193).

The same phenomenon is found with relative clauses in these languages, a further link between relativization and topic status: the relativized element need not be linked with any syntactic position within the clause, thus the equivalent of (196) is possible:

(196) *someone door knock sound*

'the sound that is made by someone knocking on the door'

(see Comrie 1998: 71)

These are what Comrie (1998) has termed 'attributive clauses', proposing that they differ in structure from relative clauses in languages where the relativized element must be associated with some syntactic position in RC, being simple modifier-noun constructions that lack the 'extraction' operation or filler-gap dependency that exists in the latter cases. This has been cited as an explanation for the apparent lack of AH effects found in some studies of Chinese and other 'topic-prominent' languages such as Japanese and Korean[67] (e.g. Yip & Matthews 2007, Chen & Shirai 2015), which makes sense in the light of theories that interpret the AH effects as a function of the size of filler-gap dependencies or other properties associated with 'extraction' operations. In the light of the evidence presented here, it may be proposed that the apparent lack of AH effects in these languages is due to the lack of a strong association of topic status with syntactic subjecthood. Non-subject relativized elements (topics) will not be promoted to syntactic subject in the RC as they frequently are in languages that make regular use of passive-type constructions, thus subject RCs will be less frequent in texts, and we will not expect to find passive SRCs produced instead of ORCs in elicitation experiments.[68] However, it appears that, although there is no strong association of topichood with syntactic subject status, there is still a tendency to produce utterances in which the topic (relativized element in RC) plays the most prominent semantic role, e.g. (197):

(197) *the cat that is behind the dinosaur*

for *the cat that the boy places behind the dinosaur*

(Lau 2016: 66)

This is the main evidence that has led to the proposal of a subject preference in Chinese.

[67] Japanese and Korean are described by Li & Thompson (1976) as both topic-prominent and subject-prominent, as they have morphological marking for subjects, and more processes that are sensitive to subjecthood than are found in Chinese. However, they have all the properties of topic-prominent languages that are relevant here, including the lack of a generally productive passive (in fact, all these languages, including Chinese, have a passive construction, but it is generally used to stress adverse effects, rather than to promote topical non-subjects to subject status).

[68] Lau (2016) does find use of passive subject RCs in place of DO RCs by adult speakers of Cantonese from Hong Kong in a Hamburger & Crain-type elicited production task. It is possible that Cantonese differs from Mandarin in this respect, or that the language of Hong Kong makes more use of passive due to English influence. However, children do not use passive in this way, and the strong subject > DO preference found in adult responses is absent from the children's data (Lau 2016: 93), as well as from the child Cantonese data in Yip & Matthews (2007 etc.), implying that the availability of passive constructions is a major factor in the degree of subject preference.

Further evidence for the role of semantic prominence comes from the experimental data of Pozniak & Hemforth (2017). They point out that although for most verbs, the 'attentional focus' is on the subject, i.e. semantically this is the most prominent element, in others, it may be on another argument, rendering this semantically prominent. Their study focuses on implicit causality verbs, such as 'hate' and 'choose', where it is implied that the object has done something to cause the state or action of the subject, thus the object has an implied agentive role. They collected acceptability judgments by native speakers of English and French of SRCs and ORCs with subject-prominent verbs such as 'frighten' and 'trouble', where the subject has agent role and the object has patient role, and object-prominent implicit causality verbs, where the implied agent is the object. All the arguments were animate lexical NPs. In SRCs with subject-prominent verbs, they found the expected subject preference, i.e. SRCs were judged more acceptable than ORCs. However, ORCs with object-prominent (implicit causality) verbs did not differ significantly in acceptability from SRCs. This shows that semantic prominence can compensate for lack of syntactic prominence, that is, the tendency to interpret an animate (referentially prominent) relativized element (pragmatically prominent) as agent (semantically prominent) balances the tendency to interpret it as syntactic subject (syntactically prominent). It also constitutes further evidence against theories interpreting the subject preference solely in terms of word order or the relative syntactic complexity of different grammatical relations, as if these were the only relevant mechanisms, we would not expect the semantics of the verb to play a role.

Thus it can be seen that many of the AH effects, namely the general preference for SRCs, and exceptions to this (inanimate objects, demotion of relativized subject to object when a referentially more prominent element (proper name) is present in the clause, Chinese discourse statistics, implicit causality verbs), can be linked to the fact that "A relative clause must be a statement about its head noun" (Kuno 1976: 420), i.e. the fact that the relativized element inherently has topic status (pragmatic prominence) in the RC. Topic status is typically associated with semantic prominence (e.g. agentivity), with the relativized element, as pragmatically prominent, assumed by default to play a semantically prominent role. However, when the relativized element is itself referentially less prominent (e.g. inanimate), the assumption of agent role will not be made, and the referent will be assigned the next most prominent thematic role available, typically that of patient/theme.[69] Humphreys et al. (2016: 27) note that "Inanimate head ORCs do not challenge comprehension, because inanimate objects are from the start assumed to play a patient-theme role". For most verbs, the most prominent semantic role is associated with thematic subject status, leading to one manifestation of the subject preference (relativized element = thematic subject), but there are some verbs, such as implicit causality verbs, in which the object is thematically more prominent than the subject (e.g. agent/causer object, experiencer subject). In these cases, we do not find a subject preference, as the relativized element may be assumed to play the semantically prominent

[69] Many attempts have been made at producing a hierarchy of prominence of thematic roles, with varying results. Agent is always at the top, often followed by theme/patient, as seen in figure 12, from Dik (1978). Some versions (such as that of Givón 1984), however, place recipient/beneficiary above theme/patient, but Levin (2005: 6) argues that the association of the recipient/beneficiary role with certain coding properties indicating prominence is actually the result of the fact that the role is typically associated with animate referents, which are likely to have topical (prominent) status because of their animacy, rather than because of their thematic role.

(agent) role. Pragmatic prominence is also associated with syntactic prominence (syntactic subject status), thus relativized elements will typically be interpreted or articulated as syntactic subject (again, the referential properties of the relativized element play a role, with DO rather than subject being the preferred role for inanimate referents in transitive clauses). The association of topicality with syntactic subject status is very strong in some languages (e.g. Philippine languages and Malagasy), and weak or non-existent in others (e.g. Chinese). This is why the subject preference is stronger in the former than in the latter, where it generally lacks the syntactic manifestations (promotion of relativized element to subject by processes such as passive), although semantic manifestations are still present, accounting for the conflicting data from these languages.

3.2.2.3.2 Objects and adjuncts

As regards the rest of the hierarchy, the only part that is generally agreed upon in terms of grammatical relations is S > DO > Other, partly because, as noted by Keenan & Comrie (1977), while it is not straightforward to produce a universal definition of what constitutes subject or DO, it is impossible with other grammatical relations, with the possible exception of genitive, for which see section 3.2.2.3.3. As we have seen, the S > DO preference does not apply in all circumstances. When the relativized element is lower on the Silverstein Hierarchy than another referent in RC, the latter will tend to be interpreted as subject, and the relativized element as DO. In semantic terms, the position of DO is prototypically correlated with patient/theme status, the second highest after agent on many versions of the Thematic Hierarchy (see footnote 69). It is typically the element that is semantically most closely linked to the action expressed by the verb; it is often physically affected by this action, and its existence may even depend on it. Prototypical DOs, understood as elements that typically take accusative case in languages that possess it, generally occupy positions in the middle of the Silverstein hierarchy; objects which are atypically high (e.g. animate, definite) or atypically low (e.g. non-individuated) often receive atypical case marking (see Barðdal & Chelliah 2009). If we take the Silverstein hierarchy as a hierarchy of 'topicworthiness', this makes sense if we interpret DO as a position typically associated with secondary topics, as proposed by Dalrymple & Nikolaeva (2011). This would fit in with its position as second in terms of relativization accessibility. The fact that the syntactic position of DO is more closely associated with topicality than other types of object-like constructions and adjuncts is implied by the existence of constructions such as English dative shift and Bantu applicative, that promote topical IOs and adjuncts with more peripheral semantic roles to DO status. Note that in many Bantu languages possessing this type of construction, only subject and DO may be relativized (see Keenan & Comrie 1977); as in Philippine languages, we find that in languages where syntactic prominence has a strong association with pragmatic prominence, rather than depending on purely semantic factors, there are strict syntactic restrictions on relativization.

Another type of case where relativization is often claimed to be restricted to subject and DO involves participial constructions, as found, for example, in Finnish, Persian, and Armenian, and also in English, if participial constructions such as 'the singing man' and 'the broken window' are considered RCs. However, in these cases,

the reason for the restriction is primarily semantic, i.e. it concerns agent and patient/theme roles, rather than syntactic positions directly. Non-perfective verb forms, such as the English *-ing* participle and the Armenian subject participle,[70] generally emphasize the activity denoted by the verb; when they are associated with an entity, as in RCs, this is generally the agent, if the verb assigns an agent role. Perfective forms, however, such as the English past participle and the Armenian resultative participle, denoting a completed action, generally emphasize the result of the action, and thus, when they are associated with an entity, this typically has the role of affected patient/theme. In Persian, where a perfective participle is used in relativization, this is said to be possible only for intransitive subject and transitive object (Authier 2010: 7), i.e. arguments likely to have patient/theme role. Jahukyan (1974: 552) states that the same applies to the Armenian resultative participle, although evidence shows that this is a tendency rather than a rigid rule (see section 5.2.2.9.3).

In general, participles have the status of adjectives or nouns, that is, forms which generally denote properties or entities, rather than events. Haig (1998) emphasizes the essential similarity between adjectives and RCs, as both denote a property that is used to characterize the referent. Another way to understand the generally higher accessibility of S and DO is that being an agent or an affected patient is more likely to result in a property used to characterize a referent than playing some more peripheral role in the state of affairs. However, the semantics of the relativized element also play a role, as a noun denoting place or time, for example, will logically be interpreted as a spatial or temporal adjunct (oblique on AH) rather than agent or patient, just as animate referents will preferentially be interpreted as agents, and inanimate ones as patients. By this logic, we would expect the roles of location and time to be highly accessible to relativization when the relativized element is semantically appropriate (and other effects of this type depending on the semantics of the noun and verb, for which see Haig 1998). However, note that time and place RCs are often very difficult or impossible to distinguish from adverbial clauses (see de Vries 2002: 56), both in terms of form and function: while they may be considered RCs in that they share a 'pivot' element that is also present in MC, their primary function tends to be to provide a setting for the state of affairs described in MC, like an adverbial clause, more than to provide information useful for identifying one of the participants in the state of affairs, as with typical RCs. As with adverbials, these clauses are likely to be construed as referring to an event rather than a property or entity. Thus we may expect forms with the infinitive, an event noun, to be preferred to true RCs with the subject or resultative participle (see section 2.1.5.2.2), and also the appearance of finite clauses introduced by the conjunction *vor*, which can be used for both relative and adverbial clauses (see section 2.1.5.2.1).

3.2.2.3.3 Genitives

The status of genitives with regard to relativization accessibility is extremely variable. As we have seen, in Turkish, they may be considered highly accessible, using the same strategy as subjects, while Diessel &

[70] This is usually based on the imperfective stem, although there are some exceptions (see section 2.1.5.2.2.2), so it is not really accurate to describe it as an imperfective form. However, it contrasts with the resultative and past participles, which are generally based on the aorist (perfective) stem.

Tomasello (2005) report that genitive RCs caused the most problems of any grammatical relation for English-speaking children, and Keenan and Comrie imply (1977: 72) that for some Basque speakers, genitives may not be relativized at all.[71] This led Lehmann (1986) to propose that genitives belong to a separate hierarchy, that of adnominal relations rather than adverbal relations, which are structurally and conceptually different. It is also the case that possessive constructions vary greatly as regards the degree that the possessor is conceived of as being involved in the state of affairs described in the clause, which affects its potential topicality. As we have seen in the discussion of the Turkish subject participle, possessors often have topical status, implying a high level of accessibility; an utterance involving a possessor will often be interpreted as 'about' the possessor, rather than the possessee, especially if the latter is inanimate: 'Someone stole John's coat', 'a bee stung John's leg', etc. will generally be interpreted as being 'about' John, rather than the coat or his leg or a bee. Some languages, including English, French, Swedish and Hausa, have constructions for promoting topical possessors to subject or object, such as 'John got his coat stolen' or 'a bee stung John on the leg' (or 'John was stung on the leg'), and these are preferred particularly in relativization, where the possessor relativized element is inherently topical (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 91). This is one probable reason why in these languages relatives on syntactic possessives are dispreferred, as the kind of possessors likely to be relativized on are topical ones, and these are likely to be articulated as subject or object.

In some possessive constructions, however, the possessor has a very low degree of potential topicality, as it may be totally unconnected with the state of affairs described in the clause. This is the case with the structures used by Diessel & Tomasello (2005 etc.) in their elicited production task, involving transitive verbs with all animate participants (e.g. 'the man whose cat caught a mouse'). A probable reason why these caused so many errors is that they are pragmatically extremely unnatural given the function of relative clauses; a clause can hardly be conceived of as being 'about', let alone be used to characterize, a referent which plays no part in and is not affected by the state of affairs described in the clause. Another possible factor, as Diessel & Tomasello (2005: 896) point out, is that these clauses have the highest number of animate referents of any of the clauses that they tested (3 for GEN, as opposed to 2 for A, P, IO and OBL, 1 for S). They note that other experimental evidence has shown that the number of animate referents can affect comprehension (see Hamburger & Crain 1982), presumably causing more difficulty in role assignment if there is a larger number of referents semantically appropriate to the same role. In this context, it may be significant that participial RCs, which are typically associated with roles high up on the AH (although, as we have seen, there are also good semantic motivations for this), are often described as being 'short' (e.g. Authier 2010 for Persian and Azeri), implying that they involve a small number of (overt) referents. The key property here would be the lack of a means in these constructions for articulating the role of the relativized element in RC; when there is a larger number of referents that need to be assigned roles (especially if they are all semantically similar, e.g. animate), assignment

[71]However, Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007) present evidence that there are in fact some circumstances where genitives may be relativized in Basque.

of roles is more challenging, especially if we have an animate relativized element with an unexpectedly peripheral role.

3.2.2.3.4. Summary of topicality and grammatical relations issues

As discussed in sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2, theories ascribing the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy to factors associated with complexity and/or word order have produced unsatisfactory results as regards the phenomenon of the AH as a whole. Instead, it appears that the crucial factors behind the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy stem from the communicative function of RCs. As stated by Kuno (1976: 420), "A relative clause must be a statement about its head noun", therefore a defining property of relativized elements is that they always have topic status in RC. Thus the AH could be seen as a hierarchy of grammatical relations according to the extent to which they are associated with topic status. Semantic properties of the relativized element and the verb, as well as syntactic properties of the language or construction in question, interact with the relativized element's inherent topicality to determine the probability that it will be realized as a particular grammatical relation. In general, pragmatic prominence (topicality) is associated with semantic prominence (thematic hierarchy). Thus a relativized element will typically be assumed to play the most prominent thematic role assigned by the RC verb. Prominent thematic roles are generally associated with prominent syntactic roles, leading to AH effects. However, the semantic properties of the relativized element also play a role, e.g. if it is an inanimate object, it will be assumed to have patient (second on thematic hierarchy), rather than agent role, if it denotes a location, it will be assumed to have location role. If these expections are violated, processing problems result.

This factor alone would predict that animate relativized elements would typically be interpreted as agent, inanimate ones as patient, with other roles being accessible only to special semantic categories of relativized element particularly associated with particular roles. Given the typical association of semantic with syntactic roles, this would lead to an AH with certain significant exceptions caused by semantic properties of the relativized element or the verb: a subject preference for animates, an intransitive subject or DO preference for inanimates, and a few cases of preference for particular oblique (adjunct) roles for relativized elements with specific semantic properties, such as location or time. Other exceptions would result from verbs whose argument structure does not reflect the thematic hierarchy as it is generally presented, e.g. ones with non-subjects in agentive roles. These roles would be expected to be relatively accessible to animate relativized elements. The grammatical relation of genitive is not in itself associated with any thematic role, as it involves dependency on a noun, rather than a verb. However, some possessors can be interpreted as having a thematic role, particularly patient (the man whose head hurts, the man whose car broke down), and even, conceivably, agent (the man whose foot broke the glass, though the very fact that this is articulated as genitive rather than subject implies a lack of agentivity on the part of the possessor). These would have a higher level of accessibility than genitives in which the possessor plays no semantic role in the clause. The fact that possessors can vary so greatly in their thematic status, from being associated with a highly prominent thematic role to

having no thematic role at all, while in the case of adverbal grammatical relations the association with thematic status is more consistent, is a plausible reason why they have been so difficult to integrate into the AH.

In many languages, pragmatic prominence is directly associated with syntactic prominence in a way that is independent of the semantic dimension described in the previous paragraphs. This is manifested in the existence of constructions that serve to promote topical referents that would normally play a more peripheral role in the argument structure of the clause to the status of syntactic subject or direct object. These include passive, dative shift, and applicative, as well as various means for promoting topical possessors to subject or object status. As the relativized element always has topic status in RC, we may expect that when such constructions exist, they are likely to be made use of to promote the relativized element to subject or DO status in RC, thus reinforcing the preference for these syntactic roles in relativization. Languages vary greatly in the extent to which pragmatic prominence is associated with syntactic grammatical relations, i.e. in the extent to which they make use of these kinds of structure. For example, in Malagasy and many Philippine languages, what is usually described as 'subject', the agreement trigger, which is the only role that can be relativized on, is actually associated with topic status rather than thematic role (see Pearson 2005 for Malagasy, Faarlund 1988 for Cebuano etc.), with passive-like processes used to promote practically any argument to 'subject' status if it is conceived of as the topic of the clause. In many Bantu languages, applicative constructions exist to promote topical elements to DO status. This is often associated with restriction of relativization accessibility to subject and DO (see Croft 2002: 228). Thus languages with an obligatory or near-obligatory association of topic status with syntactic position have the strongest restrictions on the AH. In contrast, in languages such as Chinese, where topic status is independent of syntactic grammatical relations, the AH effects are weaker, although the association of topic status with prominent semantic roles would still be relevant if it is assumed to be a cognitive universal. The fact that in some languages rigid syntactic rules have arisen corresponding to these much wider functionally-based tendencies is an example of a general pattern, raising interesting questions about the relationship between function and syntax, particularly as in some cases, the syntactic rules can be demonstrated to have arisen fairly recently (e.g. rigid association of Turkish subject participle use to relativize non-subjects with case-marking of subject).

3.2.2.4. Conclusion: Factors determining choice of strategy

3.2.2.4.1. General implications

What are the implications of this crosslinguistic data for the choice of strategy, specifically among the structures available in Armenian? The basic generalization, expressed in Lehmann (1986), is that less explicit constructions are often confined to more accessible roles, while more explicit ones are more likely to be available to less accessible roles. Hawkins's (2004) principle of 'Minimize Forms' would predict that less explicit, more minimal forms would be preferred to more explicit ones, except when the former would be

rendered incomprehensible (as would tend to be the case when the relativized element plays an unexpected role, i.e. one that is infrequently associated with elements having its particular referential properties). Nominalizations with no means of specifying the role of the relativized element in RC, such as the Armenian participles, would be expected to be associated with high accessibility. The particular properties of these participles would suggest that the subject participle would be associated with relativized elements playing agent role, while the resultative participle would be associated with affected patients. As regards the choice between RCs with RPs and those with conjunction and resumptive, the general tendency is for the latter to be particularly associated with positions lower on the hierarchy, which may not be accessible to the former.

3.2.2.4.2. Specific predictions of different theories

Armenian is generally said to have basic word order SOV, although this can vary according to information structure (see section 2.1.4). Participial RCs are prenominal, thus have the order [SOV]N, like Turkish or Japanese. Theories based on linear distance would predict that these participles would be used more frequently for DO, then IO assuming the structure [S IO DO V]N, than for subject. Hawkins (2004) predicts a preference for subject over DO. His theory also predicts that there would be no difference in accessibility between IO and DO in these constructions. In general, it predicts that all object-like constructions would have the same level of accessibility as DO, except if they involve an extra layer of structure such as a PP. Genitives will be ranked according to the role of the possessee in the clause, with possessor of subject having the same level of accessibility as PP object, while possessor of object is lower. His 'Minimize Forms' principle predicts that finite RCs will be dispreferred for highly accessible roles. His 'Minimize Domains' principle suggests that the choice of position of finite RCs may be associated with the position of the relativized element within MC; if it is closer to the beginning of the clause, the RC will tend to precede, if it is closer to the end, the RC will tend to follow. Relativized Minimality predicts that ORCs will be unlikely to use participial forms when the subject and the object have similar features, but should be generally accessible when they do not, regardless of the correlation between features and role. Diessel & Tomasello's (2000 et seq.) theory proposing similarity to basic word order as the main factor behind greater accessibility, with the initial position of subject being most crucial, predicts a preference for ORCs over SRCs, as the former would generally preserve the initial position of the subject, assuming it is articulated overtly. Diessel & Tomasello (2005) also suggest that RCs with a larger number of animate referents would be less accessible.

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that the Armenian participles, due to their basic semantics (agent noun and property-denoting adjective) and lack of a means for indicating the case of the relativized element, will be quite constrained on the AH and sensitive to mainly semantic factors, being strongly associated with agent and patient/theme roles. The semantics of the relativized element will also play a role. Participial forms will be preferred only for subject RCs if the relativized element is animate, for intransitive (unaccusative) subject and DO RCs if it is inanimate (inanimates playing agentive roles are unexpected, and thus would not tend to use participles), and perhaps also for animates if the verb has an agentive object or if there is a

pronominal or proper name subject. The use of passive instead of (especially animate) object RCs found in languages such as English and German is not likely to be widespread, as although the construction exists, Armenian is similar to Turkish in that topic status is typically marked by word order with no change on the verb. Thus the preference for subject over DO is not expected to be particularly strong, being confined to a preference for animate relativized elements in agent roles. The subject participle is described as an agent noun (Asatryan 2004), thus we would not initially expect it to be directly associated with pragmatic properties like the Turkish near-equivalent, although influence by contact is possible. Armenian does not possess a systematic means for promoting topical elements to DO status.

The extent to which participles may be used for roles other than subject and DO is likely to vary according to semantic factors. Genitives in which the possessor is implicitly ascribed a prominent semantic role (e.g. patient) in the clause are one possible case for participle use in 'lower' roles. Another is if the relativized element has semantic features that are strongly associated with a particular role other than agent or patient, such as time or location. However, if the event reading is prominent, finite constructions (or event nominal, i.e. infinitive, in which case the constructions would be considered adverbials, not RCs) may be preferred. Language contact may also be a factor in choice of strategy, as the main contact languages, Turkic (Turkish and Azeri), Persian and Russian, have different primary strategies, each of which corresponds to a structure that is available in Armenian: participial in Turkic, finite with conjunction in Persian, and finite with RP in Russian. Dialects or individuals that have been in closer contact with one of these languages may make more extensive use of the strategy favoured in that language, or borrow some specific features associated with a construction in the contact language.

4 Methodology

4.1 Main questions and scope

As we have seen, the two main questions addressed in this thesis are a) what types of relative constructions are available in Armenian, and b) what determines the choice of form? In this study, the focus is on spoken language, including dialects. This is because written and standard forms of language are subject to artificial rules, and thus are of less interest (or a different type of interest) from the point of view of a typological study investigating properties of natural language with a view to eventually relating them to properties of the human mind. Including data from a variety of dialects could potentially highlight microvariation which would be of interest in this context. It is also important from an areal-typological point of view, as the fact that Armenian has such a wide variety of available strategies for relativization could be linked to the fact that the area where it is spoken covers a zone of transition as regards relativization strategies (see Gandon 2016), and thus it is possible that there is an areal dimension to this variation, i.e. that different strategies may predominate in different parts of the area.

4.2 The data

4.2.1 The database

The first step in the analysis of the syntax and typology of relativization in spoken Armenian was to create a database of relative constructions with filters for typologically relevant features. Examples from sound recordings were entered into the database, with details of exactly where in each recording they occur, so that every example can be easily accessed. In the future it would be desirable to create a direct link between the database and the recording of each example. The database was created using Microsoft Excel, as a simple, practical and accessible method. The relative construction itself with its translation occupies one column. The other columns are as follows:

A: Dialect and location. This gives the name of the dialect, and the subdialect and/or place of origin of the speaker (for details see section 2.2.2).

B: Speaker. Each speaker is referred to by a code. Relevant socio-geographical and language contact information about each speaker is given in section 4.2.2.2.3.

C: Source. This gives the code of the recording in which the example appears, and the place in the recording, e.g. Msh15 1.59 would indicate that the example is from the recording entitled Msh15 and occurs at 1 minute 59 seconds into the recording.

D: Question. For questionnaire responses, this gives the number of the questionnaire, the question, and the particular referent, e.g. Q1: 1a (b) refers to the first referent (a) in question 1 of questionnaire 1, and (b)

indicates that the example is a response to the (b) question. For examples from free speech recordings, 'free speech' is noted here.

E. Finite/non-finite. This states whether the example in question is a finite or a non-finite (participial) construction.

F: RC role. This gives the role of the relativized element in RC, in terms of grammatical relations for subject (intransitive or intransitive), DO, IO and P(ostpostional) object. The oblique cases (ablative, instrumental, locative) are noted separately by case. For possessors the role of the possessee is also noted (e.g. 'poss subj' for possessor of subject, 'poss obj' for possessor of object). Non-case-marked adjuncts are noted by role (e.g. time, destination). 'Clausal' means that the whole RC, rather than just one referent in it, supplies the reference for the relativized element, typically a demonstrative, in MC.

G: MC role. This gives the role of the relativized element in the matrix clause.

H: RC anaphor. This states the type of anaphoric element that represents the relativized element in the relative clause. If this is a relative pronoun, it states which relative pronoun is used. 'Pron' is used for non-demonstrative pronominal elements, with demonstratives referred to as 'dem'. Sometimes there appears to be more than one representation of the relativized element in RC, as discussed in section 5.1.4.1.1. For participial RCs, which never have an overt representation of the relativized element in RC, this is left blank. For finite RCs, when there is no overt representation, '0' is noted.

I: MC anaphor. This states the type of anaphoric element that represents the relativized element in the matrix clause. For participial RCs that do not modify a separate noun, this is left blank. When the participial RC modifies a noun, 'N' is noted.

J: Type of relative marker or participle (see section 5.1.1 for details).

K: Pre vs post- MC (for finite RCs). States whether the finite RC precedes or follows MC (there are a very few cases of possible centre-embedding). For non-finite RCs, which are embedded in MC, this is left blank.

L: Preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs). This concerns elements placed to the left of the conjunction or RP in a left-adjoined RC, whether the relativized element (RE) or some other element, categorized by role. These elements may be in RC case, or invariant nominative. They are discussed in section 5.2.4

M: Animacy of relativized element. States whether the relativized element is animate, animate non-human, or inanimate.

N: Animacy of subject. In cases where the relativized element is not the subject of RC, this states whether the subject is animate or inanimate. It is also noted if the subject is a pronoun, and if so, what kind. If the relativized element is the subejct of RC, this column is left blank.

O: Topic/focus. This states whether the relativized element has topic or focus status in MC. It is left blank for some of the free speech examples, as determining the information status of the relativized element would require a detailed analysis of the context, which was not always possible here.

Each column has a filter, so it is possible to select the desired categories from each column, for example, all responses from one (or more) area, all responses with one (or more) grammatical relation, all responses to one particular question, etc. These filters can then be combined, so that it is possible, for example, to isolate all subject RCs from Gyumri that use a conjunction alone and have a full NP representation of the relativized element in both RC and MC, etc. It is possible in this way to compare, for example, the numbers of finite and non-finite RCs (or RCs having some other particular properties) produced for a certain grammatical relation, or as responses to a particular question, the number of RCs with each participle that have overt head nouns, etc., as well as the total number of RCs with each property that is noted in the database, allowing the calculation of percentages. Thus the database was an invaluable tool for the analysis described in section 5.

4.2.2 Sources of data

4.2.2.1. Published sources

In addition to the database of relative constructions from the spoken language, it was also considered useful to analyse the forms of relativization that are accepted in the literary language, as typological information about relativization in Armenian (e.g. Dum-Tragut 2009, Creissels 2005) has generally been based on this. Thus this study has also made use of examples of relative constructions taken from two grammars of literary Eastern Armenian, the pre-Soviet grammar of Abeghyan (1912), which gives examples from a wide variety of sources, some of which would today be considered non-standard, and Abrahamyan (2004), which is essentially representative of the modern standard literary language.

Examples were also taken from some dialect grammars. They mainly come from dialect texts included in these works, as none of the grammars in question include a section dedicated to syntax, except for general statements to the effect that the syntax of the dialects does not differ significantly from that of the literary language. The use of these texts has the advantage that they are have generally been selected as representative of 'pure' dialect, and thus may be expected to have a lesser degree of literary influence than is likely in sound recordings made by a researcher, whose presence may cause the speakers, consciously or unconsciously, to use more formal language. The other advantage is that information was available for a wider variety of dialects, some of which are extinct or almost extinct today, and others of which for other practical reasons it was impossible to collect recordings of. However, the use of written texts also has disadvantages. They do not include information on intonation, which can be extremely important for understanding the meaning and especially the information structure and other pragmatic properties of the utterance. They also generally do not include information on the speakers themselves, their social, geographical, educational and linguistic background, which can all be

relevant to the forms of language they may use. In addition, the texts may be edited, and thus subject to a more subtle form of literary influence. They will also inevitably only show a small number of all the possible forms; if a particular form is not attested in the texts, there is no way to test whether or not it is possible. Examples were taken from the following dialect grammars:

AUTHOR	DATE	DIALECT/AREA
Aghayan	(1954)	Meghri
Asatryan	(1962)	Khoy/Urmia
Asatryan	(1968)	Lori
Margaryan	(1971)	Goris
Markosyan	(1989)	Ararat
Mezhunts	(1989)	Shamshadin-Dilijan
H. Mkrtchyan	(1952)	Karin (Gyumri, Akhalkalaki, Akhaltsikhe)
N. Mkrtchyan	(2006)	Gamirk, Sivri-Hisar, Muradca (Asia Minor)
Sargsiants	(1883)	Agulis
Vardanyan	(2004)	Vayots Dzor

4.2.2.2 Sound recordings

4.2.2.2.1 General overview

The majority of the relative constructions referred to in this thesis come from sound recordings. These have the advantages that the intonation is preserved, that it was possible to collect information on the social, geographical, educational and linguistic background of the speakers, and that it was possible to give the same consultants more directed questions designed to elicit relative constructions in particular contexts for which there was a lack of information, as these occur rarely in texts and spontaneous discourse in general. The main disadvantages of this method are that there is a tendency for consultants to use literary forms in the presence of a researcher who is not a speaker of the dialect, and that the number of dialects and speakers that can be involved is limited by practical factors. The recorded texts are of two types. The first involves recordings of essentially spontaneous speech, although the researcher may ask questions in order to start or prolong the discourse. For the spontaneous speech recordings, wherever possible, dialect speakers were recorded in conversation with one another, with the minimum possible involvement of the researcher, in order to reduce the likelihood of literary influence.

4.2.2.2.2 The recordings

DIALECT	FREE SPEECH	QUESTIONNAIRES
Agulis (Paraka)	1h 10min	Q1, Q2
Ararat (Ejmiatsin)	20 min	Q2
Artik-Maralik	5h	-
Bayazet	-	Q1, Q2
Gyumri	1h 20min	Q1, Q3
Khoy	5h 40min	Q1, Q2, Q4
Lori	3h	Q1
Mush	3h 35min	Q1
Vayots Dzor	4h 5 min	Q1, Q2, Q4
Colloquial EA	-	Q3, Q4

4.2.2.2.3 Profiles of consultants

Agulis:

Ag1. Female aged 60-70. She was born and grew up in Paraka village, Nakhijevan, which had a mainly Armenian population speaking a distinctive form of Agulis dialect. There was also a strong Azeri presence in the area. Her parents spoke dialect, literary Eastern Armenian, Russian, and Azeri. The family spoke dialect at home. She was educated in literary Eastern Armenian and Russian, received higher education conducted in Russian, and is also fluent in Azeri. She moved to Baku as young adult, lived and worked there until 1990s, mainly speaking Russian. She emigrated to Armenia in 1988, and is currently resident in a village in the area of Masis (Ararat province), which was populated by Muslims until 1988, who fled to Azerbaijan at this time and were replaced by Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan. There are no other Agulis dialect speakers in village, but she speaks dialect with her children, who live in Yerevan. Q1, Q2.

Ararat (Ejmiatsin):

E1. Male aged 40-50. His parents migrated from Bzhgert village in Peria (Fereydan) region of Iran (Nor Jugha dialect area, dialect of wider Ararat group) in 1946. They spoke literary Eastern Armenian (there were Armenian schools in the Peria region) and also Persian, but did not pass on any Persian to their children. They migrated to Armenia with a group of families from the same village, originally settling in the Talin area, where the consultant was born. The group then moved to Aratashen (Armavir province) when the consultant was a

small child. This village had a population of mixed Western Armenian, Khoy and local origin who spoke the Ejmiatsin form of Ararat dialect. The consultant's wife's grandparents were from Mush, but the whole family speaks local (Ejmiatsin) dialect at home. The consultant received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows Russian. Q2.

E2, male aged 40-50. His parents migrated from Bzhgert village in Peria (Fereydan) region of Iran in 1946, they spoke literary Eastern Armenian and also Persian, but did not pass on any Persian to their children. They were part of the same group as E1's family, who moved first to Talin, then to Aratashen when the consultant was a small child. His wife's family are also originally from Peria, but the family speaks local (Ejmiatsin) dialect at home. He received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows Russian. Q2.

Artik-Maralik:

AM1. Male aged 50-60. He was born and grew up in Meghrashen village (near Artik in Shirak province), his parents were from Meghrashen, he speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, worked for 1 year in Yerevan and 4 years in Russia, then returned to the village. He speaks good Russian. Free speech only.

AM2. Female aged 50-60. She was born and grew up in Maralik (also speaking Artik-Maralik dialect), her parents were from Maralik, she came to Meghrashen aged about 20. She speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows some Russian. Free speech only.

AM3. Female aged 50-60. She was born and has always lived in Meghrashen, her parents were from Meghrashen, she speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows some Russian. Free speech only.

AM4. Male aged 70-80. He was born and grew up in Meghrashen, his parents were from the local area, he speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, spent some years as an adult in Russia, but returned to Meghrashen. He speaks good Russian. Free speech only.

AM5. Male aged 70-80. He was born and grew up in Meghrashen, his parents were from the local area, he speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, worked for several years in Russia, then returned to Meghrashen. He speaks good Russian. Free speech only.

AM6. Male aged 70-80. He was born and grew up in Meghrashen, his parents were from the local area, he speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, worked for three years in Russia, then returned to Meghrashen. He speaks good Russian. Free speech only.

AM7. Male aged 70-80. He was born and grew up in Meghrashen, his parents were from the local area, he speaks dialect at home, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian. He received higher education in Gyumri, and knows good Russian. Free speech only.

Bayazet:

B1. Female aged 20-30. She was born and grew up in Hatsarat (suburb of Gavar town), her parents are from Hatsarat, she speaks dialect at home, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian, initially in Gavar town, but then (from the age of 17) higher education in Yerevan. She works in Yerevan, and now spends part of the week in Hatsarat and part in Yerevan. She knows good Russian and English. Q1, Q2.

Gyumri:

G1. Female aged 40-50. She was born and grew up in Gyumri, her parents were from Gyumri, she speaks dialect at home, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian, including higher education, in Gyumri. She has always lived in Gyumri, speaks SEA at work as a journalist, but dialect with local colleagues. She knows good Russian and English. Q1.

G2. Female aged 60-70. She was born and grew up in Gyumri, her parents were from Gyumri, she speaks dialect at home and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian in Gyumri. She knows Russian. Q3.

G3. Female aged 20-30. She was born in Yerevan, her parents were from Yerevan, she came to Gyumri aged 5, grew up in Gyumri, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian, including higher education, in Gyumri. Her parents spoke colloquial EA at home, she spoke Gyumri dialect outside the home, and latterly also at home. Her husband is from Gyumri, and all the family speak Gyumri dialect at home. She knows good Russian and some English. Free speech only.

G4. Male aged 8. He was born in Gyumri, his parents are from Gyumri, he speaks dialect at home, and is learning literary Eastern Armenian at school and from media exposure. He is also exposed to media in Russian. Q3.

G5. Male aged 50-60. He was born in Gyumri, his parents were from Gyumri, he speaks dialect at home and at work, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian in Gyumri, knows Russian and some Turkish and Georgian. Q1, Q3.

G6. Male aged 50-60. He was born in Gyumri, his parents were from Gyumri, he speaks dialect at home and at work, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, knows Russian and some Turkish. Q1, Q3.

Khoy:

KhQ1. Female aged 70-80. She was born and grew up in Karaglukh village in Vayots Dzor province (populated by Armenian speakers of Khoy dialect), spoke dialect and literary Eastern Armenian at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, spent her adult life in Yeghegnadzor town, and knows Russian. Q1, Q2, Q4.

KhA1. Female aged 70-80. She was born and grew up in Aghanjadzor village in Vayots Dzor province, which had a mixed Armenian and Azeri population until the 1990s. She spoke dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and spent her adult life in Yeghegnadzor town. She knows Russian and Azeri. Q1, Q2.

KhG1. Female aged 50-60. She was born and grew up in Gladzor village in Vayots Dzor province, spoke dialect at home, and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian. She has spent her adult life in Yeghegnadzor town. She knows Russian. Q1, Q2.

KhQ2. Female aged 50-60. She was born and spent part of her childhood in Karaglukh village, then moved to Yegeghnadzor town. Her parents were from Karaglukh village, she spoke dialect and literary Eastern Armenian at home, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian. She received higher education in Yerevan, then returned to Yegeghnadzor town, where she is currently resident. She knows Russian. Q2.

KhQ3. Female aged 40-50. She is resident and has lived most of her life in Karaglukh village. Her parents were from Karaglukh village, and the family spoke and still speak dialect at home. She spent some time in her late 20s-30s in Ararat province, then returned to Karaglukh. She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows some Russian. Q1.

KhQ4. Female aged 40-50. She has lived her whole life in Karaglukh village, and her parents were from Karaglukh village. She speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows some Russian. Free speech only.

Lori:

L1. Male aged 60. He was born, grew up and is resident in Shnogh village, and his parents were from Shnogh village. He received secondary education in literary EA. He spent some part of his young adult life outside the village. His wife is from Yerevan, but he speaks dialect at home with the family. He knows Russian. Q1.

L2. Male aged 77. He was born, grew up and is resident in Shnogh village, and his parents were from Shnogh village. He speaks dialect at home, and received secondary education in literary EA. He has spent his whole life apart from military service in the village, and knows some Russian. Q1.

L3. Female aged 50. She was born, grew up and has spent her whole life in Shnogh village, her parents were from Shnogh village, she speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary EA, and knows some Russian. Q1.

Mush:

M1. Female aged 70-80. She was born and grew up in Shirak province (community of speakers from Duman village in the Khnus area). The family spoke dialect at home, her parents also spoke Turkish. She moved to Alashkert village in Armavir province as a young adult to live with her husband's family, who were also from the Khnus area. There is a wider Mush dialect-speaking community in the village. She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows Russian and some Turkish. Q1.

M2. Female aged 40-50, born and grew up in Vardenik village in Gegharkunik province (a community of speakers of Mush dialect, mainly originating from Alashkert). The family spoke dialect at home. She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian. Her husband is from the same community. She moved to Ararat province with her husband in adulthood, but they still speak Mush dialect at home. She knows Russian. Q1.

Vayots Dzor:

VDzH1. Female aged 70-80. She was born in Hors village in Vayots Dzor province, which had a mixed Armenian and Azeri population until 1988, and grew up there except for 2 years in the neighbouring Azeri village of Alayaz (now Yeghegis, populated by Armenians who fled Azerbaijan in 1988) from age 3-5. Her mother was a refugee from Arinj village in the Moks region who came to Armenia aged 4, grew up in Ejmiatsin and Yerevan, and spoke literary Armenian with some Moks dialect elements. Her father was from Nakhijevan (the Armenian population of Hors transferred from Otsop village in Nakhijevan in 1918-1920, but always spoke a form of Vayots Dzor dialect). The consultant speaks fluent Turkish (presumably Azeri), and some Russian. She spoke Vayots Dzor dialect and Turkish (Azeri) at home in the village. She moved to Yeghegnadzor town aged around 20, and has lived there ever since. She received secondary and further education in literary EA. Q2.

VDzR1. Female aged 65. She was born and grew up in Rind village in Vayots Dzor region. Her parents were from Rind, and the family spoke Vayots Dzor dialect at home. She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian. After finishing school, she came to work in Yeghegnadzor town, and stayed there until the present time. She knows some Russian, but does not speak it fluently. Q4.

VDzKh1. Female aged 70-80. She was born and has always lived in Khachik village in Vayots Dzor region, her parents were from Khachik, the family spoke and still speak dialect at home. She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and claims to know no foreign languages. Q1.

VDzKh2. Female aged 40-50. She was born and grew up in Khachik, and her parents were from Khachik. She speaks dialect at home, and received secondary and higher education in literary Eastern Armenian. She attended school in the village, received 3 years higher education in Yerevan, then returned to the village until the present time. She knows Russian, her parents spoke fluent Azeri, and she speaks some. Q1.

VDzKh3. Female aged 80. Her father was a refugee from Van who had lived in England and Germany and came to Armenia aged 20-25, her mother was from Khachik. She was born and grew up in Khachik, speaks dialect at home, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian. She attended school in the village, then received 1 year 8 months further education in Yerevan. She then returned to the village, where she worked with Russians for 24 years, and spoke Russian at work. She also speaks Azeri. Q1.

VDzKh4. Female aged 40-50. She was born and grew up in Khachik, and her parents were from Khachik. She speaks dialect at home, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian (village school, then 2 years further education in Ejmiatsin). She returned to the village, worked for 10 years, then got married in Vedi (Ararat region), stayed for 3 years (30-33 years old), then returned to Khachik until the present time. She has a passive knowledge of Russian, and knows some Azeri. Q1.

VDzKh5. Female aged 60-70. She was born in Khachik. Her father was from Khachik, her mother was from Areni (Vayots Dzor dialect area). She speaks dialect at home, and received education in literary Eastern Armenian at the village school, then Russian-medium university education in Yerevan. She lived in Yerevan for 20 years, then returned to the village in the 1990s. She speaks fluent Russian and Azeri. Q4.

VDzKh6. Male aged 70-80. He was born and grew up in Khachik, his parents were from Khachik, he speaks dialect at home, and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian at the village school. He knows some Russian and good Azeri. Q4.

VDzKh7. Female aged 70-80, she was born and grew up in Khachik, her parents were from Khachik, she speaks dialect at home, and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian at village school. She knows some Russian and some Azeri. Q4.

VDzKh8. Female aged 40-50. She was born and grew up in Khachik, her parents were from Khachik, she speaks dialect at home, and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian at village school. She knows Azeri and some Russian. Q4.

VDzKh9. Male aged 40-50. He was born and grew up in Khachik, and his parents were from Khachik. He speaks dialect at home, received secondary education in literary Armenian at the village school, worked 1 year

in Yerevan, 2 years in Kharkhov, then returned to the village. He knows Russian, Ukrainian, and some ('a little') Azeri. Q4.

VDzKh10. Male aged 20-30. He was born and grew up in Khachik, his parents are from Khachik, and the family speak dialect at home. He received secondary education in literary Armenian at the village school, then attended university in Yerevan. After leaving school, he has lived continuously in Yerevan except for 2 years of military service in various places. He knows good Russian, but not Azeri. Q1.

VDzKh11. Female aged 70-80. She was born and grew up in Khachik, her parents were from Khachik, she speaks dialect at home, and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian at the village school. She knows some Russian and some Azeri. Q1.

VDzKh12. Male aged 70-80. He was born and grew up in Khachik, his parents were from Khachik, he speaks dialect at home, and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian at the village school. He knows Russian and Azeri. Q1.

VDzA1. Female aged 40-50. She was born and grew up in Aghavnadzor village in Vayots Dzor province, where Vayots Dzor dialect is spoken. Her parents were from Aghavnadzor. She came to Khachik aged 22, and speaks dialect at home (she originally spoke the Aghavnadzor form of Vayots Dzor dialect, but has adapted somewhat to similar dialect of Khachik). She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows some Russian. After moving to Khachik, she has also learnt some Azeri. Q1.

Colloquial EA

P1. Male aged 21. He was born in Russia, moved to Armenia aged 2, lived in Abovyan until age 6, then in Yerevan until age 17, then moved to France. His parents are from Abovyan town, but his mother's family is from Katnaghbyur village (Kotayk province). He spent some time there, heard the distinctive dialect (possibly a form of Bayazet dialect, as according to Wikipedia, Katnaghbyur was partly populated from Bayazet), but spoke colloquial EA at home. He received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and higher education in French. He also speaks Russian and English. He lives with Armenians in Paris, including Western Armenian speakers, and speaks Armenian at home, but mostly French outside the home. Q4.

P2. Female aged 20-30. She was born and grew up in Yerevan, and has lived in France for 1 year. Her mother was born in Dilijan, her father was born in Yerevan in a family with Western Armenian roots. The family spoke colloquial EA at home. She received higher education in literary Eastern Armenian in Yerevan. Her husband is also from Armenia, and they speak Armenian (colloquial EA) at home. She also knows Russian, English, and some French. Q4.

P3. Female aged 60-70. She was born and grew up in Yerevan. Her parents were Turkish-speaking Armenians from Kesaria. They had lived in France, but came to Armenia in the 1940s. The family spoke Turkish and

literary Western Armenian at home. She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, spoke colloquial EA with peers, came to France as a young adult, and received further education in France. She speaks Eastern Armenian, Western Armenian, Turkish and French in daily life, and also knows some Russian. Q4.

P4. Female aged 50-60. She was born and grew up in Yerevan, her father was born in France to parents from Western Armenia (Mush and Kharpert), her mother was born in Goris to parents who had come from France in 1947, but the family came to Yerevan when the consultant's mother was 15. They always spoke Armenian at home, the consultant's grandmother spoke literary Western Armenian, but the younger generations spoke colloquial EA. The older generations knew good Turkish, but never spoke it at home, so her generation knows none. She received education in literary Eastern Armenian, including further education in Yerevan. She knows some Russian. She came to France aged 33. Her husband is also from Yerevan, and they always speak Armenian (colloquial EA) at home, but French with customers at work. Q4.

P5. Male aged 50-60. He was born and grew up in Yerevan, his parents were from Yerevan, and his grandparents from Van and Erzurum. The family spoke colloquial EA at home. He received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, but all writing at work was done in Russian, he had Russian colleagues, and spoke both Russian and Armenian at work. He speaks good Russian. He moved to France aged around 30. His wife is also from Yerevan, and they speak only Armenian (colloquial EA) at home, but French with customers at work. Q4.

P6. Male aged 50-60. He was born in Ozni village, Tsalka region of Georgia (founded by Armenians from Erzurum in 1830, who spoke Karin dialect), moved to Yerevan as a baby, and grew up there. His parents spoke Erzurum (Karin) dialect at home, but the children spoke colloquial EA. He received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian, and further education in literary Eastern Armenian and Russian. He moved to France in 1990 and learnt French, but generally speaks only Armenian (colloquial EA) at home. His wife is Armenian from Tehran, and speaks the Iranian form of colloquial EA. He speaks Turkish-Azeri (used during military service in Azerbaijan) and Russian. He spoke Russian frequently with friends and colleagues in Armenia. He also spoke Georgian, but claims to have forgotten. Q4.

P7. Female aged 30-40. She was born and grew up in Artashat (Khoy dialect area), but her family spoke literary Eastern Armenian (this probably actually refers to colloquial EA as opposed to Khoy dialect) at home. She received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian in Artashat, higher education in Yerevan, then worked as a teacher in Artashat. At school, university and work, she mostly spoke literary Eastern Armenian, but also some Russian and English. She learnt French in adulthood, and has lived in France for 2 years. She speaks only Armenian at home. Q4.

P8. Male aged 20-30. He was born in Yerevan, his parents were from Yerevan, he spoke colloquial EA and sometimes Russian at home, and received secondary education in literary Eastern Armenian. He lived 2 years in

Karabagh (Askeran town), and has now lived 2 years in France. He speaks Armenian at home and French at work, and also knows good Russian. Q4.

Mn1, Male aged 16. He was born in Marneul town in Georgia, and grew up in Karmirgyugh (Kirmizkendi) village of Marneul region (Ararat dialect area). His father is from the village, his mother is from Yerevan. The family spoke colloquial EA at home. The village has a mixed population of Armenian, Georgian, and Turkic speakers, and has an Armenian school, which the consultant attended until the 9th class (age approximately 14), then continued his education at Harich monastery in Armenia, thus all his education has been in literary Eastern Armenian. He also knows Georgian, Russian, and some Turkish/Azeri. Q3.

Ab1. Female aged 25-30. She was born and grew up in Abovyan town, her parents were from Abovyan town, she spoke literary Eastern Armenian (probably refers to colloquial EA as opposed to other dialects spoken in the area) at home, received higher education in literary Eastern Armenian in Abovyan and Yerevan, moved to Khachik in early 20s, and lives with a dialect-speaking family, but does not herself speak Khachik dialect. She knows good Russian and some English. Q4.

Y1. Female aged 50. She speaks colloquial EA with some Khoy dialect influence. She was born and grew up in Yeghegnadzor town. Her mother was from Yerevan, but moved to Yeghegnadzor at a young age. The family was originally from Kars, but they spoke literary Armenian (probably refers to colloquial EA as opposed to Khoy dialect) at home. Her father's mother was from Vernashen village and spoke Khoy dialect, her father's father from Yeghegnadzor town. Her father was born and grew up in Yeghegnadzor. The family spoke 'literary Armenian' (probably colloquial EA with some Khoy influence) at home. The consultant received secondary education in Yeghegnadzor, and higher education in Yerevan, mostly in literary Armenian, but at both school and university, some classes were conducted in Russian. She returned to Yeghegnadzor after university to work, and has lived there ever since. She speaks good Russian. Q4.

Y2. Female aged 50. She has always lived in Yegeghnadzor town. Her parents were from Karaglukh village (Khoy dialect area), and the family spoke Khoy dialect and colloquial EA at home. The consultant speaks colloquial EA with slight Khoy influence at home and at work. She received higher education in literary Eastern Armenian, and knows Russian. Q4.

4.3 Elicitation methods

4.3.1 General overview

The free speech data, while providing much useful information on the types of relative constructions in common usage in dialect speech, nonetheless do not provide all the information necessary for a study that aims to investigate the factors involved in the choice of relative construction in the context of theoretical proposals that have been made concerning the types of factors that are potentially involved, as discussed in section 3.2.2. Notably, there are relatively few examples of relative constructions where the relativized element has a role that is low on the Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977), as these are infrequent in discourse. In terms

of restrictions on participle use, the small number of tokens of non-subject/DO participial RCs and the lack of negative data makes it impossible to determine exactly when participial forms are acceptable for these roles and when they are not.

As discussed in section 3.2.2, it also seems likely that factors other than syntactic grammatical relations play a role in accessibility to relativization, such as the relative position of the relativized element and other arguments on the Silverstein Hierarchy, the semantic role of the relativized element in the state of affairs described by RC verb, including its position on the thematic hierarchy and its degree of affectedness, in conjunction with the semantic properties of the relativized element itself (e.g. animate referent more accessible in agent role, inanimate object as patient, place as place, time as time). In order to investigate the effects of these various factors, we need to be able to compare constructions with particular combinations of properties, which will inevitably not all be present in spontaneous speech data. There are also manifestations of the AH that would not be easily revealed by free speech data alone, such as the extent of promotion of the relativized element to RC subject (possibly also to other roles) in preference to other roles under specific circumstances.

These issues are common to the study of syntax in general, as it is generally the case that a much larger amount of material is needed to study syntactic phenomena than phonological or morphological phenomena, especially if any kind of quantitative analysis is required. It is a particular problem for studies of dialect syntax, as the amount of material available is generally much more limited than that available in the standard language. For example, one of the largest dialect corpora, the Freiburg English Dialects (FRED) corpus, which contains 1.5 million words, is still only sufficient for the quantitative analysis of frequently occurring forms (Kortmann 2002). It is obviously impossible within the framework of this project to create a corpus of Armenian dialect material large enough to enable adequate analysis of all the different types of relative constructions that are of interest here. Thus it is necessary to supplement the free speech corpus data with more directed methods.

4.3.2 Elicitation methods used in previous studies

Directed elicitation methods have been used fairly extensively both in general dialect syntax studies and in studies of specific phenomena concerning relativization. In dialect syntax studies, perhaps the most commonly employed method is translation of sentences from the standard language into the dialect. This method has been used by the University of Padova study of Italian dialects (Sanfelici et al. 2014), by the Swiss German Dialect Atlas (Bucheli & Glaser 2002), the survey of the Rhineland area conducted by the Meertens Institute (Cornips 2002), etc. It has the advantage that it is fairly directed, with a fairly high probability that consultants will produce the type of structures required (although there is often also quite a high number of non-target responses, see Bucheli & Glaser 2002), and that, especially when written questionnaires are used, it allows the collection of a relatively large amount of data in a short time, which is a major advantage when the aim is to prepare a comprehensive atlas (Bucheli & Glaser 2002). The major disadvantage is that influence from the literary language is almost unavoidable, first because the literary forms are actually given, and there is a tendency for consultants to make a literal translation, even if this is not the most natural form in their dialect. In

addition, when we are dealing with written elicitation, there is the issue that writing itself is generally associated with literary language; dialect is rarely used for writing, so when people write, they will tend to use literary rather than dialect forms. This method is not appropriate for the study of relativization phenomena in Armenian, as it appears that acceptable literary usage constitutes a subset of those uses that are acceptable in dialects, i.e. literary forms are generally acceptable in dialects (and if they are not, they are nonetheless likely to be perceived as acceptable due to their prestigious status), thus literal translation is probable, and as a consequence, those dialect usages that are not acceptable in the literary language would be unlikely to be detected by this method.

Oral elicitation methods allow elicitation of a more natural reflection of ordinary language use than written methods, although when the researcher is not a native speaker of the dialect, there is still a tendency for accommodation to standard norms. This problem can be overcome by enlisting the help of other dialect speakers, as was done in the Syntactic Atlas of Dutch Dialects (SAND) project (Barbiers & Cornips 2002: 9). Various methods of oral elicitation have been used. One involves translation tasks as described in the previous paragraph, with its attendant problems. Cornips (2002), investigating conjunction choice in a dialect of Dutch, uses a repetition task, whereby speakers have to repeat a sentence containing at least 20 words presented to them by the researcher; the idea is that they will concentrate on remembering the lexical items and use the conjunction that is most natural to them. This method is not suitable for investigating choice of relativization strategy in Armenian, because some of the structures involved differ in very salient ways (notably finite RC vs. participle), and thus speakers would not be likely to substitute one for another in such a task, even if the other was more natural in their dialect.

Another strategy used in the Swiss German Dialect Atlas and other dialect projects, as well as in some experimental linguistic studies, involves sentence completion, which has been used particularly for the elicitation of subordinate clauses: a context is given, the matrix clause is given, and the consultant has to supply the subordinate clause. For example: “A politician suffers from insomnia. She says to the press... Complete the sentence: it should say why she takes pills (to go to sleep- *einschlafen*).” The matrix clause is given in dialect: “You know, now I even need pills .... [to go to sleep]” (Bucheli & Glaser 2002: 62). This would require extensive collaboration with dialect-speaking consultants to prepare the stimuli, as the matrix clauses should be written in dialect, something that was not always possible, for example when working with a single dialect speaker living outside their area of origin. Another type of sentence completion task was used by Håkansson & Hansson (2000) to elicit relative clauses from children. It involves two sets of pictures, one involving a character doing something, another shows a character not doing/not wanting to/not being able to do the same thing. The researcher names all the pictures and then plays a lotto game, eliciting subordinate clauses by sentence completion, for example, “Look, here is the girl who sleeps, and here is the girl... [who doesn’t sleep]”. If used in a dialect study, this raises the same problems as Bucheli & Glaser’s task, and it is also more generally unsuitable for the purposes of this study, as it involves presenting a relative construction, which is

likely to influence the choice of strategy, and also, as one of the Armenian strategies involves prenominal RCs, a protocol involving presenting the relativized element and asking for the continuation is not appropriate.

Most contemporary studies involving the elicitation of relative clauses use some variation of one of two main methods, both pioneered by Hamburger & Crain (1982) for eliciting relative clauses from children. The first method originally involved toys performing actions. There are two examiners. Two identical toys perform different actions. One of the examiners is then blindfolded. The other one points to one of the toys, and asks the child to have the blindfolded examiner choose that one: the child should say, for example, "Pick up the motorcycle that pushed the horse" (see also Crain, McKee & Emiliani 1990: 346). Zukowski (2001) modified Hamburger & Crain's task to a more simple-to-administer picture task involving a single examiner. Again, two identical characters perform different actions or are in different situations, and the child is required to identify one based on the action or situation depicted. For example, the child will be shown a picture of two girls, one singing, one drawing. In a second picture, a mouse appears in front of the girl who is singing. The examiner asks "Which girl is the mouse watching?" This type of protocol has been used in many studies of relativization in various languages, including Hsu et al (2009) and Lau (2016). There are variations where the child has to put a sticker or similar on one of the characters, and tell a blindfolded examiner or toy which one the sticker is on, such as those used by Goodluck & Stojanovic (1996), Sanfelici et al (submitted), and others.

The other method pioneered by Hamburger & Crain (1982) involves mini-stories presenting two characters in different situations, and then asking a question requiring the subject to identify one of the characters, for example, "There are two brothers. One ate dinner and the other went to bed without dinner. Which one was sad?" A similar protocol is used by Novogrodsky & Friedmann (2006), again presenting stories involving two characters in contrasting situations, but this time requiring the subject to state which one they would prefer to be. This method has been used in various other studies designed to elicit RCs with different grammatical relations, including Costa et al (2014) and Hu (2014). It has the advantage over the pictures/toys method in that it is more flexible in the type of situations that can be presented, thus it is more suited to eliciting RCs with a wide variety of grammatical relations and other particular features. These methods are superior to the translation, repetition and sentence completion types in that they do not involve the presentation of any relative constructions, and the situation is more similar to something that would be found in everyday communication, so that the results are likely to be more natural and representative of everyday language usage. More natural still, though less directed in terms of eliciting constructions with particular features, is the use of definitions for eliciting relative clauses (consultants are asked to define the meaning of particular words), as in Friedmann, Aram & Novogrodsky (2011). However, if these methods are used in dialect studies, it would be desirable for the stimuli to be translated into the dialect and administered by a native speaker, otherwise consultants, being addressed in the standard language, are likely to use this type of language in their responses.

The studies of Hamburger & Crain (1982) and those who have made use of similar methods are different in aims and character from dialectological studies such as the Swiss German Dialects Atlas, SAND, or the

University of Padova project. The latter aim to map the distribution of particular constructions, thus they require to know simply whether or not a particular form is used in a particular area, with the emphasis on comprehensive coverage of the geographical region in question. The former, on the other hand, aim for a sophisticated quantitative analysis of the effect of a particular variable, such as subject vs. direct object (more rarely other grammatical relations) RC. In order for the results to be considered reliable, the experiments are carried out in tightly controlled conditions, with the protocols administered in exactly the same way (exactly the same form of words used each time the experiment is administered, the same positions of examiners and consultants etc.), and the use of fillers and randomized order to control for priming and habituation effects. Variables other than that being tested must be kept constant as far as possible. A large number of consultants is required in order for the results to be considered statistically significant.

Another method that has been made use of by both types of study involves acceptability judgments. It is well-known that acceptability judgments can be unreliable, but for some types of studies they are essentially unavoidable, as they are the only way of gathering negative data; if a form is not found in the production data, it does not necessarily mean that it does not exist. Thus if we wish to confirm that a particular form is not used, it is necessary to use this type of method. There are ways in which the unreliability of acceptability judgments can be minimized. In dialect studies, it is a particular problem that people tend to judge non-prestigious forms as unacceptable, thus dialect forms will often be rejected even if they are in common use. To mitigate this, the researcher may ask questions such as "Do you encounter this form?" rather than "Is it correct?" (Barbiers & Cornips 2002:8). Acceptability judgments of similar structures may also create habituation effects, whereby the more times a form is presented, the more acceptable it appears (Barbiers & Cornips 2002: 9). For this reason, it is important to vary the order in which items are presented. These effects can also be lessened by using fillers involving completely different structures. This study made very limited use of acceptability judgments, discussed in section 5.2.2.6. The results were partly contradicted by those of the elicited production tasks, in which forms judged unacceptable in isolation were produced in appropriate contexts, demonstrating a further source of unreliability in acceptability judgments where forms are presented out of context.

4.3.3 Elicitation methods used in this study

4.3.3.1 General overview

As has been previously mentioned, this study has two main aims. The first is similar to that of the dialectological surveys, i.e. to show which relativization strategies are available in which dialects. However, from existing literature (notably examples in Abeghyan's (1912) grammar and comments in dialectological works that the differences in syntax between dialect and standard Armenian are insignificant), it appears that all the available forms (finite with RP, finite with conjunction, finite with conjunction and RP, participial) are likely to be found in all dialects. However, there is conflicting information in the literature about the

distribution of participial RCs in particular: Jahukyan (1974) states that they are only used for subject and object RCs, while there are examples in Abeghyan (1912) of participle use for spatial obliques, both from sources that would today be considered non-standard.[72] Thus the second aim is to investigate the factors involved in the choice of form. This is important both from an areal-typological point of view, as the use of different strategies for relativization has an areal dimension (see Gandon 2016, figures 1-3), and from a general typological point of view, as the choice between nominalized (e.g. participial) and finite strategies is one of the proposed manifestations of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy (see e.g. Lehmann 1986). The areal aspect is addressed by including data from different dialects spoken in different areas of Armenia, with different histories of language contact, as discussed in section 2.2.2. The general typological aspect must be addressed in the context of the various factors that have been proposed to play a role in the Accessibility Hierarchy effects, as discussed in section 3.2.2.

Since there is little information available on the factors affecting choice of relativization strategies in Armenian, and that which exists is to some extent contradictory, it was decided that at this stage it would be more beneficial to conduct a broad survey with the intention of identifying the major factors, rather than a tightly controlled experimental study that would necessarily target a single factor, and would in any case be impractical or even impossible to conduct under fieldwork conditions. This study is intended to pave the way for future research of this type by indicating promising directions for more detailed and controlled investigation.

4.3.3.2 The questionnaires

The main elicitation method chosen was based on the 'mini-stories' type, as this allows greater flexibility in terms of properties and is simpler to administer than a picture-based task. A small number of definitions were also used. The questions were composed in colloquial EA as opposed to literary SEA, in an attempt to create an informal atmosphere and reduce the likelihood that speakers will reply in the literary language. Where possible, dialect speakers were recruited to ask the questions in their own dialect, to reduce literary influence still further, although this sometimes caused problems when they changed the wording (e.g. grammatical relations) in the question while translating it into the dialect, or gave examples of relative constructions to the respondents (in these cases, it is noted in the database that the RC was produced or prompted by the local interviewer). The

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(i) *Orhnvi* *k'o* *ekats* *sar-ə*
bless.PASS.3SG.PRS.SUBJ 2SG.GEN come.RPT mountain-DEF
'May the mountain that you came from be blessed'
(Sayat-Nova)

(ii) *Indz* *el* *k'o* *ənkats-d* *hori*
1SG.DAT PTC 2SG.GEN fall.RPT-POSS2 hole.GEN
mej *dzgets'*
in draw.AOR.3SG
'S/he drew me into the hole you fell in'
(Jivani)

‘mini-stories’ used here differ from those used by Hamburger & Crain (1982) and Novogrodsky & Friedmann (2006). Three referents were given instead of two, to reduce the likelihood that the speakers would reply ‘the first one’ or ‘the second one’. Secondly, in addition to the type of question given in previous experiments, requiring the speaker to choose one, in which the referent would be focused in an implied matrix clause which is likely to be omitted (e.g. ‘Which one would you rather be?’ ‘[I would rather be] the one who drank water’), a different type of question was also given, requiring the speaker to give information about all the participants, e.g. ‘How did each one feel?’, ‘Who did what?’ In these answers, the referent would have topic status in the matrix clause, which would provide the new information, and thus not be omitted. In this way, it would be possible to compare constructions where the relativized element is focused in MC with those where it is MC topic, and to elicit in a natural way constructions where both RC and MC are present.

Four questionnaires were produced. The first questionnaire mainly addressed the issue of grammatical relations, as the AH is generally expressed in these terms. It contained questions designed to elicit RCs in which the relativized element plays the role of subject, object (nominative and dative), ablative, instrumental, locative, adpositional object, and possessor. It also contained questions designed to elicit RCs where the relativized element played roles other than object that would take nominative case (destination and time). It also addressed complexity issues, containing otherwise parallel structures with objects of different linear length (Q1:3, Q1:18), with and without adverbials (Q1:13), with and without co-ordinate clauses (Q1:4, Q1:7 contain co-ordinate clauses), as well as intransitive, monotransitive, and ditransitive SRCs. It also contained some constructions that contrasted only in tense (Q1:2 (future) and Q1:17 (past), Q1:5 (past) and Q1:8 (future)), and between state (Q1:9), event (Q1:11) and regular action (Q1:11). However, these issues were not adequately addressed in this questionnaire. The issue of tense and aspect was addressed in questionnaire 4 in a way that was better targeted at AH issues (the potential association of perfectivity with object prominence, see section 3.2.2.3.2). Other significant omissions from this questionnaire included SRC without arguments or adjuncts, and IO RC of ditransitive. These, and other issues raised by the results of questionnaire 1, were targeted in questionnaire 2.

Questionnaire 2 was completely separate from questionnaire 1, and did not repeat any of the same questions. In its original form, it was given to 9 consultants from 5 dialect backgrounds (Ejmiatsin: 2, Vayots Dzor: 1, Khoy: 4, Paraka: 1, Bayazet: 1). Apart from the abovementioned omissions from questionnaire 1, which were addressed by questions Q2:1, Q2:8 (IO of ditransitive) and Q2:10 (intransitive subject with no adverbials), this questionnaire mainly addressed issues concerning the apparent differences in accessibility between objects with different properties. Thus as well as IO vs DO, monotransitive vs. ditransitive, questions were produced in order to elicit ORCs with objects of varying degrees of animacy, with different levels of reversibility and predictability, and with subjects having lexical NP vs. pronoun status. The surprisingly high accessibility (in terms of high numbers of participial responses) of the possessor in Q1:20 (inalienable) and Q1:22 (alienable; in fact this question was added to Q1 following initial results showing surprising accessibility of Q1:20) led to

further questions involving alienable (Q2:6, Q2:14) and inalienable (Q2:11) possessees, and possessees playing different syntactic roles (subject in Q2:11 and Q2:14, object in Q2:6).

As discussed in section 2.1.4, it appears that interrogative and focused elements in Armenian may not be subject to the type of constraints associated with 'wh-movement', which have been proposed to apply to relativized elements as well as interrogatives (see de Vries 2002 etc.). In order to gather evidence as to whether relativized elements in Armenian pattern with focused and interrogative elements as regards extraction out of subordinate clauses, or whether they are subject to the 'island' constraints that are considered diagnostic of 'wh-movement', contexts were added in which the relativized element is inside a 'wh-island' (Q2:6), i.e. a construction where the relativized element is inside a finite subordinate clause introduced by an interrogative, and a 'complex NP island' (Q2:9), i.e. a construction where the relativized element is inside a clause that forms part of a complex NP. It has been proposed that some relative constructions, particularly those with RPs, inevitably involve movement, and thus should be subject to island effects, but that this is not necessarily the case for constructions with conjunctions. Some languages are said to have constructions which are subject to these constraints, and constructions which are not (see e.g. Goodluck & Stojanovic 1996, Klein 1993). Thus it is possible that this factor could affect the choice of strategy used.

After this questionnaire had been completed by 9 consultants from 5 dialect backgrounds, it was decided to make certain modifications, leading to the production of questionnaire 3, which was completed by 5 consultants from Gyumri and one from the area of Marneul in Georgia, speaking an Ararat dialect similar to colloquial EA. This contained many of the same questions as questionnaire 2, with the following exceptions. Question 2:3 (animate DO with PP 'IO', which had few RC responses) was replaced by a ditransitive DO (Q3:3) which is parallel to the ditransitive DO in Q1:14 (inanimate), except for the fact that IO is constant for all the three referents, therefore not useful in restricting the reference, and likely to be omitted. This was done because it appeared from the initial responses to questionnaire 2 that the number of referents expressed in the response played a more significant role in accessibility than the number of referents in the question. Thus DO of ditransitive where IO is expressed may be less accessible than DO of monotransitive, but DO with omissible IO may not differ from DO of monotransitive. For the same reason, a question was added to elicit IO RC with omittable DO. This was Q3:9, directly comparable to Q2:8, which has different subjects and objects, and Q2:1, which has omittable subject. The subject referents in Q2:5 were changed (to Q3:5), as it appeared that regular collocations (dog bite, a popular saying involving biting by words prompted by the idea of a person biting) may have been influencing the result. Human subject with human DO is already present in Q2:7, so it can be eliminated here. Comparable questions to elicit possessor of object were added, with omittable (Q3:12) and non-omittable (variable) subject (Q3:15). Q2:11 and Q2:13 were eliminated, as they received mainly adverbial responses. This was in fact likely to be due to the nature of the question asked, which had past tense, and led people to tell the story of the event, rather than focus on the referent. This issue is addressed in Questionnaire 4.

Q2:9 (complex NP island) was also eliminated, as it was considered that enough evidence had been collected on this issue.

As questionnaire 3 was completed by relatively few (6) individuals, some important questions, on which it was felt that more information was necessary, were repeated in questionnaire 4, which was completed by 18 consultants, 10 in Armenia from 2 dialect backgrounds (Khoy: 4, Vayots Dzor: 6) and 8 living in France, all speaking colloquial EA (7 from Yerevan, 1 from Artashat). One was Q3:5, repeated as Q4:2, which was repeated in order to test the effects of the tense of the following question (who does what after being bitten, contrasted with who did what before being bitten, as in Q4:3, which, based on responses to questionnaires 2 and 3, was expected to receive a high number of adverbial (if, when) rather than RC responses). The other was Q3:12, repeated as Q4:5, as there was evidence to suggest that possessor of object could be fairly accessible under favourable circumstances (as in this question), contrary to theoretical predictions (see section 3.2.2.1.3), but further evidence was desirable on this important issue. Other issues tested in questionnaire 4 are inanimate subjects, which have been claimed to reduce the accessibility of both subject and object RCs ((Traxler et al. 2002, 2006, Wu et al. 2011 etc.) (Q4:8: SRC with inanimate subject, Q4:9: inanimate ORC with subject with different levels of animacy, Q4:11 animate ORC with inanimate and animate subjects), and object-prominent constructions of two kinds: perfective as compared to imperfective for the same verbs (Q4:10 perfective, of verbs which have been used in imperfective (present) in other questions), and implicit causality verbs (Q4:1, Q4:4) in parallel constructions with verbs where the object is not the implied cause (Q4:6, Q4:7). Q4:12 contains possessors of subject who are not involved in the state of affairs denoted by the clause, and thus are predicted to be low in accessibility compared to possessors of subject which are directly affected by the state of affairs, as in Q1:20, for example (see section 3.2.2.3.3). In questionnaire 4, the mini-stories were followed by only one question, rather than two, as in previous questionnaires, as it was felt that enough evidence had been gathered on the issue of information status in MC. These questions were constructed so that the relativized element always had the role of subject in the question, thus should be articulated as matrix clause subject, to eliminate the variable of grammatical relation in the matrix clause.

4.3.3.3 Issues proposed to affect choice of strategy: how is each issue addressed?

4.3.3.3.1 Material between 'filler' and 'gap'

As discussed in detail in section 3.2.2.1, many proposed theoretical interpretations of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy hinge on the amount and/or type of structure intervening between 'filler' and 'gap' (i.e. the representations of the relativized element in MC and RC, or, in some theories, in the case of embedded RCs with fronted RP, between the 'original' position of the relativized element in RC and that of RP). Essentially, the less and/or simpler structure there is between filler and gap, the more accessible the RC will be, thus, in terms of questionnaires, we should expect more RC responses over all, and more non-finite (nominalized) RC responses in particular. Theories based on linear distance between filler and gap, such as that of Tarallo & Myhill (1983), are not straightforwardly applicable to Armenian, as word order is generally defined by

information structure rather than grammatical relations, and both OV and VO are common. However, assuming that the basic order is OV, that subject is generally initial, and that direct object is closer to the verb than indirect object (see section 2.1.4 for more detailed discussion of word order in the clause), such theories make the following predictions. For non-finite RCs, which are always prenominal, and thus have the structure [S IO DO V]N, we would have DO > IO > S. However, for finite RCs with RP, assuming that RP is clause-initial[73] [RP S IO DO V], we would have the opposite order of preference (S > IO > DO). The presence of IO (here understood as non-direct object of ditransitive, as in Hawkins (2004)) would reduce the accessibility (increase filler-gap distance) of participial SRCs and DORCs with RP, but not of participial DORC or SRC with RP, as for these, IO would not intervene between filler and gap. The presence of DO should reduce the accessibility of participial SRCs, but not of SRCs with RP, i.e. as far as RCs with RP are concerned, there will be no difference between transitive and intransitive subjects, but for participial RCs, intransitive subjects are more accessible.

In order to test these predictions, it is necessary to test intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive clauses for SRCs, DORCs and IORCs. This is done in the following questions (the small letters refer to the first (a), second (b) and third (c) referents in each mini-story, which in some cases have different properties from others in the same story):

TARGETED CONSTRUCTION	QUESTION/REFERENT
Intransitive subject	Q1:1, Q1:2, Q1:3, Q1:17, Q2:10a, b, Q2:12a, b, Q3:10a, b, Q3:11a, b
Monotransitive subject	Q1:3, Q2:10c, Q2:12c, Q3:10c, Q3:11c, Q4:8
Ditransitive subject	Q1:4
Monotransitive DO	Q1:13, Q1:14a, Q1:15, Q2:3, Q2:4, Q2:5, Q2:7, Q2:13, Q3:4, Q3:5, Q3:7, Q3:14, Q4:1, Q4:2, Q4:3, Q4:4, Q4:6, Q4:7, Q4:9, Q4:10
Ditransitive DO	Q1:14b, c, Q2:2, Q2:4, Q3:2, Q3:3, Q3:4b, Q3:14c
Ditransitive IO	Q2:1, Q2:8, Q3:1, Q2:8, Q2:9

As regards adjoined RCs, configurations should be favoured that reduce the distance between the representations of the relativized element in RC and in MC. Thus we would expect that when the relativized element is in or near final position in MC, which tends to be the case with DO and/or focus, RC will follow MC, but when it is in or near initial position in MC, as is typically the case with subject and/or topic, RC will precede MC. The correlation of position with information status is more robust than that with grammatical relations. Thus, in order to test this issue, two questions were asked after each mini-story (except for questionnaire 4), the first designed to elicit constructions where the relativized element has topic status in MC (the consultant is asked to say something about each of the referents), while the second is designed to elicit

[73] RPs most often appear in initial position, but second position is also quite common (see section 5.1.1.1.10).

constructions where the relativized element is focused in MC (the consultant has to respond by choosing one of the referents).

There is also an issue concerning the status of adverbials and other elements which are not subcategorized arguments of the verb. Can these intervene between filler and gap? In general, they are not thought to form part of the clausal 'core', but in practice they often appear between subject and verb, thus they could count as interveners for certain types of constructions, notably prenominal SRCs, and ORCs with initial RP. Thus SRCs and ORCs with and without adjuncts are compared. It is also possible to compare intransitive SRCs with adjunct with transitive SRCs, and monotransitive DORCs with adjunct and ditransitive DORCs, to see if there is any difference between the effects of an adjunct and a subcategorized object. The type, length, and complexity of the adjunct may also be relevant.

TARGETED CONSTRUCTION	QUESTION/REFERENT
Intransitive subject without adjunct	Q2:10a, b, Q3:10a, b
Transitive subject without adjunct	Q1:3, Q2:10c, Q2:12c, Q3:10c, Q3:11c, Q4:8
Intransitive subject with adjunct	Q1:1 (time NP), Q1:2 (place NP), Q1:17 (place NP), Q2:12a (manner adverbial), Q2:12b (manner adverbial), Q3:11a (manner adverbial), Q3:11b (manner adverbial)
Monotransitive DO without adjunct	Q1:13a, b, Q1:15, Q2:5, Q2:7, Q2:13, Q3:5, Q3:7, Q3:14, Q4:1a, c, Q4:2, Q4:3, Q4:4, Q4:6, Q4:7, Q4:9, Q4:10
Ditransitive DO without adjunct	Q1:14b, c, Q2:2, Q3:2, Q3:3
Monotransitive DO with adjunct	Q1:13a (ablative NP), Q1:14a (PP), Q2:3 (PP), Q2:4 (PP), Q4:4c (purpose clause), Q4:7 (manner adverbial)

Another issue concerns omitted arguments. In Armenian, elements with a high degree of cognitive accessibility are generally expressed with zero anaphora (see section 2.1.6), particularly common for subjects and direct objects, as syntactic prominence is one of the factors contributing to cognitive accessibility. Elements which are non-essential to the purposes of communication may be freely omitted, whatever the grammatical relation. Do these elements count as intervening between filler and gap, as theories proposing that they are present in a non-overt form may suggest? In order to test this, contexts were constructed in which one argument was constant for all three referents in the story, so that it would not serve to delimit the reference of the individual in question, and would thus be non-essential in a restrictive relative construction, making it highly probable that it will be omitted:

OMITTABLE ELEMENT	ROLE OF RELATIVIZATION TARGET	QUESTION/REFERENT

Subject	DO	Q2:2, Q2:3, Q3:2, Q3:14, Q4:1a, c, Q4:4, Q4:6, Q4:7, Q4:10
Subject	Time	Q1:10, Q1:11
Subject	IO	Q2:1, Q3:1
Subject	Ablative	Q1:12, Q1:19, Q1:21a, Q4:1b
Subject	Locative	Q1:7
Subject	Instrumental	Q1:18, Q1:21c
Subject	Adpositional object	Q1:16, Q1:21b
Subject	Possessor of object	Q2:6a, b, Q3:6a, b, Q4:5
Subject	Subject of subordinate clause	Q2:6c, Q3:6c
DO	IO	Q3:9
IO	DO	Q3:3

The presence of co-ordinate structures, whether clauses or NPs, could increase filler-gap distance. Q1:4a and b target SRCs where the relativized element is subject of co-ordinate clauses (one monotransitive, one ditransitive), while Q1:4c is a simple ditransitive. In Q1:7 (relativized locative), c has co-ordinate clauses, while a and b are simple. Q2:4b has co-ordinate NP subjects. There is also the general issue of whether the length and/or complexity of a particular NP argument is relevant to the calculation of filler-gap domains:

QUESTION/REFERENT	ROLE OF RELATIVIZATION TARGET	COMPLEXITY
Q2:10c	Subject	1-word object
Q1:3a, b	Subject	2-word object
Q2:12c	Subject	4-word object
Q1:3c	Subject	7-word object
Q3:3	DO	Compares effect of unmodified subject (Q3:3a, b) with subject with genitive modifier
Q1:18	Instrumental	Compares effect of unmodified DO (Q1:18a, b) and DO with genitive modifier (Q1:18c)
Q1:5	Locative	Compares effect of unmodified subject (Q1:5a) and subject with modifiers (Q1:5b, c)

4.3.3.3.2 Hawkins 2004

Hawkins (2004) presents a somewhat different method of calculating filler-gap distance (see section 3.2.2.1.3 for details). This is based on layers of structure (essentially, constituent boundaries) rather than linear distance. Hawkins (2004) also proposes that the relevant distance is not between filler (representation of relativized element in MC or RP) and gap (argument position of relativized element in RC), but rather between filler and subcategorizor, i.e., in most cases, the verb. For DO RCs, it is also necessary for the processor to access the

subject, and for IO RCs, it is necessary for it to access subject and DO. This system produces different predictions from that based on linear distance between filler and gap. For [S IO DO V]N, S > DO/IO, with no difference between the two objects of a ditransitive. For RCs with fronted RP in an SOV language (RP S IO DO V), there should be no difference in accessibility between any of these arguments, as it is necessary to access the verb for all of them. Clauses with more preverbal constituents will be less accessible, as there will be a greater distance between RP and V. These issues are addressed by comparing intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive SRCs, DORCs and IORCs, with and without adjuncts, as for the theories based on linear distance.

Hawkins's (2004) theory is intended to cover the whole length of the AH, including obliques and possessors. It is implied that all object-like elements will have the same level of accessibility, except if they involve an extra layer of structure, such as a PP. The issue of whether any or all case-markers are considered to involve an extra layer of structure is not discussed by Hawkins. Thus it is necessary to test caseless and case-marked objects and (especially caseless) non-objects such as destination and some time expressions, and adpositional objects. As regards possessors, according to Hawkins (2004), their relative accessibility should depend on the role of the possessee in MC, with the possessor phrase as an extra layer, thus possessor of subject will have one layer of complexity more than subject, possessor of DO will have one layer of complexity more than DO, etc., thus possessor of subject will be more accessible than possessor of DO.

GR OF RELATIVIZATION TARGET	QUESTION/REFERENT
Nominative DO	Q1:13, Q1:14, Q3:3, Q3:14, Q4:9
Nominative non-object	Q1:6 (destination), Q1:9 (time), Q1:10 (time), Q1:11 (time)
Dative DO	Q1:15, Q2:2, Q2:3, Q2:4, Q2:5, Q2:7, Q2:13, Q3:2, Q3:4, Q3:5, Q3:7, Q4:1, Q4:2, Q4:3, Q4:4, Q4:6, Q4:7, Q4:10
Dative IO	Q2:1, Q2:8, Q3:1, Q3:8, Q3:9
Ablative	Q1:12, Q1:19, Q1:21a, Q4:1b
Instrumental	Q1:18, Q1:21c
Locative	Q1:5, Q1:7, Q1:8
Adpositional object	Q1:16, Q1:21b
Possessor of subject	Q1:20, Q1:22a, c, Q2:11, Q2:14, Q3:13, Q4:12
Possessor of DO	Q1:22b, Q2:6a, b, Q3:6a, b, Q2:12, Q3:15, Q4:5

4.3.3.3.3 Properties of 'interveners'

The term interveners here refers to elements understood as intervening between filler and gap (or subcategorizer); discussions of such elements generally focus on the subject in non-subject RCs. This does not intervene linearly in [SOV]N, but in theories involving structural depth (VP etc.) and movement, the extracted object has to 'cross over' the subject, not vice versa (see section 3.2.2.1.4). One issue here is whether we have any evidence for syntactic movement, that is, are all or any types of RC susceptible to Ross's (1967) island effects?

TYPE OF 'ISLAND'	QUESTION/REFERENT
Complex NP	Q2:9
Finite subordinate wh-clause	Q2:6c, Q3:6c

This is the background to the theory that ascribes the observed differences in accessibility between ORCs with different properties to the principle of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1991, see section 3.2.2.1.4). This states that the subject 'intervenes' in the formation of an ORC when it has the same formal features as the object. The main evidence for this is that ORCs have been found to be more accessible when the subject is a pronoun, and when the subject is animate and the object is inanimate. Thus it is necessary to test ORCs with pronoun and lexical NP subjects, and with all combinations of animate and inanimate subjects and objects:

CATEGORY OF RELATIVIZATION TARGET DO	CATEGORY OF SUBJECT	QUESTION/REFERENT
Inanimate	Pronominal	Q1:13a, c, Q1:14a, Q3:14
	Animate NP	Q1:13, Q1:14, Q3:3
	Inanimate NP	Q4:9
Animate	Pronominal	Q2:3
	Animate NP	Q1:15, Q2:2, Q2:4, Q2:5, Q2:7, Q2:13, Q3:2, Q3:4, Q3:5, Q3:7, Q4:1, Q4:2, Q4:3, Q4:4, Q4:6, Q4:7, Q4:10
	Inanimate NP	Q4:11

4.3.3.3.4 Predictability

However, as discussed in section 3.2.2.3, there are other possible explanations for these facts. One is that accessibility is generally increased when the element that is higher on the Silverstein hierarchy is the subject. This is part of a more general issue of role predictability, which involves more subtle semantic properties of the nouns than can be described in terms of formal features, as well as features of the verb, which should be irrelevant for Relativized Minimality. For example, with a verb such as 'bite' and an animal and a human referent, the animal may generally be preferred as subject, even though humans are higher on the Silverstein hierarchy than animals. The type of animal is also relevant. Therefore, with this verb, an ORC with a subject which is an animal known for biting and a human object should be highly accessible, contrary to the predictions of Relativized Minimality, as it is a construction where both subject and object are animate NPs. More generally, ORCs in reversible constructions (where the subject and object referents have semantic properties that are suitable for either role assigned by the verb) should be less accessible than non-reversible constructions. SRCs, however, generally have a high level of predictability, as the fact of being the relativized element, and therefore topic, favours interpretation as subject (although there are some exceptions, for example, if the relativized element is inanimate, but the verb requires a sentient subject). Thus it was decided to test 'bite'

ORCs with more and less probable biters (cat and dog vs. neighbour and fish) with different levels of inherent salience (human vs dog vs mouse vs mosquito): Q2:5 (dog, mosquito, neighbour), Q2:13 (cat bitten by dog, fish, me), Q3:5/Q4:2 (pig, horse, mosquito), Q4:3 (cat, mouse, fish)

Totally reversible and totally non-reversible ORC contexts:

REVERSIBILITY	QUESTION/REFERENT
Totally reversible	Q2:2, Q2:3, Q4:1a, c, Q4:4a, b (c less so because of referents), Q4:6, Q4:7, Q4:10 ,Q2:13, Q2:7
Totally non-reversible	Q1:13, Q1:14a, Q1:15, Q3:14, Q4:9

The contexts with the verb 'bite' and some others are technically reversible, but due to the semantics, one is much more likely to play a particular role than the other.

Another category of RCs where the role of the relativized element has a high degree of predictability are those where it has the role of time or place adverbial, and the semantics of a time or place expression. These are likely to be more accessible than other types of obliques whose role is not immediately obvious from their semantics:

Q1:5 *k'ayak'* 'city' as location, Q1:7 *yerkir* 'country' as location, Q1:8 *k'ayak'* 'city' as location, Q1:9, Q1:10, Q1:11 *tari* 'year' as time.

4.3.3.3.5 Other issues connected to the semantic role of the relativized element in RC

As the subject participle was originally an agent noun, it is possible that it will tend to be used more when the subject has an agentive role in RC. Thus more and less agentive subjects were tested:

AGENTIVITY OF TARGET SUBJECT	QUESTION/REFERENT AND VERB
Agentive	Q1:4 *t'xel* 'bake', *verts'nel* 'take', *nvirel* 'give (as gift)', Q2:10/Q3:10 *yergel* 'sing', *kardal* 'read', *futbol xayal* 'play football', Q2:12/Q3:11 *yergel* 'sing', also in a sense Q1:2, Q1:17 *gnal* 'go', as it is implied that the subject chose to go and played an active role in doing so.
Non-agentive	Q1:1 *k'nel* 'sleep', Q1:3 *gtnel* 'find', with the implication that it was by chance, Q4:8 *xp'el* 'hit', of a stone that has been thrown at something.

As the resultative participle is described as an adjective denoting a property resulting from an action, or an action or state that has become a property, it is likely that it will be particularly associated with affected patients. This can apply to subjects of stative verbs, as in Q1:1 (*k'nel* 'sleep'), or to direct objects of transitive verbs, which may be more or less affected by the action of the verb:

AFFECTEDNESS OF TARGET OBJECT	QUESTION/REFERENT AND VERB
Not affected	Q3:14a *kardal* 'read', Q4:1a *atel* 'hate', Q4:1c *govel* 'praise', Q4:4a *sirel* 'love', Q4:4b *govel* 'praise', Q4:10a *govel* 'praise'
Totally affected (created or destroyed)	Q1:13 *patrastel* 'prepare' meaning 'make', Q1:14a *t'xel* 'bake' Q3:14b *grel* 'write' (a book), Q4:9 *k'andel* 'demolish, destroy'

There are also object constructions where the object has an intermediate degree of affectedness, physical or otherwise.

The tense and aspect of the verb may also be relevant to the use of this participle. Past perfective constructions frequently focus on the result (imperfective ones on the action), thus we may expect greater use of the resultative participle, itself morphologically perfective, when the story has a past perfective verb, as opposed to present or other imperfective.

TENSE	QUESTION/REFERENT
Present	Q1:1, Q1:7c, Q1:20, Q2:6, Q2:10, Q2:11a, b, Q2:12, Q3:6, Q3:10, Q3:11, Q4:1, Q4:4, Q4:6, Q4:7
Past (perfective)	Q1:3, Q1:4, Q1:6, Q1:7a, b, Q1:8, Q1:9, Q1:10, Q1:12, Q1:13, Q1:14, Q1:15, Q1:16, Q1:17, Q1:18, Q1:19, Q1:21, Q1:22, Q2:1, Q2:2, Q2:3, Q2:4, Q2:5, Q2:7, Q2:8, Q2:9, Q2:11c, Q2:13, Q2:14, Q3:1, Q3:2, Q3:3, Q3:4, Q3:5, Q3:7, Q3:8, Q3:9, Q3:12, Q3:13, Q3:14, Q3:15, Q4:2, Q4:3, Q4:5, Q4:8, Q4:9, Q4:10
Past (imperfect)	Q1:11
Future	Q1:2, Q1:5

We may compare ORCs Q4:10 (past perfective) vs. Q4:4b, Q4:7b, Q4:6c (present), with the same verbs.

Different verbs also assign different degrees of prominence to different arguments, which may affect relativization accessibility. One type of object-prominent verbs is known as implicit causality verbs, where the object has an implied causal, possibly even agentive, role (verbs meaning admire, praise, hate, fear, etc.). Pozniak & Hemforth (2017) have shown that in English and French, ORCs with these verbs have a higher degree of acceptability than those with non-implicit causality verbs.

Animate DORC with implicit causality verb: Q4:1, Q4:4

Compare parallel structures without implicit causality in Q4:6, Q4:7

For possessor constructions, acceptability is expected to increase if the relativized element is affected by or involved in the action described in RC. The most accessible possessive constructions will be ones which are unambiguously conceived of as being 'about' the possessor rather than the possessee, as when the possession is a body part.

TYPE OF POSSESSIVE	QUESTION/REFERENT
Inalienable: body part, possessor affected	Q1:20, Q3:12/Q4:5, Q3:15
Inalienable: relative, possessor probably affected	Q2:11
Alienable: possessor potentially affected	Q1:22, Q2:14/Q3:13
Alienable: possessor not affected	Q2:6a, b/Q3:6a, b, Q4:12

4.3.3.3.6 Number of referents

It is possible that the number of referents in the construction as a whole, not only in filler-gap domain, adds to complexity and reduces accessibility to relativization, perhaps due to limits on working memory, perhaps to the fact that if there is a large number of referents, role assignment will be more difficult. Properties of the referents, such as animacy or discourse status, may also be relevant here. The issue of omittable elements has been discussed in section 4.3.3.3.1.

NUMBER OF REFERENTS IN CONTEXT	QUESTION/REFERENT
1 referent	Q2:10a, b/Q3:10a, b, Q2:12a, b/Q3:11a, b
2 referents	Q1:1, Q1:2, Q1:3a, b, Q1:5, Q1:6, Q1:8a, b, Q1:9, Q1:13a, b, Q1:15, Q1:17, Q1:20, Q1:22, Q2:5, Q2:7, Q2:10c, Q2:13, Q2:14, Q3:5, Q3:7, Q3:10c, Q3:13, Q4:2, Q4:3, Q4:8, Q4:9a, b
2 referents with omittable element	Q1:7, Q1:11c, Q1:12a, b, Q1:16b, c, Q1:21, Q3:14a, b, Q4:1, Q4:4a, b, Q4:6, Q4:7, Q4:10
3 referents	Q1:4a, c, Q1:8c, Q1:13c, Q1:14b, c, Q2:4a, Q2:8, Q2:9, Q2:11c, Q3:4a, Q3:8, Q3:15, Q3:9c

3 referents with omittable element	Q1:10, Q1:11, Q1:12c, Q1:16a, Q1:18a, c, Q1:19, Q2:1, Q2:2, Q2:3, Q2:6, Q3:1, Q3:2, Q3:3a, Q3:6, Q3:9a, b, Q4:4c
4 referents	Q1:4a, c, Q1:8c, Q1:13c, Q1:14b, c, Q2:4a, Q2:8, Q2:9, Q2:11c, Q3:4a, Q3:8, Q3:15, Q3:9c
4 referents with omittable element	Q1:18b, Q3:3b, c, Q3:9c, Q3:12, Q3:14c, Q4:5

4.3.3.3.7 Generic vs. specific status of relativized element

Donabédian (p.c.) has suggested that participial constructions may be more widely used in Armenian when the relativized element is generic, e.g. “a child who drinks milk will be strong” than when it is specific, e.g. “the child who is drinking milk is my nephew”. In order to test this, another type of task was given as part of questionnaire 1, analogous to that of Friedmann et al (2011), where consultants were asked to give definitions of particular words in order to elicit relative clauses. The names of famous people were given as specific referents to be defined (Q1:23a ‘who is/was X?’), while lexical nouns were used as generic referents (Q1:23b ‘what is a X?’).

5 Relative Clauses in Colloquial Armenian

5.1 Typological classification of relative clauses in colloquial Armenian

5.1.1 Morphological means of subordination

5.1.1.1 Relative pronouns

5.1.1.1.1 General overview

It is commonly reported (Dum-Tragut 2009, Creissels 2005, Gandon 2016 etc.) that the primary relativization strategy in Armenian involves relative pronouns. This strategy is inherited from Classical Armenian (Hewitt 1978 etc.). As in many languages of the Caucasus-Iran-Anatolia area (Gandon 2016) and elsewhere, the relative pronouns are identical in form to interrogative pronouns. Nominal forms are inflected for number and case.

5.1.1.1.2 *ov* 'who'

The RP *ov* 'who' is used for human referents. It is fully inflected for case in the singular, but in the plural it possesses only a nominative form (for other cases, plural forms of *vor* are used instead):

(198)

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM:	*ov*	*ovk'er*
GEN/DAT:	*um*	
ABL:	*umits'*	
INSTR:	*umov*	
LOC:	*um mej*	

(199)

Esor	*ov*	*tsənvum*	*a*	*derasan*	*a*
today	who.NOM	be.born.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	actor	be.3SG.PRS
əlum,	*bayts'*	*derasan*	*č'i*		
be.IPT	but	actor	NEG.be.3SG.PRS		

'Whoever is born today becomes an actor, but isn't [really] an actor'

(i.e. these days, everyone claims to be an actor, but they aren't real actors)

(Lori: Shnogh)

(200)

Um	*jur*	*em*	*təvel,*	*indz*
who.DAT	water	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT	1SG.DAT
asel	*en*	*jəri*	*nəman*	*yerkar*
say.PPT	be.3PL.PRS	water.GEN	like	long

apres
live.2SG.PRS.SUBJ
'The one(s) I gave water to said to me 'May you live as long as water'

(Vayots Dzor: Hors)

(201)	*Um*	*voɣnašar-ə,*	*meč'k'-ə*	*ts'avum*	*a,*
	who.GEN	spine-DEF	back-DEF	hurt.IPT	be.3SG.PRS
	na	*ya*	*gənum.*		
	DEM3.NOM.SG	be.3SG.PRS	go.IPT		

'The one whose spine, back hurts goes [to the doctor].'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(202)	*Umits'*	*hiats'el*	*em.*
	who.ABL[74]	admire.PPT	be.3SG.PRS

'The one I admired.'

(Gyumri)

(203)	*Duk'*	*č'ek'*	*mtnum,*	*yev*	*ovk'er*
	2PL.NOM	NEG.be.2PL.PRS	enter	and	who.NOM.PL
	el	*mtnum*	*en,*	*nrants'*	*č'ek'*
	PT	enter	be.3PL.PRS	DEM3.PL.DAT	NEG.be.2PL.PRS
	t'oɣnum.				
	let.IPT				

'You do not enter, and those who enter/whoever enters, you do not allow.'

(Abeghyan 289)

5.1.1.1.3 inč' 'what'

The RP *inč'* 'what' is used for non-human referents. It is fully declinable for number and case. It may be accompanied by a noun*, inč' N*, often with the generic meaning 'whatever N', as in example (206). When it is not accompanied by a noun, it may take the definite article; this occurs when the referent is specific, as in example (207).

(204)	SINGULAR	PLURAL
NOM:	*inč'*	*inč'-er*

[74] In the standard language the verb *hianal* 'admire' takes an instrumental, rather than ablative, object.

GEN:	*inč'-i*	*inč'-er-i*
DAT:	*inč'-i(n)*	*inč'-er-i(n)*
ABL:	*inč'-its'*	*inč'-er-its'*
INSTR:	*inč'-ov*	*inč'-er-ov*
LOC:	*inč'-um / inč'-i mej*	*inč'-er-um / -i mej*

In fact, all the examples in the data are nominative singular (since this is only used for inanimate referents, accusative is identical to nominative):

(205)

Inč'	*tesnum*	*ei,*	*en*	*gorts-n*
what.NOM/ACC	see.IPT	be.1SG.PST	DEM3	work-DEF
enum	*ei.*			
do.IPT	be.1SG.PST			

'I did whatever work I saw.'

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

(206)

et	*vičak-en*	*el*	*iš*	*xəvant'un*	*ases*
DEM2	situation-ABL	PTC	what	illness	say.2SG.PRS.SUBJ
patahel	*i*				
happen.IPT	be.3SG.PRS				

'and (resulting) from that situation, whatever illness you could mention, occurs'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

Virtually all the examples in the corpus have non-specific 'whatever (N)…', meaning, although the following has a specific interpretation:

(207)

Čišt	*i*	*golden-ə*	*k'axts'ər*	*i,*
true	be.3SG.PRS	Golden-DEF	sweet	be.3SG.PRS
bayts'	*nəra*	*meč'*	*en*	
but	dem3.GEN	in	DEM3	
ok'takar	*ban-er-ə*	*č'əkan*	*inč'-ə*	
useful/healthy	thing-PL-DEF	NEG.exist.3PL.PRS	what-DEF	
vor[75]	*sibirenko-i*	*meč'.*		
CONJ	Sibirenko-GEN	in		

'It is true that Golden [variety of apple] is sweet, but it doesn't contain the healthy things that there are in Sibirenko [variety of apple].'

[75]The presence of the conjunction *vor* following the RP in example (207) is discussed in section 5.1.1.2.

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

There are also examples with an apparently specific interpretation in grammars:

(208)	*Menk'*	*tesel*	*enk'*	*inč'*	*yeɣel*	*e*
	1PL.NOM	see.PPT	be.1PL.PRS	what	be.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
	aysteɣ.					
	here					

'We saw what happened here.'

(Abrahamyan 2004: 162)

Note that example (207) has the definite article, but (208) does not. Tamrazian (1994: 51) implies that specific uses of *inč'* without a noun must take the article (see example (117)). The presence of the conjunction *vor* following the RP in example (207) is discussed in section 5.1.1.2.

5.1.1.1.4 *vor* 'which'

This functions as a general relativizer, irrespective of the semantic properties of its referents, which may be animate, inanimate, place, time, clausal, etc. It is fully declinable for number and case:

(209)		SINGULAR	PLURAL
	NOM:	*vor*	*voronk'*
	GEN:	*vori*	*voronts'*
	DAT:	*vori(n)*	*voronts'*
	ABL:	*vorits'*	*voronts'its'*
	INSTR:	*vorov*	*voronts'ov*
	LOC:	*vorum / vori mej*	*voronts'um / voronts' mej*

(210)	*vorovhetev*	*var*	*tsaɣik*	*i*	*tal,*	*en*
	because	which	flower	be.3SG.PRS	give.IPT	DEM3
	aveli	*šat*	*i*	*nəvirvats*	*ira*	*mama-yi-n*
	more	much	be.3SG.PRS	devoted	3SG.GEN	mother-DAT-DEF

'because the one who gives flowers is more devoted to her mother'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(211) *Vor-ə* *dəram* *a* *gədel* *gənats'el* *a*
which-DEF money be.3SG.PRS find.PPT go.PPT be.3SG.PRS
bufet
buffet
'The one who found money went to the buffet'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(212) *Vor-ə* *šad* *əli* *lav* *a*
which-DEF much be.3SG.PRS.SUBJ good be.3SG.PRS
'Whichever one is plentiful is good'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(213) *Vor* *tari-n* *pobok* *šad* *a* *en* *a*
which year-DEF walnut much be.3SG.PRS, DEM3.NOM be.3SG.PRS
'Whichever year walnuts are plentiful, that's the [best] one'

OR: 'The year when walnuts are plentiful…'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(139) *Yes* *gorts-i* *kəverts'nem* *vari* *afto-n*
1SG.NOM work-GEN FUT.take.1SG which.GEN car-DEF
koxts'ir *en*
steal.PPT be.3PL.PRS
'I will hire the one whose car they stole'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(214) *Kan* *dayak-ner* *voronts'* *pahats* *erexa-n*
exist.3PL.PRS nanny-PL which.PL.GEN keep.RPT child-DEF
art'en *hits'un* *vat'sun* *tarekan* *i*
already fifty sixty years.old be.3SG.PRS
'There are nannies who the child they looked after [lit. 'whose looked-after child'] is already fifty or sixty years old'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(215) *Vorov* *usanoɣ-ner-i* *gəravor-ner-n* *em*
which.INSTR student-PLGEN test-PL-DEF be.1SG.PRS
stuge, *eti* *matit* *er,*
check.PPT DEM2.NOM pencil be.3SG.PST

gərič'	*č'er.*
pen	NEG.be.3SG.PST

'The one I checked the students' tests with was a pencil, it wasn't a pen.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(216)

ayt	*erek'*	*p'isik-its'*	*amen-its'*	*šat*	*vat*
DEM2	three	cat-ABL	all-ABL	very	bad
vičak-ə	*ayn*	*p'isik-i*	*vičak-n*		
situation-DEF	DEM3	cat-GEN	situation-DEF		
i	*vorin*	*šun-ə*	*kətsets'*		
be.3SG.PRS	which.DAT	dog-DEF	bite.3SG.AOR		

'Out of those three cats, the worst situation is the situation of the cat which the dog bit'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(217)

Vorits'	*hiast'ap'vel*	*em,*	*yes*	*vat*
which.ABL	be.disappointed.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	1SG.NOM	bad
mart'	*el*	*em,*	*indzani*	
person	PTC	be.1SG.PRS	1SG.ABL	
hiast'ap'vel	*a*	*gənats'el.*		
be.disappinted.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	go.PPT		

'The one I was disappointed with, I'm a bad person too, s/he was disappointed with me and left.'

(Lori: Shnogh)

It is quite common for singular forms to be used for plural referents, especially in the oblique cases, as observed by Arakelyan (1964: 94):

(218)

Yes	*sovorets'rel*	*em*	*aynpisi*	*hnark'ner,*
1SG.NOM	teach.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	such	tricks
vorov	*nrank'*	*hajoɣein*	*het*	*dardznel.*
which.INSTR	DEM3.PL.NOM	be.successful.PST.SUBJ	back	return.INF

'I taught them such tricks, by which they would manage to return.'

(Arakelyan 1964: 94)

Like *inč'*, *vor* may be used with a noun (*vor N*, as in example (213); most examples of this construction have a non-specific 'whichever' interpretation), and when it is not, it may (as in examples (211, 212)) or may not (as in example (210)) take the definite article. The use or otherwise of the definite article on *vor* is not connected with

specificity (compare example (210), which refers to a specific individual, with (212), which is interpreted as 'whichever'); note that *vor*, having the meaning 'which' (out of a certain contextually relevant set), is always specific in this partitive sense (one of the types of specificity that is relevant for syntax in Turkish (Von Heusinger & Kornfilt 2005) and Armenian (Hodgson 2012)), as observed by Abeghyan (1912: 290). Hewitt (1978) refers to *vor* as a 'relative adjective'; like other adjectives, it can be used to modify a noun (as in example (213)), in which instance the inflectional morphology (case, number, article) appears on the noun, or without a noun, in which case the inflectional morphology appears on the adjective, i.e. the adjective is nominalized. Note that nominalized adjectives may take the definite article even if not semantically definite; in such cases it is simply functioning as a nominalization marker (see section 2.1.1.4). It seems logical to interpret the definite article on the adjective *vor* when not accompanied by a noun as an instance of the same phenomenon. Arakelyan (1964: 92) implies that this was the rule in the classical language, stating that the use of *vor* without the article became more common in later forms of Armenian (աշխարհաբար). In the modern language, the use of the definite article on *vor* is said by Jahukyan (1974: 542) to be an optional, stylistic feature that has no effect on meaning; Arakelyan (1964: 98) states that the usage is being gradually lost "as the language develops", and that there are no precise rules defining its use. He notes that it is rare in popular speech, as well as in fiction and poetry ('artistic literature'). It appears that the majority of the examples of *vor* in popular speech in fact have the status of a conjunction rather than a true RP (see section 5.1.1.2), which would explain the lack of the article; it is possible that this usage has promoted the use of the true RP without the article.

5.1.1.1.5 *vorteɣ* 'where'

This is used for location, and occasionally also time. It is declined for case (the most common form other than nominative being ablative *vorteɣits'* 'from where'). The form *ur* is also used, which, as Dum-Tragut (2009: 153) notes, in the literary language is only used with the meaning 'where to', but in colloquial language can also express location (as in example (221)).

(219)	*vordeɣ*	*ts'av*	*a*	*mart'-u*	*hok'i-n*	*əndeɣ*
	where	pain	be.3SG.PRS	person-GEN	soul-DEF	there
	a					
	be.3SG.PRS					

'where there is pain, that's where a person's soul is'

(Mush: Shirak)

(220)	*En*	*yerkr-its'*	*vortits'*	*xərkum*	*en*
	DEM3	country-ABL	where.ABL	send.IPT	be.3PL.PRS
	kam	*vortits'*	*yes*	*em*	*p'axnum* ...
	or	where.ABL	1SG.NOM	be.1SG.PRS	flee.IPT

vax	*em*	*əzgum*
fear	be.1SG.PRS	feel.IPT

'(In) the country from which they sent me away, or from which I am fleeing, I feel fear'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat) (for co-occurrence of N in RC case and RP, see sections 5.1.1.2, 5.1.4.1.1)

(221)

Ur	*əses*	*eɣel*	*em.*
where	say.2SG.PRS.SUBJ	be.PPT	be.1SG.PRS

'I've been wherever you might say [i.e. everywhere].'

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

5.1.1.1.6 *yerb* 'when'

This is used to refer to time.

(222)

et	*tari*	*yep'*	*vor*	*avartel*	*em,*	*uraxats'el*
DEM2	year	when	CONJ	graduate.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	be.happy.PPT
em						
be.1SG.PRS						

'the year when I graduated, I was happy'

(Gyumri)

(223)

yerp'	*vor*	*mama-n*	*konfet*	*e*	*aŕe*
when	CONJ	mother-DEF	sweet	be.3SG.PRS	buy.PPT
yerexa-n	*uraxats'el*	*e*			
child-DEF	be.happy.PPT	be.3SG.PRS			

'when the mother bought a sweet, the child was happy'

(Gyumri)

When there is no noun associated with the *yerb* clause, as in (223), the clause could be appropriately described as adverbial, as it functions to express the time at which the state of affairs in the matrix clause took place. However, it could also be described as a relative clause, as the time can be considered a 'pivot' element that links the two clauses, with its reference being defined by the RC. De Vries (2002:56) refers to such constructions as 'adverbial relative clauses', noting that the distinction between these and 'normal' adverbial clauses can be subtle or even absent.

5.1.1.1.7 *inč'k'an* 'how much', *k'ani* 'how many'

These are used to refer to quantity:

(224)	*inč'k'an*	*čür*	*ko,*	*etk'an*	*al*	*popok*	*a*
	how.much	water	exist.3SG.PRS	that.much	PTC	walnut	be.3SG.PRS
	enəm,	*änguz*					
	be.IPT	walnut					

'However much water there is, that's how many walnuts there are' (i.e. the more water there is, the more walnuts are produced)

(Agulis: Paraka)

5.1.1.1.8 *inč'pes* 'how'

This is used to refer to manner. In various dialects it takes different forms, e.g. *vonts'* (Ararat including colloquial EA, Karabagh with phonetic variants, also used by speakers of Khoy dialect from Vayots Dzor, alongside the original Khoy dialect form *išt'är*), *inč'ɣ* (Gyumri and other areas of north-west Armenia, including Meghrashen):

(225)	*Inč'əɣ*	*kuzena*	*eman*	*kəxosa*	*ink'ə.*
	how	PRS.want.3SG	thus	PRS.talk.3SG	3SG.NOM

'He talks how[ever] he wants.'

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

(226)	*Vonts'*	*uzel*	*en*	*ənents'*	*tsaxel*	*en.*
	how	want.IPT	be.3PL.PRS	thus	sell.IPT	be.3PL.PRS

'They sell however they want.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

5.1.1.1.9 Other relative pronouns

Other interrogative pronouns, such as *inč'pisi* 'what like, what kind of', *inč'č'ap'* 'how much/what size', may also be used as relative pronouns (see Dum-Tragut 2009: 147), but these are infrequent, and there are no examples in the data.

5.1.1.1.10 General properties of RCs with RP

As regards the position of relative pronouns, it can be seen from the examples given that they are usually clause-initial. However, there are a number of examples where they occupy second position, such as (227). In section 5.2.5.1 it is proposed that RPs occupy positions characteristic of topical elements (see section 2.1.4): in cases where they occupy second position, the preceding element would have primary topic status, with RP as secondary topic.

(227)	*Ač'k'-n*	*inč'*	*tesni,*	*ayn*	*kani.*

eye-POSS3	what	see.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	DEM3	FUT.do.3SG

'Whatever his eye sees, he will do.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 289)

The verb forms in the clause are finite, the same as those in an independent clause.

Any role on the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy may be relativized with a relative pronoun. Oblique can be divided into two categories: oblique cases (ablative, instrumental, locative), and postpositional objects. In Armenian, object of comparison would take ablative case, and thus should be included in the category of obliques, rather than constituting a separate category.

Subject

(199)	*Esor*	*ov*	*tsənvum*	*a*	*derasan*	*a*
	today	who.NOM	be.born.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	actor	be.3SG.PRS
	əlum,	*bayts'*	*derasan*	*č'i*		
	be.IPT	but	actor	NEG.be.3SG.PRS		

'Whoever is born today becomes an actor, but isn't [really] an actor'

(i.e. these days, everyone claims to be an actor, but they aren't real actors)

(Lori: Shnogh)

Direct Object

(216)	*ayt*	*erek'*	*p'isik-its'*	*amen-its'*	*šat*	*vat*
	DEM2	three	cat-ABL	all-ABL	very	bad
	vičak-ə	*ayn*	*p'isik-i*	*vičak-n*		
	situation-DEF	DEM3	cat-GEN	situation-DEF		
	i	*vorin*	*šun-ə*	*kətsets'*		
	be.3SG.PRS	which.DAT	dog-DEF	bite.3SG.AOR		

'Out of those three cats, the worst situation is the situation of the cat which the dog bit'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

Indirect Object

(200)	*Um*	*jur*	*em*	*təvel,*	*indz*
	who.DAT	water	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT	1SG.DAT
	asel	*en*	*jəri*	*nəman*	*yerkar*

say.PPT	be.3PL.PRS	water.GEN	like	long
apres				
live.2SG.PRS.SUBJ				

'The one(s) I gave water to said to me 'May you live as long as water'

(Vayots Dzor: Hors)

Oblique cases:

(217)

Vorits'	*hiast'ap'vel*	*em,*	*yes*	*vat*
which.ABL	be.disappointed.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	1SG.NOM	bad
mart'	*el*	*em,*	*indzani*	
person	PTC	be.1SG.PRS	1SG.ABL	
hiast'ap'vel	*a*	*gənats'el.*		
be.disappinted.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	go.PPT		

'The one I was disappointed with, I'm a bad person too, s/he was disappointed with me and left.'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(215)

Vorov	*usanoɣ-ner-i*	*gəravor-ner-n*	*em*
which.INSTR	student-PLGEN	test-PL-DEF	be.1SG.PRS
stuge,	*eti*	*matit*	*er,*
check.PPT	DEM2.NOM	pencil	be.3SG.PST
gərič'	*č'er.*		
pen	NEG.be.3SG.PST		

'The one I checked the students' tests with was a pencil, it wasn't a pen.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(219)

vordeɣ	*ts'av*	*a*	*mart'-u*	*hok'i-n*	*əndeɣ*
where	pain	be.3SG.PRS	person-GEN	soul-DEF	there
a					
be.3SG.PRS					

'where there is pain, that's where a person's soul is'

(Mush: Shirak)

Postpositional object

(228) *Kəšahen* *gortsazurk* *mart'ik,* *voronts'* *hamar*
FUT.benefit.3PL unemployed people which.PL.GEN for
kəlni *ašxatateɣ-er.*
FUT.be.3SG job-PL
'Unemployed people will benefit, for whom there will be jobs.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

Genitive

(201) *Um* *voɣnašar-ə,* *meč'k'-ə* *ts'avum* *a,*
who.GEN spine-DEF back-DEF hurt.IPT be.3SG.PRS
na *ya* *gənum.*
DEM3.NOM.SG be.3SG.PRS go.IPT
'The one whose spine, back hurts goes [to the doctor].'

(Lori: Shnogh)

5.1.1.2 Relative clauses with conjunction

Grammars of Armenian note that the element *vor* 'which', as well as functioning as a true relative pronoun, may also function as what they term *շաղկապ*, essentially 'conjunction', an indeclinable clause-linking device that may be used to introduce various kinds of subordinate clauses, including complement clauses (229), clausal subjects (230), adverbial clauses (231) and RCs (233, 138):

(229) *Na* *č'er* *ts'ankanum,* *vor* *otar-ner-ə*
DEM3 NEG.be.3SG.PST wish.IPT CONJ foreigner-PL-DEF
kyz-u *ners-ə* *tesnen.*
island-GEN interior-DEF see.3PL.PRS.SUBJ
'He did not wish the foreigners to see the interior of the island.'

(literally 'He did not wish that the foreigners see the interior of the island.')

(Arakelyan 1964: 159)

(230) *Amp-er-its'* *erevum* *e,* *vor* *andzrev* *e*
cloud-PL-ABL appear.IPT be.3SG.PRS CONJ rain be.3SG.PRS
galis.
come.IPT
'From the clouds it appears that it is raining.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 291)

(231)	*Vor*	*tun*	*er*	*galis,*	*akanj-ner-s*
	CONJ	home	be.3SG.PST	come.IPT	ear.PL.POSS1
	srum	*ei,*	*vor*	*lsem*	*nra*
	sharpen.IPT	be.1SG.PST	CONJ	hear.1SG.PRS.SUBJ	DEM.3SG.GEN
	dzayn-ə.				
	voice-DEF				

'When he used to come home, I would sharpen my ears to hear his voice.'

(Arakelyan 1964: 197)

(232)	*Na*	*vor*	*sksum*	*er*	*nvagel*
	3SG.NOM	CONJ	start.IPT	be.3SG.PST	play.INF
	ir	*byurayi*	*k'nar-ə,*	*iskuyn*	*lrum*
	3SG.GEN	many-stringed	lyre-DEF	immediately	be.silent.IPT
	ein	*myus-ner-ə*			
	be.3PL.PST	other-PL-DEF			

'As he started to play her many-stringed lyre, the others immediately fell silent'

(Arakelyan 1964: 197)

(233)	*Na*	*aštanakets'*	*iskuyn*	*yur*
	3SG.NOM	spur.on.3SG.AOR	immediately	3SG.GEN
	amehi	*nžuyg-ə,*	*vor*	*berav*
	furious	steed.DEF	CONJ	bring.3SG.AOR
	nran	*t'iknapah-ner-its'*	*mek-ə.*	
	3SG.DAT	bodyguard-PL-ABL	one-DEF'	

'He immediately spurred on his furious steed, which one of the bodyguards had brought to him.'

(Arakelyan 1964: 100)

(138)	*Drank'*	*ayn*	*mardik-n*	*en,*	*vor*	*irants'*
	DEM2.PL.NOM	DEM3	people-DEF	be.3PL.PRS	CONJ	3PL.GEN
	k'sak-ner-i	*mej*	*gyuyats'u*	*k'rtink'-n*	*e*	*lts'vats*
	purse-PL-GEN	in	villager.GEN	sweat-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	pour.RPT

'Those are the people into whose purses the villager's sweat is poured'

(Abeghyan 1912: 159)

Arakelyan (1964: 91-92) notes that this usage is occasionally found in classical Armenian, and has become steadily more common over time. He suggests that it may have come about as a result of the use of *vor* in RCs

that do not modify a lexical noun, so that *vor* was reanalysed as not being associated with a particular constituent of subordinate clause, but simply as introducing the subordinate clause, i.e. as an element that could be described as a conjunction. The lack of number agreement observed in example (138), which is part of a wider tendency to use morphologically singular forms for plural referents that also affects other elements, such as verbs, could have contributed to the reanalysis of *vor* as an indeclinable element without nominal status, leading to the loss of the article (see section 5.1.1.1.4), and the emergence of non-case-marked forms, as seen in (233) (RP would be dative) and (138) (RP would be genitive).

As can be seen from the examples, the position of the conjunction *vor* seems to be the same as that of a relative pronoun, i.e. usually clause-initial or second place. As with relative pronouns, the verb forms are fully finite, as in an independent clause. The conjunction *vor* may be used to relativize any role on the Accessibility Hierarchy:

SUBJECT

(234)	*En*	*ənker-ə*	*or*	*het-ə*	*č'ekav,*
	DEM3	friend-DEF	CONJ	with-POSS3	NEG.come.3SG.AOR
	da	*harstut'yun-n*	*er.*		
	DEM2	wealth-DEF	be.3SG.PST		

'The friend who didn't come with him, that was wealth.'

(Gyumri)

DO

(235)	*En*	*ənkeroj-ə*	*or*	*šat*
	DEM3	friend.DAT-DEF	CONJ	much
	č'i	*sire,*	*en*	*ənker-ə*
	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	like.NPT	DEM3	friend.NOM.DEF
	kəse	*yes*	*kugam.*	
	PRS.say.3SG	1SG.NOM	PRS.come.1SG	

'The friend who he doesn't like very much, that friend says, I'm coming.'

(Gyumri)

IO

(236)	*tadi-n*	*en*	*or*	*konfet*	*e*
	grandmother-DEF	DEM3	CONJ	sweet	be.3SG.PRES
	təve,	*inkə*	*uraxatsel*	*e*	

give.PPT	3SG.NOM	be.happy.PPT	be.3SG.PRES

'the one grandmother gave a sweet was happy'

(Gyumri)

OBLIQUE CASES

ABLATIVE

(237)	*En*	*meken*	*vor*	*čur*	*em*	*uze,*	*mak'ur*
	DEM	one.ABL	CONJ	water	be.1SG.PRS	ask.PPT	clean
	čur	*i*	*təve*				
	water	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT				

'The one I asked for water gave clean water'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

INSTRUMENTAL

(238)	*Nəranov*	*vor*	*hianum*	*es,*	*eni*
	3SG.INSTR	CONJ	admire.IPT	be.2SG.PRS	DEM3.NOM
	xelats'i-n	*e*			
	clever-DEF	be.3SG.PRS			

'The one you admire is the clever one'

(Mush: Shirak)

LOCATIVE

(239)	*Es*	*k'ayak'-ə*	*en*	*k'ayak'-n*	*e*
	DEM1	city-DEF	DEM3	city-DEF	be.3SG.PRS
	or	*du*	*vorpes*	*mart,*	*vorpes*
	CONJ	2SG.NOM	as	person	as
	eak,	*mets*	*kəzgas*		
	being	big	PRS.feel.2SG		

'This city is the city where you, as a person, as a being, feel big'

(Gyumri)

POSTPOSITIONAL OBJECT

(240)	*en*	*mi*	*ərexi*	*həmar*	*el*
	DEM3	one	child-GEN	for	PTC
	vor	*yerk'el*	*a*	*et*	*ərexe-n*

CONJ	sing.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	DEM2	child-DEF
et	*yerk'i*	*tak*	*kək'əni*	
DEM2	song-GEN	under	FUT.sleep.3SG.SUBJ	

'and the child she sang for, that child will go to sleep to the song'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

GENITIVE

(241)

En	*mek*	*el*	*vor*	*vot-ə*	*ts'aval,*
DEM	one	PART	CONJ	leg-POSS3	hurt.IPT
et,	*aveli*	*vat*	*ə*	*vorovhetev*	*ira*
DEM2	more	bad	be.3SG.PRS	because	3SG.GEN
vot-ə	*jart've.*				
leg-POSS3	break.PASS.PPT				

'That one whose leg hurts, that's worse, because his/her leg is broken.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(242)

En	*mekeli*	*meč'k'-ən*	*el*	*vor*	*ts'aval,*
DEM3	one.GEN	back-POSS3	PTC	CONJ	hurt.IPT
voč'inč',	*t'et'evaki*	*ts'av,*	*deɣ*	*i*	*xəmel*
nothing	light	pain	medicine	be.3SG.PRS	drink.IPT

'The one whose back hurts, it's nothing, a light pain, he takes medicine'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(243)

en	*mek*	*el*	*mart'-i*	*afto-n*	*vor*
DEM3	one	PTC	person-GEN	car-POSS3	CONJ
xarab	*i,*	*masnaget*	*i*	*kanč'el*	
broken	be.3SG.PRS	expert	be.3SG.PRS	call.IPT	

'the person whose car is broken calls an expert'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

All these three genitive examples (241, 242, 243) are by the same speaker; note variation in case of relativized element (nominative or genitive, see section 5.1.3.2) and in position of *vor* (after relativized N (possessor) or after the whole noun phrase including the possessor).

It may also be used for RCs in which the whole RC, rather than a particular referent in it, supplies the reference for the relativized element in MC:

(244)	*isk*	*vor*	*harevan-i*	*axč'i-n*
	and	CONJ	neighbour-GEN	daughter-POSS3
	i	*t'əp'e,*	*eti*	*aveli*
	be.3SG.PRS	beat.PPT	DEM2	more
	tsanər	*i*	*et*	*tsetsvoɣ-i-n*
	heavy	be.3SG.PRS	DEM2	beat.PASS.SPT-GEN-DEF
	xəma			
	for			

'and that the neighbour's daughter beat him, that is heavier for the one who was beaten'
(Khoy: Karaglukh)

The use of the indeclinable conjunction *vor*, while not unknown in the literary language (see examples (138, 233), and Abeghyan 1912: 159, heading 2: "relative word *vor* in invariant nominative case"), seems to be more characteristic of the spoken language; Arakelyan (1964: 98) observes this of forms without the definite article. The same seems to apply to an even larger degree to non-case-marked forms. It seems to be extremely common that in languages that have both declined RPs and indeclinable conjunctions, the former are characteristic of written language, the latter of spoken language (Fiorentino 2007 and Murelli 2011 for many languages of Europe, Herrmann 2003 for English, Hewitt 1995: 606 for Georgian). The evidence presented here shows that in Armenian, declined RPs are current in the colloquial language, and cannot be considered artificial literary borrowings. However, under some conditions, including all cases when the RP would be a form of *vor*, the conjunction is preferred to declined RP (see section 5.2.5.1). The existence of RCs introduced by a conjunction in Armenian has been overlooked by some authors (e.g. Dum-Tragut 2009), presumably due to the fact that the element in question is phonetically identical to, and historically derived from, the nominative singular of one of the relative pronouns. The parallels with Georgian *rom* < RP *romel* 'who' are striking (see section 5.1.2.2), although the Armenian form, being monosyllabic to start with, has not undergone the phonetic reduction that allows us to immediately distinguish the Georgian conjunction from its RP ancestor. However, in some dialects, there is a phonetic distinction, e.g. in the dialect of Khoy, between interrogative/RP *vär* (in the recordings sometimes pronounced *var*) and conjunction *vor* (see Asatryan 1962: 96 and 141 respectively).

In many European languages possessing both declined RPs and conjunctions, including English, French, Italian, Spanish, and Modern Greek (see Fiorentino 2007: 278, Herrmann 2003, Murelli 2011), as well as in modern Georgian (Gandon 2016: 85), declined RPs are associated with literary language, are hardly used in colloquial speech, and when they are used, are often subject to speech errors associated with hypercorrection, as forms with indeclinable conjunction are often stigmatized by prescriptive grammars:

(245) *an address which$_{RP}$ I hadn't stayed there$_{PR}$ for several years*

(English, Fiorentino 2007: 269)

(246) *dobbiamo introdurre il concetto di semiconduttore di cui$_{RP}$ ne$_{PR}$ avevamo già parlato*
'we must introduce the concept of semiconductor about *which* we had already spoken *about it*'
(standard = *di cui avevamo già parlato* 'about which we have already spoken') (Italian, Fiorentino 2007: 268)

(247) *c'est tout ce dont$_{RP}$ tu t'en$_{PR}$ souviens?*
'is this everything *of which* you remember *of it*?
(standard = *dont tu te souviens* 'of which you remember'
(French, Fiorentino 2007: 268)

In these examples, it appears that RP morphology has been hypercorrectively superimposed on structures containing a conjunction (*that* for English, *che* for Italian, *que* for French), as there is a separate pronominal representation (labelled PR) of the relativized element in RC, something that should be impossible with a true RP, as this itself constitutes a representation of the relativized element, while a conjunction is simply a clause linker, and thus may under some circumstances be accompanied by a representation of the relativized element in RC, which has been termed a resumptive pronoun (see section 3.1.2.2.1 for details).

In Armenian, we find forms that seem to be parallel with the European examples (245-247), with the morphology of relative pronouns (declined and/or articulated *vor* and *vorteɣ*, and occasionally other RPs) but apparently the syntactic status of conjunction, i.e. forms where the apparent 'relative pronoun' is accompanied by another representation of the relativized element inside RC, something which is said to be impossible with true RPs (de Vries 2005), as they are the representation of the relativized element inside RP:

(248)	*En*	*gərič'-ov*	*varov*	*dimum*	*em*	*gəre,*
	DEM3	pen-INSTR	which.INSTR	application	be.1SG.PRS	write.PPT

hasarak	*gərič'*	*er.*
ordinary	pen	be.3SG.PST

'The pen I wrote the application with was an ordinary pen.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(250)

isk	*en*	*yerkrum*	*vorte*	*ašxatum*	*em*,
and	DEM	country-LOC	where	work.IPT	be.1SG.PRS
parz	*a*	*vor*	*ed*	*yerkir-n*	*el*
clear	be.3SG.PRS	CONJ	DEM	country-DEF	PTC
əndzi	*lik'ə*	*p'orts'*	*təvuk*	*kəlni*	
1SG.DAT	full	experience	give.RPT	FUT.be.3SG	

'and the country where I work, it's clear that that country will have given me a lot of experience too'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(251)

ašxatoɣ-ner-its'	*mek-i-n*	*um*	*šef-ə*	*šat*
worker-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	who-DAT	boss	very
havanum	*a,*	*ink'ə*	*sents'*	*sahmanap'ak*
like.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.NOM	thus	restricted
patkerats'm-amb,	*əst*	*ira*	*xosk'-er-i*	*adekvat*
imagination-INSTR	according.to	3SG.GEN	word-PL-GEN	adequate
think.SPT	girl	be.3SG.PRS		
mətatsox	*axč'ik*	*a*		

'one of the workers who the boss likes very much, she is a girl with a restricted imagination, who thinks adequately according to his words'

(Colloquial EA: Yeghegnadzor)

It is certain that we are not simply dealing with cases where the relativized noun is fronted ahead of RP, because in such cases a demonstrative would not be present, as it is in examples (248, 250).

Further evidence that some apparent RPs may be acquiring the syntactic status of conjunctions, i.e. simple clause linkers that do not constitute representations of the relativized element, comes from speech errors where RPs appear in a case that does not correspond to the role of the relativized element, generally nominative in place of other cases, as in (252), where we find nominative in place of genitive (see also section 5.2.5.1):

(252)

gorts-i	*kəverts'em*	*en*	*šofer-i-n,*	*var*
work-GEN	FUT.take.1SG	DEM	driver-DAT-DEF	which.NOM
afto-n		*xarap*		*er*

car.POSS3 broken be.3SG.PST

'I will hire the driver whose car is broken'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

These could be examples of hypercorrection, as proposed by Fiorentino (2007) for the European examples (245-247), where speakers, aware that the conjunction is characteristic of the colloquial language, while declined RPs are more frequent in 'educated' and written language, superimpose the morphology of a declined RP on the syntax of a conjunction. They could also be interpreted as cases where morphology lags behind syntax in the process of language change. For further discussion of this issue, see section 5.2.5.1.

The conjunction *vor* may appear together with a relative pronoun, without any evident difference in meaning. In these cases, the conjunction is in second place, following the RP. The co-occurrence of RP and conjunction is common in languages of the area, being found also in Azeri, Georgian, Judeo-Tat, Udi, Urum, etc. (Gandon 2016: 188). Abeghyan (1912: 280) states that in literary Armenian this is only permissible with generic, indefinite (ընդհանուր, անորոշ) referents, but this rule is often broken in the spoken language:

(253) *En, vorov vor dimum em gəre,*
DEM3 which.INSTR CONJ application be.1SG.PRS write.PPT
et gərič'-ə sev guyn er.
DEM2 pen-DEF black colour be.3SG.PST

'The one I wrote an application with, that pen was black.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(254) *Xats' vinits' vor uzer em, ase,*
bread who.ABL CONJ want.PPT be.1SG.PRS say.PPT
hələ č'em t'əxe.
yet NEG.be.1SG.PRS bake.PPT

'The one who I asked for bread said, I haven't baked it yet.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(255) *et, vor tan-ə vor dərank'*
DEM2 which house-DAT-DEF CONJ DEM2.NOM.PL
mənats'el en, asum a dərants'
stay.PPT be.3PL.PRS say.IPT be.3SG.PRS DEM2.GEN
häyät'-ə, asum a mets apelsin-i
yard-DEF say.IPT be.3SG.PRS big orange-GEN
tsaŕ-er kar
tree-PL exist.3SG.PST

‘The house that they lived in, s/he says, in their yard, s/he says, there were big orange trees’

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(256)	*Um*	*mek’ena-n*	*or*	*p’əč’ats’el*	*e*
	who.GEN	car-POSS3	CONJ	break.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
	dəran	*kordz-i*	*kəverts’nem.*		
	DEM2.DAT	work-GEN	PRS.take.1SG		

‘I (will) employ the one whose car has broken down.’

(Gyumri)

(257)	*Et,*	*um*	*vor*	*afto-n*	*p’əč’ats’el*	*a,*
	DEM2	who.GEN	CONJ	car-POSS3	break.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
	ədan	*kəvennem.*				
	DEM2.DAT	FUT.take.1SG				

‘I will take the one whose car has broken down.’

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(258)	*Um*	*vor*	*afto-n*	*vor*	*p’əč’ats’el*
	who.GEN	CONJ	car-POSS3	CONJ	break.PPT
	a ...	*ink’ə*	*meɣavor*	*č’i*	
	be.3SG.PR	3SG.NOM	guilty	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	
	vor	*p’əč’ats’el*	*a.*		
	CONJ	break.PPT	be.3SG.PRS		

‘The one whose car broke down, it’s not his fault that it broke down.’

(Vayots Dzor Khachik, same speaker as (257))

(259)	*Vorde*	*vor*	*himnakan*	*aprum*	*em*
	where	CONJ	mainly	live.IPT	1SG.PRS
	kapver	*em.*			
	tie.PASS.PPT	be.1SG.PRS			

‘Where I mainly live, I’ve got attached [to that place].’

(Mush: Shirak)

If RP occurs within a larger noun phrase, *vor* usually follows the whole noun phrase, as in (255, 256), but may follow the RP directly (257). In one example, the conjunction is repeated in both positions, giving RP *vor* N *vor* (258).

In some dialects, it appears that RP + *vor* has been reanalysed as a single unit, which may then be reinforced by a second *vor*. This appears to be the case in the dialect of Paraka (the form *or* is a phonetic variant of *vor*):

(260)	*Neɣähäts*	*a*	*elel,*	*ov or*	*partk-ov*
	upset	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	who.NOM+CONJ	debt-INSTR
	or	*p'oɣ*	*əm*	*özäts.*	
	CONJ	money	be.1SG.PRS	want.RPT	

'The person from whom I asked a loan of money was annoyed.'

(Note that RP is in nominative case for expected ablative)

(261)	*harevan-ə*	*um vor*	*or*	*kətsats*	*a*
	neighbour-DEF	who.GEN+CONJ	CONJ	bite.RPT	be.3SG.PRS
	ays ink'ə	*xosk'-ov*	*a*	*kətsats*	*voč'*
	that is	speech-INF	be.3SG.PRS	bite.RPT	NEG
	t'e	*pirän-ov*	*a*	*kətsats,*	*at*
	CONJ	mouth-INSTR	be.3SG.PRS	bite.RPT	DEM2.NOM
	hürän	*aveli*	*šat*	*užeɣ*	*ts'av*
	3SG.DAT	more	much	strong	pain
	a,	*ts'ov*	*a*	*təvats*	*sərt-i-n*
	be.3SG.PRS	pain	be.3SG.PRS	give.RPT	heart-DAT-POSS3
	k'an…				
	than…				

'The one who the neighbour bit, that is, bit with speech, not bit with the mouth, that gave him more pain in his heart than…'

(262)	*Šti or*	*or*	*at*	*gortsaran-ə*
	where+CONJ	CONJ	DEM2	factory-DEF
	päts'äts	*in,*	*mart'ik*	*ašxatil*
	open.RPT	be.3PL.PRS	people	work.FPT
	ən	*hüränts'*	*hamar*	*karoɣ*
	be.3PL.PRS	3PL.GEN	for	able
	ən	*aprust*	*stextsin*	*u*
	be.3PL.PRS	living	create.3PL.PRS.SUBJ	and
	aprin.			
	live.3PL.PRS.SUBJ			

'Where they opened a factory, people will work, they can make a living for themselves and live.'

Note the presence of topical elements other than the relativized element both preceding the relative pronoun (*harevanə* 'the neighbour' in (261), also *xats'* 'bread' in (254)) and preceding the conjunction but following the relative pronoun (*partk'ov* 'by loan' in (260)).

There is also evidence for the emergence of a compound form derived from RP *ov* + conjunction *vor* in the dialect of Gyumri (see section 5.2.5.1).

5.1.1.3 Nominalized (participial) relative clauses

Two main participles are used for relativization in modern Eastern Armenian, the 'subject' participle (SPT) with the ending *-oɣ* (see section 2.1.5.2.2.2) and the 'resultative' participle (RPT) with the ending *-ats* (*-uk* in some dialects) (see section 2.1.5.2.2.3)[76]. The opposition between these participles has variously been described as present vs. past (Hewitt 1978), subject vs. resultative (Dum-Tragut 2009), perfective vs. imperfective (Donabédian 2015), but although they all represent general tendencies, none of these distinctions is infallible, as there are many examples of SPT with past time reference:

(263)	*En,*	*haryur*	*dəram*	*k'ət'noɣ-ən,*	*eni*
	DEM3	hundred	dram	find.SPT-DEF	DEM3.NOM
	azniv	*mart'*	*e.*		
	honest	person	3PL.PRS.SUBJ		

'The one who found a hundred drams, he is an honest person.'

(Mush: Shirak)

There are also examples of RPT with present time reference:

(264)	*G'ədnəm*	*a*	*ir*	*uzats*	*tun-ə.*
	find.IPT	3PL.PRS.SUBJ	3SG.GEN	want.RPT	house-DEF

'He finds the house that he wants.'

(Ararat Stepanavan, Markosyan 1989: 231)

SPT with non-subject:

(265)	*Et*	*dəprots-i*	*tənoren-i*	*mot*	*taroɣ-ə*
	DEM2	school-GEN	principal-GEN	close	take.SPT-DEF

[76] There is also a future participle in *-ik'* (see section 2.1.5.2.2.4) but it is no longer in common use in relativization in modern Eastern Armenian (Arakelyan 1964: 127). There are no examples in the data.

aveli	*iran*	*ink'nagoh*	*a*	*zgəm.*
more	3SG.DAT	self-satisfied	3PL.PRS.SUBJ	feel.IPT

'The one who they took to the school principal feels more pleased with him/herself.'

(Ararat: Aratashen)

RPT with subject, even transitive:

(266)	*Həmmən-its'*	*šat*	*goh*	*mənats'*	*partk'-ov*
	all.ABL	much	content	stay.3SG.AOR	debt-INSTR
	p'oɣ	*verts'rats-ə.*			
	money	take.RPT-DEF			

'The one who borrowed money was the most pleased.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

SPT with perfective aspect (see also example (263))

(141)	*es*	*mart'ə*	*azgayin*	*heros*	*a,*
	DEM1	person.DEF	national	hero	3PL.PRS.SUBJ
	T'alyat'	*p'ašay-i-n*	*əspanoɣ-n*	*a*	
	Talyat	Pasha-DAT-DEF	kill.SPT-DEF	3PL.PRS.SUBJ	

'This person is a national hero, he's the one who killed Talyat Pasha'

(Lori: Shnogh)

RPT with imperfective aspect (see also example (264)):

(267)	*irank'*	*irants'*	*paštats*	*K'əristos-i-n*	*enk'an*
	3PL.NOM	3PL.GEN	worship.RPT	Christ-DAT-DEF	so.much
	ban	*avelats'rin*	*kəron-i*	*meč'*	*or*
	thing	add.3PL.AOR	religion-GEN	in	CONJ
	sətvav	*xexč*	*mart'-ə*		
	lie.PASS.3SG.AOR	wretched	person-DEF		

'in religion they've added so many things to the Christ who they worship that the poor man has become a lie'

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

The *-oɣ* participle can be described as neutral as regards aspect (it may be formed on the perfective or imperfective stem depending on which morphological category the verb belongs to). However, it resembles imperfective participles in other languages such as English and Persian in that it was originally associated with agent meaning. In the modern language, it is used to denote subjects, even if non-agentive (see section

2.1.5.2.2.2), and in the literary language may not refer to non-subjects. For this reason, it is referred to here and elsewhere as the subject participle (SPT). The *-ats*/*-uk* participle is always formed on the perfective stem if the verb possesses one, and in some dialects is used in the formation of perfective tense forms (see section 2.1.5.2.2.3). It is very often associated with a resultative meaning, and referents with patient role, as is characteristic of perfective participles in general (Haspelmath 1994), and is still associated to a large degree with perfective contexts (see section 5.2.2.9.3). It is here referred to as the resultative participle (RPT).

Jahukyan (1974: 552) states that participial forms[77] can only be used when the element modified by the participle represents the subject or direct object of the action expressed by the participle.[78] Dum-Tragut (2009: 481) states that participial RCs can be used for subject or direct object, "as well as in adjectival or genitive attribute function". However, none of the examples she gives (pp. 502-502) actually represent the relativization of a genitive attribute, and it is not clear what she means by 'adjectival function'. Gandon (2016: 209) provides examples from Eastern and Western Armenian of participles used for genuine genitive attributes (genitive dependent, e.g. possessor, of subject), noting that a similar possibility exists in Turkish and Azeri:

(268)	*Afto*	*p'əč'ats'oɣ-ə*	*tare*	*vor*	*afto-n*
	car	break.down.SPT-DEF	take.SPT	CONJ	car-DEF
	sark'en.				
	fix.3SG.PRS.SUBJ				

'The one whose car broke down took (it) for them to fix the car.'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

She also notes that participial RCs may be used for some temporal and spatial complements "treated syntactically as objects", a usage which she claims is more common in Western Armenian, but restricted to colloquial language in Eastern Armenian (Gandon 2016: 209-210). In fact, in the spoken language at least, we also find examples where participial forms are used for time (269), location (270), instrumental (271), ablative (272), adpositional object (273), and possessor of object (274) RCs:

(269)	*Əndzik*	*yerč'anik*	*u*	*lav*	*em*
	1SG.DAT	happy	and	good	be.1SG.PRS
	əzgats'e	*erexa*	*unets'ats*	*tari-n.*	
	feel.PPT	child	have.RPT	year-DEF	

'I felt happy and good the year when I had a child.'

[77] There is no separate category of 'relative clause' in traditional Armenian grammars; subordinate clauses are categorized according to the role they (or a coreferent pronominal element) play in the matrix clause. Jahukyan here refers to participial forms playing the role of որոշիչ, roughly, those that modify a noun, a category that approximately, but not exactly, corresponds to that of RC.

[78] Jahukyan in fact goes further than this, stating that participial forms may be used only for intransitive subject and transitive object, which is not true (see e.g. (266) for transitive subject use), but exactly echoes what Authier (2012: 6) states about participial RCs in Persian.

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(270)	*Č'əsirets'i*	*im*	*tsənvats*	*yergir-ə.*
	NEG.love.1SG.AOR	1SG.GEN	be.born.RPT	country-DEF

'I didn't like the country where I was born.'

(Mush: Shirak)

(271)	*en*	*hiats'uk-n*	*a*	*lav-ə*
	DEM	admire.RPT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	good-DEF

'the one I/you/one (subject not stated) admired is good'

(Mush: Shirak)

(272)	*Et*	*p'axuk*	*yergir-ə*	*vay t'e*	*hele*
	DEM	flee.RPT	country-DEF	probably	be.PPT
	Ameriga-n.				
	America-DEF				

'That country I/you/one fled from was probably America.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(273)	*en*	*jəɣaynats'ug-ən*	*el*	*de*
	DEM3	get.annoyed.RPT-DEF	PTC	PTC
	moment	*e*	*jəɣaynanam*	*yes*
	moment	be.3SG.PRS	get.annoyed.1SG.PRS.SUBJ	1SG.NOM
	meg-i	*vəre-n,*	*edi*	*moment*
	one-GEN	on-POSS3	DEM2	moment
	e			
	be.3SG.PRS			

'the one I/you/one got annoyed with, it's just a momentary thing, if I get annoyed with someone, that's just a momentary thing'

(Mush: Shirak)

Possessor of object

(274)	*de*	*et*	*k'it'*	*kətsoɣ-ə*	*tərorum*
	PTC	DEM2	nose	bite.SPT-DEF	rub.IPT

a	*yerevi*
be.3SG.PRS	apparently

'the one whose nose it bit rubs (it) I suppose'

(Colloquial EA: Yeghegnadzor)

Thus, although it is true that the majority of instances of participial RCs involve subject or DO, they can, under the right conditions, be used for essentially any grammatical relation. The factors affecting their distribution are discussed in section 5.2.2.9.

As in Turkish, it is technically possible for participial RCs in Armenian to contain the full range of arguments and adjuncts that can be found in a finite clause (except that the relativized element is not expressed in the relative clause). In grammars are given constructed examples of complex finite RCs converted into participial forms, which are considered grammatically correct, e.g.

(275)	*Šutov*	*yerevats'*	*yev*	*Sevan-i*
	soon	appear.3SG.AOR	and	Sevan-GEN
	tesk'-ə	*heŕv-its'*	*Kamsaryan-i-n*	
	appearance.POSS3	far-ABL	Kamsaryan-DAT-DEF	
	huzel-u	*č'ap'*	*hetak'rk'rats*	*kɣzi-n.*
	emotionally.affect.INF-GEN	extent	interest.RPT	island-DEF

'Soon Sevan Island appeared too, whose appearance from far away interested Kamsaryan to the extent that he was emotionally affected.'

(Arakelyan 1964: 128)

However, in the spoken language data, it is very rare to find examples with more than one overt argument (see section 5.2.3), which echoes Authier's (2012: 230) statement that participial relatives in Persian are always 'short'.

The subject of non-subject relatives with the RPT usually takes genitive case:

(276)	*Saɣ-n*	*el*	*irants'*	*səvorats*	*gorts-ov*
	all-DEF	PTC	3PL.GEN	learn.RPT	work-INSTR
	en	*əzbaɣvel.*			
	be.3PL.PRS	be.occupied.PPT			

'Everyone did the job they had learnt.'

(Lori: Shnogh)

However, it may be unmarked for case if non-topical:

(277)	*vot*	*jart'vats*	*mart'-ə*
	leg	break.PASS.RPT	person.DEF

'the person whose leg is broken'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(263)	*šun*	*kətsats-i-n*	*tanəm*	*ən*	*bužəm*
	dog	bite.RPT-DAT-DET	take.IPT	be.3PL.PRS	cure.IPT
	ən				
	be.3PL.PRS				

'they take the one a dog bit and cure him'

(Agulis Paraka)

When the 'subject' participle is used to relativize non-subjects, the subject, which is always non-topical in such cases, is unmarked for case:

(279)	*Kəlux*	*ts'avats'oɣ-ə*	*dəžvar*	*k'əna.*
	head	hurt.SPT-DEF	difficult	go.3SG.PRS.SUBJ

'The person whose head hurts is unlikely to go.'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(280)	*Motsak*	*kətsoɣ-i-n*	*al,*	*araɣ*	*en*
	mosquito	bite.SPT.DAT.DEF	PTC,	vodka	be.3PL.PRS
	k'əsəm.				
	rub.IPT				

'The one who a mosquito bit, they rub with vodka.'

(Agulis: Paraka)

When the subject is first or second person, it may be accompanied by a 'possessive article' (see section 2.1.1.3.1) (281) or solely expressed by one (282):

(281)	*Im*	*patrastats*	*tort'-əs*	*lav-ə*	*č'e.*
	1SG.GEN	prepare.RPT	cake.POSS1	good-DEF	NEG.be.3SG.PRS

'The cake that I made isn't good.'

(Gyumri)

(282) *T'əxats-əs* *gat'a-n* *bažinir* *em* *axk'at*
bake.RPT-POSS1 gata.DEF share.PPT be.1SG.PRS poor
mart'kants'.
people.DAT
'The gata (traditional pastry) I baked, I shared out to poor people.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

In most dialects, this attaches to the head noun if there is one (see (281)), or to the participle if there is not:

(283) *Im* *patrastats-əs*?
1SG.GEN prepare.RPT-POSS1
'The one I prepared?'

(Agulis: Paraka)

However, in some dialects, including SEA (examples also recorded from Gyumri, Artik-Maralik and Khoy), it may attach to the participle rather than the head noun, in which case the head noun, if definite, receives the definite article, as in example (282). This usage is generally absent from Western Armenian.

Direct objects of either participle generally take the same case as direct objects of finite verbs, i.e. zero for inanimate (142, 285), dative for animate (141, 284):

(141) *es* *mart'ə* *azgayin* *heros* *a,*
DEM1 person.DEF national hero 3PL.PRS.SUBJ
T'alyat' *p'ašay-i-n* *əspanoɣ-n* *a*
Talyat Pasha-DAT-DEF kill.SPT-DEF 3PL.PRS.SUBJ
'This person is a national hero, he's the one who killed Talyat Pasha'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(284) *Inč'u* *e* *yerexa-yi-n* *korts'rats* *hayr-ə*
why be.3SG.PRS child-DAT-.POSS3 lose.RPT father-DEF
danakaharel *varord-i-n*?
stab.PPT driver-DAT-DEF
'Why did the father who had lost his child stab the driver?'

(http://www.tert.am/am/news/2016/09/09/iravunk3/2128488 Accessed 31/03/2019)

(142) *Mesrop Maštots'-ə* *mer* *taŕ-er-ə* *stextsoɣ-n*
Mesrop Mashtots-DEF 1PL.GEN letter.PL-DAT-DEF create.IPT-DEF
a
be.3SG.PRS

‘Mesrop Mashtots is the one who created our letters’

(Lori: Shnogh)

(285)	*Matani-n*	*čarats-ə*	*inč’*	*a*	*anelu?*
	ring-DEF	find.RPT-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.FPT

‘What will the one who found the ring do?’

(Agulis: Paraka)

However, the following example from a written text from Lori shows a genitive object:

(286)	*t’yu*	*k’u*	*mart’*	*asoɣ-i-n.*
	EXPR	2SG.GEN	person	say.SPT-DAT-DEF

‘I spit on the one who calls you a man.’

(Lori, Asatryan 1968: 163)

Other arguments and adjuncts generally take the case they would have in a finite clause (as seen in example (260)).

There is a tendency, which may be associated with particular dialects (examples recorded from Lori, Vayots Dzor (both peripheral dialects of Ararat group), Khoy (as spoken in the same area as the latter)), to omit the definite article from definite nouns that occur inside participial RCs:

(287)	*Žam-ə*	*tas-i*	*k’ənoɣ-ə*	*kara*
	hour-DEF	ten-DAT	sleep.SPT-DEF	can.3SG.PRS
	k’əni	*minč’ev*	*ts’erekva*	*tas-ə.*
	sleep.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	until	day.GEN	ten-DEF

‘The one who goes to sleep at ten can sleep until ten in the daytime.’

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

beside expected:

(288)	*En*	*tas-i-n*	*k’ənoɣ-ə*	*kəzart’ni*	*aveli*	*šut.*
	DEM3	ten-DAT-DEF	sleep.SPT-DEF	FUT.wake.up.3SG	more	early

‘That one who goes to sleep at ten will wake up earlier.’

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(289)	*Gəlox*	*ts’avats’oɣ-ə*	*amboxč’*	*or-ə*	*paŕke,*
	head	hurt.SPT-DEF	whole	day-DEF	lie.PPT

parzve	*divan-i-n.*
stretch.PASS.PPT	sofa-DAT-DEF

'The one whose head hurt lay down, stretched out on the sofa all day.'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor) (see also example (279))

beside expected:

(290)

Gəlux-ə	*ts'avoɣ-ə*
head.DEF/POSS3	hurt.SPT-DEF

'The one whose head hurt'

(Agulis: Paraka)

This suggests a higher degree of nominalization of the relative clause, with the elements in question functioning as noun modifiers, rather than independent noun phrase constituents with their own article (DPs in generative theoretical terms) of a structure with clausal status. The same could be true of the genitive object in (286), as genitive case is associated with noun modifiers, while objects of verbs receive dative or nominative (zero) case.

5.1.1.4 Parataxis

Under some circumstances, apparently paratactic forms are used, with no overt subordination marker:

(291)

Mard	*ka,*	*hazar*	*arže,*
person	exist.3SG.PRS	thousand	be.worth.3SG.PRS
mard	*ka,*	*min*	*č'arže.*
person	exist.3SG.PRS	one	NEG.be.worth.3SG.PRS

'There are people who are worth a thousand, and people who aren't worth one.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 278)

Most of the examples in the dialect text and free speech corpus are existentials with the verb 'to exist' in the matrix clause, as in example (291). Abeghyan (1912: 278) notes that the addition of the subordination marker *vor* does not change the meaning:

(292)

Mard	*ka,*	*vor*	*hazar*	*arže…*
person	exist.3SG.PRS	CONJ	thousand	be.worth.3SG.PRS

There are also examples such as (293):

(293)

esteɣ	*p'esa*	*unim*	*enig*	*afto*	*uni*
here	son-in-law	have.1SG.PRS	DEM3	car	have.3SG.PRS

'I've got a son-in-law here, that (one)'s got a car'

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

Superficially, there is no reason to propose that this is a case of subordination, but in some cases, the intonation contour seems to resemble that of a relative construction, which Palancar (2012) suggests may be indicative of subordination even if there is no overt marker. The status of these constructions is an issue for further study, and they are not discussed in detail here.

5.1.2 Position of RC

5.1.2.1 RCs with RP

In this section we will first deal with the position of the genuine RPs, *ov* and *inč'*. In some cases, *vor* behaves in the same way, but there are examples of even declined *vor* (and also *vorteɣ*) showing the behaviour of a conjunction, so that it is quite likely that these forms represent hypercorrection; invariant *vor* is characteristic of colloquial, spoken language, and, knowing this, speakers wishing, consciously or otherwise, to appear educated may superimpose literary morphology (declinable RP, specialized form *vorteɣ*) on colloquial syntax (conjunction). It is also possible that these phenomena indicate a change in progress. Case errors and other constructions that may be indicative of such a process are discussed in sections 5.1.1.2 and 5.2.5.1. For this reason, in order to investigate the behaviour of true RPs, we must concentrate on the 'non-*vor*-' forms.

Armenian is generally described as having 'postnominal' RCs with RP (Creissels 2005, Donabédian 2015, Gandon 2016). However, if we discount *vor* and related forms, whose behaviour is discussed in section 5.1.2.2, we will observe that in fact, most examples of relative pronoun use involve RCs that precede the matrix clause:

(294)	*Ov*	*arest*	*a*	*himanum,*	*me*	*or*
	who.NOM	craft	be.3SG.PRS	know.IPT	one	day
	sovats	*č'i*	*məna.*			
	hungry	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	stay.3SG.PRS.SUBJ			

'Whoever knows a craft will not stay hungry for one day.'

(Ararat, Markosyan 203)

(295)	*Inč'*	*uzəm*	*en*	*enəm*	*en.*
	what	want.IPT	be.3PL.PRS	do.IPT	be.3PL.PRS

'They do what(ever) they want.'

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

Most of these are free RCs, as in the above examples (294, 295), or 'false free' RCs with 'dummy' pronominal head in MC:

(296)	*Inč'*	*uzem*	*en*	*el*	*kasem.*
	what	want.1SG.PRS.SUBJ	DEM3	PTC	FUT.say.1SG

‘I’ll say what(ever) I want.’

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

When RC refers to a lexical noun, this may appear inside RC, following RP (not possible with *ov* ‘who’, as this always has nominal, rather than adjectival status), in which case the noun often receives non-specific interpretation (wh-ever N) (though not always, see for example (255)):

(297)	*iš*	*xəvant’un*	*ases*	*patahel*	*i*
	what	illness	say.2SG.PRS.SUBJ	happen.IPT	be.3SG.PRS

‘whatever illness you could mention, happens’

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

This construction has the properties of a correlative, i.e. left-adjoined RC (see section 3.1.2.1.2), rather than those of an embedded circumnominal relative; crucially, the relativized element can be represented separately in each clause, while the latter construction, containing the relativized element, is in itself an item with nominal status and occupies the position of the relativized element in MC (see de Vries 2002). Correlative constructions are associated exclusively with a non-specific (wh-ever) interpretation in many languages of the area; in this respect, Armenian resembles Georgian, where the non-specific interpretation is frequent, but not obligatory (Gandon 2016: 105).

There are relatively few examples (one with *inč’*, vs. 10 preceding MC, 15 with *ov* vs. 57 preceding MC) where RC follows MC:

(298)	*Xast’ux-ə*	*en*	*mart’-n*	*i*	*ov*	*lavaš*
	baker-DEF	DEM3	person-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	who.NOM	lavash
	i	*t’əxel*	*t’onir-ov.*			
	be.3SG.PRS	bake.IPT	tonir-INSTR			

‘The baker is the person who bakes lavash (flat bread) with a tonir (traditional oven)’

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

Note that *ov* referring to a lexical noun, as in the above example (298), is forbidden by prescriptive grammar (e.g. Arakelyan 1964: 136), and is not very common in the data (12 examples, including (298), out of 99 instances of *ov*).

Thus the majority of RCs with RP precede the matrix clause, and cannot be described as ‘postnominal’ in any sense.

5.1.2.2 RCs with conjunction

The impression that Armenian finite RCs can be described as 'postnominal' is the result of the behavior of *vor*. This sometimes appears in the usual configuration characteristic of RPs, i.e. in initial position of RC that precedes MC:

(299)	*Vor*	*mets-i-n*	*xndrets'i,*	*indzi*	*ter*
	which	big-DAT-DEF	ask.1SG.AOR	1SG.DAT	master
	č'ekav.				
	NEG.come.3SG.AOR				

'Whichever great man I asked, didn't become my master (i.e. look after me).'

(Abeghyan 2012: 287)

In (299), it is clearly functioning as a relative pronoun (or rather relative adjective), modifying a noun, giving the meaning 'whichever great man', analogous with example (297) with *inč'*.

However, the majority of examples of conjunction, as opposed to RP, *vor* in RCs that precede MC do not appear in initial position. Those examples where we appear to have initial conjunction *vor* in such constructions are often also interpretable as adverbial (especially temporal or causal), rather than relative, clauses:

(300)	*vor*	*erexa*	*yem*	*unets'e,*	*aveli*
	CONJ	child	be.1SG.PRS	have.PPT	more
	em	*uraxats'e*			
	be.1SG.PRS	be.happy.PPT			

'when I had a child, I was happier'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

The majority of examples of *vor* in RCs occur in one of two positions:

Initial in right-adjoined RC (i.e. RC following MC):

(301)	*Yuri*	*Gagarin-ə*	*hele*	*ařač'i*	*mart'-ə*	*vor*
	Yuri	Gagarin-DEF	be.PPT	first	person-DEF	CONJ
	t'əŕe	*kozmos.*				
	fly.PPT	cosmos				

'Yuri Gagarin was the first person who flew to the cosmos.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(302)	*minčev*	*həmi*	*žažki*	*šenk'*	*ka*
	until	now	earthquake.GEN	building	exist.3SG.PRS

or	*mak'radz*	*č'e*
CONJ	clean.RPT	NEG.be.3SG.PRS

'even now there are earthquake [-destroyed] buildings that haven't been cleaned up'

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

Second constituent in left-adjoined RC (i.e. RC preceding MC):

(303)

Mor-əs	*hamar*	*vor*	*t'əxel*	*em*
mother.GEN-POSS1	for	CONJ	bake.PPT	be.1SG.PRS
tsənəndyan	*tort'*	*a*	*elel.*	
birthday	cake	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	

'The one I baked for my mother was a birthday cake.'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(304)

Žam-ə	*erkus-i-n*	*vor*	*pəti*	*k'əne,*
hour-DEF	two-DAT-DEF	CONJ	PTC	sleep.3SG.PRS.SUBJ
zart'nel	*žam-ə*	*ut'-i-n.*		
wake.up.IPT	hour-DEF	eight-DAT-DEF		

'The one who will go to sleep at two o'clock, wakes up at eight o'clock.'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(237)

En	*meken*	*vor*	*čur*	*em*	*uze,*	*mak'ur*
DEM	one.ABL	CONJ	water	be.1SG.PRS	ask.PPT	clean
čur	*i*	*təve*				
water	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT				

'The one I asked for water gave clean water'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(235)

En	*ənkeroj-ə*	*or*	*šat*
DEM3	friend.DAT-DEF	CONJ	much
č'i	*sire,*	*en*	*ənker-ə*
NEG.be.3SG.PRS	like.NPT	DEM3	friend.NOM.DEF
kəse	*yes*	*kugam.*	
PRS.say.3SG	1SG.NOM	PRS.come.1SG	

'The friend who he doesn't like very much, that friend says, I'm coming.'

(Gyumri)

As we can see, often the element preceding *vor* is the relativized element, as in examples (237, 235), but sometimes it is not; especially when the relativized element is not articulated (equivalent to English 'the one that…'), another element may be fronted before *vor* (303, 304). The preposed element is likely to be the most topical element, which is likely to be the relativized element, as RC is inherently 'about' this element. This fact, and the fact that the relativized elements have RC case and may be repeated in MC, as in example (235), leave no reason to doubt that they are part of RC. The behavior of *vor* is reminiscent of that of the Georgian subordinator *rom*, which is said by Gippert (2015) to be a second-place element in relative clauses, but initial in other kinds of subordinate clause. In Armenian, as we have seen, it appears in second place only when RC precedes MC; when RC follows MC, *vor* is generally clause-initial. In both these cases, it is common for *vor* to immediately follow the relativized element (when it is the preposed element in initial RC, as in (237), (235), or when it is clause-final in initial MC, as in (301)), giving the impression that Armenian possesses postnominal RCs. However, when something other than the relativized element occupies the pre-*vor* slot in initial RC, as in (303) or (304), or when it is not clause-final in initial MC, as in (302), this is not the case.

5.1.2.3 Nominalized RCs

As seen in the examples in section 5.1.1.3, nominalized RCs precede the noun they modify, if there is one, occupying a position analogous to that of adjectives or modifiers with nominal status (see section 2.1.1.1), or take the nominal morphology (number, case, article) of the relativized element as suffixes on the participle if there is not, as is also the case with adjectives (see section 2.1.1.4). As in the case of adjectives, 'determiner' elements such as demonstrative and possessive pronouns usually precede participial RCs (305), but occasionally intervene between the participle and the modified noun (306, 307) (see section 2.1.1.1 for word order in the noun phrase):

(305)	*En*	*vot-ə*	*ts'avoɣ-n*	*el,*	*de*	*tanjvum*
	DEM3	leg-POSS3	hurt.SPT-DEF	PTC	PTC	suffer.IPT
	a	*eli.*				
	be.3SG.PRS	PTC				

'That one whose leg hurts, s/he is suffering.'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(306)	*mama-yi-s*	*tsənənd-i*	*orva*	*hamar*	*t'əxats*
	mother-GEN-POSS1	birth-GEN	day.GEN	for	bake.RPT
	im	*tort'ik-ə*			
	1SG.GEN	cake-DEF			

'the cake I baked for my mother

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(307)	*Hamerašx*	*amenalav-ə*	*kapren*	*et*	*zoravar-i*	*axč'…*
	harmonious	best-DEF	FUT.live.3PL	DEM2	general-GEN	gi…
	zoravar-i-n	*təvats*	*kənuts'yan,*	*et*	*axč'ik-ə.*	
	general-DAT-DEF	give.RPT	as.wife	DEM2	girl-DEF	

'That girl who they gave to the general as a wife, they will live the best, harmoniously.'

(Ararat: Aratashen)

5.1.3 Embedded or adjoined?

5.1.3.1 RCs with RP

As seen in section 3.1.2.1.2, RCs may be embedded, i.e. forming a part of the phrasal constituent containing the relativized element, which has the properties and distribution of this type of constituent (usually a nominal constituent, but may also be adverbial, quantifier etc. depending on the element that is relativized). Otherwise, they may be constituents with clausal status that are attached to the matrix clause, rather than directly to the representation of the relativized element within that clause. Several properties have been proposed as distinguishing adjoined from embedded RCs, notably by Srivastav (1991). They allow the relativization of multiple elements, the expression of the relativized element as a lexical noun phrase in RC while also being represented in MC, and some degree of semantic mismatch (e.g. in number) between the representations of the relativized element in the two clauses. RCs with RP in Armenian show all these properties, as can be seen in the following examples: multiple relativization (308), (309), (310), relativized element expressed as lexical NP in RC while also expressed in MC (310), number mismatch between representations of relativized element in MC and RC (311).

(308)	*Inč'*	*vov*	*uzəm*	*e*	*eɣni.*
	what	who	want.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	be.3SG.PRS.SUBJ

'Whatever each person wants, let it be.'

(lit. 'What who wants…')

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

(309)	*ov*	*inč'əɣ*	*kərts'av*	*ənpes*	*el*	*šinets'*
	who	how	be.able.3SG.AOR	thus	PTC	build.3SG.AOR

'each one built however he could'

(lit. 'who how he could, thus he built')

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

(310)	*Vor*	*tari-n*	*vor*	*mirk'-ə*	*šat*	*eɣe*
	which	year-DEF	which	fruit-DEF	much	be.PPT

parz	*e*	*dranits'*	*enk'*	*patraste.*
clear	be.3SG.PRS	DEM2.ABL	be.1PL.PRS	prepare.PPT

'Whichever fruit was plentiful in each year, obviously we made things from that.'

(Mush: Vardenik)

(311)

Um	*hats'*	*em*	*təve,*	*asel*
who.SG.DAT	bread	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT	say.PPT
en	*hats'-ət*	*anspaŕ*	*lini.*	
be.3PL.PRS	bread-POSS2	inexhaustible	be.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	

'Who(ever) I gave bread to, they said 'May your bread be inexhaustible.''

(Gyumri)

There are some examples where a non-nominative RP is preceded by a nominative demonstrative, e.g. (253, 257), which superficially suggests a centre-embedded RC embedded in the phrase headed by the demonstrative:

(253)

En,	*vorov*	*vor*	*dimum*	*em*	*gəre,*
DEM3	which.INSTR	CONJ	application	be.1SG.PRS	write.PPT
et	*gərič'-ə*	*sev*	*guyn*	*er.*	
DEM2	pen-DEF	black	colour	be.3SG.PST	

'The one I wrote an application with, that pen was black.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(257)

Et,	*um*	*vor*	*afto-n*	*p'əč'ats'el*	*a,*
DEM2	who.GEN	CONJ	car-POSS3	break.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
ədan	*kəvennem.*				
DEM2.DAT	FUT.take.1SG				

'I will take the one whose car has broken down.'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

However, the fact that the demonstrative is always nominative, and that we find a separate, occasionally full NP as in (253), representation of the relativized element in MC, which may be in a different case from the initial demonstrative (e.g. 257), suggests that these constructions do not involve embedded RCs. There are also some examples with lexical NPs in invariant nominative case preceding a relative clause (all examples involve conjunction *vor*, so they are discussed in the following section 5.1.3.2). It seems likely that these invariant nominative elements that precede the relative construction are not syntactically linked to either clause, but simply refer to the same referent, "that one, the one whose car broke down, I'll take him'.

Srivastav (1991), in her discussion of RCs in Hindi, observes that the properties associated with adjoined status apply to RCs that precede MC, but not to those that follow MC, leading her to conclude that the latter are extraposed embedded RCs rather than adjoined RCs. In Armenian, although most speakers reject multiple RCs following MC,[79] we do find examples of the relativized element being expressed as a full NP in both clauses:

(312)	*Ayn*	*guyn-ov*	*kmeŕnem,*	*inč'*	*guyn-ov*
	DEM3	colour-INSTR	FUT.die.1SG	what	colour-INSTR
	vor	*tsnvel*	*em.*		
	CONJ	be.born.PPT	be.1SG.PRS		

'I will die with the colour I was born with.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 286)

Abeghyan (1912: 286) notes that the repetition of the relativized noun in RC, which is impossible in RCs following MC in Hindi (Srivastav 1991: 647), is characteristic of popular speech.

Thus it appears that Armenian possesses right-adjoined as well as left-adjoined RCs.

5.1.3.2 RCs with conjunction

As in RCs with RP, the relativized element may be expressed as a lexical noun phrase in RC while also expressed in MC, in RCs that both precede (313) and follow MC (314) RCs, implying that adjoined constructions are possible:

(313)	*En*	*axč'əka-n*	*vor*	*təve*	*aŕevtərakan-i-n,*	*əskəzbum*
	DEM3	girl.DAT-DEF	CONJ	give.PPT	merchant-DAT-DEF	start.LOC
	en	*uraxats'av*				
	DEM3	be.happy.3SG.AOR				

[79] Note that for those who accept it, the matrix clause verb must be plural, as we are dealing with plural referents, while in the construction where RC precedes MC, it is singular, like the relative pronoun that refers to the matrix subject:

(i)	*Ov*	*inč'*	*uzum*	*er,*	*verts'rets'.*
	who	what	want.IPT	be.3SG.PST	take.3SG.AOR

'Each person took what(ever) he wanted.'

(unproblematic left-adjoined structure)

But:

(ii)	*#Verts'rets'in,*	*ov*	*inč'*	*uzum*	*er.*
	take.3PL.AOR	who	what	want.IPT	be.3SG.PST

'They took, each one what(ever) s/he wanted.'

(iii)	**Verts'rets',*	*ov*	*inč'*	*uzum*	*er.*
	take.3SG.AOR	who	what	want.IPT	be.3SG.PST

'He took, each one what(ever) he wanted.'

‘The girl who he gave to the merchant was happy to start with’

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(314)	*hetov*	*pumbus*	*k’ar*	*unek’*	*mek’,*
	then	pumice	stone	have.1PL.PRS	1PL.NOM
	or	*šat*	*hetak’ərk’ir*	*patmuts’yun*	*uni*
	CONJ	very	interesting	history	have.3SG.PRS
	at	*pumbus*	*k’ar-ə*		
	DEM2	pumice	stone-DEF		

‘and then we’ve got a pumice stone, that has a very interesting history’

(Agulis: Paraka)

As discussed in section 5.1.2.2, it is the configuration of RCs with *vor* that has given rise to the impression that Armenian possesses postnominal RCs, the implication being that these are embedded, i.e. attached to the relativized element itself, which would be a constituent of MC. In particular, in constructions where the relativized element is positioned ahead of second-place *vor* in initial RC (237), or is clause-final in initial MC (301), as is very frequently the case, *vor* directly follows the relativized element, followed by the rest of RC, in a configuration that resembles that of an embedded postnominal RC:

(237)	*En*	*meken*	*vor*	*čur*	*em*	*uze,*	*mak’ur*
	DEM	one.ABL	CONJ	water	be.1SG.PRS	ask.PPT	clean
	čur	*i*	*təve.*				
	water	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT				

‘The one I asked for water gave clean water.’

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(301)	*Yuri*	*Gagarin-ə*	*hele*	*ařač’i*	*mart’-ə*	*vor*
	Yuri	Gagarin-DEF	be.PPT	first	person-DEF	CONJ
	t’aře	*kozmos.*				
	fly.PPT	cosmos				

‘Yuri Gagarin was the first person who flew to the cosmos.’

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

However, closer examination reveals that these constructions should be considered adjoined RCs, like those with RP, for the following reasons:

As can be seen in (237), also (313), the fronted relativized element is in RC case, not MC case.[80] As we have seen, it is also the case that this element may be represented separately in MC, as seen in (313) and (314). When it is not overtly represented, as in (237), there is reason to believe that we are dealing with zero anaphora, the most common means of expressing highly accessible elements (see sections 2.1.6 and 5.1.4).

There is, however, a type of construction whose status is not so clear. It resembles those where the relativized element is fronted ahead of *vor*, but here, instead of being in RC case, it is in invariant nominative case:

(315)	*en*	*vor*	*hiats'el*	*em,*	*na*	*indz*
	DEM3	CONJ	admire.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	3SG.NOM	1SG.GEN
	hamar	*vonts'*	*vor*	*orinak*	*a*	*tsaŕayel*
	for	as	CONJ	example	be.3SG.PRS	serve.PPT

'the one I admired served as something like an example for me'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(316)	*Yeɣbayr-ə,*	*vor*	*eli*	*k'č'-its'*	*šat-its'*	
	brother.POSS3	CONJ	PTC	little-ABL	much-ABL	
	mardkut'yan	*nšan*	*kar*	*vra-n,*		*vra*
	humanity.GEN	sign	exist.3SG.PRS	on-POSS3	on	
	hasav					
	arrive.3SG.AOR					

'His brother, on whom there was still more or less some sign of humanity, arrived'

(Abeghyan 1912: 159)

Cases such as (316), where MC case is nominative, RC case is not, and there is no overt representation of the relativized element in MC, have the superficial appearance of embedded RCs. However, there are no examples in the corpus of such structures where MC case is not nominative, thus we have no conclusive evidence that these structures are truly embedded RCs. What is more, Abeghyan (1912: 158-159) describes structures he terms *Անկապակցություն* (non-linkedness), involving a noun in invariant nominative case, followed by a relative clause (in all his examples introduced by *vor*), followed by a matrix clause "with which, however, the

[80] These structures are directly parallel to those that have been termed 'reverse case attraction' that occur in many old Indo-European languages, including Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Old English and Old High German (see Kiparsky 1995, Bianchi 2000 etc.), and also in other languages of the area, Indo-European and otherwise (Gandon (2016) mentions Old Georgian (p.107), Mingrelian (p. 78), Northern Talysh (p.153), and Persian (p.164)). The only difference from a typical correlative (left-adjoined) structure is that the relativizer follows, rather than precedes, the relativized element, and that the 'correlate' in MC may be omitted. In Armenian, as the relativizer can (in the case of *vor* this seems to be the rule) occupy second place when the relative clause precedes MC (see section 5.1.2.1 for RPs, 5.1.2.2 for *vor*), this gives no grounds to propose, as Gandon (2016: 193) does, that the relativized element is outside RC. As for omission of the 'correlate', this is quite normal in Armenian, as well as many other languages of the area, and seems to be defined by pragmatic principles, as a case of zero anaphora (see section 5.1.4). Kiparsky (1995) comes to the same conclusion about the parallel structures in Old English, which also allows elements to be fronted ahead of a conjunction or a wh-element in subordinate clauses, in what he describes as a topicalization process, and zero anaphora. Thus he is able to analyse them straightforwardly as left-adjoined clauses, as I have done for the Armenian equivalents.

nominative noun in initial position is not grammatically linked", hence the relativized element may be repeated in the matrix clause, as seen in example (315). Thus the fronted nominative element appears to belong to neither clause, perhaps having the status of a detached topic element; it could be interpreted as juxtaposed with a free RC, e.g. 'his brother, the one who was still more or less human', etc. It is possible that reanalysis of structures such as (316), with the pivot having nominative case in MC and not being overtly represented there, could give rise to embedded postnominal RCs, which has potentially interesting implications for the historical development of embedded RCs, but there is no conclusive evidence in the Armenian data that the reanalysis has actually taken place.

5.1.3.3 Nominalized RCs

Nominalized (participial) RCs are embedded RCs that form part of the nominal constituent representing the element they modify. They have the position and behaviour of other noun modifiers, such as adjectives (see section 5.1.2.3).

5.1.4 Representation of relativized element

5.1.4.1 RCs with RP

5.1.4.1.1 Representation in RC

A true RP is in itself a representation of the relativized element, thus when we are dealing with true RPs, we do not find another representation of the relativized element in RC (de Vries 2005 etc.). Some RPs can have the status of modifiers of a relativized noun, so that we get RP N:

(297)	*iš*	*xəvant'un*	*ases*	*patahel*	*i*
	what	illness	say.2SG.PRS.SUBJ	happen.IPT	be.3SG.PRS

'whatever illness you could mention, happens'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(317)	*Vor*	*ayjka*	*xayalis*	*šat*
	which	girl.GEN	play.IPT	much
	nver	*havak'ver,*	*ayn*	*ayjik-ə*
	gift	collect.PASS.PST.SUBJ	DEM3	girl-DEF
	ənker-ner-i	*mijin*	*partsenum*	*er.*
	friend-PL-GEN	among	boast.IPT	be.3SG.PST

'During whichever girl's playing the most gifts were collected, that girl used to boast among her friends.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 286)

However, as mentioned in section 5.1.1.2, there are some cases where we appear to have a relative pronoun together with a separate phrasal representation of the relativized element in RC:

(250)	*isk*	*en*	*yerkrum*	*vorte*	*ašxatum*	*em*,
	and	DEM	country-LOC	where	work.IPT	be.1SG.PRS
	parz	*a*	*vor*	*ed*	*yerkir-n*	*el*
	clear	be.3SG.PRS	CONJ	DEM	country-DEF	PTC
	əndzi	*lik'ə*	*p'orts'*	*təvuk*	*kəlni*	
	1SG.DAT	full	experience	give.RPT	FUT.be.3SG	

'and the country where I work, it's clear that that country will have given me a lot of experience too'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

Apart from the morphology of the relativizer, these structures are completely parallel to RCs with conjunction, so that it appears that we have the syntax of a construction with a conjunction, but the morphology of a RP. The fact that we sometimes find RP in a case (usually nominative) that does not correspond to its role supports this interpretation (see section 5.1.1.2). This could be deliberate hypercorrection, or a manifestation of a change in progress.

5.1.4.1.2 Representation in MC

Returning to the examples of true RPs modifying a noun (relative adjectives), as seen in (297) and (317), the fact that there may be a separate representation of the relativized element in MC, as in (317), shows that we are dealing with adjoined RCs, not with circumnominal embedded RCs (see sections 3.1.2.1.2, 5.1.3.1). The same applies when RC follows MC, i.e. there can be a lexical NP in RC, and a separate representation of this element in MC, indicating adjoined rather than embedded status:

(312)	*Ayn*	*guyn-ov*	*kmeŕnem,*	*inč'*	*guyn-ov*
	DEM3	colour-INSTR	FUT.die.1SG	what	colour-INSTR
	vor	*tsnvel*	*em.*		
	CONJ	be.born.PPT	be.1SG.PRS		

'I will die with the colour I was born with.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 286)

However, as discussed in section 5.1.2.1, this configuration is fairly infrequent; most examples of RC with RP in the spoken corpus are left-adjoined,[81] that is to say, they have the properties of the construction known as

[81] This concerns *ov* and *inč'*; RCs with declined *vor* and *vortey* are quite common in the position following MC, but, as we have seen, there is reason to believe that at least in some cases, these relativizers actually have the status of conjunctions.

‘correlative’. This type of RC has perhaps been most thoroughly studied in the languages of South Asia, notably Hindi (Srivastav 1991, Bhatt 2003 etc., Davison 2009 for comparison with Sanskrit), but similar constructions exist in the Slavic languages (Izvorski 1996, Mitrenina 2012, Pietraszko 2015 etc.), Hungarian (Lipták 2004), Turkish (Demirok 2017), as well as Azeri, Georgian, Persian, and many other languages of the Caucasus-Eastern Anatolia-Western Iran area (Gandon 2016: 262 etc.). As seen in section 3.1.2.2.2, languages with correlatives vary as regards the expression of the relativized element in MC. In some languages, such as Hindi and Ossetian, the overt expression of the relativized element in MC, sometimes termed the ‘correlate’, is obligatory. In others, e.g. Turkish, Azeri and Tabassaran, it is not (Gandon 2016: 121, 166). Sometimes, there are particular restrictions on the form that this element can take; for example, in Hindi, it must be (or be accompanied by) a demonstrative (Srivastav 1991: 650). In some languages, e.g. Bulgarian, this element must be clause-initial (Izvorski 1996: 144).

In Armenian, this kind of restriction does not apply: the representation of the relativized element can be zero, a pronoun (demonstrative or otherwise), or a lexical noun phrase. In Armenian, zero is the normal means of expression of elements with the highest degree of cognitive accessibility, as we would expect for the relativized element, having been expressed in the preceding RC (see section 2.1.6), analogous to an unstressed pronoun in non-pro-drop languages such as English (see Ariel 1994). The fact that we are not dealing with a true gap is shown by the fact that when the omitted element would have genitive case, a possessive article (effectively a genitive clitic, see 2.1.1.3.1) is present on the element that would assign genitive case (e.g possessum NP or postposition):

(318)	*Vor*	*ktrič*	*tɣa-yi*	*el*	*hamets’ek’*	*er*
	which	brave	boy-DAT	PTC	welcome	be.3SG.PST
	anum,	*leɣi-n*	*jur*	*er*	*ktrum.*	
	do.IPT	gall-POSS3	water	be.3SG.PST	cut.IPT	

‘Whichever brave boy he invited, his gall became water (i.e. his courage failed him).’

(Abeghyan 1912: 287)

(319)	*Urdeɣ*	*kat’*	*ka,*	*poč’-ə*	*vəre-n.*
	where	milk	exist.3SG.PRS	tail-POSS3	on-POSS3

‘Where there’s milk, (there’s) a tail on it.’ (i.e. you have to take the rough with the smooth)

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

As we would expect for such highly accessible elements (mentioned in the previous clause, i.e. RC), the most common representation is zero (50%), then a pronoun (36%), then a lexical NP (14%). When the matrix clause precedes RC, we find the opposite order of preference (lexical NP 70% > pronoun 17% > zero 13%). With free RCs, i.e. ones that do not modify a lexical noun, we often find a ‘dummy’ pronominal head, i.e. de Vries’s

(2002 etc.) ‘false free’ RCs; this issue is discussed in the grammars, where it is stated that there is no semantic difference between forms with and without the pronoun (e.g. Abrahamyan 2004: 162):

(320) *Menk’* *tesel* *enk’* *(ayn),* *inč’* *yeɣel*
1PL.NOM see.IPT be.1PL.PRS DEM3 what be.PPT
e *aysteɣ.*
be.3SG.PRS here
‘We saw what happened here.’

When there is a pronoun in MC, it is most frequently a demonstrative, whether MC precedes or follows RC. However, unlike in Hindi correlatives, this is not a requirement, as non-demonstrative pronouns are also found:

(321) *Umits’* *vor* *hiast’ap’vel* *em,* *ira*
who.ABL CONJ be.disappointed.PPT be.1SG.PRS 3SG.GEN
hamar *mek* *a* *eɣel* *kəhiast’ap’vem*
for one be.3SG.PRS be.PPT FUT.be.disappointed.1SG
t’e *č’e* *eli.*
CONJ NEG PTC
‘For the one I was disappointed with, it was all the same whether I’d be disappointed or not.’

(Lori: Shnogh)

The ‘correlate’ is most frequently in clause-initial position, but unlike in Bulgarian, this is not obligatory:

(322) *inč’* *vor* *pənut’yun-ə* *steɣdze,* *yes*
what CONJ nature-DEF create.PPT 1SG.NOM
ed *em* *sirum*
DEM2 be.1SG.PRS love
‘I love what(ever) nature has created’

(Mush: Shirak)

There are some examples where the correlate is expressed as a full noun phrase, in which in some cases (e.g. (324), also (317)) the noun may be repeated from RC:

(323) *inč’* *tesnəm* *ei,* *en* *gorts-n*
what see.IPT be.1SG.PST DEM3 work-DEF
enəm *ei*
do.IPT be.1SG.PST
‘I did whatever work I saw’

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

(324) *Inč'* *teɣum* *atelut'yan* *hogu* *tsnund* *nkatel*
what place.LOC hatred.GEN spirit.GEN birth notice.PPT
em, *ayn* *teɣum* *patčaŕ-i-n* *aŕants'* *vax-i*
be.1SG.PRS DEM3 place.LOC cause-DAT-DEF without fear-GEN
naxatel *em.*
reprimand.PPT be.1SG.PRS
'In whatever place I noticed the birth of a spirit of hatred, I reprimanded the cause without fear.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 288)

5.1.4.2 RCs with conjunction

As with RCs with RP, there can be separate representations of the relativized element in each clause, whether RC precedes or follows MC. The difference from RCs with RP is that the relativized element in RC does not appear in a form that is specialized for relativization; it has the same range of forms that it could have in a non-relative clause, i.e. lexical NP, pronoun (demonstrative or otherwise), or zero. Pronominal representations of the relativized element in RC have generally been labelled 'resumptives', and have been subject to various syntactic interpretations (see de Vries 2002: 165-169). Their use has been categorized as a separate relativization strategy that is specialized for roles low on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy, in languages that use a gap strategy for higher roles. However, in Armenian, these pronominal representations of the relativized element in RC are apparently possible for all roles and obligatory for none, being found for roles at the very top of the hierarchy (subject (325), DO (326)), and omitted for roles at the bottom (instrumental (327), postpositional object (328), leaving agreement marker on postposition). As well as with zero, they also alternate with lexical NPs (314):

(325) *Aŕač'i* *mankavarž-n* *a* *vor* *mer* *geɣəm*
first teacher-DEF be.3SG.PRS CONJ 1PL.GEN village.LOC
əlnəm *a* *ink'ə.*
be.IPT be.3SG.PRS 3SG.NOM
'She is the first teacher that there is in our village.'

(Vayots Dzor: Hors)

(326) *Haraf-arevelyan* *koɣm-ə* *me p'ok'ər* *pedut'yun-əm* *ka,*
south-east side-DEF one small state-IND exist.3SG.PRS
or *saɣ* *yergər-i* *yeres-ə* *ədur*
CONJ all earth-GEN face.DEF 3SG.DAT
heč' *ban-i* *teɣ* *č'en* *dənəm.*
PTC thing.GEN place NEG.be.3PL.PRS put.IPT

'To the south-east there is a little country which no-one on the face of the earth pays any attention to.' (literally, 'puts in the place of a thing', i.e. the relativized element is DO of *put*)

(Artik-Maralik: Meghrashen)

(327)	*Amenalav-ə*	*en*	*guyn-ən*	*er*	*vor*	*nəkarel*
	best-DEF	DEM3	colour-DEF	be.3SG.PST	CONJ	draw.PPT
	em	*tsaɣik*				
	be.3SG.PRS	flower				

'The best one was the colour with which I drew a flower.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(328)	*Mard*	*ka,*	*vor*	*het-ə*	*xosel*
	person	exist.3SG.PRS	CONJ	with-POSS3	speak.INF
	č'i	*linil.*			
	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	be.NPT			

'There are people with whom it is impossible to speak.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 159)

(314)	*hetov*	*pumbus*	*k'ar*	*unek'*	*mek',*
	then	pumice	stone	have.1PL.PRS	1PL.NOM
	or	*šat*	*hetak'ərk'ir*	*patmuts'yun*	*uni*
	CONJ	very	interesting	history	have.3SG.PRS
	at	*pumbus*	*k'ar-ə*		
	DEM2	pumice	stone-DEF		

'and then we've got a pumice stone, that has a very interesting history'

(Agulis: Paraka)

Given that these alternations seem to be consistent with the general workings of anaphora (see section 2.1.6), and that we seem to be dealing with adjoined, rather than embedded, clauses (see section 5.1.3.2), so that there is no reason to propose any kind of gap-forming operation, there is no reason to believe that we are dealing with a special type of element ('resumptive') that is peculiar to relativization. These elements do not seem to differ in kind from the ordinary representation that would appear in a non-relative clause.

There are, however, some characteristics that relative constructions often possess, that help to distinguish them from other types of *vor*-clauses, which, when there is an element that plays a role in both clauses, can be ambiguous between RC and adverbial interpretation:

(329)	*Partk'-ov*	*p'oɣ-n*	*el*	*vor*	*uzer*	*em*

debt-INSTR	money-DEF	PTC	CONJ	ask.PPT	be.1SG.PRS
ase,	*təɣe-n*	*hələ*	*Ŕusastan-its'*	*č'i*	
say.PPT	boy-DEF	yet	Russia-ABL	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	
čamp'e,	*neɣi*	*enk'.*			
send.PPT	hard.up	be.1PL.PRS			

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

either:

'[The one] that I asked to lend me money said, the boy hasn't sent anything from Russia yet, we're a bit hard up.' (RC)

Or:

'When I asked [someone] to lend me money, [he] said, the boy hasn't sent anything from Russia yet, we're a bit hard up.' (adverbial)

a) In left-adjoined RCs, the relativized element often occupies the position preceding *vor*:

(313)	*En*	*axč'əka-n*	*vor*	*təve*	*aŕevtərakan-i-n,*	*əskəzbum*
	DEM3	girl.DAT-DEF	CONJ	give.PPT	merchant-DAT-DEF	start.LOC
	en	*uraxats'av*				
	DEM3	be.happy.3SG.AOR				

'The girl who he gave to the merchant was happy to start with'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

This position seems to be associated with topical elements (see Kiparsky 1995 for a similar analysis of elements preceding the subordination marker in subordinate clauses), and may be occupied by another element, especially if the relativized element is not overtly expressed (see also 5.1.2.2):

(303)	*Mor-əs*	*hamar*	*vor*	*t'əxel*	*em*
	mother.GEN-POSS1	for	CONJ	bake.PPT	be.1SG.PRS
	tsənəndyan	*tort'*	*a*	*elel.*	
	birthday	cake	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	

'The one I baked for my mother was a birthday cake.'

Note that the fronting of a topical element ahead of *vor* is not unique to RCs, but is also found in non-relative subordinate clauses, such as the following adverbial clause:

(232)	*Na*	*vor*	*sksum*	*er*	*nvagel*
	3SG.NOM	CONJ	start.IPT	be.3SG.PST	play.INF
	ir	*byuraɣi*	*k'nar-ə,*	*iskuyn*	*lrum*
	3SG.GEN	many-stringed	lyre-DEF	immediately	be.silent.IPT
	ein	*myus-ner-ə*			
	be.3PL.PST	other-PL-DEF			

'As he started to play her many-stringed lyre, the others immediately fell silent'

(Arakelyan 1964: 197)

That this position should be occupied by the relativized element in a RC is not at all surprising, as this automatically has topic status within RC, as RC is inherently 'about' the relativized element.

b) The representation in MC is frequently a demonstrative (or accompanied by one if a lexical NP). A demonstrative (deictic) element is one that indicates that the reference of the element in question should be sought somewhere else (in the surroundings, or in the discourse). Thus the demonstrative functions to indicate that the reference of the element in MC should be sought in RC. Jahukyan (1974: 541) notes that the use of a demonstrative is particularly common when MC contains several potential referents for RC, or when the relativized element is separated from RC by other elements, i.e. when the link between the representative in MC and RC is not absolutely clear; a demonstrative is used to make it clear that this is the relativized element. He notes (1974: 539) that when MC precedes RC, a distal demonstrative is used (for cataphoric reference), while when it follows, proximal or medial demonstratives may also be used.

Thus, in relative constructions with a conjunction, the representation of the relativized element does not seem to differ in kind from the representation of an element of comparable cognitive accessibility in a non-relative clause. As with correlatives, the link between the representations of the relativized element in the two clauses is straightforwardly interpretable as anaphoric, rather than syntactic. In syntactic terms, there seems to be no obvious difference between an adjoined RC introduced by *vor* and an adverbial clause introduced by *vor*; both are adjoined to MC. The difference is semantic; the former has as its topic an element which is also present in MC, and functions to increase our knowledge of this referent, while the latter functions to provide further information, usually time or condition, on the whole state of affairs expressed by MC. The use of topic positions and demonstratives helps to signal that the construction in question is a RC, but they are not obligatory, and ambiguous constructions, such as (329), exist. The parallels with Georgian constructions with the conjunction *rom*, which, like *vor*, is historically derived from an interrogative/RP, but now functions as a general subordinator, also appears in second place in RCs (Gippert 2015), and which also allows the repetition of the relativized element as a NP in both clauses (Hewitt 1995: 607), are striking, and suggest that the Georgian construction should perhaps be analysed in the same way.

5.1.4.3 Nominalized RCs

The relativized element is not expressed in nominalized RCs. It has been assumed (e.g. Kornfilt 2000 etc. for analogous constructions in Turkish) that in these cases the RC contains a 'gap' in the place of the relativized element. However, Haig (1998), discussing participial constructions in Turkish, points out that in some cases it is difficult to identify a syntactic position in RC that the relativized element could occupy: in Turkish, participial RCs can be used with meanings such as 'I have to find someone [that I won't think of Gülten and Ali]', 'The newspaper was folded to a smallness [that only the short article on page two will be read]' (Haig 1998: 86). He suggests that this type of relativization does not involve a syntactic operation in which the relativized element must on some level occupy a position within RC, but rather, the information in RC is used to characterize this element: "the word 'characterizes' expresses the fact that [the participle] is indeed a modifier in an adjectival construction, but leaves the nature of the modification unexpressed- the listener finds the most plausible interpretation of the characterizing link… a problem that cannot be solved in purely syntactic terms" (Haig 1998: 87). Essentially the same thing is proposed concerning relative constructions in some mainly East Asian languages by Comrie (1998), namely, that there is not necessarily a syntactic position corresponding to the relativized element in RC; the relationship between RC and the relativized element in MC is attributive, rather than syntactic. Interestingly, he notes (1998: 22) that Turkish does not have the same degree of freedom in this regard as the East Asian languages and some other Turkic languages.

In the Armenian data, all the examples of participial RCs seem to be interpretable as relativizing on some syntactic position or other within RC, thus there is no evidence that they are East Asian-style 'attributive clauses', where the relativized element need not actually play a role in RC. However, the fact that the restrictions on their use do not seem to be directly connected to the nature of this syntactic role (see section 5.2.2.9), as we would expect from Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy, suggests that an interpretation in terms of 'extraction', as envisaged by Kornfilt (2000 etc.), parallel with that proposed for postnominal embedded RCs in languages such as English, may not be the way forward. This is essentially what Haig (1998) suggests, that (Turkish) participial RCs involve a different process from postnominal finite RCs, because they do not obey AH. However, the evidence presented in section 5.2.2 suggests that none of the factors behind the AH effects actually presupposes syntactic extraction, and that the main factors affecting the distribution of Armenian and Turkish participial RCs, notably topicality, affectedness and role-reference association, are the same factors that determine relativization accessibility in general.

5.1.5 Semantic role of RC

Dum-Tragut (2009: 478) states that in Armenian, there is no morphological difference between restrictive and non-restrictive (appositive) RCs. However, de Vries (2005: 11-2) states that correlatives and prenominal RCs are incompatible with the semantics of an appositive RC, which is "a paratactically-construed construction involving E-type anaphora", and consequently it must linearly follow the antecedent. There are indeed no examples in the Armenian corpus of left-adjoined finite or prenominal non-finite RCs with appositive meaning.

However, the following example, from Arakelyan's (1964) grammar, although artificially constructed based on a finite RC in a literary work in order to demonstrate the equivalence of these constructions, shows that this usage (prenominal RC with appositive meaning) is considered acceptable. Haig (1998) and Göksel (2005) state that participial RCs in Turkish, too, may have appositive interpretation.

(275)	*Šutov*	*yerevats'*	*yev*	*Sevan-i*
	soon	appear.3SG.AOR	and	Sevan-GEN
	tesk'-ə	*heŕv-its'*	*Kamsaryan-i-n*	
	appearance.POSS3	far-ABL	Kamsaryan-DAT-DEF	
	huzel-u	*č'ap'*	*hetak'rk'rats*	*kɣzi-n.*
	emotionally.affect.INF-GEN	extent	interest.RPT	island-DEF

'Soon Sevan Island appeared too, whose appearance from far away interested Kamsaryan to the extent that he was emotionally affected.'

(Arakelyan 1964: 128)

As for maximalizing semantics, it appears that this property is not obligatory for correlatives in Armenian, which is what we would expect if it is linked to the presence of a fronted demonstrative, as proposed by Izvorski (1996) (see section 3.1.2.3), which is not obligatory in Armenian (see section 5.1.4); in the following example, the referent in the matrix clause cannot be interpreted as 'all and only' that which is expressed in RC:

(330)	*Inč'*	*arhavirk'-ner*	*vor*	*tese*	*č'e*
	what	disaster-PL	CONJ	see.PPT	NEG.be.3SG.PRS
	et	*geɣ-ə,*	*voč'*	*me*	*ban-ə*
	DEM2	village-DEF	NEG	one	thing-DEF
	et	*xač'k'ar-ə*	*ənde-its'*	*č'i*	*k'əts'e.*
	DEM2	cross-stone-DEF	there-ABL	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	throw.PPT

'Whatever disasters that village has seen, hasn't it, not one thing (of them) has shifted that khachkar from there.'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

Also, the ban on stacking (more than one RC referring to the same relativized element in MC) that is said to be characteristic of maximalizing semantics (Grosu & Landman 1998) does not obtain in Armenian; the following sentence was judged acceptable by all the speakers it was shown to:

(331)	*Inč'*	*gandzer*	*kayin*	*enteɣ,*	*inč'-ə*	*mak'ur*
	what	treasure.PL	exist.3PL.PST	there	what-DEF	pure
	voskuts'	*ein,*	*yes*	*verts'rets'i.*		

gold.ABL be.3PL.PST 1SG.NOM take.1SG.AOR

'I took what treasures there were there, which were made of pure gold.'

5.1.6 Summary

Apart from possible paratactic structures, Armenian possesses the following types of RCs:

1: Left-adjoined (correlative) with relative pronoun

2: Right-adjoined with relative pronoun

3: Left-adjoined with conjunction

4: Right-adjoined with conjunction

5: Prenominal embedded (participial)

It is possible that postnominal embedded RCs could result from reanalysis of constructions with a conjunction in which RC and MC case is the same, and the conjunction immediately follows the relativized element (if the latter is preposed ahead of conjunction in initial RC, or clause-final in initial MC, both very common situations). However, there is no conclusive evidence that this reanalysis has taken place, thus we cannot say for certain that Armenian possesses embedded finite RCs.

5.2: Accessibility to relativization and factors affecting choice of form

5.2.1 Introduction

As we have seen, Armenian possesses an unusually large number of different relativization strategies (finite with RP, finite with indeclinable clause linker, non-finite participial), which may be connected to the fact that the area in which it is spoken covers a zone of transition as regards relativization strategies (see Gandon 2016). However, the distribution of these strategies in use does not seem to be defined primarily by geographical factors, but rather by properties of the constructions in question. In particular, the preference for finite or non-finite forms corresponds in general terms to the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977). This is consistent with the behaviour of other languages that possess both finite and non-finite strategies, and conforms with the generalization that less complex and explicit forms, such as participial RCs, are associated with 'higher' roles, particularly subject and DO (Lehmann 1986 etc.). However, although participial RCs constitute the preferred strategy for subject RCs, this only applies to certain types of DO RCs, and it is also the case that although participial RCs are not the preferred strategy for other grammatical relations, they may be used for essentially any grammatical relation given the appropriate conditions. Thus it appears that factors other than syntactic grammatical relations also play a role in the distribution of these forms, and that investigating and identifying the factors in question may reveal information of more general importance about accessibility to relativization, with implications for theoretical approaches that have been made to the subject.

The distribution of different relativization strategies is not the only manifestation of accessibility to relativization. Another manifestation is frequency of occurrence. In the context of the questionnaire responses, this is measured by the the number of RC responses produced in each context, i.e. the degree to which the speakers prefer to use RCs as opposed to other constructions, for example infinitives or adverbials. Another is the percentage of non-target RC responses, i.e. the number of RC responses in which the relativized element has a grammatical relation other than that which is targeted by the context. It is widely reported in data from production experiments that non-target responses (notably including subject RCs) are often produced in contexts designed to elicit non-subject RCs, which has been taken as evidence for the higher accessibility to relativization of subjects as compared to other grammatical relations. However, evidence presented here shows that, again, there are consistent patterns suggesting that factors other than syntactic grammatical relations alone are involved in the operation of this phenomenon. Finally, although all three measures of accessibility evaluated here (average number of RC responses per consultant for each context, percentage of non-target forms, distribution of participial forms) conform in general terms to the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977), in that subject and DO occupy the highest positions, there are important differences between them, which imply that accessibility to relativization involves a combination of factors, which are relevant to different degrees and in different ways for each of the different measures of accessibility.

The hierarchies are as follows (the percentages and averages refer to the responses to the questionnaire contexts with the condition in question):

Percentage of non-finite forms:

Subject (68%) > DO (48%) > Possessor of subject (24%) > Time (16%) > Possessor of object (12%) > Instrumental (11%) > Locative (7%), Destination (7%) > IO (4%), Ablative (4%) > Adpositional object (2%)

Average number of RCs per context per consultant:

Subject (0.6) > DO (0.5), IO (0.5), Adpositional object (beneficiary or IO-like) (0.5) > Ablative (0.4), Locative (0.4), Possessor (0.4) > Instrumental (0.3), Time (0.3) > Destination (0.2)

Percentage of target responses for contexts targeting particular grammatical relations:

Subject (animate) (100%), Instrumental (inanimate) (100%) > DO (inanimate) (99%) > Time (98%) > Locative (place) (96%) > Adpositional object (animate beneficiary or IO-like) (88%) > Possessor of subject (83%), Subject (inanimate) (83%) > DO (animate) (81%) > Instrumental (human IO-like) (76%) > Destination (69%) > Possessor of object (66%) > IO (63%) > Ablative (animate) (58%) > Ablative (inanimate) (33%)

5.2.2 Grammatical relations and accessibility to relativization

5.2.2.1 Introduction

Following Keenan & Comrie (1977), most discussions of accessibility to relativization focus on the grammatical relation of the relativized element within the relative clause, and the basic generalization that subjects are more accessible to relativization than direct objects, while direct objects are more accessible than indirect objects, obliques, possessors etc. (the relative ordering of these elements varies between versions of the hierarchy). As discussed in section 3.2.2.1.1, many theoretical approaches to this phenomenon propose that the differences in accessibility between relativized elements with different grammatical relations are due to the amount of material intervening between 'filler' and 'gap', i.e. accessibility is higher when there is less intervening material. Before discussing the responses to the questionnaires and their implications for these and other theoretical proposals, it will be useful to clarify what the terms 'filler' and 'gap' represent in terms of Armenian relative clause structure.

In languages such as English, which have embedded relative clauses with clause-initial relative pronouns, the 'gap' is the empty position in the relative clause where the relativized element would normally appear, and the 'filler' is either the clause-initial relative pronoun or the representation of the relativized element in the matrix clause (proposals differ as regards this factor):

(332) *The book [(which) I read _] was very interesting.*

In Armenian, for non-finite relative clauses, which never contain a representation of the relativized element, the 'gap' would be the position in RC where it would normally appear (assuming basic SOV word order), and the 'filler' would be the head noun to which the RC is attached:

(333)	*[Im*	_	*kardats'ats]*	*girk'-ə*	*šat*	*hetak'rk'ir*
	1SG.GEN	_	read.RPT	book-DEF	very	interesting
	er.					
	be.3SG.PST					

'The book (which) I read was very interesting.'

For finite RCs, the situation is somewhat different. As discussed in section 5.1.3, these are not embedded constructions in which the RC is attached to the noun they modify, but adjoined constructions in which the relativized element appears within RC, and is linked anaphorically, but not syntactically, with a representation of this element in MC.

(334)	*[RC Vor*	*girk'-ə*	*vor*	*yes*	*kardats'el*	*em]*
	which	book-DEF	CONJ	1SG.NOM	read.PPT	be.1SG.PRS
	[MC(da	*/ayd*	*girk'-ə)*	*šat*	*hetak'rk'ir*	*er.]*
	DEM2	/DEM2	book-DEF	very	interesting	be.3SG.PAST

'The book (which) I read was very interesting.' (lit. 'Which book I read, that (book)/it was very interesting.')

In some RCs (including (334)), the relativized element is or contains a relative pronoun, which tends to be in initial or second position, but recall that Armenian does not have wh-movement as found in English, and that word order is determined mainly by discourse factors rather than syntactic grammatical relations. In other RCs, there is no relative pronoun, and the non-absolute tendency for the relativized element to appear in initial position can be connected with its status as topic, rather than some process specifically connected to relativization. Thus finite RCs in Armenian cannot be assumed to contain a gap of any sort. The equivalent to the filler-gap relation in embedded RCs will be the relationship between the representations of the relativized element in RC and MC. However, since word order is not defined by grammatical relations alone (see section 2.1.4), and one of these representations (occasionally even both) is frequently zero, theories operating in terms

of linear distance between filler and gap as defined by grammatical relations are not straightforwardly applicable to Armenian. For the purposes of theories that operate in terms of underlying syntactic structure, we assume a basic order SOV (see section 2.1.4).

5.2.2.2 Similarity to basic word order

In this context, before discussing the implications of the data for the filler-gap distance theories, we may briefly discuss a theory that has been proposed to explain relativization accessibility patterns in several languages, including English, German and Cantonese (Diessel & Tomasello 2005, Yip & Matthews 2007 etc.), but which is not confirmed by the Armenian data. This is the idea that some grammatical relations are easier to relativize than others because the relativized element occurs in the same position with regard to the other elements as it would in a sentence with the basic word order of the language in question. In fact, Diessel & Tomasello (2005) state that the crucial factor is the initial position of agents/subjects. Thus, assuming the language has subject-initial basic word order, in languages with postnominal RCs, subjects will be easier to relativize than objects, as the subject will precede the other elements of the relative clause:

(335) S[_VO] S[_OV]

However, when an object is relativized, it precedes the subject, which is considered to be more difficult to process, as it is not consistent with basic word order:

(336) O[SV_] O[S_V]

This is said to explain the greater accessibility of subjects compared to objects in English (postnominal, SVO) and German (postnominal, SOV). In languages with prenominal relative clauses and SVO order, such as Cantonese, objects will be easier to relativize than subjects, as the ORC has the order SVO, the same as the basic word order, while a SRC will have VOS order:

(337) [SV_]O [_VO]S

Yip & Matthews (2007) present some evidence for an object preference in Cantonese, though this has been challenged by others (see section 3.2.2.1.2 for an overview of the discussion of relativization accessibility in Chinese). As regards the numerous languages, including Armenian, that have prenominal RCs and SOV order, we would again expect an object preference, if we follow Diessel and Tomasello (2005) in supposing that the crucial factor is the initial position of the subject, as an object RC would have SVO order, i.e. although it is not the basic order, the subject is still initial, while a SRC would have the order OVS, in which none of the elements is in its basic word order position:

(338) [_OV]S [S_V]O

This prediction is not confirmed by the Armenian data. As the issue concerns embedded (non-finite) RCs, which are attached to the element they modify, the relevant measure is accessibility to non-finite relativization. By this measure, subjects (68% NF) are more accessible than objects (48% NF). The same is true for the other measures of accessibility discussed here (number of RC responses, number of target responses). Thus similarity to basic word order does not seem to be a key factor in accessibility to relativization in Armenian.

5.2.2.3 Linear distance

As discussed in section 3.2.2.1.1, some theories posit that the crucial factor in relativization accessibility is the linear distance between 'filler' and 'gap'. In SOV languages with prenominal RCs, such as Armenian, we would expect a preference for object RCs (339b), where there would only be one intervening element, the verb, over subject RCs (339a), where there would be two, the object and the verb:

(339) a [_OV]S b [S_V]O

As discussed in the previous section (5.2.2.2), this is not the case: the Armenian data show a general preference for SRCs over ORCs.

5.2.2.4 Syntactic complexity: Hawkins (2004)

As discussed in section 3.2.2.1.3, Hawkins (2004) presents a processing-based interpretation whereby the whole Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy is seen as a function of the amount of syntactic structure intervening between 'filler' and 'gap'. Note that for Hawkins, the dependency relation that is key to the operation of the AH is that between filler (head noun or RP) and subcategorizor, i.e. the verb or adposition that subcategorizes for the relativized element in RC, rather than between filler and gap. He also proposes that for non-subject RCs, the parser needs to access the subject as well as the verb in order to assign the correct roles. Thus for [SOV]N, we would expect a preference for SRCs, where the relevant domain is the distance between the verb and the relativized element, over ORCs, where the domain must include the subject, and thus covers the whole clause. As discussed in section 5.2.2.2, this prediction is supported by the Armenian data. However, this is not the case for other predictions of this theory.

Hawkins's theory makes other specific predictions that were tested by the questionnaires. One of these is that, given the word order [S IO DO V]N, there will be no difference in the accessibility of IO and (ditransitive) DO, given that it is necessary to access the subject for both. This prediction is emphatically not borne out as regards accessibility to participial relativization. Ditransitive DO has 42% NF responses, while IO has only 4%. The probable reasons for the low level of accessibility of IO to participial relativization are discussed in section 5.2.2.9, and are unconnected to the length of dependency domains. Note that IO is equal to DO as regards the average number of RC responses (0.5). However, this hierarchy seems to be connected to direct involvement in

the state of affairs denoted by the RC in terms of topicality and/or affectedness, rather than to the length of dependency domains. It is discussed in more detail in section 5.2.2.8.

A further implication of Hawkins's theory is that, if the length of dependency domains were the only factor involved in accessibility to relativization, we would expect all types of object-like elements that do not contain an extra layer of structure such as a PP to have the same level of accessibility. In Armenian, this can be tested by comparing inanimate direct objects, which are non-case-marked, with other non-case-marked non-subject elements that could be argued to form part of the valency of the verb, such as destination with the verb 'go'. A comparison of the accessibility data for DO and destination reveals very different patterns, with destination being very low not only in terms of non-finite responses (7%, as opposed to 48% for DO), but also in terms of average number of RCs, where it is the lowest of all the roles tested (0.2), and of non-target responses (31%, vs 1% for inanimate DO).

Hawkins's theory also predicts that the accessibility of different possessor constructions will depend on the syntactic role of the possessee; the possessor phrase simply adds one layer of extra complexity, thus possessor of subject will be more accessible than possessor of object, etc. Superficially, this appears to be supported by the data, with possessor of subject receiving 24% NF responses, as compared to 12% for possessor of object. However, if we compare inalienable possession constructions (e.g. body parts) only, there is no significant difference between possessor of object (37% NF) and possessor of subject (36% NF). The probable reasons for the extreme variability in the accessibility of different possessor constructions are discussed in section 3.2.2.3.3, and are not directly connected to the syntactic grammatical relation of the possessee.

5.2.2.5 Animacy and similarity

Another phenomenon that is unexpected from the point of view of a theory such as that of Hawkins (2004), proposing that accessibility to relativization is a function of the amount of syntactic structure intervening between elements in a dependency relationship, is the widely reported fact that DO RCs in which the relativized element is inanimate show a high level of accessibility, approaching or equal to that of subjects, while DO RCs in which the relativized element is animate show a significantly lower level of accessibility. The Armenian data are consistent with this pattern, with inanimate DO receiving 76% NF responses (higher than subject), while animate DO receives 33%. There is also a substantial difference in the number of non-target responses (1% for inanimate DO, 19% for animate DO). As discussed in section 3.2.2.1.4, attempts have been made (e.g. Belletti et al. 2012, Hamann & Tuller 2010) to make these facts compatible with theories in which accessibility to relativization is a function of syntactic structure, notably with recourse to the principle of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1991). This principle states that in a configuration X Z Y, a link cannot be formed between Y and X if an intervening Z has the same properties as the target X. Thus, a subject with the same properties as the object will inhibit the formation of a syntactic link between the object position in RC and the ultimate position of the relativized element, but a subject whose properties are different from those of the object will not.

This is proposed to be the reason why, assuming the subject is animate, it will act as an intervener for the extraction of an animate object, with which it shares the formal feature [+animate], but not for an inanimate object, which has a different feature specification [-animate].

If this were indeed the mechanism behind the differences in accessibility between animate and inanimate objects, we would expect that an inanimate subject would intervene in the extraction of inanimate objects but not animate ones, thus animate ORCs should have a subject-like level of accessibility when the subject is inanimate. However, in fact the results show only 37% NF responses, comparable to the average score for animate DO with animate subject, and low compared to other ORCs in which the animate object is physically affected (the average NF score for this condition is 53%, see section 5.2.2.9.3 for discussion of the relevance of affectedness in this context). The percentage of non-target forms is 13%, comparable with the average for animate DO, as opposed to 1% for inanimate DO with animate subject. In addition, there is a body of literature showing that inanimate subjects have a negative affect on the accessibility to relativization of both objects and subjects (Traxler et al. 2002, 2006, Wu et al. 2011, etc.). In the Armenian data, this is particularly apparent from the percentage of non-target forms produced, which is 0% when the relativized subject is animate, but 17% when it is inanimate, i.e. for conditions targeting SRCs, non-target forms are only produced when the subject is inanimate.

Thus it appears that the main factor behind the widely-observed difference in accessibility to relativization of animate and inanimate subjects is not semantic similarity between subject and object referents, otherwise we would expect ORCs with animate DO and inanimate subject to have a level of accessibility parallel to inanimate DO RCs with animate subject and to SRCs, which is not the case. The low accessibility of animate DOs is not mitigated when the similarity factor is eliminated, therefore it must be due to some other factor. The similarity theory also does not explain the general negative effect on accessibility to relativization of the presence of inanimate subjects, which affects SRCs as well as ORCs.

5.2.2.6 Role-reference association

These facts can be ascribed to the effects of frequent vs. infrequent role-reference combinations. Role here, unless otherwise stated, is taken to refer to syntactic grammatical relation (it can also refer to semantic role), and referential properties are understood to include both semantic (such as animacy) and pragmatic (such as topicality, which relativized elements inherently possess) characteristics; these two types of referential prominence are combined in the Silverstein Hierarchy discussed in section 3.2.2.3, and an attempt is made to separate and deconstruct them in Haspelmath (2018). The basic generalization, expressed in Haspelmath's (2018 etc.) Role-Reference Association Universal, is that some roles are frequently associated with referents having particular properties, and that constructions with frequent role-reference combinations are easier to process due to their frequent occurrence. Thus, the syntactic role of subject is associated with referents having a high degree of referential prominence, which means that constructions where the subject is animate will be

easier to process than ones where it is not. The syntactic role of direct object is frequently associated with a lower degree of referential prominence than the subject, and particularly with inanimate referents, thus constructions with an inanimate DO and an animate subject will be easier to process than ones where the object is more prominent than the subject, as, for example, when the object is animate and the subject is inanimate. When both subject and object are animate, a SRC will not pose problems, as the subject has the additional referential prominence that comes from being the relativized element, and is thus more prominent than the object, but when the relativized element is the object, this is thus more prominent than the subject, and the resulting construction is more difficult to process (this is essentially the argument of Mak et al. 2002 etc.).

This factor can also explain another set of facts used to support the similarity argument, namely that animate ORCs in which the subject is a pronoun or, to a lesser extent, a proper name, are easier to process than those where the subject is a lexical NP (see Hamann & Tuller 2010, Gordon et al. 2001). This is exactly what we would expect, given that pronouns, especially 1st and 2nd person pronouns, where the effect is most pronounced, and, to a lesser extent, proper names, have a higher level of referential prominence than lexical NPs. The Armenian data support this, with pronominal subjects being a factor favouring RPT usage, though the frequent role-reference association pattern is probably not the only reason for this (see section 5.2.2.9.3). This does not apply to SPT, as a crucial property of SPT is that it is never used for non-subjects when the subject is referentially more prominent than the relativized element; this in itself could be linked to role-reference association, in that the element associated with subject morphology (as referent of SPT) is always the one with the highest level of referential prominence (see section 5.2.2.9.2).

Acceptability judgments of RPT RCs, where consultants were asked to rate constructions from 1-10, state whether they would use them themselves (a), had heard them but would not use them (b), or believed that no-one would use them (c), and give alternatives to unacceptable forms, reveal a pattern that is consistent with the role-reference association hypothesis. These involved RPT RCs with the verb *xp'el* ('hit'), which was chosen as it allows both animate and inanimate subjects and objects. RCs were constructed with 1sg pronominal, animate and inanimate NP subjects, and human, animal and inanimate NP objects. Those with pronominal (340) and animate NP (341) subjects and inanimate objects, i.e. the most frequent role-reference association pattern, were considered unambiguously acceptable by all consultants:

(340) *im* *xp'ats* *mex-ə*
1SG.GEN hit.RPT nail-DEF
'the nail I hit'

(341) *harevan-i* *xp'ats* *mex-ə*
neighbour-GEN hit.RPT nail.DEF
'the nail the neighbour hit'

When the subject was human (pronominal or NP) and the object was an animal, some consultants consider this totally acceptable, while others give it an intermediate rating (ranging from 7 to 3/10) but state that others would use it. One consultant rates the form (342) with pronominal subject as totally acceptable (10), while (343), with human NP subject, is given a rank of 7/10. Others do not distinguish between the acceptability of these two constructions. In any case, the intermediate acceptability of constructions with a non-human animate object as compared to those with an inanimate object (totally acceptable) and those with a human object (judged unacceptable) indicates that we are not dealing with a binary formal feature such as [+-animate], as the Relativized Minimality theory would require, but rather with a continuum:

(342) *im* *xp'ats* *šun-ə*
1SG.GEN hit.RPT dog-DEF
'the dog I hit'

(343) *harevan-i* *xp'ats* *šun-ə*
neighbour-GEN hit.RPT dog-DEF
'the dog the neighbour hit'

When the object is human, the construction is rejected as unacceptable:

(344) *im* *xp'ats* *harevan-ə*
1SG.GEN hit.RPT neighbour-DEF
'the neighbour I hit'

(345) *harevan-i* *xp'ats* *žurnalist-ə*
neighbour-GEN hit.RPT journalist-DEF
'the journalist the neighbour hit'

(345) is interpreted as a SRC (i.e. with the more referentially prominent element, i.e. the head noun, being interpreted as subject) and corrected to *harevanin xp'ats žurnalistə* 'the journalist who hit the neighbour', with the modifying noun *harevan* 'neighbour' in dative (object) as opposed to genitive (subject) case.

All forms with inanimate subject are judged unacceptable, whether the object is animate (347) or inanimate (348): one consultant explicitly commented that the subject in RPT RCs must be conceived of as animate:

(346) *k'ar(-i)* *xp'ats* *afto-n*
stone-(GEN) hit.RPT car-DEF
'the car that a stone hit'

(347) *afto(-yi)* *xp'ats* *harevan-ə*

car(-GEN) hit.RPT neighbour-DEF
'the neighbour that a car hit'

These, too, are interpreted as SRCs, and corrected to forms where the modifying noun is given dative case rather than nominative (i.e. unmarked) or genitive, as object/goal of *xp'el*, with contexts supplied by consultants:

(348) *k'ar-i-n* *xp'ats* *afto-n*
stone-DAT-DEF hit.RPT car-DEF
'the car that hit a stone (you were driving the car and it was probably damaged)'

(349) *afto-yi-n* *xp'ats* *harevan-ə*
car-DAT-DEF hit.RPT neighbour-DEF
'the neighbour that hit a car (while driving his own car)'

However, it is worth noting that, while role-reference association is certainly a factor in accessibility to relativization with RPT, it is not a decisive one, as forms with non-typical role-reference combinations parallel to those rejected by the consultants out of context are in fact produced in the appropriate contexts, such as (350) and (351) with human object ((350) is from spontaneous speech), (352) with inanimate subject, and even (353) with both inanimate subject and human object (the context, as a response to Q4:11, makes it clear that this is an ORC):

(350) *im* *nəkaragərats* *et* *dasatu-n*
1SG.GEN describe.RPT DEM2 teacher-DEF
'that teacher who I described'

(351) *k'ahana-yi* *medzats'rats* *ərexe-n*
priest-GEN bring.up.RPT child-DEF
'the child who a priest brought up'

(352) *k'ami-n*[82] */k'amu* *k'andats* *tun-ə*
wind-DEF /GEN destroy.RPT house-DEF
'the house that the wind destroyed'

(353) *afto-n* *xəp'ats-n*

[82] Note the tendency for inanimate subjects to be unmarked for case, as with subjects lacking pragmatic prominence in Turkish (see Haig 1998 and section 5.1.1.3).

car-DEF hit.RPT-DEF

'the one that the car hit'

For more details of the factors affecting accessibility to relativization with RPT, see section 5.2.2.9.3.

5.2.2.7 Target responses

While role-reference association is one of several factors that play a role in accessibility to participial relativization (see section 5.2.2.9), for another measure of accessibility, namely the production of non-target forms, i.e. constructions in which the relativized element has a syntactic role different from that targeted by the context, it appears to be the decisive factor. Questions targeting particular roles show different levels and types of non-target responses depending on the referential properties of the element in question. The production of non-target responses in production experiments is one of the key pieces of evidence cited in favour of the subject preference in relativization (Diessel & Tomasello 2005, Hsu et al. 2009, Jeon & Kim 2007 etc.), as non-target responses have been found to be much more common in non-subject than in subject contexts, and often involve the relativized element being articulated as subject. However, it is noteworthy that the relativized elements in question, both subjects and non-subjects that are promoted to subject, are generally animate (see section 3.2.2.3.1 for details). It is particularly noteworthy that the examples of 'demotion' of subject to DO recorded by Diessel & Tomasello (2005) involve cases where the DO in the context, promoted to subject in the response, is higher in referential prominence than the relativized element, being a proper name while the latter is a lexical NP:

(188) *This is the man who Peter saw on the bus this morning.*

for *This is the man who saw Peter on the bus this morning.*

(Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 888)

In the Armenian data, if we compare animate subjects and DOs, we observe a similar pattern to that recorded in the experimental data: for animate subjects, we have 100% target responses, while animate DO has 81%, with 14% of responses involving promotion of the relativized element to subject (5% change the structure in some other way). It is noteworthy that passivization (354) is not the favoured strategy for promotion to subject (only 7 out of 52 examples of animate DO > subject involve passive):

(354)	*tsetsvoɣ-ə*	*šat*	*vat*	*kəzga*
	beat.PASS.SPT-DEF	very	bad	FUT.feel.3SG

'the one who is/was beaten will feel very bad'

(context Q4:10c: 'the boss beat one of the workers')

(Khoy: Gladzor)

There are some cases where promotion of DO to subject is achieved by replacing a causative verb with its simple counterpart, as in (355), where the causative *tsanot'ats'nel* 'introduce, cause someone to get to know' in the context is replaced by simple *tsanot'anal* '(get to) know, meet':

(355)	*en*	*usanoɣ-ə*	*vor-ə*	*tsanot'ats'av*	*Henrik*
	DEM3	student-DEF	which-DEF	know.3SG.AOR	Henrik
	Məxit'aryan-i	*het*			
	Mkhitaryan-GEN	with			

'the student who met Henrikh Mkhitaryan'

(context Q2:3a: 'I introduced one student to H.M.')

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

However, most examples involve changing the verb to one which refers to the same action or situation, but which allows the relativized element to be articulated as subject:

(356)	*k'ahana-yi*	*tan-ə*	*jočəts'uk*	*čiž-ə*
	priest.GEN	house-DEF	grow.up.RPT	child-DEF

'the child who grew up in the priest's house'

(context Q1:15b: 'a priest brought one child up')

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(357)	*En*	*vor*	*zinvorakan-i*	*xet*	*i*	*psayve*
	DEM3	CONJ	soldier-GEN	with	be.3SG. PRES	marry.PPT

'the one who married a soldier'

(context Q2:2b: 'the king gave one of his daughters to a general')

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(358)	*t'ak'avor-i*	*təɣ-i-n*	*het*	*aproɣ-ə*
	king-GEN	boy-GEN-DEF	with	live.SPT-DEF

'the one who lives with a king's son'

(context Q2:2a: 'the king gave one of his daughters to a prince')

(Agulis: Paraka)

(359) *Olimpiada-yi* *masnakts'oɣ-ə*
Olympiad-GEN take.part.SPT-DEF
'the one who takes/took part in the Olympiad'

(context Q4:4c: 'the teacher chooses one of the students to take part in the Olympiad')

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

However, if we compare inanimate subjects and DOs, the pattern is reversed, with 99% target responses for inanimate DO, 83% for inanimate subject. Of the 3 non-target responses produced for inanimate DO, two (including (360)) involved passive forms of the RPT, both produced by the same speaker, which, however, have the agent articulated in genitive case, as a subject would be, as in (361), rather than as a postpositional adjunct (or omitted) as we would expect for the agent of a true passive , as in (362):

(360) *Tad-i-s* *padrastvats* *tort'-ə* *biskvit*
grandmother-GEN-POSS1 prepare.PASS.RTP cake-DEF sponge cake
a *lel.*
be.3SG.PRS be.PPT
'The cake that my grandmother was prepared (sic) was a sponge cake.'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(361) *tat-i-s* *patrastats* *tort'-ə*
grandmother-GEN-POSS1 prepare.RPT cake-DEF
'the cake that my grandmother prepared'

(362) *tat-i-s* *koɣm-its'* *patrastvats* *tort'-ə*
grandmother-GEN-POSS1 side-ABL prepare.PASS.RPT cake-DEF
'the cake that was prepared by my grandmother'

In these cases, the addition of the passive morpheme -*v*- is probably a case of hypercorrection, as the use of the RPT as an adjective to refer to the patient object of active transitive verb forms is common in colloquial speech, but considered substandard in grammars, which recommend the use of passive forms when the participle refers to the object of a transitive verb (Asatryan 2004, see section 2.1.5.2.2.3). The other non-target response involves producing a relative clause that refers to the human subject, rather than the inanimate object, i.e. a shift of topic from the latter (less referentially prominent) to the former:

(363) *isk* *harevan-ə,* *tun-ə* *k'andoɣ-ə...*

and	neighbour-DEF	house-DEF	destroy.SPT-DEF

'and the neighbour, (the one) who destroyed the house...'

(context Q4:9c: 'the neighbour destroyed one house')

Thus it can be seen that, in terms of target responses, different roles show different hierarchies of accessibility depending on the referential properties of the elements involved. For animate elements, the hierarchy appears as follows:

Subject (100%) > Postpositional object (object of implicit causality verb) (88%) > Possessor of subject (83%) > DO (81%) > Instrumental (object of implicit causality verb) (76%) > Possessor of object (66%) > IO (63%) > Ablative (58%)

Note that postpositional and oblique elements that have the role of objects of particular verbs have by this measure a level of accessibility equivalent to direct (dative-marked) objects, and are treated in a similar way, being fairly frequently promoted to subject. The ones tested here involve implicit causality verbs with experiencer subject, where the stimulus argument appears as the object of the postposition *vra* 'on' (*jɣaynanal* 'be annoyed') or in instrumental case (*hianal* 'admire'). In these cases, promotion of the stimulus argument to subject by the use of causative forms is a common strategy:

(364)

Meg-its'	*jəɣaynats'el*	*em,*	*vor-ə*	*indz*
one-ABL	be.annoyed.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	which-DEF	1SG.DAT
pargats'ərel	*e,*	*jəɣaynats'ərel*		
be.angry.CAUS.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	be.annoyed.CAUS.PPT		
e.				
be.3SG.PRS				

'I was annoyed with one person, (the one) who made me angry, made me annoyed.'

(context Q1:21b: 'I was annoyed with one person')

(Gyumri)

(365)

ov	*or*	*hiats'rel*	*er*
who	CONJ	admire.CAUS.PPT	be.3SG.PAST

'the one who caused (me) to admire (him)'

(context Q1:21c: I admired one person)

(Gyumri)

The relatively high accessibility of possessor constructions, especially possessor of subject, is worthy of note, as it is unexpected from the point of view of studies such as Diessel & Tomasello (2005), which find that possessor constructions have the lowest accessibility to relativization of all the roles they tested, showing a high percentage of non-target responses. However, as discussed in section 3.2.2.3.3, possessor RCs vary widely in accessibility. In terms of role-referent association patterns, there are some contexts in which human referents would be frequently associated with possessor roles, namely those where the combined semantic properties of the elements involved imply a possessive relationship (e.g. person and body part, driver and car). In some languages, it has been shown that the semantic transparency of the possessive relationship is the key factor in the accessibility to relativization of possessive constructions, for example Basque, where it is possible to relativize 'a man whose name I have forgotten', but not 'the man whose house I took a photo of', as a possessive relationship can be more easily construed between a man and his name than between a man and a house (Oyarçabal 2003: 780, discussed in Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2017: 15). The contexts in the questionnaires involve both more (e.g. person-body part, driver-car) and less (e.g. person-dog, person-computer) transparent relationships. However, the examples presented by Diessel & Tomasello (2005), such as 'the man whose cat caught a mouse', all involve fairly non-transparent possessive relationships, which could be a factor in their low level of accessibility. Another key factor as regards the accessibility of possessor constructions is the extent to which the clause may be naturally interpreted as being 'about' the possessor: as shown by Tsao (1990: 430-32), the degree of topicality of the relativized NP is directly correlated with the naturalness of it being relativized upon.[83] The possessor constructions presented by Diessel and Tomasello (2005) involve transitive verbs with all animate participants, as in the above example 'the man whose cat caught a mouse', where the relativized element cannot be naturally interpreted as the ('aboutness') topic of the RC, as it is neither involved in nor affected by the action denoted by the verb. The possessor constructions in the Armenian questionnaires include contexts such as 'the person whose [body part] hurts', 'the person whose [body part] the cat bit', 'the driver whose car was stolen/broke down', where the possessor is directly involved in or affected by the action or state of affairs denoted by the verb. The story can be naturally interpreted as being 'about' the relativization target, as the latter is both referentially prominent (human as opposed to non-human possessee) and directly involved, thus can be considered to have a high degree of topicality.

However, non-target responses for possessor actually mainly involve patient body part constructions, which in terms of both transparency and involvement/topicality should be considered among the most accessible of all possessor constructions. In these cases, the structure is changed so that the affected person, rather than the body part, is given a more prominent semantic and syntactic role, conceived of as a patient directly involved in the action, expressed as subject in the case of possessor of subject (e.g. 'the one who has eye pain' rather than 'the

[83] Tsao's work focuses on Chinese, but the statement encapsulates what is probably the most important factor behind accessibility to relativization in general.

one whose eye hurts', as in (366)), or as object in the case of possessor of object ('the one who a snake bit' rather than 'the one whose foot a snake bit', as in (367)):

(366) *ašk'-i* *ts'av* *unets'oɣ-n*
eye.GEN pain have.SPT-DEF
'the one who has eye pain'

(context Q1:20: 'one person's X hurts')

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(367) *ots'-i* *kədzadz-ə* *kəmeŕni*
snake-GEN bite-RPT PRES.die.3SG
'the one who a snake bit dies'

(context Q3:15a: 'a snake bit one person's foot')

(Gyumri)

These non-target responses are not the result of the factors hypothesized to be behind the low accessibility of possessives of the type tested by Diessel & Tomasello (2005), i.e. lack of role transparency and lack of involvement in the action leading to low 'aboutness' topicality; in fact, it is precisely the fact of the direct involvement of the relativized element in the state of affairs described in RC that allows the possessor to be promoted to subject or DO. The measure of accessibility most closely connected with the lack of direct involvement of the targeted element in the state of affairs described in RC seems to be the number of RC responses produced for each context, for which this seems to be the decisive factor (see section 5.2.2.8).

There is one example where it is the possessee object that is promoted to subject (as more topical than the non-specific subject), giving possessor of subject rather than possessor of object:

(368) *um* *afto-n* *vor* *goɣats'ats* *a*
who-GEN car-DEF CONJ steal.RPT be.3SG.PRS
'the one whose car is/was stolen'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(context Q1:22b: 'they stole one driver's car')

As on the hierarchy of participial relativization, IO (represented on the questionnaires by recipient/beneficiary argument of verbs such as 'give') also has a low position on the target responses hierarchy. One factor is the tendency to promote it to subject common to animate referents in general. This is generally achieved by the use of verbs meaning 'receive' or 'consume' in place of 'give':

(369) *partk'-ov* *p'oɣ* *verts'rats-ə*
debt-INSTR money take.RPT-DEF
'the one who borrowed money'

(context Q2:1c: 'I lent (gave on loan) one person money')

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(370) *Hats'* *utoɣ-ə*
bread eat.SPT-DEF
'the one who ate/eats bread'

(context Q2:1b: 'I gave one person bread')

(Vayots Dzor: Hors)

However, for ditransitive IO there is another factor that is not present for animate objects of monotransitives. This is the tendency to switch the topic from the recipient to the theme, so that responses are produced relativizing the DO instead of the IO: contrary to what we would expect from animacy properties, in some cases, the inanimate theme seems to be considered more salient than the animate beneficiary, so that we get responses that are comments on the former rather than the latter (i.e. DO RC in place of targeted IO RC):

(371) *tati-i* *təvadz-ə* *k'axts'ər* *e*
grandmother-GEN give.RPT-DEF sweet be.3SG.PRS
'the one the grandmother gave is sweet'

(context Q3:9a: 'one boy, his grandmother gave him a sweet')

(Gyumri)

(372) *isk* *antsanot'-i* *təvadz* *p'oɣ-ə* *šat*
and stranger-GEN give.RPT money-DEF very
viravoragan *e*
insulting be.3SG.PRS
'and the money that a stranger gave is very insulting'

(context Q2:8c: 'a stranger gave one person money')

(Gyumri)

Thus for animate referents, the key factor is promotion of the relativized element to subject, which is achieved in various ways (passive, causative, use of verb with different meaning and/or argument structure). For ditransitive constructions with verbs meaning 'give', in some cases there is a tendency to shift the reference of the RC from the indirect to the direct object participant, perhaps because the latter is conceived of as more

fundamentally part of the concept of the action, despite the fact that the former, being animate, has a higher degree of inherent referential prominence. Thus it can be seen that different types of prominence play a role in accessibility to relativization, which will be particularly apparent in the discussion of accessibility to participial relativization (see section 5.2.2.9).

For inanimate referents, we do not find the same tendency for promotion to subject, which can be ascribed to different role-reference association patterns. As seen in example (360), the only examples of promotion of inanimate DO to subject involve passive and are probably examples of hypercorrection associated with properties of the RPT rather than true promotion to subject. The other examples of promotion of inanimate elements to subject involve place expressions which in the question context were locative (375) or ablative (373, 374). In these cases, the place is conceived of as having an agentive role, and is effectively animate (i.e. the people of that place are the agent):

(373)	*Vor*	*deport*	*arats*
	CONJ	deport	do.RPT [omitted 3sg aux]

'the one that deported me'

(context Q1:12b: 'from one country they deported me')

(Khoy: Gladzor)

(374)	*vor*	*ašxatank'*	*a*	*təvel*
	CONJ	work	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT

'the one that gave work'

(context Q1:12c: 'from one country I received an invitation to work')

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(375)	*vor-n*	*or*	*kortsaran*	*e*	*kaŕuts'e*
	which-DEF	CONJ	factory	be.3SG.PRS	build

'the one that built a factory'

(context Q1:8c: 'in one town a big international company has opened a factory')

(Gyumri)

Non-target responses for inanimate subject contexts involve DO (e.g. (376)) and instrumental (e.g. (377)) constructions:

(376)	*et*	*vor*	*k'əts'um*	*a*	*šan*	*vəra*
	DEM2	CONJ	throw.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	dog.GEN	on

'the one he throws at a dog'

(context Q4:8b: ‘A boy throws three stones. One hits a dog.’)

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

(377)	*vorov*	*afto*	*ya*	*harvats'el*
	which-INSTR	car	be.3SG.PRS	strike.PPT

‘the one he struck a car with’

(context Q4:8a: ‘A boy throws three stones. One hits a car.’)

(Colloquial EA: Artashat)

Here the verb and argument structure are changed so that the inanimate referent has the role of theme (376) or instrument (377) rather than agent of ‘hit’ as in the context, i.e. the inanimate referent is assigned a role that is more frequently associated with elements having its referential properties, just as animate elements are assigned agent and other subject roles with which they are frequently associated. DO and instrumental are the two most accessible roles for inanimate referents in terms of target responses (100% for instrumental, 99% for DO). Thus it is possible to speak of a DO/instrumental preference for inanimate referents that is parallel to and operates in just the same way as the subject preference for animate referents: both involve the assignment to the relativized element of a role that is more frequently associated with the referential properties of the element in question than the role it was assigned in the context. Note that split ergative marking, which is generally associated with agents that are low in referential prominence, e.g. inanimates (i.e. in terms of Haspelmath 2018 it is a ‘flag’ for an atypical role-reference combination), is often derived from instrumental case morphology (see e.g. Aristar 1997).

A parallel phenomenon is observed in connection with place and time expressions, which tend to be promoted to locative if this is not the role they were assigned in the context:

(378)	*konkret*	*indz*	*həmar*	*vorte*	*pobok*	*šad*
	in.particular	1SG.DAT	for	where	walnut	much
	a	*en*	*a*			
	be.3SG.PRS	DEM3	be.3SG.PRS			

‘for me in particular, the one where walnuts are plentiful is the [best] one’

(context Q1:9c: ‘one year walnuts were cheap’)

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

(379)	*en*	*me*	*yergir-n*	*el*	*vorte*
	DEM	one	country-DEF	PART	where
	ašxatel-u	*həraver*	*em*	*stats’e*	*vay t’e*

work.INF-GEN	invitation	be.1SG.PRS	receive.PPT	probably
Afrika-n	*a*	*ele*		
Africa-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT		

'and that country where I got an invitation to work was probably Africa'

(context Q1:12c: 'from one country I received an invitation to work')

(Bayazet: Hatsarat) (for ablative)

Note that both of these involve using the locative RP (*vortey*) in non-locative contexts, a phenomenon which is crosslinguistically widespread and has lead to the development of general subordinating morphemes from locative RPs in many languages, including Modern Greek and some English and German dialects (see e.g. Fiorentino 2007).[84]

(380) *en*	*yergr-əm*	*vor*	*deport*	*arin,*	[…]
DEM3	country-LOC	CONJ	deport	do.3PL.AOR	

'the country where they deported me'

(context Q1:12b: 'from one country they deported me')

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik) (locative case instead of ablative)

(381) *Vorte*	*vor*	*Həŕomi*	*Pap-n*	*a*
where	CONJ	Rome-GEN	Pope-DEF	be.3SG.PRS
elel,	*ənte*	*kuzei*	*yes*	*əlem.*
be.PPT	there	COND.want.1SG.PAST	1SG.NOM	be.IPT

'Where the Pope was, that's where I'd like to be.'

(context Q1:6a: 'the Pope went to one country')

(Lori: Shnogh)

(382) *vortey*	*vor*	*indz*	*ašxatank'-i*	*en*	*kanč'el*
where	CONJ	1SG.DAT	work-GEN	be.3PL.PRS	call.PPT
əndi	*indz*	*həma*	*harazat*	*a*	*elel*
there	1SG.DAT	for	familiar	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT

'[the country] where they called me to work is familiar to me'

(context Q1:12c: 'from one country I received an invitation to work')

[84] See Vaux 2001: 54 for a possible similar extension of a locative form (in this case *ur*) to non-locative subordinate contexts in the Armenian dialect of Aslanbeg.

(Lori: Shnogh)

In these last two examples, the semantics of the context are changed from endpoint (381) and starting point (382) to static location. We may suppose that where spatial (and by extension temporal) relations are concerned, the most frequent role is static location, thus relativized elements denoting place (sometimes also time) expressions involving motion are promoted to locative in the same way that those denoting animate referents are promoted to subject, and those denoting inanimate objects are promoted to DO or instrumental. Thus locative, too, has a high position on the target responses hierarchy (96%); as we have seen, the exceptions involve cases of promotion to subject where the actions of the inhabitants are ascribed to the place, as in (373, 374, 375), so that we are effectively dealing with an animate referent.

5.2.2.8 Number of RC responses

5.2.2.8.1 Hierarchy of grammatical relations

Although instrumental and locative, which may be considered 'obliques', a low role in terms of Keenan & Comrie's (1977) hierarchy, occupy some of the highest positions in terms of number of target responses, in terms of average number of RC responses per person per context, their position is fairly low. The same applies to possessor constructions. In fact, the ordering of roles in terms of average number of RC responses corresponds much more closely to Keenan & Comrie's hierarchy than does the number of target responses:

Subject (0.6)

DO, IO, Adpositional object (beneficiary or object) (0.5)

Ablative, locative, possessor (0.4)

Instrumental, time (0.3)

Destination (0.2)

Subject is the highest, followed by DO, IO and beneficiary or IO-like postpositional object, which have an equal average score. In fact, the individual contexts in the questionnaires that have the highest average score for RC responses (0.8 and above) are, with a single exception, subject, DO or IO, while the highest postpositional object and oblique contexts have 0.6 at most.

This seems to reflect the generalization made by Lehmann (1986) that elements that are inherent in the valency of the verb are more accessible than those that are not. However, the one exception to this generalization concerns a possessor of subject referent (Q1:20a 'one person's head hurts', average RCs per person 0.9), which, in syntactic terms, cannot be considered in any sense to be inherent to the valency of the verb, but in semantic terms can be understood as being directly involved in the state of affairs denoted by the RC. It seems that this factor is crucial to the naturalness of the use of a RC rather than another type of construction. The function of a finite relative clause, as expressed by Andrews (2007: 206) is to "delimit the reference of a NP by specifying

the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC". That is, it provides extra information about one of the referents of MC in order to identify this referent in terms of a situation in which it plays a role. For a referent to be identified in terms of its role in a given situation, this role should ideally be a central one; a referent is unlikely to be characterised in terms of a situation in which it plays an extremely peripheral role.

This seems to be key to the operation of this hierarchy, including the extreme variability in the accessibility of possessors, where the average score is fairly low (0.4 for all possessors), but individual referents range from among the highest (0.9) to zero in the case of Q4:12a 'one person's dog is barking'. There are two main types of salience as regards roles: topicality (the main characteristic of the most prominent role in nominative/accusative constructions) and affectedness (the main characteristic of the most prominent role in ergative/absolutive constructions). Topical and/or affected participants are typically articulated as subject or object, hence the high position of these roles when the hierarchy is defined in purely syntactic terms. However, elements with more peripheral syntactic roles can have a high level of accessibility when they possess one or both of these characteristics, as in the case of postpositional beneficiary (when an action is stated as being performed 'for' someone, this referent may be considered topical) or possessor of affected body part (topical and affected). The possessor in constructions such as 'one person's dog is barking' (or 'the man whose cat caught a mouse' from Diessel & Tomasello 2005) cannot be naturally interpreted as either topical or affected, thus the accessibility of these constructions to relativization will be low.

5.2.2.8.2 Alternatives to RC responses

In contexts where the targeted element plays a more peripheral role in the situation described in the context, a construction with a relative clause is often not the most natural way of conveying the information, and other constructions are produced instead, resulting in a low number of RC responses. This is often the case when the targeted element is a place or time adjunct of the type 'at X place/time X happened'. In these cases, the situation denoted by the verb is often conceived of as more salient than any particular referent, so that adverbial responses are produced instead of RCs. These are of two main types: finite *vor*-clauses (383, 384), and infinitive constructions (385):

(383) *popok-n* *el* *vor* *ežan* *a* *ele* *t'ats'*
walnut-DEF PTC CONJ cheap be.3SG.PRS be.PPT wet
popok *en* *bere* *jart'e*
walnut be.3PL.PRS bring.PPT crack.PPT
'if/when/since walnuts were cheap, they brought wet (fresh, not dried) walnuts and cracked them'

(context Q1:9c: 'one year walnuts were cheap')

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(384) *vor* *kazmakerpve* *gortsaran,* *kəšahen*

CONJ	organize.PASS.PPT	factory	FUT.benefit.3PL.PRS
gortsazurk	*mart'ik*		
unemployed	people		

'if/when/since a factory has been organized (i.e. opened), unemployed people will benefit'

(context Q1:8c: 'in one town, a big international company opened a factory')

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(385)

čiž	*unenal-u*	*tari-n*	*em*	*amenalav*	*əzgats'e*
child	have.INF-GEN	year-DEF	be.1SG.PRS	best	feel.PPT

'I felt best the year of having a child'

(context Q1:10c: 'one year I had a child')

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

Infinitive constructions are also produced for other types of adjuncts, such as instrumentals:

(386)

amenasirun-ə	*tsaɣik*	*nəkarel-u*	*gəriš-n*	*elnel*
most.beautiful-DEF	flower	draw.INF-GEN	pen	be.IPT

'the most beautiful is the flower drawing pen (the pen of flower drawing)'

(context Q1:18c: 'with one pen I drew a flower')

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

Adverbial *vor*-clauses and infinitives are also frequently produced in contexts designed to elicit core arguments, but where there is an implication of causality: the adverbial clause or action noun essentially topicalizes the situation ('as for the case where X happens'), and the matrix clause provides a possible cause:

(387)

De	*mek-i-n*	*vor*	*šun-n*	*a*	*kətse,*
PTC	one-DAT-DEF	CONJ	dog-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT
parz	*a,*	*šan*	*vəre-n,*	*harts'akvel*	*a*
clear	be.3SG.PRS	dog.GEN	on-POSS3	attack.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
šan	*vəre-n*	*yerevi*			
dog-GEN	on-POSS3	probably			

'if/when/since the dog bit one [cat], it's clear, it had probably attacked the dog'

(Ararat: Aratashen)

(388)

axpor	*tsetsel-ə,*	*eti*	*vičabanuts'yun*	*kəlni*
brother.GEN	beat.INF-DEF	DEM2	dispute	COND.be.SG.PRS
irar	*meč'*			

each.other inside

'the brother's beating, that will be [because of] a dispute between them'

(Ararat: Aratashen)

This implication of causality inviting adverbial responses is one reason for the relatively low accessibility in terms of RC responses of some core argument contexts. For example, Q3.5/Q4.2 and Q4.11 have essentially identical DO contexts ('a X bit one person, a X bit one person, and a X bit another person' with different animal biters), but differ as regards the question that is asked to elicit the response. In Q3.5/Q4.2, which has an average of 0.5 RCs per person per context, the average for DO contexts, the question is in the present: 'what does each one do?', i.e. after they have been bitten. However, in Q4.11 the question is in the past, 'what did each one do?', and is often interpreted as meaning 'to cause the biting event', receiving responses such as (387). This question has an average of 0.3 RC responses, well below the average for DO, and on a level with that for time and instrumental adjuncts, which also regularly receive adverbial responses, such as (385, 386). Thus although implicit causality DOs show a relatively high accessibility compared to other animate DOs in terms of comprehension (see Pozniak & Hemforth 2017), since they are in some sense agentive and thus have a higher degree of role prominence than non-agentive DOs (see section 3.2.2.3.1), this advantage is cancelled out in the type of production task undertaken here by the tendency to produce adverbial rather than RC responses.

5.2.2.9 Participial relativization

5.2.2.9.1 General overview

The third measure of accessibility to relativization is the percentage of non-finite (participial) as opposed to finite RC responses. Participial RCs, unlike their finite counterparts, lack a means for expressing the role of the relativized element within RC, and thus may be considered simpler and less explicit constructions. It is therefore to be expected that they are generally associated with roles at the top of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy: Jahukyan (1974: 552) states that they may only be used when the relativized element has the role of subject or DO in RC. As we have seen in section 5.1.1.3, there are two main participles used in relativization in Armenian, the 'resultative participle' in *-ats* (*-uk* in some dialects), originally an adjective denoting a property resulting from an action, most frequently used to relativize elements with patient role, and the 'subject participle' in *-oɣ*, originally an agent noun, but now used to relativize subjects of all kinds. However, although these participles are most frequently associated with patient and with subject roles respectively, in colloquial speech, both participles may, under the right circumstances, be used to relativize essentially any grammatical relation. An investigation of what these circumstances are will shed further light on what defines accessibility to participial relativization, which factors are linked to those that have been seen to be behind other measures of accessibility (role-reference association for target responses, role prominence in terms of topicality and/or affectedness for number of RC responses), and which are specific to these participial constructions.

5.2.2.9.2 Subject participle

The subject participle may be formed on either the imperfective (as in (389)) or the perfective (as in (148)) stem, depending on the morphological category of the verb; neither tense nor aspect plays a significant role in defining either the form or the meaning of this participle, thus a construction such as (389) can be translated as the person who eats, is eating, ate, or was eating bread, according to the context. It was originally an agent noun, and, in the literary language, is strictly confined to relativizing subjects, though not necessarily agentive ones, as shown by (148):

(389) *hats'* *utoɣ* *mart'-ə*
bread eat.SPT person-DEF
'the person who eats/is eating/ate/was eating bread'

(148) *heto* *patmakan* *nəšanakuts'yun* *unets'oɣ*
then historical significance have.SPT
menk' *xač'k'ar-er* *unenk'*
1PL.NOM khachkar-PL have.1PL.PRS
'then we have khachkars which have historical significance'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

However, in colloquial spoken language, it may under some circumstances be used to relativize non-subjects. In the database, there are 56 instances where the subject participle is used to relativize non-subjects out of 483 instances of SPT (12% of SPT RCs relativize non-subjects). Note that context is crucial for the use of such forms; in isolation, the examples given below would naturally be interpreted as SRCs: (280) 'the one who bit a mosquito', (391) 'your country that works', (392) 'the one who gave water'. However, the context provided by the questions makes it clear to which participant the participle refers, thus the speaker is able to use these forms without the risk of ambiguity.

The characteristics of these non-subjects relativized with SPT are exactly what we would expect of prime candidates for the assignment of subject properties ("promotion to subject"): SPT is used for non-subjects when they are the most referentially prominent element in the clause, which generally occurs in cases when the syntactic subject is lacking in prominence. There are no examples in the corpus with overt, specific, human subject. The subjects of the SPT non-subject RCs attested in the corpus have the following properties:

Very often possessee, often inalienable (290), but not necessarily (390):

(290) *Gəlux-ə* *ts'avoɣ-ə*
head.DEF/POSS3 hurt.SPT-DEF
'The one whose head hurt'

(Agulis: Paraka)

(390) *Zažigalke-n* *p'əč'ats'oɣ-ə* *kənaye* *vor* *spiška*
lighter-DEF break.SPT-DEF look.3SG.PRS CONJ match
kətni.
find.3SG.SUBJ
'The one whose lighter is broken looks for a match.'

(Gyumri)

Referentially non-prominent, e.g. inanimate or hardly animate (stone, mosquito):

(280) *Motsak* *kətsoɣ-i-n* *al,* *araɣ* *en*
mosquito bite.SPT.DAT.DEF PTC, vodka be.3PL.PRS
k'əsəm.
rub.IPT
'The one who a mosquito bit, they rub with vodka.'

(Agulis: Paraka)

Non-specific/generic: there is even one example of a pronoun:

(391) *amenayndebəs* *k'u* *ašxatoɣ* *yergir-ən* *e*
in any case 2SG.GEN work.SPT country-DEF be.3SG.PRS
'in any case, it's the country where you work/one works'

(Mush: Shirak)

Referentially prominent but omitted because not salient in the context (lacking discourse prominence):

(392) *Jur* *təvoɣ-n* *asum* *a* *kyank'-ət*
water give.SPT-DEF say.IPT be.3SG.PRS life-POSS2
yerkar *lini,* *tsarav-əs* *hagets'av.*
long be.3SG.SUBJ thirst-POSS1 be.quenched.3SG.AOR
'The one who I gave water (who was given water as opposed to something else) says "May your life be long, my thirst has been quenched".'

(Ararat: Aratashen)

In addition to the non-salience of the subject, the relativized element itself must be either inherently referentially prominent (animate) and/or thematically prominent (agentive); the only examples of the use of the subject participle for inanimate non-subjects involve instrumentals, which could be understood as having some

agentive characteristics (note the high position of instrumental on Bresnan & Kanerva's (1989) thematic hierarchy):

(393) *tsaɣik* *nəkaroɣ* *kərič'-ən*
flower draw.SPT pen-DEF
'the pen with which I drew a flower/the pen that drew a flower'

(Mush: Vardenik)

Note that there is no prohibition on the use of SPT to relativize elements with patient role, as long as these are animate, and the subject is non-salient (see example (280) and numerous others). Neither is it prohibited from relativizing inanimate elements, as long as they are subjects (see (148)).

The use of the subject participle for non-subjects is most common when the relativized element is possessor of subject. Givón (2001: 193) observes that the assignment of subject properties to possessor of subject is common in the languages of the world, especially when the possessor is human. This is not unexpected given the fact that the primary function of possessive constructions is often to contribute information about the possessor, i.e. it is the possessor that is the topic, rather than the possessed subject. This is most pronounced when we are dealing with an inalienable possession, such as a body part, which cannot even be conceptualized without reference to the possessor. Thus the statement 'John's head hurts' would under most circumstances be interpreted as a statement 'about' John, rather than his head. However, the same often applies even with alienable possessions, as shown by the frequency of constructions in which the possessor is articulated as subject even when there is no direct syntactic means of 'promotion' of possessors in the language in question, for example 'John had his phone stolen' for 'someone stole John's phone' in English. The use of the subject participle in this context can thus be seen as an example of 'promotion to subject' of topical possessors which has many parallels in the languages of the world.

However, in principle, it seems to be possible to use the subject participle to relativize practically any grammatical relation (with the possible exception of adpositional object) given the above conditions, as shown by evidence from the corpus:

Possessor of subject: 22 examples (20% of all RCs with this grammatical relation use SPT)

Possessor of object: 5 examples + 1 ambiguous (approximately 10%)

Instrumental: 3 examples (8%)

DO: 21 examples (all animate) (4% of all DO RCs, 6% of all animate DO RCs)

IO (dative argument of ditransitive): 2 examples (4%)

Locative: 1 example

Ablative: 1 possible but ambiguous example

Thus it is possible to interpret the use of the Armenian subject participle to relativize non-subjects as an instance of 'promotion to subject', i.e. of the assignment of morphological/syntactic subject properties (here, the use of a verb form generally associated with subjects) to the cognitively most prominent element in the clause, even if it is not the syntactic subject. All the types of cognitive prominence associated with subjecthood seem to be relevant here: discourse prominence (topicality, or lack thereof of syntactic subject), referential prominence (animacy), and semantic prominence (agentivity). 'Promotion to subject' phenomena, whereby the relativized element, which due to the function of RCs always has topic status within RC, is articulated as syntactic subject regardless of its thematic role, are an important category of manifestations of the 'subject preference' in relativization that is probably the most robustly attested of the phenomena associated with the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy.

5.2.2.9.3 Resultative participle

The resultative (also referred to as perfective) participle is always formed on the perfective stem of the verb if there is one (with the ending *-ats* in most dialects, *-uk* in some), and in the responses to the questionnaires is strongly associated with perfective contexts: all contexts with 25-100% resultative participle responses were perfective. In the few examples where it is used in imperfective contexts, it is always associated with patient role:

(394)	*Čənšvats*	*ašakert-ə*	*č'i*	*karox*	*sovorel.*
	pressure.PASS.RPT	student-DEF	NEG-be.3SG.PRS	able	learn.INF

'The student who is pressured is not able to learn.'

(SEA Artashat)

Perfective participles, and perfective constructions in general, often accord prominence to elements with patient/theme role. This is the result of semantic properties: in perfective expressions, which describe completed events, what is crucial is often the result of the event, while for incompleted (imperfective) events there would be no result yet, and the focus of attention is more often on the action and/or the agent. The result of an event is most saliently associated with those elements that have undergone a change as a result of the event, i.e. those with patient/theme role.

This is why, in languages with split ergativity, such as Georgian, it is common for perfective constructions to have ergative marking, assigning prominence (absolutive status) to the patient/theme, while imperfective constructions have nominative/accusative marking, assigning prominence to the agent of transitives, and the sole argument of intransitives regardless of role. As seen in the case of the Armenian subject participle, morphosyntactic features associated with agentivity often end up becoming associated with the pragmatic property of topichood; this, rather than the semantic property of agentivity, can be seen as the key property of the most prominent (nominative) argument of nominative/accusative systems. In contrast, in ergative/absolutive

systems, the key property of the most prominent (absolutive) argument is semantic, that of patient/theme status, i.e. affectedness (see Dryer 1986).

Thus the subject participle in Armenian, being associated primarily with pragmatic primary topic status, could be said to be defined by the key properties associated with subjects in nominative/accusative systems, while the resultative participle is associated primarily with the semantic property of patient/theme status, i.e. the key property of absolutives, which could be seen as the 'subjects' (in the sense of morphosyntactically most prominent element, e.g. the one most likely to trigger agreement and be non-case-marked, although in fact 'subject' properties tend to be split in ergative/absolutive systems, so it is not really accurate to describe one or the other as 'subject') of ergative/absolutive systems.

The resultative participle in Armenian has the grammatical status of adjective, in contrast to the subject participle, which is considered a noun (Asatryan 2004). This stems from their basic semantics, as change of state resulting from an action is commonly conceived of as a property (perfective/passive/absolutive participles generally have the category of adjective, see Haspelmath 1994), while an agent is an entity, and as such is generally referred to by a noun. In practice, they can be used in exactly the same contexts, as in Armenian adjectives may be nominalized, taking the definite article and case endings, which happens when RPT is used for free RCs, and nouns may be used as modifiers of other nouns, which happens when SPT is used for headed RCs, as shown in section 2.1.1.4. However, the different origins of the two participles are to some extent reflected in the patterns of use revealed in the answers to the questionnaires: 33% of instances of RPT have overt head N, while only 6% of SPT uses do (headed participial RCs are more common in spontaneous discourse, making up 57% of spontaneous RPT examples and 28% of spontaneous SPT examples in the database; many of the contexts in the questionnaire favour the use of free RCs translatable by 'the one that...').

In some dialects of Armenian, including Standard Western Armenian, this participle is used in the formation of perfective past tense forms, which are a regular part of the verb paradigm, and therefore can be used for any verb, so that there is not necessarily any association with resultative meaning or patient/theme role:

(395) *grats* *em*
write.RPT be.1SG.PRS
'I wrote/have written'

However, in Standard Eastern Armenian and most of the dialects spoken in the Republic of Armenia, such forms do not form part of the verbal paradigm, are only usable when the verb in question allows resultative meaning, i.e. they cannot be used with all verbs, and thus should be considered simply combinations of a result-denoting predicative adjective with the copula (Asatryan 2004): in these dialects, *grats em* would mean 'I am written down', i.e. registered somewhere, with the subject as theme, having entered a new state, acquired a new property as a result of the action, rather than being interpreted as the agent of the action as is possible in Western Armenian (in literary EA, the passive form *grvats em* would be used, but in the spoken language,

morphologically active forms of the participle are commonly used to refer to the patient/theme object of transitive verbs). Thus in most of the dialects investigated in this study, the link with patient/theme role is still crucial.

In relativization, the key properties associated with the use of the resultative participle are perfectivity and patient/theme role. In syntactic terms, this means that it is most commonly associated with direct object position, as this is the syntactic position most characteristic of patient/theme role; all but two of the questionnaire contexts that had at least 50% RPT responses were direct objects, but it seems to be semantic role rather than grammatical relation that is crucial, as the two exceptions were patient/theme subjects:

(396) *avto-yi-n/harevan-i-n* *xp'ats* *k'ar-ə*
car-DAT-DEF/neighbour-DAT-DEF hit.RPT stone-DEF
'the stone that hit the car/neighbour'

Note that these, the only subject referents with 50+% RPT responses, are both inanimate. It is true that on average there is a higher percentage of RPT responses for inanimate than animate referents (total: 37% vs 10%, subjects: 50% vs 6%, DO: 76% vs 67%). However, a closer investigation of the data reveals that semantic role is a more relevant factor than animacy. All but one of the contexts with 50-100% RPT responses (100% of contexts with 75-100%) have affected patient/theme (undergoing change of state, inc. position or possession) role. The single exception is inanimate (object of 'read'), but animacy is clearly not a decisive factor, as the referents in this category are almost evenly divided according to animacy (14 inanimate vs. 12 animate). Of non-patient/theme DOs (of verbs meaning 'love', 'hate', 'praise', 'choose'), none have more than one example of RPT use, and 3 ('love', 'hate', 'choose') have none (note that these are all implicit causality verbs, where the object has some degree of implied agentivity, see section 3.2.2.3.1). The fact that these are all animate probably simply reflects the fact that all the non-patient/theme DOs in the contexts were animate, as they frequently are in natural usage.

As we have seen, RPT is not confined to DO use, but may also be used for other grammatical relations, with some patient/theme inanimate subjects receiving high percentages of RPT responses (up to 86%, average 50%). No animate subjects have more than 18% RPT responses; SPT is preferred to RPT for all animate subject referents. The two with the highest percentage of RPT responses are subjects of the verb meaning 'go', so although they are in some sense agentive, they also have the role of theme, undergoing a change of state (position):

(397) *Tsaɣkadzor/London* *gnats'ats-ə*
Tsaghkadzor/London go.RPT-DEF
'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor/London'

However, there are a few examples where RPT is used for unambiguously agentive subjects:

(398) *šor-ə* *təvats-ə*
dress-POSS3 give.RPT-DEF
'the one who gave away her dress'

(Agulis: Paraka)

(399) *hats'* *ebadz* *tsaxadz-ə*
bread cook.RPT sell.RPT-DEF
'the one who cooked and sold bread'

(Gyumri)

Note that this seems to be possible only in perfective contexts; there are no examples of RPT use in contexts that are both imperfective and agentive. The use of RPT instead of tense/aspect-neutral SPT here serves to indicate that the action is completed and/or has past time reference, rather than that the referent has patient/theme status. These uses are at least in some cases associated with dialects that make use of RPT in the formation of regular past perfective tense forms, so that the association with time reference has to some extent eclipsed that with semantic role.

More frequent than agentive subject uses, though still all with <50% RPT responses, are cases where relative clauses with RPT refer to places (400) (fixed location (a), motion away from (b) or motion towards (c)), times (401), or possessors (402). These cases differ crucially from DO/subject uses in that the patient/theme referred to by the participle is not the relativized element, for example:

(400) (a) *k'o* *kangnats* *teɣ-ə*
2SG.GEN stand.RPT place-DEF
'the place where you stand/stood'

(b) *nra* *ekats* *sar-ə*
3SG.GEN come.RPT mountain-DEF
'the mountain where he came from'

(c) *mer* *gnats'ats* *šenk'-ə*
1PL.GEN go.RPT building-DEF
'the building we went to'

(401) *k'o* *gnats'ats* *or-ə*
2SG.GEN go.RPT day-DEF
'the day you went'

(402) *atam-ner-ə* *t'ap'ats* *šun-ə*

tooth-PL-DEF fall.RPT dog-DEF

'the dog whose teeth have fallen out'

(examples (400)-(402) from Sakayan 1993: 363, transliteration, glosses and translations adapted)

That is, the relativized element is characterized in terms of the state of another referent. Sakayan (1993: 363) states that for possessor RCs, participial relativization is only possible when the possessee is an "inalienated part" of the relativized element. However, in the responses to the questionnaire, there is an example where it is used for an alienable possession:

(403) *zažigalka* *p'əčhähäts-i* *vičak-ə* *aveli* *tsanər* *a*

lighter spoil.intr.RPT-GEN situation-DEF more heavy be.3SG.PRS

'the situation of the one whose lighter is broken is more difficult'

(Agulis: Paraka)

Thus it is possible that what is important is not inalienability in itself (Armenian does not differentiate syntactically between alienable and inalienable possession constructions), but the fact that the relationship between possessor and possessee is transparent (this seems to be the crucial factor as regards the accessibility of possessor constructions in Basque, see Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2017:15, discussed in section 5.2.2.7), and that the possessor can be conceived of as affected by the state of the possessee, as would be the case with an inalienable possession such as a body part. There are no RPT responses recorded for contexts in which an alienable possessee is involved in an action that does not directly affect the possessor, such as 'the man whose dog caught a chicken'. Note that much of the evidence for the low accessibility of possessors comes from exactly this type of construction (e.g. Diessel & Tomasello 2005).

For time and place (most commonly location, but also ablative and destination), too, it is noticeable that certain contexts have a relatively high percentage of RPT responses, while others have few or none. The following are the time (404) and place (405) contexts with the highest percentage of RPT responses:

(404) *yerexa* *unets'ats* *tari-n*

child have.RPT year-DEF

'the year I had a child'

(405) *im* *tsnvats* *yerkir-ə*

1SG.GEN be.born.RPT country-DEF

'the country where I was born'

Time and place contexts with a high percentage of RPT use share the following properties: perfective event, referent of participle undergoes salient change of state, referent of participle is highly topical (1st person and/or MC topic). In fact there is a more general association of non-subject RPT uses with contexts where the subject is a pronoun, i.e. highly topicworthy:

RELATIVIZED ROLE	1SG PRONOMINAL SUBJECT	LEXICAL NP SUBJECT
DO	58% RPT	41% RPT
Time	22% RPT	11% RPT
Locative	19% RPT	2% RPT
Instrumental	4% RPT	0% RPT
Postpositional object	10% RPT	0% RPT

In order to understand the patterns of usage of these constructions, it is important to remember that a restrictive RC functions to characterize the relativized element, to define its reference, often in order to make it in some sense identifiable to the addressee. A RC is used when the referent is defined in terms of something that is best expressed by a clausal constituent, i.e. an event or state of affairs, rather than in terms of a simple property that could be expressed by a non-verbal adjective. There are two main types of cases: in one case, the referent is directly involved in the event, typically either as agent, or as having undergone a change of state as a result of the event; this mainly concerns subject or object RCs. In the other, less frequent case, the referent is identified in terms of its relation to an event involving another entity. This is more likely to be an effective way of identifying a referent if that other entity is highly salient (e.g. discourse participant and/or topic), and affected in a salient way by the event.

It is also important that the relationship of the relativized element with the state of affairs denoted by the clause is transparent. Thus these constructions are most frequent when the role of the element is obvious either from its own semantics (e.g. if it refers to a time or place) or those of the verb: the only examples of instrumental and postpositional object uses are with verbs that take instrumental and postpositional objects (which have stimulus role, causing a change of state in the subject referent of RPT, which happens to be 1^{sg} in both cases):

INSTRUMENTAL

(271) *en* *hiats'uk-n* *a* *lav-ə*
DEM admire.RPT-DEF be.3SG.PRS good-DEF
'the one I/you/one (subject not stated) admired is good'

(Mush: Shirak)

POSTPOSITIONAL OBJECT

(273) *en* *jəɣaynats'ug-ən* *el* *de*
DEM3 get.annoyed.RPT-DEF PTC PTC
moment *e* *jəɣaynanam* *yes*
moment be.3SG.PRS get.annoyed.1SG.PRS.SUBJ 1SG.NOM
meg-i *vəre-n,* *edi* *moment*

one-GEN on-POSS3 DEM2 moment

e

be.3SG.PRS

'the one I/you/one got annoyed with, it's just a momentary thing, if I get annoyed with someone, that's just a momentary thing'

(Mush: Shirak)

However, participial RCs seem to be impossible for cases where the case or adposition makes an independent contribution to the meaning that is not recoverable from the context, which would be lost in a participial RC where these elements cannot be morphologically expressed: for example, a construction such as *[cat sat] table* could be interpreted as 'the table that the cat sat on', but equally as 'under' or 'at' (Shagal 2017: 74).

The only grammatical function for which there are no examples of RPT use is indirect object, i.e. the recipient/beneficiary argument of a ditransitive. If it is really impossible to relativize IO with RPT (as stated explicitly by Sakayan (1993: 363), although she states that this also applies to obliques other than time and place, which the evidence from the questionnaires shows is not strictly true), this would constitute an exception to the generalization that a given strategy should occupy a continuous section of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy. What is certain is that RPT is much more frequently used for (mainly inalienable) possessor, time, and place than for other obliques or IO.

It is not the case that the extra complexity of ditransitive constructions is in itself a decisive factor disfavouring participle use, as ditransitive DO referents appear among those with the highest (75+) percentage of RPT responses, for example (406).

(406) *Ənkeruhu-s* *təvats* *kirk-ə* *piti* *lini*

friend.GEN-POSS1 give.RPT book-DEF MOD be.INF

kyank-i *masin.*

life-GEN about

'The book my friend gave me will/must be about life.'

(Gyumri)

However, it is true that there is a very strong tendency for participial RCs (both RPT and SPT) to have no more than one overt argument: out of 792 non-finite constructions produced in response to the questionnaires, only 2 have more than one overt argument, as discussed in section 5.2.3. Nonetheless, as we have seen, participial relative clauses are frequently used for ditransitives and other multiple argument constructions. This is due to the fact that Armenian allows essentially any participant to be omitted. This happens either when the identity and role of the referent are obvious from the context, or when it is not salient or necessary for the message the speaker wishes to convey. For example, in (406) (DO of ditransitive), the beneficiary argument is omitted.

Thus the number of arguments in itself cannot be the reason why ditransitive IO is rarely relativized with participial constructions. There are in fact a few examples where SPT is used:

(392)	*Jur*	*təvoɣ-n*	*asum*	*a*	*kyank'-ət*
	water	give.SPT-DEF	say.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	life-POSS2
	yerkar	*lini,*	*tsarav-əs*	*hagets'av.*	
	long	be.3SG.SUBJ	thirst-POSS1	be.quenched.3SG.AOR	

'The one who I gave water (who was given water as opposed to something else) says "May your life be long, my thirst has been quenched".'

(Ararat: Aratashen)

In this case, as discussed above, the subject is not salient in the context, and the IO is the primary topic. In the absence of context, this would naturally be interpreted as a subject relative: 'the one who gives/gave water'. The same would apply to a parallel construction *jur tvatsə* with RPT, which would be interpreted as SRC with past time reference (there is a general tendency to interpret animate RC heads, as intrinsically topical elements, as subject, see Mak et al. 2002). Thus such a construction referring to IO would be dispreferred except when the context makes the reference totally clear. In addition, ditransitive IO generally has the role of recipient/beneficiary, and thus does not undergo a change of state as a result of the event, nor does the subject, the most probable primary topic, therefore RPT would be unlikely to be used. The relatively high position of IO on the AH is a consequence of the fact that in some languages, such as Basque, it (along with subject and DO only) can trigger agreement on the verb, and in general only agreement-trigger elements can be relativized. Verb agreement is often associated with topicality (see Li & Thompson 1976 etc.), so in this sense this strategy is comparable, though not identical, with the case of the Armenian subject participle, in that accessibility is correlated with topicality. However, the distribution of RPT is determined by semantics rather than topicality, thus showing that the AH effects result from the combined operation of different phenomena, so that different strategies can show different hierarchies of grammatical relations depending on which characteristics they are most sensitive to.

Thus while the defining characteristic of referents of the subject participle, that of primary topic status, is pragmatic in nature, the use of the resultative participle is largely defined by semantic properties, namely perfective aspect and patient/theme status (having undergone a change of state as a result of the completed action), properties which are frequently linked in the languages of the world. In some dialects, this element has become associated primarily with past perfective time reference, and the link with patient/theme status has been weakened. However, all the questionnaire referents with a high percentage of RPT responses had patient/theme role as well as past perfective time reference. All of these had the grammatical relation of DO or subject, the majority being DO, which is due to the fact that these are the grammatical relations usually used to articulate patient/theme role.

According to Jahukyan (1974), these are the only acceptable uses of the participle. However, in spoken language at least, it may be used to relativize other GRs, notably possessor (mostly inalienable), and obliques referring to time and place. In these cases, the patient/theme referred to by the participle is not the relativized element. For possessor constructions, the crucial factor seems to be that the possessor can be conceived of as affected by the state of the possessee to which the participle refers. For time/place (and a small number of other obliques and adpositional constructions), these constructions serve to characterize the relativized element by anchoring it to an event that affected a topical referent. Thus, unlike referents of the subject participle, these elements never have primary topic status. As regards the grammatical relations involved, the crucial factor here seems to be that the relationship of the relativized element to the event is transparent due to its semantics (e.g. time or place expression) or those of the verb (takes oblique or adpositional object). Thus the distribution on the AH below subject and DO is inconsistent, as it does not depend on grammatical relations such as 'possessor', 'oblique' and 'adpositional object' as monolithic entities, but is sensitive to semantic and pragmatic distinctions that divide and cut across these categories.

5.2.3 Length and complexity in non-finite RCs

It has been stated (e.g. Authier 2012) that in some languages that have both finite and non-finite relativization strategies, non-finite (participial) RCs tend to be 'short'. Gandon (2016: 182) observes that participial RCs in Iranian language rarely take arguments. In Armenian, it is technically possible for participial RCs to take the full range of arguments and adjuncts, and long RCs containing several of these, such as the following example, which is a constructed non-finite equivalent of a finite RC that appears in a literary text, are found in grammars:

(275)	*Šutov*	*yerevats'*	*yev*	*Sevan-i*
	soon	appear.3SG.AOR	and	Sevan-GEN
	tesk'-ə	*heŕv-its'*	*Kamsaryan-i-n*	
	appearance.POSS3	far-ABL	Kamsaryan-DAT-DEF	
	huzel-u	*č'ap'*	*hetak'rk'rats*	*kɣzi-n.*
	emotionally.affect.INF-GEN	extent	interest.RPT	island-DEF

'Soon Sevan Island appeared too, whose appearance from far away interested Kamsaryan to the extent that he was emotionally affected.'

(Arakelyan 1964: 128)

However, in the responses to the questionnaires, participial constructions with more than one overt argument are extremely rare: out of 792 participial constructions, only 2 have more than one overt argument:

(407) *T'aguhi-n, ira paštonakan hyur-er-i-n hyurasirats-n*

queen-DEF	3SG.GEN	official	guest.PL-DAT-DEF	offer.RPT-DEF
el	*šat,*	*vap'še*	*sents'*	*mi*
PRT	very	generally	like.this	one
hat	*joč,*	*joč,*	*šat*	*joč*
piece	big	big	very	big
tort'	*a*	*hele.*		
cake	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT		

'The one the queen offered to her guests was a very, really, like this a big, big, very big cake.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(408)

ira	*šo-rə*	*əngeruhu-n*	*təvoɣ-i*	*vəra*
3SG.GEN	dress-POSS3	friend.DAT-DEF	give.SPT-GEN	on
neɣets'el	*e*			
get.upset.PPT	be.3SG.PRS			

'she got upset with the one who gave her dress to her friend'

(Gyumri)

In fact, in (407), the subject has nominative rather than the expected genitive case, and is followed by a pause, so is probably actually a detached topic rather than a syntactic argument of the participial relative clause.

As discussed in section 4.3.3.3, the questionnaires were designed to contain contexts with different numbers, lengths and types of arguments and adjuncts, in order to compare the effects of these factors on the choice of relativization strategies. An important issue is whether the crucial factor is the total number of elements involved, or the number of overt elements. This is particularly significant in the case of subcategorized arguments, which many theories consider to be obligatorily syntactically present even if not overtly articulated. Thus, if this is the case, and if syntactic structural complexity is the main issue, as proposed, for example, by Hawkins (2004), we would expect non-overt arguments to add to the complexity of the structure and decrease the accessibility to relativization of the construction in question.

The results show that subjects and direct objects of ditransitives have a lower percentage of non-finite responses than intransitive or monotransitive subjects and monotransitive DOs (all forms counted are without adjuncts):

Subject:	intransitive	70% NF
	monotransitive	73% NF
	ditransitive	64% NF
Direct object:	monotransitive	49% NF (inanimate: 81% NF, animate: 29% NF)
	ditransitive	42% NF (inanimate: 52% NF, animate: 24% NF)

Of the non-finite ditransitive responses, all but examples (407, 408) have at least one argument omitted.

As regards elements that are not part of the valency of the verb, it appears that some, but not all types of these may affect accessibility to relativization in terms of finite/non-finite responses. Time and place NPs do not seem to have any negative effect on accessibility: for SRCs, contexts with these types of elements Q1:1 (time) (88%NF) (409), Q1:2 (place) (95% NF) (410), Q1:17 (place) (78% NF) (411) have above average percentages of NF responses, as does Q1:13c, a DO RC with an ablative NP place adjunct (89% NF) (412). In the non-finite responses to these, the time/place NP is always articulated, while any other arguments are omitted, for example the subject in the ORC (412):

(409)	*isk*	*tas-i*	*k'ənoɣ-ən*	*šat*	*hangist*	*e*
	and	ten-GEN	sleep.SPT-DEF	very	calm	be.3SG.PRS

'and the one who goes to sleep at ten is very calm'

(Mush: Shirak)

(410)	*Sevan*	*gənats'oɣ-ə*	*petk'*	*a*	*leɣana*
	Sevan	go.SPT-DEF	PTC	be.3SG.PRS	bathe.3SG.PRS.SUBJ

'the one who goes to Sevan must bathe'

(Lori: Shnogh)

(411)	*Tsaɣkadzor*	*et'ats'oɣ*	*ənger-ə*	*gənats'e*	*hangəstanal-u*
	Tsaghkadzor	go.SPT	friend-DEF	go.PPT	relax.INF-GEN

'The friend who went to Tsaghkadzor went there to relax'

(Khoy: Aghanjadzor)

(412)	*xanut'-its'*	*aŕadz-n*	*el,*	*krem-ov*
	shop-ABL	buy.RPT-DEF	PTC	cream-INSTR

'and the one I bought from the shop, with cream'

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

'Heavier' adjuncts (PPs and clausal constituents) do seem to have a negative effect on the percentage of NF responses, as in the following inanimate DO contexts:

Q1:14a 'one cake I baked for my mother's birthday' (PP occasion): 64% NF

Compare simple monotransitive DO with the same object and verb Q1:13a 'one cake I baked' (100% NF) and Q1:13b 'one cake my grandmother baked': 97% NF.

Q3:14c 'one book I put under the broken leg of the table so it doesn't fall' (place PP and purpose clause): 25% NF

Compare Q3.14a 'one book I read' and Q3:14b 'one book I wrote', simple transitive with the same DO: 50% NF.

When the relativized element is in a subordinate clause, as in Q2:6c/Q3.6c 'one of them, I know where he works', Q2.9a 'a customer wrote a letter to the boss that one of those waiters had behaved badly', Q2:9b 'one of them, the boss gave the order that his wages should increase', and Q2.9c 'one of them, the boss gave the order that he should be fired', none of the responses preserving this structure made use of non-finite strategies.

The presence of co-ordinate VPs seems to have a negative effect on the percentage of NF responses, as indicated by the responses to the following questions, which contrasted referents with the same grammatical relation with co-ordinate vs. simple VPs: Q1:7c 'in one country I live and work' (8% NF) vs. Q1:7a 'in one country I was born' (27% NF) (locatives), Q1:4a 'one baked bread and gave it to the poor' (40% NF) vs Q1:4c 'one gave her mother flowers' (64% NF) (ditransitive subjects).

Co-ordinate NPs do not have an obvious effect: thus Q2:4b 'one's grandmother and aunt took him to a fortune-teller', which has co-ordinate NP subjects in the context, has exactly the same NF percentage as the parallel context Q2:4a 'one's mother took him to the doctor' (20% NF), which has a simple subject.

The effect of 'heavy' NP referents with a large number of modifiers was not possible to measure, as these were always simplified in the responses. Q1:3c contains the heavy NP *kaskatseli gortseri masin ira šefi gaɣtni namakə* 'his boss's secret letter about suspicious dealings'. None of the responses preserve this structure: 3 out of 7 have simply *šefi namak* 'the boss's letter'. Q2:12c/Q3:11c contains the heavy NP *šat ahavor ančašak yerger* 'really terrible tasteless songs'. In 9 out of 19 responses, there is no NP at all, simply the adjective *ančašak* 'tasteless', i.e. 'the tasteless singer' in place of 'the one who sings really terrible tasteless songs', while in 5 the NP is shortened to *ančašak yerger* 'tasteless songs'. No response contains the full complement of modifiers given in the context.

Thus although non-finite RCs technically can take the full range of arguments and adjuncts possible in a finite clause, in spoken discourse they almost never have more than one overt argument. However, they are frequently used for more complex constructions when discourse conditions allow one or more referent to be omitted. Nonetheless, there is a tendency for subjects and objects of ditransitives to show less NF responses than subjects and objects of monotransitives, where there would only be one argument to be expressed in RC. NP time and place adjuncts do not seem to affect the accessibility of subject or DO RCs, but there is some evidence that the presence of 'heavier' (PP and clausal) adjuncts inhibits the use of non-finite RCs, at least when they are crucial to the meaning of the construction and cannot be felicitously omitted. Heavy NP referents

were always shortened in the responses, so it is not possible to assess their effect. Co-ordinate NP referents do not have an obvious effect, but it is possible that the presence of co-ordinate VPs inhibits the use of non-finite strategies to some extent. Thus it can be seen that there is a real tendency for non-finite RCs to be 'short', in the sense that they very rarely contain more than one overt argument, and are disfavoured for constructions with 'heavier' types of adjuncts. However, this is not an absolute rule, and it is also the case that non-finite constructions may be freely used for more complex constructions, such as ditransitives, as long as the discourse conditions allow all but one argument to be omitted. When the relativized element is contained in a subordinate clause, there are no examples of non-finite responses.

5.2.4 Factors affecting finite strategies

5.2.4.1. RP vs general subordinator

As discussed in section 5.1.1, Armenian possesses two[85] morphological means for constructing finite RCs, namely declined RPs, which have the same form as interrogative pronouns, and the conjunction (invariant general subordination marker) *vor*, which is itself derived from the relative pronoun *vor*, and is identical to the nominative singular form of this pronoun, causing confusion between the two strategies. Constructions with conjunction and resumptive may be considered maximally explicit, and the distribution of resumptive pronouns has been claimed to be associated with the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977), in particular, that their appearance is typically required by or restricted to roles that are low on the hierarchy. However, Fiorentino (2007: 278) states that the choice between zero and overt pronominal representation (resumptive) in RCs introduced by a conjunction is connected with cognitive accessibility, to which syntactic grammatical relation is one of several contributing factors (Ariel 1994, see section 2.1.6.1), rather than being directly linked with syntactic grammatical relations. This is reflected in the findings of Joseph (1983) for Modern Greek, and also the Armenian data (see section 5.1.4.1.1).

According to Fiorentino (2007), RCs introduced by a subordinating conjunction (invariant subordination marker) are easier to process than those with RPs, which is why the former are generally preferred over the latter in spoken European languages, as discussed in section 5.1.1.2. This is because in the former, the word order is the same as in an independent clause, while RPs typically appear in clause-initial position, creating a dependency relationship between the RP and the argument position of the relativized element, which adds to the complexity of the construction. Thus constructions with RPs are likely to be disfavoured compared to those with conjunction and the possibility of a resumptive, as they are more complex and difficult to process, but no more explicit. The movement of RPs to clause-initial position in European languages is commonly described in theoretical terms as 'wh-movement', implying that it involves essentially the same process as the movement of interrogative pronouns. However, the situation in Armenian is different. Firstly, interrogative pronouns do not undergo movement to a specific syntactic position (see section 2.1.4), and secondly, the syntactic behaviour of

[85] Paratactic forms are also reported, but they are not discussed here for reasons stated in section 5.1.1.4.

relative pronouns is completely different from that of interrogatives. Interrogatives behave like focused elements, almost always hosting the clitic auxiliary (Comrie 1984, see section 2.1.4), while RPs generally do not. RPs, as we would expect of inherently topical elements, most frequently appear in clause-initial position (e.g. (413) with topical object RP preceding focused subject) but may be preceded by other topics (414-417):

(413) *isk* *um* *vor* *harevan-n* *a* *xəp'el,*
and who.DAT CONJ neighbour-DEF be.3SG.PRS hit.PPT
kərv-i *meč'* *a*
fight-GEN in be.3SG.PRS
'and the one who the neighbour hit is involved in a fight'

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

(414) *k'uyr-ə* *varin* *vor* *tsetsel,* *eni* *viravorvel*
sister-DEF which-DAT CONJ beat.IPT DEM3 hurt.PASS.IPT
'the one who her sister beats is hurt'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(415) *usuts'ič'-ə* *um* *vor* *sirum* *a* *bənakanabar*
teacher-DEF who.DAT CONJ love.IPT be.3SG.PRS naturally
et *yerexa-n* *bavakanin* *hamest* *u* *bavakanin*
DEM2 child-DEF quite modest and quite
arač'adem *yerexa* *ya*
advanced child be.3SG.PRS
'the one who the teacher likes is naturally quite a modest and advanced child'

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

(416) *zoravar-i* *um* *təvel* *e,* *anəndhat*
general-DAT who.DAT give.PPT be.3SG.PRS constantly
yerevi *spasoɣakan* *vičak*
probably waiting state
'the one he gave to the general [is] probably constantly [in] a state of waiting'

(Gyumri)

(417) *tadi-n,* *tadi* *morkur-ə* *um* *or* *tarel*
grandmother-DEF grandmother aunt-DEF who.DAT CONJ take.PPT
e *da* *aveli* *lav* *e,* *ha*
be.3SG.PRS DEM2 more good be.3SG.PRS yes

'the one whose grandmother and aunt took him, that's better, yes'

(Gyumri)

Thus it appears that RPs occupy positions normally occupied by topical elements in a clause, parallel with relativized elements in clauses with conjunction *vor*, and there is no reason to propose a specific movement operation associated with RPs. Therefore, the reason given by Fiorentino (2007) for the processing advantage of subordinating conjunction constructions over those with RP in European languages does not apply to Armenian.

The results of the questionnaire contexts designed to test for the 'island' effects (Q2:6c 'wh-island' and Q2:9 'complex NP island') that are said to constrain wh-movement (see section 2.1.4) provide further evidence that this is not the process affecting RPs in Armenian, as responses with RPs are produced in these environments, e.g. (419) and (420). Despite the fact that the syntactic behaviour of RPs is quite different from that of interrogatives and foci, it appears that the same process of 'raising to object' is found here as in the case of extracted interrogatives and foci discussed by Comrie (1984). He states that in Armenian, it is generally impossible to extract constituents from finite subordinate clauses. However, under some circumstances (see section 2.1.4), a 'raising to object' construction is possible, in which the extracted element takes object case, as if it were the object of the MC verb, regardless of its status in the subordinate clause:

(418)	*Petros-n*	*UM*	*e*	*kartsum*	*(vor)*
	Petros-DEF	who.DAT	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT	CONJ
	gnats'el	*e?*			
	go.PPT	be.3SG.PRS			

'Who does Petros think has left?'[86]

(Comrie 1984: 14)

Comrie's data concerns interrogatives and focused elements, but exactly this type of construction is found with dative RPs in environments where the relativized element is contained within a subordinate clause introduced by an interrogative element (wh-island) where it would be expected to have nominative case (419), and within a complex NP where it would be expected to have genitive case (420). Thus it appears that this type of extraction is not sensitive to the environments that are said to constrain wh-movement:

[86] This type of construction may not be available in all dialects; it has been found to be uninterpretable by a speaker of Western Armenian (Donabédian p.c.).

(419)	*vin*	*el*	*vor*	*gidum*	*em*
	who.DAT	PTC	CONJ	know.IPT	be.1SG.PRS
	um	*mot*	*a*	*ašxatum,*	*yerevi*
	who.DAT	close	be.3SG.PRS	work.IPT	probably
	t'e,	*naxarar*	*a*		
	CONJ	minister	be.3SG.PRS		

'and the one that I know who he works with is probably a minister'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(420)	*vin*	*el*	*vor*	*šef-ə*	*həraman*
	who.DAT	PTC	CONJ	boss-DEF	order
	a	*təve*	*vor*	*ašxatavarts'-ə*	*havəlna*
	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	CONJ	wages-DEF	raise.3SG.PRS.SUBJ
	yerevi t'e	*šef-i*	*č'əsiruk*	*mart'kants'-its'*	*mek-n*
	probably	boss-GEN	NEG.love.RPT	people-ABL	one-DEF
	a	*ele,*	*tents'*	*vor*	*mi*
	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	thus	CONJ	one
	vat	*ban*	*ase,*	*šef-i*	*sərt-its'*
	bad	thing	say.PPT	boss-GEN	heart-ABL
	a	*hele,*	*ətu*	*xəmar*	*el*
	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	DEM2.GEN	for	PTC
	barts'rəts're				
	raise.PPT				

'the one that the boss gave an order that his wages should increase, [the customer] was probably someone the boss didn't like, so he [the waiter] said something bad [to the customer] and that pleased the boss, and that's why he raised it'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

Thus it can be seen that the type of movement processes associated with RPs in European languages do not appear to apply in Armenian, and from the point of view of syntactic dependencies created by movement, there is no reason to believe that RCs with RPs are any more complex than those with conjunctions.

Indeed, we do not find the same high degree of preference for conjunction constructions over those with RP that is reported for spoken and non-standard European languages (Fiorentino 2007, Murelli 2011, Herrmann 2003 etc.). RP constructions are widely used, including many examples with dialect forms of the RPs themselves, so that they cannot be categorized as a purely literary and artificial phenomenon, as has been proposed for some European languages. Apart from the fact that RPs in Armenian do not seem to undergo the

same type of movement process that is common in the European languages, appearing in positions typical of topical arguments, i.e. the same position in which a non-RP representation of the relativized element would occur, and not being subject to the same type of constraints on extraction that we find in European languages, there is another crucial difference from the European constructions in question. This is the fact that the Armenian finite RCs are adjoined, rather than embedded constructions (see section 5.1.3). This means that the link between the representations of the relativized element in RC and in MC is purely anaphoric, rather than syntactic. This may make these constructions easier to process than embedded RCs, so that they are not dispreferred in spoken language to the extent of embedded RCs with RP. Fiorentino (2007: 271) observes that in spoken as opposed to written Russian, as in other European languages, embedded RCs with RP are dispreferred. However, in spoken Russian, the preferred alternative is not an embedded construction with conjunction, but a correlative construction, i.e. an adjoined construction with RP, parallel to those found in spoken Armenian.

Despite these facts, there is some evidence that there is a general preference for conjunction constructions over RPs. As shown in figure 13, the conjunction *vor* is always preferred to declined forms of *vor*[87]. As discussed in section 5.1.1.2, there is a diachronic development by which the indeclinable conjunction developed from the declined RP *vor*, and seems to be progressively replacing it even in RC environments. In many environments, as seen in figure 13, indeclinable *vor* is preferred to specialized RPs too. However, the specialized RPs *um* (dative/genitive animate) and *vorteɣ* (place, occasionally also time) seem to be robust enough to resist the spread of indeclinable *vor*. As seen in figure 13, *um* and *vorteɣ* seem to be preferred to indeclinable *vor* in all the environments where they occur, with the exception of postpositional object, where indeclinable *vor* is preferred over genitive *um* (for the other category of genitive *um*, namely possessor, the difference between *um* and *vor* is very small and probably not significant, while for dative (animate DO, IO) there seems to be a consistent preference for RP). A preference for locative relativizers such as *vorteɣ* is quite well-attested crosslinguistically, where they frequently spread to other roles, becoming general subordinators, as in Modern Greek, and some German and English dialects (see e.g. Fiorentino 2007). However, in Armenian, *vorteɣ* retains its association with place expressions (occasionally extended to time), and the dominance of the animate dative form *um* seems to be quite unusual from a typological point of view. The environments where RP is preferred over conjunction (animate DO, IO, spatial expressions: destination, ablative and locative) do not seem to be associated with a consistent area of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy, but rather with the use of particular pronominal forms, which may have held out against the spread of indeclinable *vor* due to their frequent use (as compared to other RPs such as *inč'* and *yerb*).

[87] In nominative (non-case-marked) contexts, *vor*, as an adjective, is considered to be a RP if it modifies a noun or if it takes the definite article, indicating nominalization. If it is case-marked or plural, it is clearly a RP. Otherwise, it is counted as a conjunction.

ROLE	SPECIALIZED RP	RP *vor*	ERRORS	CONJUNCTION *vor*
SUBJECT ANIMATE.	38% *ov*	12% *vorə/vor* N		50%
SUBJECT INANIMATE	8% *inč'*	38% *vorə*		54%
DO ANIMATE.	55% *um*	8% *vorin/vor* N	7 *ov*	35%
DO INANIMATE	2% *inč'*	10% *vorə/vor* N	1 *ov or* (maybe indeclinable)	86%
IO	59% *um*	2% *vorin*	1 *ov,* 2 *ov or*	33%
DESTINATION	79% *vorteɣ*	7% *vor* N		14%
TIME	28% *yerb*	20% *vorə/vor* N	1 *vorteɣ*	50%
ABLATIVE ANIMATE	64% *umits'*	6% *vorits'*	1 *ov*	28%
ABLATIVE INANIMATE	75% *vorteɣits'*	13% *vorits'*		13%
INSTRUMENTAL ANIMATE	36% *umov*		1 *um*	57%
INSTRUMENTAL INANIMATE		47% *vorov*		53%
LOCATIVE	70% *vorteɣ*	6% *vor* N		24%
ADPOSITIONAL OBJECT	35% *um*	9% *vori/vor* X		56%
POSSESSOR	43% *um*	7% *vori*	7 *ov,* 5 *vorə*	41%

Figure 13: Finite relativization strategies

However, there is evidence that even when the more robust RPs, *um* and *vorteɣ*, are used, but especially with *ov* and RP *vor*, there are cases where the syntactic structure is that of a construction with a conjunction rather than a true RP. Two sets of facts suggest this. One, such as (421, 422) involves the use of nominative RPs in place of other case forms, listed in the 'errors' section of figure 13 (there is also one case of dat/gen *um* in place of

instrumental, and one of *vorteɣ* used for a time expression, which should perhaps not be considered an error, but a typologically common extension of place expressions to denote time):

(421)	*isk*	*ov*	[for *um*]	*hangist*	*e*
	and	who.NOM	[for who-DAT]	quiet	be.3SG.PRS
	t'oɣum,	*na*	*kəkaroɣana*	*ir*	*už-er-ov*
	leave.IPT	3SG.NOM	FUT.be.able.3SG	3SG.GEN	strength-PL-INSTR
	aŕač'	*gənal*	*yev*	*šarunakel*	*sovorel*
	forward	go.INF	and	continue.INF	learn.INF

'and the one he leaves in peace will be able to make progress by his own efforts and continue to learn'

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

(422)	*vor-ə*	[for *vor-i*]	*vor*	*demk'-ə*
	which.NOM-DEF	[for which-GEN]	CONJ	face-POSS3
	k'əsəm	*a*	*en*	*uremə*
	anoint.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	DEM3	so
	tarik'-ov	*medz*	*a*	
	age-INSTR	big	be.3SG.PRS	

'the one whose face she puts make-up on is grown up'[88]

(Vayots Dzor: Khachik)

The other, such as (250) and (251), repeated here from section 5.1.1.2, involves cases where the RP is accompanied by a second, separate representation of the relativized element in RC case, which should be impossible with a genuine RP, as this is itself a representation of the relativized element, and the same element should not be represented twice in the same clause (see de Vries 2002 etc).

(250)	*isk*	*en*	*yerkrum*	*vorte*	*ašxatum*	*em*,
	and	DEM	country-LOC	where	work.IPT	be.1SG.PRS
	parz	*a*	*vor*	*ed*	*yerkir-n*	*el*
	clear	be.3SG.PRS	CONJ	DEM	country-DEF	PTC
	əndzi	*lik'ə*	*p'orts'*	*təvuk*	*kəlni*	
	1SG.DAT	full	experience	give.RPT	FUT.be.3SG	

[88] Out of context, this would naturally be interpreted as SRC 'the one who puts make-up on her face'.

‘and the country where I work, it’s clear that that country will have given me a lot of experience too’

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(251)	*ašxatoɣ-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*	*um*	*šef-ə*	*šat*
	worker-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	who-DAT	boss	very
	havanum	*a,*	*ink'ə*	*sents'*	*sahmanap'ak*
	like.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.NOM	thus	restricted
	patkerats'm-amb,	*əst*	*ira*	*xosk’-er-i*	*adekvat*
	imagination-INSTR	according.to	3SG.GEN	word-PL-GEN	adequate
	think.SPT	girl	be.3SG.PRS		
	mətatsox	*axč'ik*	*a*		

‘one of the workers who the boss likes very much, she is a girl with a restricted imagination, who thinks adequately according to his words’

(Colloquial EA: Yeghegnadzor)

In section 5.1.1.2, these constructions are compared with parallel examples from spoken European languages that are interpreted as cases of hypercorrection, using the more literary, ‘correct’ RP morphology in place of the substandard conjunction. Another way of understanding this issue is that what is problematic about RPs is their dual nature as both clause-linkers and anaphoric elements. Thus there is a tendency for them to be reanalysed as either one or the other, and reinforced by elements performing the other of these functions. In examples (250, 251) they have been identified as clause-linkers, parallel with the conjunction *vor*, and thus appear accompanied by anaphoric elements of the sort that we would find in a clause introduced by indeclinable *vor*, but which should be redundant if the RP is itself an anaphoric element, thus (250, 251) can be considered to be modelled on (423, 424).

(423)	*en*	*yerkr-um*	*vor*	*ašxatum*	*em...*
	DEM3	country-LOC	CONJ	work.IPT	be.1SG.PRS

(424)	*ašxatoɣ-ner-its’*	*mek-i-n*	*vor*	*šef-ə*	*šat*
	worker-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	CONJ	boss-DEF	very
	havanum	*a...*			
	like.IPT	be.3SG.PRS			

The appearance of RPs in invariant nominative case, as in (421, 422), also demonstrates a weakening of their anaphoric function.

Other types of construction suggest that the opposite tendency is also widespread, namely that RP has been interpreted as a purely anaphoric element, at the expense of its clause-linking function. This would explain the frequent appearance of constructions in which RP is accompanied by the conjunction *vor*, such as (255), (259), discussed in section 5.1.1.2, which may be considered to be modelled on constructions with a conventional anaphoric element such as a demonstrative, for example ((425), (426) respectively):

(255)	*et,*	*vor*	*tan-ə*	*vor*	*dərank'*
	DEM2	which	house-DAT-DEF	CONJ	DEM2.NOM.PL
	mənats'el	*en,*	*asum*	*a*	*dərants'*
	stay.PPT	be.3PL.PRS	say.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	DEM2.GEN
	häyät'-ə,	*asum*	*a*	*mets*	*apelsin-i*
	yard-DEF	say.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	big	orange-GEN
	tsaŕ-er		*kar*		
	tree-PL		exist.3SG.PST		

'The house that they lived in, s/he says, in their yard, s/he says, there were big orange trees'

(Khoy: Karaglukh)

(425)	*Et*	*tan-ə*	*vor*	*dərank'*	*mnats'el*	*en...*
	DEM2	house-DEF	CONJ	DEM2.PL.NOM	stay.PPT	be.3PL.PRS

(259)	*Vorde*	*vor*	*himnakan*	*aprum*	*em*
	where	CONJ	mainly	live.IPT	1SG.PRS
	kapver	*em.*			
	tie.PASS.PPT	be.1SG.PRS			

'Where I mainly live, I've got attached [to that place].'

(Mush: Shirak)

(426)	*Enteɣ*	*vor*	*himnakan*	*aprum*	*em...*
	there	CONJ	mainly	live.IPT	be.1SG.PRS

These constructions are very common, and have led to the emergence in some dialects of complex forms derived from combinations of RP+*vor*, discussed in section 5.1.1.2. The 6 apparent case errors in the Gyumri dialect responses where animate nominative RP *ov* + conjunction *or* appear to be used for both animate (428,

429) and inanimate (427) objects and possessors (430) could represent the emergence of a compound form *ovor*, which has lost its case and animacy properties and become generalized: Note that, like other compound elements described in section 5.1.1.2, it may be accompanied by a separate clause-linker *or*, as in (428). Mkrtchyan's (1952: 60) description of the dialect does refer to a non-case-marked relativizer *vev or*, translated as *ov vor*, and distinct from the fully case-marked relativizer *vov* (SEA *ov*), but does not give details of its usage.

(427)	*tasatu-n*	*ov*	*or*	*təvel*	*e*
	teacher-DEF	who	CONJ	give.PPT	be.3SG.PRS

'the one the teacher gave [me]'

(inanimate DO)

(428)	*ov*	*or*	*axčig-n*	*or*	*kətsedze*
	who	CONJ	girl-DEF	CONJ	PRS.beat.3SG

'the one the girl beats'

(animate DO)

(429)	*ov*	*or*	*axčig-n*	*er*	*kanfet*	*təve*
	who	CONJ	girl-DEF	be.3SG.PST	sweet	give.PPT

'the one who the girl had given a sweet to'

(IO)

(430)	*ov*	*or*	*kampyutər-ə*	*p'əčats'el*	*e*
	who	CONJ	computer-POSS3	break.PPT	be.3SG.PRS

'the one whose computer broke'

(possessor)

5.2.4.2 Position of finite RCs

The position of finite RCs is very strongly correlated with their information status. When the relativized element has topic status in MC, it is virtually the rule that a finite RC will precede MC, as seen in example (235): only in less than 2% of examples where the relativized element has topic status in MC does RC follow MC. These exceptions seem to be either non-restrictive RCs (431), or (432) constructions where there is

another element, e.g. an adverbial, left-adjoined to MC, and RC is 'backgrounded' with a flat, unstressed intonation similar to that of backgrounded nominal constituents (see section 2.1.4):

(235)	*En*	*ənkeroj-ə*	*or*	*šat*
	DEM3	friend.DAT-DEF	CONJ	much
	č'i	*sire,*	*en*	*ənker-ə*
	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	like.NPT	DEM3	friend.NOM.DEF
	kəse	*yes*	*kugam.*	
	PRS.say.3SG	1SG.NOM	PRS.come.1SG	

'The friend who he doesn't like very much, that friend says, I'm coming.'

(Gyumri)

(431)	*Tsiran-ə*	*tasnəves*	*t'əv-i-n*	*yeɣel*	*e*
	Apricot-DEF	sixteen	number-DAT-DEF	be.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
	ežan,	*vor-its'*	*patrastel*	*enk'*	*tarber*
	cheap	which-ABL	prepare.PPT	be.1PL.PRS	different
	ban-er.				
	thing-PL				

'Apricots were cheap in the year (20)16, from which we made various things.'

(Khoy with literary influence)

(432)	*ařač'in*	*hert'-i-n*	*iren*	*gərants'el*	*a*
	first	place-DAT-DEF	3SG.DAT	register.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
	talis,	*um-its'*	*vor*	*vaxenum*	*es*
	give.IPT	who-ABL	CONJ	fear.IPT	be.2SG.PRS

'In the first place he gets himself registered, the one you're afraid of'

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

When the relativized element is focused in MC, in the majority of cases (84%), RC follows MC:

(314)	*hetov*	*pumbus*	*k'ar*	*unek'*	*mek',*
	then	pumice	stone	have.1PL.PRS	1PL.NOM
	or	*šat*	*hetak'ərk'ir*	*patmuts'yun*	*uni*
	CONJ	very	interesting	history	have.3SG.PRS
	at	*pumbus*	*k'ar-ə*		

DEM2 pumice stone-DEF

'and then we've got a pumice stone, that has a very interesting history'

(Agulis: Paraka)

Exceptions to this are mainly examples where RC itself has the status of a left-dislocated topic (it has the fall-rise intonation characteristic of topics, and is always given information: all new information RCs in the corpus follow MC):

(433)	*um*	*vəra*	*vor*	*jəɣaynats'el*	*em,*
	who-GEN	on	CONJ	be.annoyed.PPT	be.1SG.PRS
	NA	*er*	*im*	*ənker-ə*	
	DEM3	be.3SG.PST	1SG.GEN	friend-DEF	

'(as for) the [contextually salient] one I got annoyed with, THAT ONE was my friend'

(Lori: Shnogh)

Thus it can be seen that the main factor determining the position of finite RCs with regard to MC is information status. It has been noted (Jahukyan 1974: 541) that there is a tendency for the relativized element to be placed as close as possible to RC, which is likely to be motivated by processing considerations (see Hawkins 2004, Minimize Domains principle favouring a smaller structural distance between elements in a dependency relationship, such as the anaphoric one between the representations of the relativized element in MC and RC). Given the strong tendency for finite RCs referring to a focused element to appear to the right of MC, this principle should favour the occurrence of postverbal focus. It appears that this is indeed the case, with the presence of a right-adjoined finite RC modifying the focused element being one of the factors favouring the occurrence of postverbal focus. Leaving aside constructions where the only verb is the clitic auxiliary, which cliticizes onto the focused element in virtually all cases, leading to these being classified as preverbal focus, 58% of focused elements modified by a right-adjoined finite RC appear in postverbal position, compared to 38% of those modified by a non-finite RC. However, it appears that it is the position of the RC, determined by information structure, that is affecting the position of the focused element, rather than the position of the RC being influenced by the position of the relativized element within MC. This can be seen in the fact that exceptions to the generalization whereby finite RCs modifying MC topics precede MC, while those modifying MC foci follow, are determined by information structure or by semantic factors such as non-restrictiveness (see examples (235), (431), (432)), rather than by the position of the relativized element within MC. In example (314), for example, the relativized element is in preverbal position in MC, and in 43% of finite RCs with MC, there is no overt representation of the relativized element in MC, so it cannot be the position of this element that is determining the position of RC.

5.2.5 Dialect variation and language contact

Given the fact that there is an areal and language contact dimension to the choice between the relativization strategies available in Armenian, it may be expected that there could be differences between dialects and speakers as regards the choice of strategy. Observing the maps of the distribution of the three strategies found in Armenian in Gandon (2016) (figures 1-3), we may expect a preference for RP use in the northern part of Armenia, represented here by the dialects of Gyumri and Lori, and for the indeclinable subordinator (conjunction) strategy in dialects originating in Iran, such as that of Khoy. This is supported by the data: comparing the responses for questionnaire 1, we find that in Lori 75% of finite RCs use RP, while 25% use conjunction alone, in Gyumri the pattern is very similar, with 73% RP vs. 27% conjunction alone, in contrast to Khoy, where 37% of finite RCs use RP compared to 63% with conjunction alone (in all other areas investigated, the distribution ranges between 50% RP – 50% conjunction alone and around 60% RP – 40% conjunction alone[89]). This implies that contact with Iranian languages may have favoured the spread of the indeclinable subordinator at the expense of the RP strategy in Khoy dialect, while the RP strategy has been most robust in the northern part of the Armenian-speaking area, where other languages with this strategy are found. We may also expect that dialects and speakers showing a higher degree of exposure to Turkic languages will show a higher percentage of non-finite forms. The data from this study do not confirm this: the areas with a higher degree of current bilingualism in Turkic languages (Agulis, Khoy, Vayots Dzor) do not show particularly high percentages of non-finite forms. The two dialects which appear to show particularly high NF percentages are Mush and Lori, with around 60% NF responses to questionnaire 1, while the other dialects have between 40 and 49% NF:

Mush:	64% NF
Lori:	61% NF
Agulis:	49% NF
Bayazet:	48% NF
Vayots Dzor:	47% NF
Khoy:	46% NF
Gyumri:	40% NF

Figure 14: Percentage of non-finite forms by dialect

[89] The figures are:

DIALECT	RP	CONJUNCTION ALONE
Lori	75%	25%
Gyumri	73%	27%
Bayazet	62%	38%
Agulis	60%	40%
Vayots Dzor	58%	42%
Mush	50%	50%
Khoy	37%	63%

However, note that there is in fact evidence that language contact can play a role in the distribution of finite and non-finite forms, as dialect texts from areas in central and western Turkey with very intense language contact with Turkish (Gamirq, Sivri-Hisar, Muradca, in Mkrtchyan 2006) show 92% non-finite RCs. This pattern is quite different from what we have seen in the dialects spoken in Armenia, where contact with Turkic languages, where it exists, is not as intense, and mainly concerns Azeri, which has a less strong non-finite preference than Turkish (see figure 3).

The social factor which does genuinely seem to favour the use of non-finite forms, particularly for roles other than subject and inanimate direct object is age, with a significant difference between the usage patterns of speakers over 40, whose education was completed in Soviet times, and those under 40, who have had at least part of their education in independent Armenia:

Age	S	DOanim	DOinan	IO	Abl	Instr	Loc	PObj	PossS	PossO	Dest	Time	Total
>40	66	38	80	5	4	18	9	0	33	14	0	21	46
<40	71	18	66	0	5	0	0	0	8	6	10	7	36

Figure 15: Percentage of non-finite forms by age

It may be hypothesized that in Soviet times, a large part of the media output and formal language production in general was in Russian, and that language production in Armenian was more associated with informal environments, and less subject to standardization. In independent Armenia, there is greater exposure to formal Armenian, and greater pressure for standardization, thus the forms that are considered non-standard (participial RCs for roles other than subject or inanimate direct object) are used less frequently by the younger generation. Note that none of the Lori or Mush speakers was under 50, though this is also true of Khoy and Agulis, which do not have particularly high NF percentages compared to other areas. I suspect that the main reason why Lori and Mush appear to have a higher percentage of NF use than the other dialects is because the speakers from these areas who were involved in the study all had a low degree of SEA influence, while in other areas there were speakers with a higher degree of SEA influence.

5.2.6 Summary: Accessibility to relativization and factors affecting choice of strategy

Three different manifestations of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy are investigated here: the number of RC responses, the percentage of RCs with the target grammatical relation, and the choice between finite (more complex and explicit) and non-finite (less complex and explicit) forms. Finite forms with RPs and those with conjunction alone are shown not to differ in complexity in terms of movement dependencies, as neither of them involve movement operations analogous to the wh-movement that has been proposed for RPs in European languages. Nonetheless, there does seem to be a general tendency for forms with conjunctions to spread at the expense of those with RPs, possibly due to processing difficulties associated with the dual function of RPs as

both clause-linkers and anaphoric elements. However, the environments in which RPs are preferred are not associated with a coherent section of the Accessibility Hierarchy, but rather with particular RPs (animate dative *um* and locative *vorteɣ*), which are preferred over conjunction alone, while other RPs are not. These are frequently-occurring forms, and it may be their frequency that has allowed them to withstand the spread of the indeclinable conjunction *vor*.

There are two main factors associated with accessibility to relativization. One of these is role prominence. There are two types of role prominence. One of these, which is characteristic of the most prominent element in nominative-accusative systems, and of referents of the subject participle, is the pragmatic property of topicality. The other, which is characteristic of the most prominent element in absolutive-ergative systems and of referents of the resultative participle, is the semantic property of affectedness, i.e. patient/theme role. This factor is also relevant for the number of RC responses, as RCs are most felicitous when they define a referent in terms of a state of affairs in which it plays a central role, being topical and/or affected, and less so when it plays a more peripheral role.

The other main factor is role-reference association. Elements with particular referential properties are frequently associated with particular roles, for example, animate referents are frequently associated with transitive subject role, while inanimate referents are not. Constructions with frequently-occurring role-reference combinations are easier to process, and thus require less complex and explicit expressions, than those with infrequently-occurring role-reference combinations. Accessibility judgments show that participial RCs with infrequently-occurring role-reference combinations are rejected by consultants, at least in the absence of context. The role-reference combination factor leads to a general preference for SRCs over other grammatical relations, as the relativized element is inherently topical within RC, and topicality is a property associated with subject role. This is most pronounced for animate referents, which are often 'promoted' to subject in contexts which target other grammatical relations. However, promotion to subject is rare for inanimate referents, and instead, we see 'demotion' of inanimate subjects to DO or instrumental, i.e. roles which are more frequently associated with elements having the referential property of inanimacy. When the relativized element is a place expression, it is often 'promoted' to locative.

Other factors which seem to play a role in the choice of relativization strategies include complexity in terms of numbers of (especially non-omittable) arguments and adjuncts: ditransitive and co-ordinate VP structures seem to show a lower percentage of NF responses than monotransitive and simple structures, as do constructions with 'heavy' (PP and clausal) adjuncts, though NP adjuncts do not seem to affect the number of NF responses if the other referents are omittable. The crucial fact here is that NF RCs show a very strong tendency to have no more than one overt argument in RC. Another factor is language contact. Contact with languages preferring non-finite RCs, such as Turkish, does seem to have an impact on the percentage of NF forms, as shown by dialect texts from central and western Turkey. However, the dialects spoken in Armenia do not seem to differ

significantly among themselves as regards this factor. The most crucial factor here is the influence of SEA and prescriptive norms, which affects younger speakers more than older ones, and leads to a stronger tendency to restrict the use of NF RCs to subject and inanimate DO contexts. Contact with Iranian languages is likely to be a factor in the preference for forms with indeclinable conjunction over RP in Khoy dialect. The presence of languages using RPs in the area to the north of Armenia could have contributed to reinforcing the use of this strategy, which is most frequent in the dialects of northern Armenia (Lori and Gyumri).

6 Conclusions

The information presented in this study of spoken Armenian and its dialects presents quite a different picture of the typology of relativization in Armenian from that which emerges from studies based on the written language. In works such as Dum-Tragut (2009), Armenian is described as possessing finite relative clauses with RP as the main strategy, which in Creissels (2005) are described as postnominal, with prenominal participial RCs as an alternative strategy that is generally restricted to relativizing subjects and direct objects. However, a closer investigation of the spoken language reveals that this picture is incomplete, and in some ways inaccurate.

In the first place, it overlooks the fact that the conjunction (invariant general subordinator) *vor*, whose existence is acknowledged by Dum-Tragut (2009: 292), may be used to introduce relative clauses as well as other types of subordinate clauses, and is in fact preferred to constructions with relative pronouns under some circumstances, a pattern which is paralleled in many spoken European languages, as well as in Georgian. The fact that this has been overlooked in some studies is due to the difficulty in distinguishing conjunction *vor* from RP *vor*, as the former is diachronically derived from the latter, and has the same form as the nominative singular RP. Nonetheless, in constructions where the relativized element should appear in non-nominative case, there is a clear contrast between forms with RP *vor*, which is case-marked (215), and those with conjunction *vor*, which is not (238):

(215)	*Vorov*	*usanoɣ-ner-i*	*gəravor-ner-n*	*em*
	which.INSTR	student-PLGEN	test-PL-DEF	be.1SG.PRS
	stuge,	*eti*	*matit*	*er,*
	check.PPT	DEM2.NOM	pencil	be.3SG.PST
	gərič'	*č'er.*		
	pen	NEG.be.3SG.PST		

'The one I checked the students' tests with was a pencil, it wasn't a pen.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(238)	*Nəranov*	*vor*	*hianum*	*es,*	*eni*
	3SG.INSTR	CONJ	admire.IPT	be.2SG.PRS	DEM3.NOM
	xelats'i-n	*e*			
	clever-DEF	be.3SG.PRS			

'The one you admire is the clever one'

(Mush: Shirak)

However, contrary to what has been proposed for some of these languages, where RPs have been described as purely literary elements that do not really belong to the grammar of the spoken language, in spoken Armenian,

RPs actually appear to be the preferred strategy under some circumstances (the dative animate RP *um* and the locative *vorteɣ* are preferred to indeclinable *vor*), and frequently appear with non-standard phonetic and morphological characteristics. These facts imply that they are a living part of the spoken language, including dialect forms, and cannot be described as artificial literary elements whose presence in spoken discourse can be attributed to hypercorrection or literary influence.

The fact that relative clauses with RP are more productive in spoken Armenian than in the spoken forms of most European languages that possess them is possibly linked to another property of finite relative clauses in Armenian that has been overlooked by previous typological studies. This is the fact that, at least in the majority of cases, finite RCs in Armenian, both those with RPs and those introduced by the conjunction *vor*, are adjoined to the matrix clause rather than embedded in the noun phrase of the element they modify. This means that the relativized element is not extracted from its position in RC to occupy its place in MC or at the periphery of RC, as has been understood to take place in the case of embedded RCs, represented in (434), but rather there are separate representations of the relativized element in RC and in MC, linked by an anaphoric, rather than syntactic, dependency, represented in (435). RCs may be right- or left-adjoined; this largely depends on the information status of the relativized element within MC, with left-adjoined RCs preferred for topical elements and right-adjoined RCs for focused elements. All examples in the data in which a finite RC constitutes new information involve right-adjoined structures.

(434) $[_{MC}...[_{NP}N_i[_{RC}...gap_i...]]...]$

(435) $[_{RC}...NP_i...][_{MC}...NP_i...]$ or $[_{MC}...NP_i...][_{RC}...NP_i...]$

There are several facts that demonstrate that Armenian finite RCs are adjoined, rather than embedded structures. One is that the relativized element may appear as a full noun phrase in both clauses (317, 235), which is impossible in embedded constructions, where there cannot be more than one lexical noun representing the same element within the same noun phrase: the noun may appear in MC (for postnominal or prenominal embedded RCs) or in RC (for circumnominal embedded RCs), but not both (de Vries 2005).

(317)	*Vor*	*aɣjka*	*xaɣalis*	*šat*
	which	girl.GEN	play.IPT	much
	nver	*havak'ver,*	*ayn*	*aɣjik-ə*
	gift	collect.PASS.PST.SUBJ	DEM3	girl-DEF
	ənker-ner-i	*mijin*	*partsenum*	*er.*
	friend-PL-GEN	among	boast.IPT	be.3SG.PST

'During whichever girl's playing the most gifts were collected, that girl used to boast among her friends.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 286)

(235)	*En*	*ənkeroj-ə*	*or*	*šat*
	DEM3	friend.DAT-DEF	CONJ	much
	č'i	*sire,*	*en*	*ənker-ə*
	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	like.NPT	DEM3	friend.NOM.DEF
	kəse	*yes*	*kugam.*	
	PRS.say.3SG	1SG.NOM	PRS.come.1SG	

'The friend who he doesn't like very much, that friend says, I'm coming.'

(Gyumri)

Another is that there can be a slight semantic mismatch between these noun phrases, as in (311), showing number mismatch (singular in RC, plural in MC), which would be impossible if they were syntactic representations of the same element.

(311)	*Um*	*hats'*	*em*	*təve,*	*asel*
	who.SG.DAT	bread	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT	say.PPT
	en	*hats'-ət*	*anspaŕ*	*lini.*	
	be.3PL.PRS	bread-POSS2	inexhaustible	be.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	

'Who(ever) I gave bread to, they said 'May your bread be inexhaustible.''

(Gyumri)

Another is that they allow multiple relativization, which would be impossible if RC were syntactically attached to one of the relativized elements (de Vries 2002, Srivastav 1991, Bhatt 2003):

(310)	*Vor*	*tari-n*		*vor*	*mirk'-ə*	*šat*	*eɣe*
	which	year-DEF	which	fruit-DEF	much	be.PPT	
	parz	*e*	*dranits'*	*enk'*	*patraste.*		
	clear	be.3SG.PRS	DEM2.ABL	be.1PL.PRS	prepare.PPT		

'Whichever fruit was plentiful in each year, obviously we made things from that.'

(Mush: Vardenik)

A probable reason why finite RCs in Armenian have been interpreted as postnominal constructions is that in the two most frequent configurations involving the conjunction *vor*, this directly follows the relativized element. One of these configurations involves a left-adjoined RC with the relativized element positioned ahead of *vor*. The other involves a right-adjoined RC with the relativized element in final position in the matrix clause. When the case of the relativized element is the same in both clauses, and the representation in the following clause is

zero, as is frequently the case, these constructions have the superficial appearance of embedded postnominal RCs, as in (436) and (301). However, the existence of parallel forms with overt NP representations in each clause in the appropriate case shows that we are dealing with adjoined constructions.

[$_{RC}$N vor …] [$_{MC}$…]

(436)	[*Ayn*	*ašakertə,*	*vor*	*janaser*	*e*
	DEM3	student.DEF	CONJ	hard-working	be.3SG.PRS
	yev	*ir*	*gorts-ov*	*e*	*parapum,*]
	and	3SG.GEN	work-INSTR	be.3SG.PRS	practise.IPT
	[0]	*aŕajadem*	*klini*.		
	3SG.NOM	advanced	FUT.be.3SG		

'The student who is hard-working and practises his work will make progress.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 281)

(174)	[*Ayn*	*ban-ə,*	*vor*	*k'o*	*už-its'*	*ver*
	DEM3	thing-DEF	CONJ	2SG.GEN	strength-ABL	above
	e,]	*nran-its'*	*heŕu*	*kats'*.		
	be.3SG.PRS	DEM3-ABL	far	stand.IMP.SG		

'Stay away from things that are beyond your strength.'

(Abeghyan 1912: 159)

[$_{MC}$ …N] [vor… $_{RC}$]

(301)	*Yuri*	*Gagarin-ə*	*hele*	*aŕač'i*	*mart'-ə*	[*vor*
	Yuri	Gagarin-DEF	be.PPT	first	person-DEF	CONJ
	t'əŕe	*kozmos*.]				
	fly.PPT	cosmos				

'Yuri Gagarin was the first person who flew to the cosmos.'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(314)	*hetov*	*pumbus*	*k'ar*	*unek'*	*mek',*
	then	pumice	stone	have.1PL.PRS	1PL.NOM
	[*or*	*šat*	*hetak'ərk'ir*	*patmuts'yun*	*uni*
	CONJ	very	interesting	history	have.3SG.PRS
	at	*pumbus*	*k'ar-ə*]		
	DEM2	pumice	stone-DEF		

'and then we've got a pumice stone, that has a very interesting history'

(Agulis: Paraka)

This analysis also allows an entirely straightforward interpretation of so-called ‘reverse case attraction’ structures, in which the relativized element appears in RC case preceding the clause linker, as in (437):

(437)	*an*	*mən*	*gərič-ov*	*or*	*yes*
	DEM3	one	pen-INSTR	CONJ	1SG.NOM
	usanoɣ-ner-i	*gəravor-ner-n*	*em*	*stugats,*	*karmir*
	student-PL-GEN	test-PL-DEF	be.1SG.PRS	check.RPT	red
	guyn-i	*a*	*elats*		
	colour-GEN	be.3SG.PRS	be.RPT		

‘the pen I marked the students’ tests with was red’

(Agulis: Paraka)

This construction is problematic if it is analysed as involving an embedded postnominal RC, as the head noun is in RC case, not MC case. However, if it is analysed as involving a left-adjoined RC with the relativized element articulated as zero in the matrix clause, it is entirely unproblematic. This analysis is confirmed by the existence of forms with an overt representation of the relativized element in the matrix clause as well as in the relative clause, such as (235). The same conclusion is reached by Kiparsky (1995) regarding parallel constructions in Old English, and Bianchi (2000) regarding Latin and other languages.

It is not surprising that Armenian should possess adjoined RCs, as these are widespread in the languages of the area (Gandon 2016). Fiorentino (2007) states that adjoined (correlative) constructions with RP are preferred to embedded constructions in spoken, as opposed to written Russian, implying that the former are easier to process than the latter. This could account for the fact that RCs with RP are regularly used in spoken Armenian too, in contrast to the situation in European languages, in which RCs with RP are embedded constructions and present certain difficulties in processing, leading to their avoidance in spoken language. In Armenian, as in Russian, RCs with RP can be adjoined constructions, which do not present the same problems.

Fiorentino (2007) proposes that one reason why RCs introduced by a simple clause linker are preferred to those with RP is that the former allow the possibility of a resumptive, that is, a pronominal element that occupies the argument position of the relativized element in RC, thus the word order in RC is the same as that in an independent clause, while RPs generally appear in clause-initial position, with a gap in the argument position of the relativized element, making the construction more difficult to process. However, in Armenian, the situation is different. In the first place, as we have seen, the representation of the relativized element in Armenian RCs has full NP status, both in clauses introduced by RP (317) and those introduced by the conjunction *vor* (235). Thus the term ‘resumptive’ is not appropriate here, as even when the element in question has pronominal status,

as in (174), we are dealing with an independent noun phrase rather than a necessarily pronominal element marking a gap left by movement, as proposed for resumptives in embedded structures (see de Vries 2002 etc.). In RCs introduced by the conjunction *vor*, this element has the same form as it would have in an independent clause (full NP, pronoun or zero) depending on the degree of cognitive accessibility associated with its referent. When it is overt, it usually occupies initial position in RC, preceding *vor*, as we would expect for an inherently topical element (437), but if there is a more prominent topic, this may occasionally occur in initial position, with the relativized element following it but still preceding the main body of the predicate, as a secondary topic (438):

(438)	*mer-ə*	*vor*	*ərexi*	*həmar*	*kanfet*	*a*
	mother-DEF	CONJ	child.GEN	for	sweet	be.3SG.PRS
	aŕel,	*et*	*ərexe-n*		*urxats'el*	*a*
	buy.PPT	DEM2	child-DEF	be.happy.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	

'the child who the mother bought a sweet for was happy'[90]

(Lori: Shnogh)

These positional characteristics (usually first, as in (437) etc, sometimes second argument position, as in (438)) are shared by RPs in Armenian (compare (311) with RP in initial position, (416) with RP in second position): in both cases we are dealing with independent NPs representing a topical element, and in both cases they occupy positions typical of topical elements in independent clauses.

(311)	*Um*	*hats'*	*em*	*təve,*	*asel*
	who.SG.DAT	bread	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT	say.PPT
	en	*hats'-ət*	*anspaŕ*	*lini.*	
	be.3PL.PRS	bread-POSS2	inexhaustible	be.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	

'Who(ever) I gave bread to, they said 'May your bread be inexhaustible.''

(Gyumri)

(416)	*zoravar-i*	*um*	*təvel*	*e,*	*anəndhat*
	general-DAT	who.DAT	give.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	constantly
	yerevi	*spasoγakan*	*vičak*		
	probably	waiting	state		

'the one he gave to the general [is] probably constantly [in] a state of waiting'

(Gyumri)

[90] This is an ambiguous construction parallel to (329), which could also be interpreted as 'if/when/since the mother bought a sweet for the child, the child was happy'.

The fact that RPs are not subject to syntactic 'island' (subjacency) effects on extraction from subordinate clauses (finite wh-clause in (419), complex NP in (420)) further suggests that they do not undergo the same type of movement operation proposed for fronted RPs in European languages:

(419)	*vin*	*el*	*vor*	*gidum*	*em*
	who.DAT	PTC	CONJ	know.IPT	be.1SG.PRS
	um	*mot*	*a*	*ašxatum,*	*yerevi*
	who.DAT	close	be.3SG.PRS	work.IPT	probably
	t'e,	*naxarar*	*a*		
	CONJ	minister	be.3SG.PRS		

'and the one that I know who he works with is probably a minister'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

(420)	*vin*	*el*	*vor*	*šef-ə*	*həraman*
	who.DAT	PTC	CONJ	boss-DEF	order
	a	*təve*	*vor*	*ašxatavarts'-ə*	*havəlna*
	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	CONJ	wages-DEF	raise.3SG.PRS.SUBJ
	yerevi t'e	*šef-i*	*č'əsiruk*	*mart'kants'-its'*	*mek-n*
	probably	boss-GEN	NEG.love.RPT	people-ABL	one-DEF
	a	*ele,*	*tents'*	*vor*	*mi*
	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	thus	CONJ	one
	vat	*ban*	*ase,*	*šef-i*	*sərt-its'*
	bad	thing	say.PPT	boss-GEN	heart-ABL
	a	*hele,*	*ətu*	*xəmar*	*el*
	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	DEM2.GEN	for	PTC
	barts'rəts're				
	raise.PPT				

'the one that the boss gave an order that his wages should increase, [the customer] was probably someone the boss didn't like, so he [the waiter] said something bad [to the customer] and that pleased the boss, and that's why he raised it'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

Thus from a syntactic structural point of view, there is no reason to propose that RCs with RP are any more complex than those introduced by the conjunction *vor*, as both involve NP representations of the relativized element occupying positions typical of topical arguments, i.e. the same positions they would occupy in an independent clause.

However, as previously mentioned, in many environments, RCs introduced by the conjunction *vor* do seem to be preferred to constructions with RP. Furthermore, even in cases where RPs are used, there is some evidence, including frequent types of speech error, indicating that these constructions are indeed more difficult to process than those with conjunction *vor* alone. It appears that what is problematic is the dual nature of RPs as both clause linkers and anaphoric elements, while in constructions with conjunction *vor* we have a situation of one morpheme:one function (i.e. a clause linker and a representation of the relativized element which are separate from each other) which may be assumed to be simpler to process. Thus speakers tend to interpret RPs as either clause linkers or anaphoric elements, adding extra elements to perform the other role. Evidence for RPs being interpreted as simple clause linkers rather than representations of the relativized element is of two kinds. One involves RPs appearing in invariant nominative case, when the role of the relativized element in RC would require a different case:

(421)	*isk*	*ov*	[for *um*]	*hangist*	*e*
	and	who.NOM	[for who-DAT]	quiet	be.3SG.PRS
	t'oɣum,	*na*	*kəkaroɣana*	*ir*	*už-er-ov*
	leave.IPT	3SG.NOM	FUT.be.able.3SG	3SG.GEN	strength-PL-INSTR
	ařač'	*gənal*	*yev*	*šarunakel*	*sovorel*
	forward	go.INF	and	continue.INF	learn.INF

'and the one he leaves in peace will be able to make progress by his own efforts and continue to learn'

(Colloquial EA: Yerevan)

The other involves constructions where the RP is accompanied by a separate representation of the relativized element in RC case:

(250)	*isk*	*en*	*yerkr-um*	*vorte*	*ašxatum*	*em*,
	and	DEM	country-LOC	where	work.IPT	be.1SG.PRS
	parz	*a*	*vor*	*ed*	*yerkir-n*	*el*
	clear	be.3SG.PRS	CONJ	DEM	country-DEF	PTC
	əndzi	*lik'ə*	*p'orts'*	*təvuk*	*kəlni*	
	1SG.DAT	full	experience	give.RPT	FUT.be.3SG	

'and the country where I work, it's clear that that country will have given me a lot of experience too'

(Bayazet: Hatsarat)

In both these types of case, it appears that RP morphology has been superimposed on an element that has the syntactic status of invariant clause linker, like the conjunction *vor*. Exactly parallel types of speech errors are

reported for European languages by Fiorentino (2007) amongst others, who interprets them as cases of hypercorrection, as RPs are prestigious literary forms, while constructions with an invariant subordinator are considered substandard in some languages. This type of sociolinguistic factor may also play a role in Armenian. It could also be the case that the syntactic change from RP to simple clause linker is beginning to affect other RPs as well as *vor*.

More common than these types of constructions, which are considered speech errors, are forms in which RP appears to have been interpreted as a purely anaphoric element, requiring the presence of a separate clause linker, the conjunction *vor* (259). These forms are acceptable in the standard language, and are reported to be paralleled in other languages of the area (Gandon 2016).

(259)	*Vorde*	*vor*	*himnakan*	*aprum*	*em*
	where	CONJ	mainly	live.IPT	1SG.PRS
	kapver	*em.*			
	tie.PASS.PPT	be.1SG.PRS			

'Where I mainly live, I've got attached [to that place].'

(Mush: Shirak)

Thus although RCs with RP are productive in the spoken language to a greater extent than has been reported for many European languages, there is some evidence for an overall preference for forms with an invariant subordinator, the spread of which began in ancient times and may be in progress even now. This preference appears to be strongest in dialects originating in Iran, such as Khoy, and weaker or non-existent in northern Armenia (Lori and Gyumri). This implies that the spread of the invariant subordinator is favoured by contact with Iranian languages, in which this is the predominant strategy. The presence in the southern Caucasus around the north of Armenia of other languages using relative pronouns (see figure 1) may have contributed to the greater resilience of this strategy in the area.

In some dialects, notably those spoken in central and western Turkey as described by Mkrtchyan (2006), participial forms can undoubtedly be considered the preferred relativization strategy, accounting for over 90% of RCs appearing in the texts provided by Mkrtchyan (2006). It is likely that language contact has played a role in promoting the increased use of participial forms, as participial relativization is the preferred strategy in Turkish and other Turkic languages (though less so in Azeri), and it may be assumed that contact with Turkish was particularly intense in the dialects described by Mkrtchyan (2006). The recordings gathered in this study, which involve dialects now spoken within the territory of the Republic of Armenia, all show a significantly lower proportion of participial RC usage compared to the texts in Mkrtchyan (1996) (40-60%). The variation in participle use among these speakers, some of whom are bilingual in Azeri, does not seem to be linked to this factor, but rather to the age of the speakers, with older speakers making use not only of a higher percentage of participial forms compared to finite RCs, but also using them for a wider range of grammatical relations than

younger speakers, who tend to restrict them to subject and DO RCs. It is hypothesized that younger speakers, whose education has taken place entirely in independent Armenia, have had a higher degree of exposure to formal literary Armenian, and thus their choice of relativization strategies conforms more closely to the literary norm. However, even for these younger speakers, for subject and some types of DO RCs, the preferred strategy involves non-finite (participial) forms, with some subject and DO contexts in the questionnaires receiving 100% non-finite responses. The distribution of participial RCs, which are less complex and explicit constructions than finite RCs, has been seen as a manifestation of the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy (see Lehmann 1986), thus it is not surprising that they should be restricted to subject and direct object roles, which is said to be the case in literary Armenian (Jahukyan 1974). However, in colloquial Armenian, their distribution, although it follows the same general pattern, is not so closely linked to syntactic grammatical relations. This fits in with clear indications from previous theoretical and experimental studies that syntactic grammatical relations in themselves are not the sole key to accessibility to relativization.

Attempts to explain the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy effects as a mechanical reflex of the grammatical relation of the relativized element within RC all encounter serious problems. Those based on linear distance between filler and gap, such as Tarallo & Myhill (1983), can explain the subject > object preference in languages which have postnominal RCs and where the subject precedes the object in linear order, but make the opposite prediction for languages such as Turkish, which has subject – object order but prenominal RCs, or Malagasy, which has postnominal RCs but object-subject order. Nonetheless, both of these, as well as other languages with the same properties, have been shown to have a strong subject preference. Other approaches based on complexity in terms of filler-gap or similar dependency distance, such as Hawkins (2004), also make predictions that do not seem to be borne out by the data. Hawkins (2004) proposes that for subject RCs, the relevant distance is between filler (head N) and the element that subcategorizes for the relativized element in RC, normally the verb, while for non-subject RCs it is also necessary to access the subject in order to parse the construction. This predicts that in German, which has postnominal RCs and SOV order in subordinate clauses (N[SOV]), there will be no difference between the accessibility of subject and object RCs, as both need to access the verb, thus the size of the dependency will be the same. However, there is a consistent body of evidence (Diessel & Tomasello 2005, Brandt et al. 2008 etc.) demonstrating that German shows a subject preference comparable to that found in English (N[SVO]). Another prediction of this theory is that DO and IO of ditransitive will have the same level of accessibility in SOV languages with prenominal RCs ([S IO DO V]N), as both need to access the subject, so again, the size of the relevant domain will be the same. In general, the very considerable differences in accessibility between different DO and object-like constructions in which there is no extra structural layer, in particular the fact that some DO constructions have been shown to have the same level of accessibility as subjects, while others are much more problematic (Mak et al 2002 etc.), is totally unexpected in terms of this type of interpretation, and implies that there are other factors at work.

It has been proposed that the difference in accessibility of different object RCs is a result of the properties of elements intervening within the filler-gap domain, notably the subject of the RC. One factor improving the accessibility of ORCs is if the subject is a pronoun, especially 1st or 2nd person. This led Gibson (1998) to propose that intervening elements that are not new discourse referents do not add to processing cost. However, Gordon et al. (2001) find that proper name subjects, which do represent new discourse referents, also improve the accessibility of ORCs as compared to those with lexical NP subjects, implying that what is relevant is not new discourse referent status. Some generativist interpretations (such as Belletti et al 2012 and Hamann & Tuller 2010) propose that the key factor is similarity in terms of formal features between the relativized object and the subject of the relative clause, as a result of Rizzi's (1991) principle of Relativized Minimality (an intervening element similar in features to the target will inhibit the formation of a syntactic link between two elements). This could theoretically account for the fact that pronominal and proper name subjects do not seem to inhibit the relativization of lexical NP objects in the same way as lexical NP subjects do, as well as another widely reported phenomenon, namely the fact that ORCs in which the object is inanimate have been shown to be comparable to SRCs in terms of accessibility, while those in which the object is animate present more problems in both production and comprehension. Assuming that the subject is animate, it will intervene in the formation of a syntactic link between the [+animate] object position in RC and the ultimate position of the relativized object (at the edge of RC or in MC, depending on the theory), but will not cause problems if the object differs in feature specification from the subject, for example, if it is [-animate]. Note that this would predict that animate ORCs should be problematic only if the subject is animate: if the subject is inanimate, it will not inhibit the formation of a syntactic link, and we should expect subject-like accessibility, as with inanimate ORCs when the subject is animate. However, evidence shows that this is not the case. Animate ORCs with inanimate subject are no less problematic than animate ORCs with animate subject, and may even present greater problems (Wu 2011, Traxler et al 2002 etc.). In fact, these studies show that all RCs with inanimate subjects are problematic, both ORCs and SRCs. This implies that similarity between subject and object is not the main issue in the differential accessibility of ORC constructions.

The fact that constructions with inanimate subjects and ORCs with animate DOs are problematic suggests that role-reference association patterns could be the main issue here, i.e. that constructions in which the elements have referential properties typically (frequently) associated with the role in which they appear are easier to process. This is the essence of Haspelmath's (2018) Role-Reference Association Universal, which is proposed to be an example of frequency facilitating processing. In this light, it is also clear why pronominal and proper name subjects facilitate processing, as these types of elements frequently occur in subject role. The basic generalization is that constructions in which the subject is high on the Silverstein Hierarchy of cognitive prominence, and higher than the object if one is present, are easier to process than those in which this is not the case. This is one of the main factors behind the subject preference in relativization. An essential property of RCs is that, due to their function, they are inherently 'about' the relativized element (Kuno 1976), i.e. the relativized element always has topic status within RC. Topic status is one of the factors that contributes to

cognitive prominence. Thus relativized elements will always be high on the Silverstein Hierarchy, and therefore constructions in which they have the role of subject will be easier to process than those where they do not. If this is indeed the case, we would expect that exceptions to this would occur when there is another element in RC that has a higher degree of cognitive prominence than the relativized element. This explains why ORCs with inanimate DO and animate subject, and those with lexical NP DO and pronoun or proper name subject are easy to process.

It appears that this type of frequency effect is more powerful than that of similarity to basic word order, which is proposed by Diessel & Tomasello (2005) to explain the subject preference in languages with postnominal RCs and initial subjects, such as English and German (SRCs in such languages will have the constituents in the same order as would be found in an independent sentence, with the subject referent preceding the other constituents of RC, but in an ORC, the object will precede the other constituents). This theory cannot explain certain exceptions to this generalization that appear in their production experiments, in which speakers were required to repeat from memory a construction containing a relative clause. In general, there is a tendency for speakers to produce SRCs instead of non-subject RCs, 'promoting' the relativized element to subject. However, there are some examples of 'demotion' of relativized subjects to DO, such as (188):

(188) *This is the man who Peter saw on the bus this morning.*

for *This is the man who saw Peter on the bus this morning.*

(Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 888)

Parallel errors are found in German. Note that this example is also contrary to what we would expect if the decisive factor were a preference for subjects in initial position, as the authors suggest, and to their reported "very strong tendency for NP rel NP V > NP rel V (NP)" (Diessel & Tomasello 2005: 889), which would give exactly the opposite result:

(189)	NP	rel	NP	V >	NP	rel	V	(NP)
	the man	*who*	*Peter*	*saw >*	*the man*	*who*	*saw*	*Peter*
	O		S	V >	S		V	O

However, this type of result is completely consistent with the Role-Reference Association Universal, as it demonstrates a preference for a construction in which the element with a higher degree of cognitive prominence (the proper name 'Peter' as compared to the lexical NP 'the man') plays subject role. The attribution of the subject preference in relativization to similarity to basic word order is problematic for other reasons, too, as it fails to account for the strong subject preference in languages such as Malagasy, which have postnominal RCs but subjects in final position, as well as the fact that subject-initial languages with prenominal RCs, such as Turkish, also show a subject preference. Yip & Matthews (2007 etc.) explain a possible DO preference in

Cantonese, which also has initial subjects and prenominal RCs, to similarity to basic word order. However, as we shall see, there is conflicting evidence for the presence or absence of a subject preference in Chinese, which is unsurprising given the low functional load (or even irrelevance, according to LaPolla 1993) of syntactic subject status in this language.

The evidence from Chinese is important in the context of one manifestation of the subject preference, namely the tendency to articulate the relativized element (topic) as syntactic subject. Although crosslinguistically there is a tendency for the referential property of topichood to be associated with the syntactic role of subject, this association is much stronger in some languages than in others. Thus we would expect the subject preference in relativization to be stronger in languages in which the topic-subject association is strong than in those where it is weak or non-existent. As discussed by Keenan (1976), the category of syntactic subject is not a monolithic entity, but rather a collection of properties generally associated with elements having pragmatic topic and/or semantic agent role, no one of which is necessary or sufficient to categorize the element in question as subject. These properties include initial position, verb agreement, and various control and coreference properties. In general, each verb assigns syntactic subject role to a particular thematic argument, in active voice generally the one whose role is highest on the thematic hierarchy, one version of which is shown in figure 12:

Agent > Patient > Recipient > Beneficiary > Instrument > Location > Time
(Dik 1978: 76)

Figure 12: Hierarchy of thematic roles (Dik 1978: 76)

However, many languages have strategies for articulating arguments other than the thematic subject as syntactic subject, which are generally used when the main topic is not the thematic subject. One example is passive voice in English, whereby the theme/patient argument of a transitive verb can be articulated as syntactic subject, normally when it is more topical than the agent. In languages where this type of process is common, we would expect it to be used when the relativized element, i.e. topic, is not the thematic subject, and indeed this has been found to be the case (Humphreys et al. 2016, Sanfelici et al. submitted etc.), with passive SRCs being frequently produced in experimental contexts designed to elicit ORCs.

In some languages, in particular Western Malayo-Polynesian languages such as Malagasy, topical elements with essentially any semantic role are consistently articulated as syntactic subject (agreement trigger) by processes analogous to passive. Thus we would expect that any relativized element can be promoted to subject, and in fact this is obligatory in Malagasy, with relativization being restricted to subjects in this language. In other languages, such as Turkish, there are separate strategies for marking thematic subject (by verb agreement) and topic (by initial position), thus when thematic subject does not coincide with topic, this does not pose problems, and passive is not commonly used. However, Turkish does possess a passive construction. This is

mainly used when the thematic subject has an extreme lack of cognitive prominence, such as when it is generic or non-referential (impersonal passive). In relativization, we observe an analogous phenomenon, with relativized elements that are not thematic subject being 'promoted to subject' (using the subject participle) when the thematic subject has a particular lack of cognitive prominence (Haig's (1998) 'semi-subjects'). In Chinese, there are arguably no syntactic properties associated with the status of thematic subject as opposed to topic, and there is no passive construction in the sense of a construction used to promote topical non-subjects to syntactic subject status (Li & Thompson 1976). Most, perhaps all, manifestations of syntactic prominence are associated with topic status, which is unconnected with thematic role (indeed, the topic need not even have a thematic role in the action denoted by the verb). Thus we will not see 'promotion to subject' of relativized elements in Chinese, at least not in the syntactic sense.

We have discussed manifestations of AH involving a preference for the relativized element, as a topical and thus cognitively prominent referent, to be articulated or interpreted in syntactic subject role, which can be understood as an instance of Haspelmath's (2018) Role-Reference Association Universal. This does not occur in Chinese, because the notion of syntactic subject as distinct from topic has a very low, possibly non-existent functional load. Thus the subject preference in this language is weak, and experimental studies of relativization have produced mixed results. However, manifestations of a subject preference have been found in Chinese, including a tendency in elicited production experiments to alter the semantics of the construction so that the relativized element (topic) plays the most prominent semantic role:

(197) "the cat that is behind the dinosaur"

for "the cat that the boy places behind the dinosaur"

(Lau 2016: 66)

Thus as well as the tendency to assign the syntactically most prominent role (subject) to the element with the highest degree of cognitive prominence (usually the relativized element), there is also a tendency for cognitive prominence to be associated with semantic prominence. This can lead to changes in the way the state of affairs denoted by RC is presented, so that the relativized element plays the semantically most prominent role, as seen in (197). However, the preference for articulating the relativized element in particular semantic roles depends to some extent on the referential semantic properties of the element in question. Thus animate relativized elements will typically be articulated as agent, but inanimate elements, which are infrequent in agent roles, will typically be articulated as patient, the next most prominent thematic role. This is why inanimate ORCs have a high degree of accessibility. If the relativized element has properties characteristic of a particular semantic role other than agent or patient, such as location or time, then role-reference association predicts that RCs in which it plays this role (place expression as location, time as time) should have a relatively high degree of accessibility.

However, location and time, being normally articulated as obliques or adpositional constructions, occupy a low position on the AH. Thus even if the relativized element has referential properties that frequently coincide with this role, the construction may not have the high degree of accessibility associated with animate agent or inanimate patient as relativized element. Lehmann (1986) observes that elements that are inherent in the valency of the verb generally have a higher degree of accessibility to relativization than those that are not. One way of understanding this is as indicating that elements that are more immediately involved in the action or event denoted by the verb (especially as agent or affected patient/theme) are easier to relativize than those which play more peripheral roles. This makes sense in the context of the function of RCs to characterize or define the reference of the relativized element. A referent will be unlikely to be categorized in terms of a state of affairs in which it plays an insignificant role. This factor could account for the fact that the accessibility to relativization of possessors seems to vary extremely, from approaching that of subjects (as in Turkish, where this role is the second most frequent after subject to use the 'subject' participle) to the lowest of all roles (as reported by Diessel and Tomasello 2005 for experiments in English and German). Some possessors, such as possessors of an affected body part, can be conceived of as playing a prominent role in the sense of being directly affected by the state of affairs denoted by RC (e.g. 'the man whose head hurts'). However, others are totally uninvolved, as in the constructions used by Diessel & Tomasello (2005), for example, 'the man whose cat caught a mouse': it is difficult to imagine a situation in which this state of affairs would be felicitously be used to characterize the relativized possessor. As regards time and place RCs, it has been observed by Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007: 23 for time RCs) that these often function to provide a setting for the state of affairs denoted in the matrix clause, like adverbials, rather than to identify a referent that is relevant for ongoing discourse, as is usual with RCs. Thus it is probable that adverbial clauses will be preferred to RCs as a means of articulating this information, and the textual frequency of RCs where the relativized element plays this type of role, which is one of the measures of accessibility, may be low.

In order to test relativization accessibility effects in Armenian, questionnaires were constructed with contexts designed to elicit RCs with different grammatical relations and other relevant properties. This was measured in 3 ways: the percentage of non-finite (simpler and less explicit) as opposed to finite RC responses, with a higher non-finite percentage indicating a higher degree of accessibility, the percentage of target responses, i.e. responses in which the relativized element plays the same role targeted by the context, with a higher target percentage indicating a higher degree of accessibility, and the average number of RC responses produced per consultant per context, with a higher percentage of RC responses indicating a higher degree of accessibility.

Percentage of non-finite forms

Subject (68%) > DO (48%) > Possessor of subject (24%) > Time (16%) > Possessor of object (12%) > Instrumental (11%) > Locative (7%), Destination (7%) > IO (4%), Ablative (4%) > Adpositional object (2%)

Percentage of target responses for contexts targeting particular grammatical relations

Subject (animate) (100%), Instrumental (inanimate) (100%) > DO (inanimate) (99%) > Time (98%) > Locative (place) (96%) > Adpositional object (animate beneficiary or IO-like) (88%) > Possessor of subject (83%), Subject (inanimate) (83%) > DO (animate) (81%) > Instrumental (human IO-like) (76%) > Destination (69%) > Possessor of object (66%) > IO (63%) > Ablative (animate) (58%) > Ablative (inanimate) (33%)

Average number of RCs per context per consultant:

Subject (0.6) > DO (0.5), IO (0.5), Adpositional object (beneficiary or IO-like) (0.5) > Ablative (0.4), Locative (0.4), Possessor (0.4) > Instrumental (0.3), Time (0.3) > Destination (0.2)

Thus we can see that the results correspond in general terms to the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy, with a general tendency for Subject > DO > Other. They run counter to the predictions of the theory of Diessel & Tomasello (2005) attributing the Accessibility Hierarchy to frequency effects resulting from similarity to basic word order (in particular, to a preference for initial subjects) as this would predict a preference for ORCs over SRCs in prenominal RCs in subject-initial languages, as in the former ([S_V]O) the subject referent would appear in initial position, while in the latter ([_OV]S) it would be in final position. However, the distribution of non-finite RCs in Armenian, which possess these word order properties, shows a preference for subjects over DO and other grammatical relations.

As for the theories basing the Accessibility Hierarchy effects on the length and/or complexity of dependency domains, such as Hawkins (2004), there are again some specific predictions which are not borne out by the data, in particular that IO and DO of ditransitive should have the same level of accessibility to participial (prenominal) relativization, and that object-like constituents without an extra layer of structure such as a PP, for example destination of 'go', which is non-case-marked, like inanimate direct objects, in Armenian, should have the same level of accessibility as DOs. More generally, the wide differences in accessibility between different referents with the same grammatical relation, with some inanimate DOs and possessors of affected body parts showing subject-like levels, while inanimate subjects are closer to animate DOs, suggest that the mechanism behind these patterns does not hinge on structural position. Further evidence for this is the fact that the different measures of accessibility show crucial differences between them, which make sense in the light of the combined operation of different role-reference association patterns and a general preference for prominent (directly involved) roles, but is totally unexpected if we envisage the Accessibility Hierarchy as a straightforward consequence of syntactic structural properties.

The hierarchy of target responses measures the percentage of cases where the relativized element is 'promoted' to a role other than that which it plays in the context. The best-known example of this type of process involves the 'promotion' of (especially animate) relativized elements to subject, which is one of the key pieces of

evidence cited in studies involving production experiments for the existence of a subject preference in relativization. This can be understood as a straightforward manifestation of Haspelmath's (2018) Role-Reference Association Universal, whereby the referent with the highest degree of cognitive prominence (usually the relativized element) is associated with subject role. Less well-studied are the other instances of 'promotion' captured by this hierarchy, which include the articulation of inanimate subject referents as DO (patient/theme) or instrumental, and the preference for static locative over spatial expressions involving movement (referents with destination or ablative role in the context were frequently articulated as locative). Here we very clearly see different levels of accessibility of different roles depending on the referential properties of the element in question, of which the well-known animate/inanimate DO phenomenon is but one example. This is exactly what we would expect of a pattern based on semantic role-reference associations, whereby there is a tendency to articulate the relativized element in the most prominent semantic role typically associated with its referential features, depending also on the properties of the verb: agent or experiencer for animates, patient/theme or instrumental for inanimates, static location for places.

The hierarchy of the number of RC responses (as opposed to non-RC constructions) for contexts targeting particular grammatical relations can be understood as reflecting the degree to which the relativized element is conceived of as directly involved in the state of affairs expressed in RC. This factor could be termed 'role prominence'. There are two separate types of role prominence. One of these is pragmatic prominence, or topicality, i.e. the degree to which the utterance can be felicitously construed as being 'about' the relativized element. This involves the degree of cognitive prominence of the referent in itself and in relation to the other elements in the clause, as well as the degree to which it can be conceived of as involved in or affected by the state of affairs. Topicality has been identified as the key property linking the most prominent arguments (agent of transitive or sole argument of intransitive) in nominative-accusative systems (Dryer 1986: 841). The other type of role prominence is the semantic property of affectedness, associated with patient/theme role, the most extreme example of which is a referent whose existence depends on the action expressed by the verb. This is the key property of the most prominent argument (patient/theme) of ergative-absolutive systems (Dryer 1986: 841). The fact that there are two different types of role prominence explains why there are such wide differences between proposed 'thematic hierarchies', with some, such as that of Dik (1978) placing patient/theme in the second-highest position after agent, while others, essentially hierarchies of topicality, place recipient/beneficiary above this. The fact that both these types of prominence are relevant to the number of RC responses is implied by the fact that DO and IO (recipient) have the same level of accessibility by this measure, as well as beneficiary arguments articulated by other syntactic means. Different possessor constructions show extreme differences in accessibility by this measure, with possessor of affected body part contexts (both topical and affected) among those with the very highest number of RC responses, while possessors that play no role in and are unaffected by the state of affairs denoted by RC are among the very lowest (zero for 'one man's dog is barking'). All types of elements that play peripheral, circumstantial roles in the state of affairs denoted by RC, including time and place expressions that have a high degree of accessibility by other measures (because they

involve frequent role-reference combinations) occupy low positions on this hierarchy. This can be understood as reflecting the communicative function of RCs, which typically involves identifying a referent that will be prominent in the discourse: a referent is less likely to be identified in terms of a state of affairs in which it plays an insignificant role. In addition, when RCs are produced on elements playing peripheral roles such as time or location, they often serve a different purpose, that of providing a setting for the state of affairs in MC (Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2007), which may be more felicitously achieved by the use of an adverbial clause than a true RC.

In the patterns of accessibility to participial relativization, we may observe the combined operation of all of these factors. The two participles used in relativization, the subject participle and the resultative participle, are essentially defined by the two types of role prominence discussed in the context of the number of RC responses, but role-reference association effects are also observed. The form known as the subject participle was originally an agent noun, thus its use was determined by semantic role. In literary Armenian, its use is defined by syntactic role, as it may only be used to relativize syntactic subjects, not necessarily agentive ones. In colloquial spoken Armenian, the defining property is the pragmatic property of topicality. It is used to relativize primary topics, i.e. the element with the highest degree of cognitive prominence in RC, even if this is not the subject. The main generalization about non-subject uses of the subject participle is that the subject must have a lower degree of pragmatic prominence than the relativized element (there are no examples with an animate, agentive, non-generic subject that is salient in the context). The prominence of the relativized element in itself also appear to play a role: all examples are either animate or in some sense agentive (the only instances of inanimate non-subjects being relativized with the subject participle involve instruments, which, given the non-salience of the subject, can be conceived of as agentive in some sense).

The characteristic most closely associated with uses of the resultative (perfective) participle is affected patient/theme status. Perfective constructions, involving a completed action, tend to focus on the result of this action. Perfective participles typically have the status of adjectives, that is, forms denoting a property, in the case of perfective participles, a property resulting from a completed action. RCs using this participle will typically denote an entity that has acquired a property as a result of the action, i.e. have undergone a change of state, i.e. have patient/theme role (Haspelmath 1994). They are generally associated with predictable role-reference association configurations (constructions with animate patients and inanimate agents have been judged to have reduced acceptability out of context), but these effects can be mitigated when the roles of the referents are made clear by the context. There are two types of cases in the data where this participle is used to relativize elements that do not have patient/theme role. In one, the element referred to by the participle is a relativized agent of an action that crucially has past time reference. This type of usage may be more common in dialects where this participle is used in regular past perfective tense forms, thus the link with patient/theme status has been weakened, while that with past time reference has been reinforced. In the other type of case, the participle refers to an affected patient or theme, but this is not the relativized element. Crucial to this usage is

that the relationship between the affected patient and the relativized element must be transparent: it is used for possessive constructions in which the possessive relationship can be easily inferred from the semantic properties of the elements in question (person and affected body part, driver and affected car), and for expressions denoting the time or place, whose role, again, is easily inferrable from their referential properties. In the latter case, the relativized element is identified by linking it to an event that affected another entity. The identification will be more effective if the entity and the event are highly salient. Thus this strategy is most often used with 1st person patients which were highly affected by the event denoted by the verb (e.g. 'the place where I was born', 'the year I had a child').

Any theory based on word order and syntactic grammatical relations (including linear and structural distance between filler and gap, and the frequency effect of similarity to basic word order) runs into trouble over languages with different word order patterns, which do not seem to correspond to different accessibility patterns, and the significant differences in the accessibility of different types of ORCs, as well as conflicting evidence for the accessibility of possessor and indirect object constructions, and some experimental results that appear to be contrary to the hierarchy, involving 'demotion' of subjects to DO. Here it is proposed that the key factor in accessibility to relativization is not syntactic grammatical relation in itself, but role prominence in pragmatic (topic) and semantic (affected patient/theme) terms, paralleling the key characteristic of the most prominent argument in nominative/accusative (topicality) and absolutive/ergative (patient/theme status) systems. Role prominence is important in relativization for two reasons. One results from the function of a relative clause to characterize the relativized element: a referent is more likely to be effectively characterized by an event in which it plays a prominent role, rather than one in which it is a more peripheral participant. This generally results in a preference for subject and DO, but also explains why topical and/or affected possessors can show a high degree of accessibility. This is the main factor behind the number of RC responses as a measure of accessibility, and is also crucial for the distribution of participial RCs (SPT for topic, RPT for affected patient/theme).

The other reason why role prominence is important involves one manifestation of Haspelmath's (2018) Role-Reference Association Universal, by which a construction is easier to process if the referents play roles frequently associated with their referential properties. As a consequence of its function, a relative clause is inherently a statement 'about' the relativized element, thus this element always has topic status, one of the manifestations of cognitive prominence. The Role-Reference Association Universal predicts that constructions will be preferred in which cognitively prominent elements play syntactically and semantically prominent roles. In syntactic terms, this results in the widely-reported subject preference in relativization. The extent to which a given language makes use of syntactic processes such as passive for articulating topics as syntactic subject is correlated with the strength of the subject preference in relativization (strong in Malagasy, weak in Chinese). In Armenian, the promotion of relativized elements to subject by means of passive is not particularly common, but

the extension of the subject participle to highly topical non-subjects can be understood as an example of this type of process.

However, for inanimate referents in particular, the subject preference is modulated by the semantic manifestations of the Role-Reference Association Universal. This is the link between the referential semantic properties of the elements in the construction (not only the relativized element) and their semantic roles: animate referents will be preferentially associated with agent or experiencer roles, inanimate referents with patient/theme roles, and with instrument in preference to agent roles, while place expressions are preferentially associated with static location roles as compared to those involving motion. The semantic properties of the verb are also relevant. This is the main mechanism behind accessibility as measured in terms of percentage of target forms (tendency to 'promote' relativized element to role more frequently associated with its referential properties). There is also evidence that it is relevant for the distribution of participial RCs, which are dispreferred when the referents show non-typical role-reference association patterns (e.g. animate objects, inanimate subjects), although these effects can be modulated when the roles are made clear by the context.

These factors allow a much more coherent account of accessibility to relativization than theories based on syntactic grammatical relations alone, explaining not only the general subject > DO > other tendency, but also consistent exceptions to this, such as the difference in accessibility between animate and inanimate DOs, and the widely varying status of genitive and IO on different versions of the hierarchy. The fact that some languages possess genuine syntactic rules restricting relativization to particular grammatical relations is an interesting example of the tendency, observed by Haspelmath (2008), for syntactic rules in one language to correspond to functionally-based tendencies in others. The mechanism behind the link is still unclear, but in Armenian, it appears that semantic and pragmatic properties are the primary factors behind the distribution of participial forms, while proposed syntactic rules restricting them to particular grammatical relations result from generalizations based on this distribution, which, in some cases at least, appear to be artificial, prescriptive constructions.

Thus this study sheds new light not only on the syntax and typology of relativization in Armenian, but also on the factors contributing to accessibility to relativization more generally. Previous studies have stated that the predominant relativization strategy in Armenian involves finite RCs with relative pronouns, which have been categorized in typological overviews of the area (Creissels 2005, Gandon 2016) as postnominal. However, a closer examination of the syntactic properties of finite RCs in Armenian shows that, at least in the majority of cases, we are dealing with adjoined, rather than embedded, structures, thus the categorization 'postnominal' is not appropriate. The fact that common configurations give the superficial appearance of postnominal embedded constructions has led to this miscategorization, and may possibly have led to the emergence of genuine embedded RCs by reanalysis. This study also demonstrates that, in some dialects at least, RCs with relative pronoun cannot be considered the predominant strategy. A diachronic development is taking place whereby an indeclinable subordination marker has developed from the relative pronoun *vor*, and this strategy seems to be

spreading at the expense of true relative pronoun constructions, especially in dialects that originated in Iran, where this type of strategy predominates. In some dialects spoken in Turkey, the predominant strategy involves participial relativization, which reflects the situation in Turkish.

Even within the territory of Armenia, where the use of participial forms is significantly less frequent, they are the preferred strategy for subject and some types of direct object RCs. However, contrary to statements in some grammars, they are not restricted to these roles, but may be used for essentially any grammatical relation given the appropriate conditions. For the subject participle, which was originally an agent noun, the key property is now pragmatic prominence in the sense of topicality, paralleling the most prominent argument in nominative/accusative systems. For the resultative participle, the key property is semantic prominence in the sense of affectedness, paralleling the most prominent argument in ergative/absolutive systems. Accessibility to participial relativization is also improved if the construction involves frequent role-reference association patterns. These same properties (role prominence in the sense of topicality and affectedness, frequent role-reference association combinations) can be seen to hold the key to accessibility to relativization in general, providing a more complete and coherent account than theories based on syntactic grammatical relations alone. Relativization accessibility phenomena present an interesting case in which syntactic rules in some languages correspond to functionally-based tendencies in others. In Armenian, the functionally-based tendencies appear to be primary; the investigation in this context of similar patterns in other languages should shed further light on the relationships between syntactic rules and functionally-based tendencies more generally.

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Questionnaires

Questionnaire 1

Q1:1

Երեք հատ քույր կա: Մեկը ժամը 10ին ա քնում, մյուսը՝ 12ին, էն մյուսն էլ՝ 2ին:

Yerek'	*hat*	*k'uyr*	*ka.*	*Mek-ə*	*žam-ə*
three	piece	sister	exist.3SG.PRS.	One-DEF	hour-DEF

tas-i-n	*a*	*k'num,*	*myus-ə*	*tasnerkus-i-n,*	*en*
ten-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	sleep.IPT	other-DEF	twelve-DAT-DEF	DEM3

myus-n	*el*	*yerkus-i-n.*
other-DEF	PTC	two-DAT-DEF

'There are three sisters. One goes to sleep at 10 o'clock, one at 12 o'clock, and the other at 2 o'clock.'

a) Որ մեկը քանիսի՞ն ա զարթնում:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*k'anis-i-n*	*a*	*zart'num?*
which	one-DEF	how.many-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	wake.up.IPT

'What time does each one wake up?'

b) Ո՞ր մեկն ա ավելի լավ իրան զգում:

Vor	*mek-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*lav*	*iran*	*zgum?*
which	one-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	good	3SG.DAT	feel.IPT

'Which one feels best?'

Q1:2

Մեկը գնալու ա Սևան, մյուսը՝ Լոնդոն, էն մյուսն էլ՝ Դուբայ:

Mek-ə	*gnalu*	*a*	*Sevan,*	*myus-ə*	*London,*
one-DEF	go.FPT	be.3SG.PRS	Sevan	other-DEF	London

en	*myus-n*	*el*	*Dubay.*
DEM3	other-DEF	PTC	Dubai

'One is going to Sevan, one to London, and the other to Dubai.'

a) Որ մեկը ի՞նչ ա անելու:

Vor	*mek-n*	*inč'*	*a*	*anelu?*
which	one-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.FPT

'What will each one do?'

b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի լավ անցկացնելու ժամանակը:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*lav*	*ants'kats'nelu*	*žamanak-ə?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	good	pass	time-POSS3

'Who will have the best time?'

Q1:3

Մեկը 100 դրամ ա գտել, մյուսը՝ ոսկի մատանի, էն մյուսն էլ՝ կասկածելի գործերի մասին իրա շեֆի գաղտնի նամակը:

Mek-ə	*haryur*	*dram*	*a*	*gtel,*	*myus-ə*
one-DEF	hundred	dram	be.3SG.PRS	find	other-DEF
voski	*matani,*	*en*	*myus-n*	*el*	*kaskatseli*
gold	ring	DEM3	other-DEF	PTC	suspicious
gorts-er-i	*masin*	*ira*	*šef-i*	*gaɣtni*	*namak-ə.*
work-PL-GEN	about	3SG.GEN	boss-GEN	secret	letter-DEF

'One found 100 drams, one found a gold ring, and another found his boss's secret letter about suspicious dealings.'

a) Որ մեկը ի՞նչ ա անում:

Vor	*mek-n*	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*
which	one-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

'What does each one do?'

b) Ո՞ր մեկը կուզենաիր լինել:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*kuzenair*	*linel?*
which	one-DEF	FUT.want.2SG.PST	be.INF

'Which one would you like to be?'

Q1:4

Մեկը հաց ա թխել ու բաժանել աղքատներին, մյուսը իրա մամայի շորը վերցրել ա ու նվիրել ընկերուհուն, էն մյուսն էլ մամային ծաղիկ ա նվիրել:

Mek-ə	*hats'*	*a*	*t'xel*	*u*	*bažanel*
one-DEF	bread	be.3SG.PRS	bake.PPT	and	distribute.PPT

aɣk'at-ner-i-n,	*myus-ə*	*ira*	*mama-yi*	*šor-ə*	*verts'rel*

poor-PL-DAT-DEF	other-DEF	3SG.GEN	mother-GEN	dress-DEF	take.PPT
a	*u*	*nvirel*	*ənkeruhu-n,*	*en*	*myus-n*
be.3SG.PRS	and	gift.PPT	friend.DAT-DEF	DEM3	other-DEF
el	*mama-yi-n*	*tsaɣik*	*a*	*nvirel.*	
PTC	mother-DAT-DEF	flower	be.3SG.PRS	gift.PPT	

‘One baked bread and gave it out to the poor, one took her mother’s dress and gave it to her friend, the other gave her mother flowers.’

a) Ում ի՞նչ ա ասել մաման:

Um	*inč’*	*a*	*asel*	*mama-n?*
who-DAT	what	be.3SG.PRS	say.PPT	mother-DEF?

‘What did the mother say to each one?’

b) Ո՞ր մեկից ա մաման ավելի շատ գոհ մնացել:

Vor	*mek-its’*	*a*	*mama-n*	*aveli*	*šat*	*goh*	*mnats’el?*
which	one-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	mother-DEF	more	much	satisfied	stay.PPT

‘Which one was the mother most pleased with?’

Q1:5

Մի քաղաքում Օլիմպիադան ա լինելու, մի ուրիշ քաղաքում՝ մեծ բաց ձրի համերգ, մի քաղաքում էլ՝ մեծ բողոքի ակցիա:

Mi	*k’aɣak’-um*	*Olimpiada-n*	*a*	*linelu,*	*mi*
one	city-LOC	Olympics-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	be.FPT	one
uriš	*k’aɣak’-um*	*mets*	*bats’*	*dzri*	*hamerg,*
other	city-LOC	big	open	free	concert
mi	*k’aɣak-um*	*el*	*mets*	*boɣok’-i*	*akts’ia*
one	city-LOC	PTC	big	complaint-GEN	action.

‘The Olympics are going to be in one city, a big free concert in another city, and a big protest in another city.’

a) Որ քաղաքում ժողովուրդը ի՞նչ ա մտածում:

Vor	*k’aɣak’-um*	*žoɣovurt’-ə*	*inč’*	*a*	*mtatsum?*
which	city-LOC	people-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	think.IPT

‘What are the people thinking in each city?’

b) Դու ո՞ր քաղաք կուզենայիր գնալ:

Du	*vor*	*k'ayak'*	*kuzenair*	*gnal?*
2SG.NOM	which	city	FUT.want.2SG.PST	go.INF?

'Which city would you like to go to?'

Q1:6

Մի երկիր Հռոմի Պապն ա գնացել, մի երկիր՝ Վլադիմիր Պուտինը, մի երկիր էլ՝ Քիմ Քարդաշյանը:

Mi	*yerkir*	*Hŕom-i*	*Pap-n*	*a*	*gnats'el,*
one	country	Rome-GEN	Pope-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	go.PPT
mi	*yerkir*	*Vladimir*	*Putin-ə,*	*mi*	*yerkir*
one	country	Vladimir	Putin-DEF	one	country
el,	*K'im*	*K'ardašyan-ə.*			
PTC	Kim	Kardashian-DEF			

'The Pope went to one country, Vladimir Putin went to another country, and Kim Kardashian went to another country.'

a) Որ երկրում ի՞նչ ա եղել:

Vor	*yerkr-um*	*inč'*	*a*	*yeɣel?*
which	country-LOC	what	be.3SG.PRS	PPT

'What happened in each country?'

b) Ո՞ր երկրում կուզենայիր լինել:

Vor	*yerkr-um*	*kuzenair*	*linel?*
which	country-LOC	FUT.want.2SG.PST	be.INF

'Which country would you have liked to have been in?'

Q1:7

Մի երկրում ծնվել եմ, մի երկրում սովորել եմ, մի երկրում էլ ապրում եմ ու աշխատում:

Mi	*yerkr-um*	*tsnvel*	*em,*	*mi*	*yerkr-um*
one	country-LOC	be.born.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	one	country-LOC
sovorel	*em,*	*mi*	*yerkr-um*	*el*	*aprum*
study.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	one	country-LOC	PTC	live.IPT
em	*u*	*ašxatum.*			
be.3SG.PRS	and	work.IPT			

'I was born in one country, studied in another country, and live and work in another country.'

a) Որ երկիրը ո՞նց ա ազդել իմ վրա, ի՞նչ եմ սովորել ամեն երկրից:

Vor	*yerkir-ə*	*vonts'*	*a*	*azdel*	*im*
which	country-DEF	how	be.3SG.PRS	affect.PPT	1SG.GEN
vra,	*inč'*	*em*	*sovorel*	*amen*	*yerkrits'?*
on	what	be.1SG.PRS	learn.PPT	each	country?

'How has each country affected me? What have I learned from each country?'

b) Ո՞րն ա ավելի շատ ազդել իմ վրա: Որի՞ հետ եմ ավելի շատ կապվել:

Vor-n	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*azdel*	*im*	*vra?*
which-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	affect	1SG.GEN	on
Vor-i	*het*	*em*	*aveli*	*šat*	*kapvel?*	
which-GEN	with	be.1SG.PRS	more	much	tie.PASS.PPT	

'Which one affected me most? Which one am I most attached to?'

Q1:8

Մի քաղաքում ֆուտբոլի աշխարհի առաջնությունն ա եղել, մի քաղաքում՝ կինոի փառատոն, մի քաղաքում էլ՝ միջազգային մեծ կազմակերպություն գործարան ա բացել:

Mi	*k'ayak'-um*	*futbol-i*	*ašxarh-i*	*arajnut'yun-n*	*a*
one	city-LOC	football-GEN	world-GEN	championship-DEF	be.3SG.PRS

yeyel,	*mi*	*k'ayak'-um*	*kino-i*	*p'araton,*	*mi*
be.PPT	one	city-LOC	cinema-GEN	festival	one
k'ayak'-um	*el*	*mijazgayin*	*mets*	*kazmakerput'yun*	*gortsaran*
city-LOC	PTC	international	big	company	factory
a	*bats'el.*				
be.3SG.PRS	open.PPT				

'The football World Cup took place in one city, a film festival in another city, and a big international company opened a factory in another city.'

a) Որ քաղաքում կյանքը ո՞նց ա փոխվել:

Vor	*k'ayak'-um*	*kyank'-ə*	*vonts'*	*a*	*p'oxvel?*
which	city-DEF	life-DEF	how	be.3SG.PRS	change.PASS.PPT

'How has life changed in each city?'

b) Ո՞ր քաղաքն ա ավելի շատ շահել:

Vor	k'ayak'-n	a	aveli	šat	šahel?

which	city-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	benefit.PPT?

‘Which city has benefited the most?’

Q1:9

Մի տարի, ծիրանն ա էժան եղել, մի տարի՛ բրինձը, մի տարի էլ՛ պոպոկը:

Mi	*tari,*	*tsiran-n*	*a*	*ežan*	*eɣel,*	*mi*
one	year	apricot-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	cheap	be.PPT	one
tari	*brindz-ə,*	*mi*	*tari*	*el*	*popok-ə.*	
year	rice-DEF	one	year	PTC	walnut-DEF	

‘One year apricots were cheap, one year, rice, another year, walnuts.’

a) Որ տարում ի՞նչ եք պատրաստել:

Vor	*tar-um*	*inč’*	*ek’*	*patrastel?*
which	year-LOC	what	be.2PL.PRS	prepare.PPT

‘What did you make in each year?’

b) Ո՞րն էր ավելի համով:

Vor-n	*er*	*aveli*	*hamov?*
which-DEF	be.3SG.PST	more	tasty

‘Which was the tastiest?’

Q1:10

Մի տարի դպրոցն ես ավարտել, մի տարի բարձր աշխատավարձով գործ ես գտել, մի տարը էլ երեխա ես ունեցել:

Mi	*tari*	*dprots’-n*	*es*	*avartel,*	*mi*
one	year	school-DEF	be.2SG.PRS	finish.PPT	one
tari	*bardzr*	*ašxatavardz-ov*	*gorts*	*es*	*gtel,*
year	high	salary-INSTR	work	be.2SG.PRS	find
mi	*tari*	*el*	*yerexa*	*es*	*unets’el.*
one	year	PTC	child	be.2SG.PRS	have.PPT

‘One year you finished school, one year you found a job with a high salary, and one year you had a child.’

a) Որ տարում ո՞նց ես քեզ զգացել:

Vor	*tar-um*	*vonts’*	*es*	*k’ez*	*zgats’el?*

which	year-LOC	how	be.2SG.PRS	2SG.DAT	feel.PPT

‘How did you feel in each year?’

b) Ո՞ր տարում ես ավելի լավ զգացել:

Vor	*tar-um*	*es*	*aveli*	*lav*	*zgats’el?*
which	year-LOC	be.2SG.PRS	more	good	feel?

‘Which year did you feel best?’

Q1:11

Մի տարի դպրոցում էիր սովորում, մի տարի՛ ինստիտուտում, մի տարի էլ աշխատում էիր:

Mi	*tari*	*dprots’-um*	*eir*	*sovorum,*	*mi*	*tari*
one	year	school-LOC	be.2SG.PST	study.IPT	one	year
institut-um,	*mi*	*tari*	*el*	*ašxatum*	*eir.*	
institute-LOC	one	year	PTC	work	be.2SG.PST	

‘One year you were studying at school, one year, at university, and one year you were working.’

a) Որ տարում ինչքա՞ն ազատ ժամանակ ես ունեցել: Ի՞նչ էիր անում ազատ ժամանակ:

Vor	*tar-um*	*inč’k’an*	*azat*	*žamanak*	*es*	*unets’el?*
which	year-LOC	how.much	free	time	be.2SG.PRS	have.PPT
Inč’	*eir*	*anum*	*azat*	*žamanak?*		
what	be.2SG.PST	free	time			

‘How much free time did you have in each year? What did you do in your free time?’

b) Ո՞ր տարում ես ավելի հանգիստ զգացել:

Vor	*tar-um*	*es*	*aveli*	*hangist*	*zgats’el?*
which	year-LOC	be.2SG.PRS	more	quiet	feel.PPT

‘Which year did you feel most relaxed?’

Q1:12

Մի երկրից փախել եմ, մի երկրից ինձ դեպորտ են արել, մի երկրից էլ աշխատելու հրավեր եմ ստացել:

Mi	*yerkr-its’*	*p’axel*	*em,*	*mi*	*yerkr-its’*
one	country-ABL	flee	be.1SG.PRS	one	country-ABL
indz	*deport*	*en*	*arel,*	*mi*	*yerkr-its’*
1SG.DAT	deport	be.3PL.PRS	do.PPT	one	country-ABL

el	*ašxatel-u*	*hraver*	*em*	*stats'el.*
PTC	work.INF-GEN	invitation	be.1SG.PRS	receive.PPT

'From one country, I fled, from another, they deported me, and from another, I got an invitation to work.'

a) Որը ո՞ր երկիրն ա եղել:

Vor-ə	*vor*	*yerkir-n*	*a*	*yeɣel?*
which-DEF	which	country-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT

'Which country was each one?'

b) Ո՞ր երկիրն ա ավելի հարազատ իմ համար:

Vor	*yerkir-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*harazat*	*im*	*hamar?*
which	country-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	familiar	1SG.GEN	for

'Which one is the most like home for me?'

Q1:13

Մի տորթիկը ես եմ պատրաստել, մեկը տատիս ա պատրաստել, մեկն էլ խանութից եմ առել:

Mi	*tort'ik-ə*	*yes*	*em*	*patrastel,*	*mek-ə*
one	cake-DEF	1SG.NOM	be.1SG.PRS	prepare.PPT	one-DEF

tati-s	*a*	*patrastel,*	*mek-n*	*el*	*xanut'-its'*
grandmother-POSS1	be.1SG.PRS	prepare.PPT	one-DEF	PTC	shop-ABL

em	*aŕel.*
be.1SG.PRS	buy.PPT

'One cake, I made, one, my grandmother made, and the other, I bought from a shop.'

a) Որը ի՞նչ տորթ ա եղել:

Vor-ə	*inč'*	*tort'*	*a*	*yeɣel?*
which-DEF	what	cake	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT

'What sort of cake was each one?'

b) Ո՞րն էր ավելի սիրուն: Ո՞րն էր ավելի համով:

Vor-n	*er*	*aveli*	*sirun?*	*Vor-n*	*er*
which-DEF	be.3SG.PST	more	beautiful	which-DEF	be.3SG.PST

aveli	*hamov?*
more	tasty

'Which was the most beautiful? Which was the tastiest?'

Q1:14

Մի տորթիկը մամայիս ծննդի համար եմ թխել, մեկը, տատիս հարևաններին ա հյուրասիրել, մեկն էլ թագուհին իրա պաշտոնական հյուրերին ա հյուրասիրել:

Mi	*tort'ik-ə*	*mama-yi-s*	*tsnnd-i*	*hamar*
one	cake-DEF	mother-GEN-POSS1	birth-GEN	for
em	*t'xel,*	*mek-ə,*	*tati-s*	*harevan-ner-i-n*
be.1SG.PRS	bake.PPT	one-DEF	grandmother-POSS1	neighbour-PL-DAT-DEF
a	*hyurasirel,*	*mek-n*	*el*	*t'aguhi-n*
be.3SG.PRS	offer.PPT	one-DEF	PTC	queen-DEF
ira	*paštonakan*	*hyur-er-i-n*	*a*	*hyurasirel.*
3SG.GEN	official	guest-PL-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	offer.PPT

'One cake I baked for my mother's birthday, one, my grandmother offered to the neighbours, and the other, the queen offered to her official guests.'

a) Որը ի՞նչ տորթ ա եղել:

Vor-ə	*inč'*	*tort'*	*a*	*yeɣel?*
which-DEF	what	cake	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT

'What sort of cake was each one?'

b) Ո՞րն էր ավելի սիրուն: Ո՞րն էր ավելի համով:

Vor-n	*er*	*aveli*	*sirun?*	*Vor-n*	*er*
which-DEF	be.3SG.PST	more	beautiful	which-DEF	be.3SG.PST
aveli	*hamov?*				
more	tasty				

'Which was the most beautiful? Which was the tastiest?'

Q1:15

Մի էրեխուն մաթեմատիկոս ա մեծացրել, մեկին, քահանա ա մեծացրել, մեկին՝ դերասան:

Mi	*erexu-n*	*mat'ematikos*	*a*	*metsats'rel,*
one	child.DAT-DEF	mathematician	be.3SG.PRS	grow.up.CAUS.PPT
mek-i-n	*k'ahana*	*a*	*metsats'rel,*	*mek-i-n*
one-DAT-DEF	priest	be.3SG.PRS	grow.up.CAUS.PPT	one-DAT-DEF
derasan.				

actor

‘A mathematician brought up one child, a priest brought up one child, and an actor brought up another.’

a) Որ մեծացել են, ով ի՞նչ գործով ա զբաղվել:

Vor	*metsats’el*	*en,*	*ov*	*inč’*	*gorts-ov*
CONJ	grow.up.PPT	be.3PL.PRS	who	what	work-INSTR
a	*zbaɣvel?*				
be.3SG.PRS	be.occupied.with.PPT				

‘When they grew up, what job did each one do?’

b) Ո՞ր մեկը կուզենաիր լինել:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*kuzenair*	*linel?*
which	one	FUT.want.2SG.PST	be.PPT

‘Which one would you like to be?’

Q1:16

Մի մամա իրա էրեխու համար կոնֆետ ա առել, մի մամա երգել ա իրա էրեխու համար, մի մամա գոռացել ա իրա էրեխու վրա:

Mi	*mama*	*ira*	*erexu*	*hamar*	*konfet*
one	mother	3SG.GEN	child.GEN	for	sweet
a	*aŕel,*	*mi*	*mama*	*yergel*	*a*
be.3SG.PRS	buy.PPT	one	mother	sing.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
ira	*erexu*	*hamar,*	*mi*	*mama*	*gorats’el*
3SG.GEN	child.GEN	for	one	mother	shout.PPT
a	*ira*	*erexu*	*vra.*		
be.3SG.PRS	3SG.GEN	child.GEN	on		

‘One mother bought a sweet for her child, one mother sang for her child, and one mother shouted at her child.’

a) Որ էրեխեն ի՞նչ էր արել:

Vor	*erexe-n*		*inč’*	*er*	*arel?*
which	child-DEF	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT	

‘What had each child done?’

b) Ո՞ր մեկը կուզենաիր լինել:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*kuzenair*	*linel?*

which	one	FUT.want.2SG.PST	be.PPT

‘Which one would you like to be?’

Q1:17

Ընկերներիցս մեկը Ծաղկաձոր ա գնածել, մեկը Փարիզ, մեկն էլ՝ Չինաստան:

Ənker-ner-its’-s	*mek-ə*	*Tsaghkadzor*	*a*	*gnats’el,*
friend-PL-ABL-POSS1	one-DEF	Tsaghkadzor	be.3SG.PRS	go.PPT
mek-ə	*P’ariz,*	*mek-n*	*el*	*Č’inastan.*
one-DEF	Paris	one-DEF	PTC	China

‘One of my friends went to Tsaghkadzor, one to Paris, and another to China.’

a) Որ մեկը ի՞նչ ա արել էնտեղ:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*inč’*	*a*	*arel*	*enteɣ?*
which	one-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.PPT	there

‘What did each one do there?’

b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի լավ ժամանակ անցկացրել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*lav*	*žamanak*	*ants’kats’rel?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	good	time	pass.PPT

‘Who had the best time?’

Q1:18

Մի գրիչով դիմում եմ գրել, մի գրիչով ուսանողների գրավորներն էմ ստուգել, մի գրիչով էլ, ծաղիկ եմ նկարել:

Mi	*grič’-ov*	*dimum*	*em*	*grel,*	*mi*
one	pen-INSTR	application	be.1SG.PRS	write.PPT	one
grič’-ov	*usanoɣ-ner-i*	*gravor-ner-n*	*em*	*stugel,*	*mi*
pen-INSTR	student-PL-GEN	test-PL-DEF	be.1SG.PRS	check.PPT	one
grič’-ov	*el*	*tsaɣik*	*em*	*nkarel.*	
pen-INSTR	PTC	flower	be.1SG.PRS	draw.PPT	

‘I filled in an application form with one pen, I marked my students’ tests with another one, and drew a flower with another one.’

a) Որը ի՞նչ գույնի էր:

Vor-ə	*inč'*	*guyn-i*	*er?*
which-DEF	which	colour-GEN	be.3SG.PST

'What colour was each one?'

b) Ո՞ն էր ավելի սիրուն:

Vor-n	*er*	*aveli*	*sirun?*
which-DEF	be.3SG.PST	more	beautiful

'Which was the most beautiful?'

Q1:19

Մեկից ջուր եմ ուզել, մեկից՝ հաց, մեկից՝ պարտքով փող:

Mek-its'	*jur*	*em*	*uzel,*	*mek-its'*	*hats',*
one-ABL	water	be.1SG.PRS	one-ABL	bread	
mekits'	*partk'-ov*	*p'oɣ.*			
one-ABL	debt-INSTR	money			

'I asked for water from one person, bread from another, and a loan of money from another.'

a) Ով ի՞նչ ա արել:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*arel?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.PPT

'What did each one do?'

b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ նեղացել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*neɣats'el?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	be.upset.PPT

'Who got most annoyed?'

Q1:20

Մեկի գլուխն ա ցավում, մեկի ոտն ա ցավում, մեկի մեչքը:

Mek-i	*glux-n*	*a*	*ts'avum,*	*mek-i*	*vot-n*
one-GEN	head-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	hurt.IPT	one-GEN	leg-DEF
a	*ts'avum,*	*mek-i*	*meč'k-ə.*		
be.3SG.PRS	hurt.IPT	one-GEN	back-DEF		

'One person's head hurts, one person's leg hurts, and one person's back hurts.'

a) Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

'What does each one do?'

b) Ո՞վ ա գնում բժշկի:

Ov	*a*	*gnum*	*bžšk-i?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	go	doctor-DAT

'Who goes to the doctor's?'

Q1:21

Մեկից հիասթափվել եմ, մեկի վրա ջղայնացել եմ, մեկով՛ հիացել:

Mek-its'	*hiast'ap'vel*	*em,*	*mek-i*	*vra*	*jɣaynats'el*
one-ABL	be.disappointed.PPT	be.1SG.PRS	one-GEN	on	be.annoyed.PPT
em,	*mek-ov*	*hiats'el.*			
be.1SG.PRS	one-INSTR	admire.PPT			

'I was disappointed with one person, got annoyed with one, and admired another.'

a) Ով ի՞նչ էր արել:

Ov	*inč'*	*er*	*arel?*
who	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT

'What had each one done?'

b) Ո՞վ էր իմ ընկերը:

Ov	*er*	*im*	*ənker-ə?*
who	be.3SG.PST	1SG.GEN	friend-DEF

'Who was my friend?'

Q1:22

Երեք հատ շոֆեր կա, մեկի ավտոն փչացել ա, մեկի ավտոն գողացել են, մեկի պրավան կեղծ ա դուրս եկել:

Yerek'	*hat*	*šofer*	*ka,*	*mek-i*	*avto-n*

three	piece	driver	exist.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	car-DEF
p’č’ats’el	*a,*	*mek-i*	*avto-n*	*goɣats’el*	*en,*
break.PPT	one-GEN	car-DEF	steal.PPT	be.3PL.PRS	
mek-i	*prava-n*	*keɣts*	*a*	*durs*	*yekel.*
one-GEN	licence-DEF	false	be.3SG.PRS	out	come.PPT

‘There are three drivers, one’s car has broken down, they stole one’s car, and one’s licence turned out to be fake.’

a) Որ մեկը ի՞նչ ա անում:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*inč’*	*a*	*anum?*
which	one-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	do

‘What does each one do?’

b) Ո՞ր մեկին գործի կվերցնես:

Vor	*mek-i-n*	*gorts-i*	*kverts’nes?*
which	one-DAT-DEF	work-GEN	FUT.take.2SG

‘Which one will you hire?’

Q1:23

Ո՞վ ա…	a)	Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցը
Who is		Mesrop Mashtots
		Յուրի Գագարինը
		Yuri Gagarin
		Կոլումբոսը
		Columbus
		Սողոմոն Թեհլերյանը
		Soghomon Tehleryan
	b)	հացթուխը
		a baker
		թամադան
		a tamada (toastmaster)

քավորը

a k’avor (godfather/best man)

դայակը

a nanny

Questionnaire 2

Q2:1

Մեկին ջուր եմ տվել, մեկին՝ հաց, մեկին՝ պարտքով փող:

Mek-i-n	*jur*	*em*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*	*hats',*
one-DAT-DEF	water	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	bread
mek-i-n	*partk'ov*	*p'oɣ.*			
one-DAT-DEF	debt-INSTR	money			

'I gave one person water, one, bread, and another, a loan of money.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա ասում, ի՞նչ ա մտածում իմ մասին:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*asum,*	*inč'*	*a*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	say.IPT	what	be.3SG.PRS
mtatsum	*im*	*masin?*			
think.IPT	1SG.GEN	about			

'What does each one say? What does each one think of me?'

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ գոհ մնացել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*goh*	*mnats'el?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	satisfied	stay.PPT

'Who was most pleased?'

Q2:2

Թագավորը իրա աղջիկներից մեկին արքայազնի ա տվել, մեկին զորավարի, մեկին առևտրականի տղու:

T'agavor-ə	*ira*	*aɣjik-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*	*ark'ayazn-i*
king-DEF	3SG.GEN	girl-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	prince-DAT
a	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*	*zoravar-i,*	*mek-i-n*
be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	general-DAT	one-DAT-DEF
aŕevtrakan-i	*tɣu.*			
merchant-GEN	boy-DAT			

'The king gave one of his daughters to a prince, one to a general, and one to the son of a merchant.'

(a) Հիմա ո՞նց են ապրում էտ աղջիկները:

Hima	*vonts'*	*en*	*aprum*	*et*	*aɣjik-ner-ə?*

now	how	be.3PL.PRS	live.IPT	DEM2	girl-PL-DEF

‘How do those girls live now?’

(b) Ո՞վ ա պապային ավելի շատ սիրում:

Ov	*a*	*papa-yi-n*	*aveli*	*šat*	*sirum?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	father-DAT-POSS1	more	much	love

‘Who loves her father the most?’

Q2:3

Իմ ուսանողներից մեկին ծանոթացրել եմ Հենրիխ Մխիթարյանի հետ, մեկին բոմժի, մեկին Անգլիայի թագուհու:

Im	*usanoɣ-ner-its’*	*mek-i-n*	*tsanot’ats’rel*	*em*
1SG.GEN	student-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	introduce.PPT	be.1SG.PRS

Henrix	*Mxit’aryan-i*	*het,*	*mek-i-n*	*bomž-i,*
Henrikh	Mkhitaryan-GEN	with	one-DAT-DEF	homeless.person-GEN

mek-i-n	*Anglia-yi*	*t’aguhu.*
one-DAT-DEF	England-GEN	queen.GEN

‘I introduced one of my students to Henrikh Mkhitaryan, one to a homeless person, and one to the Queen of England.’

(a) Ով ո՞նց ա իրան պահել, ո՞նց ա իրան զգացել (էտ ուսանուղներից):

Ov	*vonts’*	*a*	*iran*	*pahel,*	*vonts’*
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	keep.PPT	how
a	*iran*	*zgats’el?*			
be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	feel.PPT			

‘How did each one behave? How did each one feel?’

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի հետաքրքիր ժամանակ անցկացրել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*hetak’rk’ir*	*žamanak*	*ants’kats’rel?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	interesting	time	pass.PPT

‘Who had the most interesting time?’

Q2:4

Մեկին իրա մաման բժշկի մոտ ա տարել, մեկին իրա տատին ու մորքուրը նայողի մոտ են տարել, մեկին իրա դասատուն դպրոցի տնօրենի մոտ ա տարել:

Mek-i-n	*ira*	*mama-n*	*bžšk-i*	*mot*
one-DAT-DEF	3SG.GEN	mother-DEF	doctor-GEN	close
a	*tarel,*	*mek-i-n*	*ira*	*tati-n*
be.3SG.PRS	take.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	3SG.GEN	grandmother-DEF
u	*mork'ur-ə*	*nayoɣ-i*	*mot*	*en*
and	aunt-DEF	fortune.teller-GEN	close	be.3PL.PRS
tarel,	*mek-i-n*	*dasatu-n*	*dprots'-i*	*tnoren-i*
take.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	teacher-POSS1	school-GEN	principal-GEN
mot	*a*	*tarel.*		
close	be.3SG.PRS	take.PPT		

'One (child), his mother took him to the doctor's, one, his grandmother and aunt took him to a fortune teller, and one, his teacher took him to the school principal.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա արել:

Ov	*inč'*	*er*	*arel?*
who	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT

'What had each one done?'

(b) Ո՞վ էր ավելի լավ իրան զգում:

Ov	*er*	*aveli*	*lav*	*iran*	*zgum?*
who	be.3SG.PST	more	good	3SG.DAT	feel.PPT

'Who felt best?'

Q2:5

Մեկին շուն ա կծել, մեկին մոծակ ա կծել, մեկին հարևանն ա կծել:

Mek-i-n	*šun*	*a*	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*motsak*
one-DAT-DEF	dog	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	mosquito
a	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*harevan-n*	*a*	*ktsel*
be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	neighbour-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PART

'A dog bit one person, a mosquito bit one person, and the neighbour bit one person.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

'What does each one do?'

(b) Ով ա ավելի ցավ զգում:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*ts'av*	*zgum?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	pain	feel.IPT

'Who feels the most pain?'

Q2:6

Երեք հատ մասնագետ կա: Մեկի հեռախոսի համարն ունեմ, մեկի մեյլն ունեմ, իսկ մեկը, գիտեմ ում մոտ ա աշխատում:

Yerek'	*hat*	*masnaget*	*ka.*	*Mek-i*	*heŕaxos-i*	
three	piece	specialist	exist.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	telephone-GEN	
hamar-n	*unem,*	*mek-i*	*meyl-n*	*unem,*	*isk*	
number-DEF	have.1SG.PRS	one-GEN	email-DEF	have.1SG.PRS	and	
mek-ə,	*gitem*	*um*	*mot*	*a*	*ašxatum.*	
one-GEN	know.1SG.PRS	who.GEN	close	be.3SG.PRS	work	

'There are three specialists/professionals. I have one's phone number, one's email, and I know who the other one works with.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ մասնագետ ա:

Ov	*inč'*	*masnaget*	*a?*
who	what	specialist	be.3SG.PRS

'What kind of specialist/professional is each one?'

(b) Ու՞մ ավելի հեշտ կգտնեմ:

Um	*aveli*	*hešt*	*kgtnem?*
who.DAT	more	easy	FUT.find.1SG

'Who will I find the most easily?'

Q2:7

Երեք հատ տղա կա: Մեկին պապան ա ծեծել, մեկին ախպերն ա ծեծել, մեկին հարևանի աղջիկը:

Yerek'	*hat*	*tɣa*	*ka.*	*Mek-i-n*
three	piece	boy	exist.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF
papa-n	*a*	*tsetsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*axper-n*
father-POSS3	be.3SG.PRS	beat.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	brother-POSS3
a	*tsetsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*harevan-i*	*aɣjik-ə.*
be.3SG.PRS	beat.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	neighbour-GEN	girl-DEF

'There are three boys. One, his father beat, one, his brother beat, one, the neighbour's daughter.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ էր արել:

Ov	*inč'*	*er*	*arel?*
who	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT

'What had each one done?'

(b) Ու՞մ վիճակն ա ավելի ծանր:

Um	*vičak-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*tsanr?*
who.GEN	situation-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	heavy

'Whose situation is the worst (lit. heaviest)?'

Q2:8

Մեկին մաման հաց ա տվել, մեկին տատին կոնֆետ ա տվել, մեկին անծանոթ մարդ փող ա տվել:

Mek-i-n	*mama-n*	*hats'*	*a*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*
One-DAT-DEF	mother-POSS1	bread	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF
tati-n	*konfet*	*a*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*	*antsanot'*
grandmother-DAT	sweet	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	unknown
mard	*p'oɣ*	*a*	*tvel.*		
person	money	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT		

'One (person), his mother gave him bread, one, his grandmother gave him a sweet, another, a stranger gave him money.'

(a) Ով ո՞նց ա իրան զգացել:

Ov	*vonts'*	*a*	*iran*	*zgats'el?*
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	feel.PPT

'How did each one feel?'

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ ուրախացել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*uraxats'el?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	be.happy.PPT

'Who was the happiest?'

Q2:9

Ռեստորանում երեք հատ մատուցող կա: Մի հատ հաճախորդ նամակ ա գրել տնօրենին, որ էտ մատուցողներից մեկը իրան լավ չի պահում: Մեկը, շեֆը հրաման ա տվել, որ աշխատավարձը ավելանա: Մեկը, շեֆը հրաման ա տվել, որ գործից ազատվի:

Ŕestoran-um	*yerek'*	*hat*	*matuts'oɣ*	*ka.*
restaurant-LOC	three	piece	waiter	exist.3SG.PRS

Mi	*hat*	*hačaxord*	*namak*	*a*
one	piece	customer	letter	be.3SG.PRS

grel,	*vor*	*et*	*matuts'oɣ-ner-its'*	*mek-ə*
write.PPT	CONJ	DEM2	waiter-PL-ABL	one-DEF

iran	*lav*	*č'i*	*pahum.*	*Mek-ə,*
3SG.DAT	good	NEG.be.3SG.PRS	keep.IPT	one-DEF

šef-ə	*hraman*	*a*	*tvel,*	*vor*
boss-DEF	order	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	CONJ

ašxatavardz-ə	*avelana.*	*Mek-ə,*	*šef-ə*	*hraman*
wages.POSS1	increase.3SG.PRS.SUBJ	one-DEF	boss-DEF	order

a	*tvel,*	*vor*	*gorts-its'*	*azatvi.*
be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	CONJ	work-ABL	free.PASS.3SG.PRS.SUBJ

'In a restaurant there are three waiters. A customer wrote a letter to the manager [saying] that one of those waiters hadn't been behaving well. One of them, the boss gave the order that his wages should be increased. One of them, the boss gave the order that he should be fired.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ էր արել (էտ մատուցողներից):

Ov	*inč'*	*er*	*arel*	*(et*	*matuts'oɣ-ner-its')?*
who	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT	DEM2	waiter-PL-ABL

'What had each waiter done?'

(b) Ու՞մ վիճակն ա ավելի դժվար:

Um	*vičak-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*džvar?*
who-GEN	situation-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	difficult

'Whose situation is the most difficult?'

Q2:10

Մեկը երգում ա, մեկը կարդում ա, մեկը ֆուտբոլ ա խաղում:

Mek-ə	*yergum*	*a,*	*mek-ə*	*kardum*	*a,*
one-DEF	sing.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-DEF	read.IPT	be.3SG.PRS
mek-ə	*futbol*	*a*	*xaɣum.*		
one-DEF	football	be.3SG.PRS	play.IPT		

‘One person is singing, one is reading, one is playing football.’

(a) Ով ո՞նց ա իրան զգում:

Ov	*vonts’*	*a*	*iran*	*zgum?*
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	feel.IPT

‘How does each one feel?’

(b) Իրանցից ո՞վ կուզենաիր լինել:

Irants’its	*ov*	*kuzenair*	*linel?*
3PL.ABL	who	FUT.want.2SG.PST	be.INF

‘Which one would you like to be?’

Q2:11

Մի էրեխու մաման գոռում ա, մեկի քույրիկը խնդում ա, մեկի պապան մարոժնի ա առել իրա համար:

Mi	*erexu*	*mama-n*	*goŕum*	*a,*	*mek-i*
one	child.GEN	mother-DEF	shout.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-GEN
k’uyrik-ə	*xndum*	*a,*	*mek-i*	*papa-n*	*marožni*
sister-DEF	laugh.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	father-DEF	ice.cream
a	*aŕel*	*ira*	*hamar.*		
be.3SG.PRSbuy	.PPT	3SG.GEN	for		

‘One child’s mother is shouting, one’s sister is laughing, one’s father has bought ice-cream for him.’

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա արել:

Ov	*inč’*	*a*	*arel?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.PPT

‘What has each one done?’

(b) Ո՞վ կուզենայիր լինել:

Ov	*kuzenayir*	*linel?*
who	FUT.want.2SG.SUBJ.PST	be.INF

‘Who would you like to be?’

Q2:12

Մեկը վատ ա երգում, մեկը շատ բարձր ա երգում, մեկը անընդհատ շատ ահավոր անճաշակ երգեր ա երգում:

Mek-ə	*vat*	*a*	*yergum,*	*mek-ə*	*šat*
one-DEF	bad	be.3SG.PRS	sing.IPT	one-DEF	very
bardzr	*a*	*yergum,*	*mek-ə*	*šat*	*ahavor*
loud	be.3SG.PRS	sing.IPT	one-DEF	very	terrible
ančašak	*yerg-er*	*a*	*yergum.*		
tasteless	song-PL	be.3SG.PRS	sing.IPT		

‘One person sings badly, one sings very loudly, one constantly sings really terrible tasteless songs.’

(a) Ում ի՞նչ ես ասում:

Um	*inč’*	*es*	*asum?*
who-DAT	what	be.2SG.PRS	say.IPT

‘What do you say to each of them?’

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ ներվերիդ վրա ազդում:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*nerv-er-i-d*	*vra*	*azdum?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	nerve-PL-DAT-POSS2	on	affect.IPT

‘Who gets on your nerves the most?’

Q2:13

Երեք հատ փիսո կա: Մեկին շուն ա կծել, մեկին ձուկ ա կծել, մեկին ես եմ կծել:

Yerek’	*hat*	*p’iso*	*ka.*	*Mek-i-n*	*šun*
three	piece	cat	exist.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	dog
a	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*dzuk*	*a*	*ktsel,*
be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	fish	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT,
mek-i-n	*yes*	*em*	*ktsel.*		
one-DAT-DEF	1SG.NOM	be.1SG.PRS	bite		

‘There are three cats. A dog bit one, a fish bit one, I bit one.’

(a) Որ մեկը ի՞նչ ա արել:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*inč*	*a*	*arel?*
which	one-DEF	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.PPT

'What did each one do?'

(b) Ու՞մ վիճակն ա ավելի ծանր:

Um	*vičak-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*tsanr?*
who-GEN	situation-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	heavy

'Which one's situation is the worst (lit. heaviest)?'

Q2:14

Մեկի կոմպն ա փչացել, մեկի հեռախոսն ա փչացել, մեկի զաժիգալիկեն ա փչացել:

Mek-i	*komp-n*	*a*	*p'č'ats'el,*	*mek-i*	*heŕaxos-n*
one-GEN	computer-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	break.PPT	one-GEN	telephone-DEF
a	*p'č'ats'el,*	*mek-i*	*zažigalke-n*	*a*	*p'č'ats'el.*
be.3SG.PRS	break.PPT	one-GEN	lighter-DEF	be.3SG,PRS	break.PPT

'One person's computer has broken, one's phone has broken, one's lighter has broken.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

'What does each one do?'

(b) Ու՞մ վիճակն ա ավելի դժվար:

Um	*vičak-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*džvar?*
who-GEN	situation	be.3SG.PRS	more	difficult?

'Whose situation is the most difficult?'

Questionnaire 3

Q3:1

Մեկին ջուր եմ տվել, մեկին՝ հաց, մեկին՝ պարտքով փող:

Mek-i-n	*jur*	*em*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*	*hats',*
one-DAT-DEF	water	be.1SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	bread
mek-i-n	*partk'ov*	*p'oɣ.*			
one-DAT-DEF	debt-INSTR	money			

'I gave one person water, one, bread, and another, a loan of money.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա ասում, ի՞նչ ա մտածում իմ մասին:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*asum,*	*inč'*	*a*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	say.IPT	what	be.3SG.PRS
mtatsum	*im*	*masin?*			
think.IPT	1SG.GEN	about			

'What does each one say? What does each one think of me?'

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ գոհ մնացել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*goh*	*mnats'el?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	satisfied	stay.PPT

'Who was most pleased?'

Q3:2

Թագավորը իրա աղջիկներից մեկին արքայազնի ա տվել, մեկին զորավարի, մեկին առևտրականի տղու:

T'agavor-ə	*ira*	*aɣjik-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*	*ark'ayazn-i*
king-DEF	3SG.GEN	girl-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	prince-DAT
a	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*	*zoravar-i,*	*mek-i-n*
be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	general-DAT	one-DAT-DEF
aŕevtrakan-i	*tɣu.*			
merchant-GEN	boy-DAT			

'The king gave one of his daughters to a prince, one to a general, and one to the son of a merchant.'

(a) Հիմա ո՞նց են ապրում էտ աղջիկները:

Hima	*vonts'*	*en*	*aprum*	*et*	*aɣjik-ner-ə?*

now	how	be.3PL.PRS	live.IPT	DEM2	girl-PL-DEF

‘How do those girls live now?’

(b) Ո՞վ ա պապային ավելի շատ սիրում:

Ov	*a*	*papa-yi-n*	*aveli*	*šat*	*sirum?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	father-DAT-POSS1	more	much	love

‘Who loves her father the most?’

Q3:3

Մի գիրք ընկերուհիս ա ինձ նվիրել, մի գիրք հայերենի դասատուն ա ինձ նվիրել, մի գիրք էլ ճեմարանի ուսանողներն են ինձ նվիրել:

Mi	*girk’*	*ənkeruhi-s*	*a*	*indz*	*nvirel,*	
one	book	friend-POSS1	be.3SG.PRS	1SG.DAT	gift.PPT	
mi	*girk’*	*hayeren-i*	*dasatu-n*	*a*	*indz*	
one	book	Armenian-GEN	teacher-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	1SG.DAT	
nvirel,	*mi*	*girk’*	*el*	*čemaran-i*	*usanoɣ-ner-n*	
gift.PPT	one	book	PTC	seminary-GEN	student-PL-DEF	
en	*indz*	*nvirel.*				
be.3PL.PRS	1SG.DAT	gift.PPT				

‘My friend gave me one book, the Armenian teacher gave me one book, the seminary students gave me one book.’

(a) Ո՞ր մեկը ի՞նչ գիրք ա եղել:

Vor	*mek-ə*	*inč’*	*girk’*	*a*	*yeɣel?*
which	one-DEF	what	book	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT

‘What kind of book was each one?’

(b) Ո՞ր մեկն էր ավելի հետաքրքիր իմ համար:

Vor	*mek-n*	*er*	*aveli*	*hetak’rk’ir*	*im*	*hamar?*
which	one-DEF	be.3SG.PST	more	interesting	1SG.GEN	for

‘Which one was the most interesting for me?’

Q3:4

Մեկին իրա մաման բժշկի մոտ ա տարել, մեկին իրա տատին ու մորքուրը նայողի մոտ են տարել, մեկին իրա դասատուն դպրոցի տնօրենի մոտ ա տարել:

Mek-i-n	*ira*	*mama-n*	*bžšk-i*	*mot*
one-DAT-DEF	3SG.GEN	mother-DEF	doctor-GEN	close
a	*tarel,*	*mek-i-n*	*ira*	*tati-n*
be.3SG.PRS	take.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	3SG.GEN	grandmother-DEF
u	*mork'ur-ə*	*nayoɣ-i*	*mot*	*en*
and	aunt-DEF	fortune.teller-GEN	close	be.3PL.PRS
tarel,	*mek-i-n*	*dasatu-n*	*dprots'-i*	*tnoren-i*
take.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	teacher-POSS1	school-GEN	principal-GEN
mot	*a*	*tarel.*		
close	be.3SG.PRS	take.PPT		

'One (child), his mother took him to the doctor's, one, his grandmother and aunt took him to a fortune teller, and one, his teacher took him to the school principal.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա արել:

Ov	*inč'*	*er*	*arel?*
who	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT

'What had each one done?'

(b) Ո՞վ էր ավելի լավ իրան զգում:

Ov	*er*	*aveli*	*lav*	*iran*	*zgum?*
who	be.3SG.PST	more	good	3SG.DAT	feel.PPT

'Who felt best?'

Q3:5

Մեկին խոզ ա կծել, մեկին ձի ա կծել, մեկին մոծակ ա կծել:

Mek-i-n	*xoz*	*a*	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*dzi*
one-DAT-DEF	pig	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	horse
a	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*motsak*	*a*	*ktsel.*
be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	mosquito	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PART

‘A pig bit one person, a horse bit one person, and a mosquito bit one person.’

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Ov	*inč’*	*a*	*anum?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

‘What does each one do?’

(b) Ով ա ավելի ցավ զգում:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*ts’av*	*zgum?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	pain	feel.IPT

‘Who feels the most pain?’

Q3:6

Երեք հատ մասնագետ կա: Մեկի հեռախոսի համարն ունեմ, մեկի մեյլն ունեմ, իսկ մեկը, գիտեմ ում մոտ ա աշխատում:

Yerek’	*hat*	*masnaget*	*ka.*	*Mek-i*	*heŕaxos-i*						
three	piece	specialist	exist.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	telephone-GEN						
hamar-n	*unem,*	*mek-i*	*meyl-n*	*unem,*	*isk*						
number-DEF	have.1SG.PRS	one-GEN	email-DEF	have.1SG.PRS	and						
mek-ə,	*gitem*	*um*	*mot*	*a*	*ašxatum.*						
one-GEN	know.1SG.PRS	who.GEN	close	be.3SG.PRS	work						

‘There are three specialists/professionals. I have one’s phone number, one’s email, and I know who the other one works with.’

(a) Ով ի՞նչ մասնագետ ա:

Ov	*inč’*	*masnaget*	*a?*
who	what	specialist	be.3SG.PRS

‘What kind of specialist/professional is each one?’

(b) Ու՞մ ավելի հեշտ կգտնեմ:

Um	*aveli*	*hešt*	*kgtnem?*
who.DAT	more	easy	FUT.find.1SG

‘Who will I find the most easily?’

Q3:7

Երեք հատ տղա կա: Մեկին պապան ա ծեծել, մեկին ախպերն ա ծեծել, մեկին հարևանի աղջիկը:

Yerek'	*hat*	*tɣa*	*ka.*	*Mek-i-n*
three	piece	boy	exist.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF
papa-n	*a*	*tsetsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*axper-n*
father-POSS3	be.3SG.PRS	beat.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	brother-POSS3
a	*tsetsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*harevan-i*	*aɣjik-ə.*
be.3SG.PRS	beat.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	neighbour-GEN	girl-DEF

'There are three boys. One, his father beat, one, his brother beat, one, the neighbour's daughter.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ էր արել:

Ov	*inč'*	*er*	*arel?*
who	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT

'What had each one done?'

(b) Ու՞մ վիճակն ա ավելի ծանր:

Um	*vičak-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*tsanr?*
who.GEN	situation-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	more	heavy

'Whose situation is the worst (lit. heaviest)?'

Q3:8

Մեկին մաման հաց ա տվել, մեկին տատին կոնֆետ ա տվել, մեկին անծանոթ մարդ փող ա տվել:

Mek-i-n	*mama-n*	*hats'*	*a*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*
One-DAT-DEF	mother-POSS1	bread	be.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	
tati-n	*konfet*	*a*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*	*antsanot'*
grandmother-DAT	sweet	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	unknown
mard	*p'oɣ*	*a*	*tvel.*		
person	money	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT		

One (person), his mother gave him bread, one, his grandmother gave him a sweet, another, a stranger gave him money.

(a) Ով ո՞նց ա իրան զգացել:

Ov	*vonts'*	*a*	*iran*	*zgats'el?*
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	feel.PPT

How did each one feel?

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ ուրախացել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*uraxats'el?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	be.happy.PPT

Who was the happiest?

Q3:9

Մեկին մաման հաց ա տվել, մեկին տատին կոնֆետ ա տվել, մեկին անծանոթ մարդ փող ա տվել:

Mek-i-n	*mama-n*	*hats'*	*a*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*
One-DAT-DEF	mother-POSS1	bread	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF
tati-n	*konfet*	*a*	*tvel,*	*mek-i-n*	*antsanot'*
grandmother-DAT	sweet	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	unknown
mard	*p'oɣ*	*a*	*tvel.*		
person	money	be.3SG.PRS	give.PPT		

'One (person), his mother gave him bread, one, his grandmother gave him a sweet, another, a stranger gave him money.'

(a) Ով ո՞նց ա իրան զգացել:

Ov	*vonts'*	*a*	*iran*	*zgats'el?*
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	feel.PPT

'How did each one feel?'

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ ուրախացել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*uraxats'el?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	be.happy.PPT

'Who was the happiest?'

Q3:10

Մեկը երգում ա, մեկը կարդում ա, մեկը ֆուտբոլ ա խաղում:

Mek-ə	*yergum*	*a,*	*mek-ə*	*kardum*	*a,*
one-DEF	sing.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-DEF	read.IPT	be.3SG.PRS
mek-ə	*futbol*	*a*	*xaɣum.*		

one-DEF	football	be.3SG.PRS	play.IPT

‘One person is singing, one is reading, one is playing football.’

(a) Ով ո՞նց ա իրան զգում:

Ov	*vonts’*	*a*	*iran*	*zgum?*
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	feel.IPT

‘How does each one feel?’

(b) Իրանցից ո՞վ կուզենայիր լինել:

Irants’its	*ov*	*kuzenair*	*linel?*
3PL.ABL	who	FUT.want.2SG.PST	be.INF

‘Which one would you like to be?’

Q3:11

Մեկը վատ ա երգում, մեկը շատ բարձր ա երգում, մեկը անընդհատ շատ ահավոր անճաշակ երգեր ա երգում:

Mek-ə	*vat*	*a*	*yergum,*	*mek-ə*	*šat*
one-DEF	bad	be.3SG.PRS	sing.IPT	one-DEF	very
bardzr	*a*	*yergum,*	*mek-ə*	*šat*	*ahavor*
loud	be.3SG.PRS	sing.IPT	one-DEF	very	terrible
ančašak	*yerg-er*	*a*	*yergum.*		
tasteless	song-PL	be.3SG.PRS	sing.IPT		

‘One person sings badly, one sings very loudly, one constantly sings really terrible tasteless songs.’

(a) Ում ի՞նչ ես ասում:

Um	*inč’*	*es*	*asum?*
who-DAT	what	be.2SG.PRS	say.IPT

‘What do you say to each of them?’

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ ներվերիդ վրա ազդում:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*nerv-er-i-d*	*vra*	*azdum?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	nerve-PL-DAT-POSS2	on	affect.IPT

‘Who gets on your nerves the most?’

Q3:12

Մեր կատուն մեկի ոտն ա կծել, մեկի ձեռն ա կծել, մեկի քիթը:

Mer	*katu-n*	*mek-i*	*vot-n*	*a*	*ktsel,*
1PL.GEN	cat-DEF	one-GEN	leg-GEN	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT
mek-i	*dzeŕ-n*	*a*	*ktsel,*	*mek-i*	*k'it'-ə.*
one-GEN	hand-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	nose-DEF	

'Our cat bit one person's leg, one person's hand, and one person's nose.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

'What does each one do?'

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի շատ նեղացել:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*šat*	*neɣats'el*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	much	be.upset.PPT

'Who was most upset?'

Q3:13

Մեկի կոմպն ա փչացել, մեկի հեռախոսն ա փչացել, մեկի զաժիգալիկեն ա փչացել:

Mek-i	*komp-n*	*a*	*p'č'ats'el,*	*mek-i*	*heŕaxos-n*
one-GEN	computer-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	break.PPT	one-GEN	telephone-DEF
a	*p'č'ats'el,*	*mek-i*	*zažigalke-n*	*a*	*p'č'ats'el.*
be.3SG.PRS	break.PPT	one-GEN	lighter-DEF	be.3SG,PRS	break.PPT

'One person's computer has broken, one's phone has broken, one's lighter has broken.'

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

'What does each one do?'

(b) Ու՞մ վիճակն ա ավելի դժվար:

Um	*vičak-n*	*a*	*aveli*	*džvar?*

who-GEN situation be.3SG.PRS more difficult?

‘Whose situation is the most difficult?’

Q3:14

Մի գիրք կարդացել եմ, մի գիրք գրել եմ, մի գիրք դրել եմ սեղանի ջարդած ոտի տակը որ չընկնի:

Mi girk’ kardats’el em, mi girk’

one book read.PPT be.1SG.PRS one book

grel em, mi girk’ drel em

write.PPT be.1SG.PRS one book put.PPT be.1SG.PRS

seɣan-i jardvats vot-i tak vor č’ənkni.

table-GEN broken leg-GEN under CONJ NEG.fall.3SG.PRES.SUBJ

‘One book, I read, one book, I wrote, and one book I put under the broken leg of the table so it wouldn’t fall over.’

(a) Որ մեկը ի՞նչ գիրք ա եղել:

Vor mek-ə inč’ girk’ a yeɣel?

which one-DEF what book be.3SG.PRS be.PPT

‘What sort of book was each one?’

(b) Ո՞ր մեկն էր ավելի օգտակար իմ համար:

Vor mek-n er aveli ogtakar im hamar?

which one-DEF be.3SG.PST more useful 1SG.GEN for

‘Which one was most useful for me?’

Q3:15

Մեկի ոտը օձ ա կծել, մեկի մատը մուկ ա կծել, մեկի քիթը մոծակ ա կծել:

Mek-i vot-ə odz a ktsel, mek-i

one-GEN leg-DEF snake be.3SG.PRS bite.PPT one-GEN

mat-ə muk a ktsel, mek-i k’it’-ə

finger-DEF mouse be.3SG.PRS bite.PPT, one-GEN nose-DEF

motsak a ktsel.

mosquito be.3SG.PRS bite.PPT

‘A snake bit one person’s foot, a mouse bit one person’s finger, a mosquito bit one person’s nose.’

(a) Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT

'What does each one do?'

(b) Ո՞վ ա ավելի վատ զգում:

Ov	*a*	*aveli*	*vat*	*zgum?*
who	be.3SG.PRS	more	bad	feel.IPT

'Who feels worst?'

Questionnaire 4

Q4:1

Շեֆը աշխատողներից մեկին ատում ա, մեկից վախենում ա, մեկին էլ գովում ա: Ով ո՞նց ա իրան պահում գործի տեղը, ի՞նչ ձևի մարդ ա:

Šef-ə	*ašxatoɣ-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*	*atum*	*a,*
boss-DEF	worker-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	hate.IPT	be.3SG.PRES
mek-its'	*vaxenum*	*a,*	*mek-i-n*	*el*
one-ABL	be.afraid.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	PTC
govum	*a.*	*Ov*	*vonts'*	*a*
praise.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	who	how	be.3SG.PRS
iran	*pahum*	*gorts-i*	*teɣ-ə,*	*inč'*
3SG.DAT	keep	work-GEN	place-DEF	what
dzev-i	*mard*	*a?*		
form-GEN	person	be.3SG.PRS		

'The boss hates one of the workers, is afraid of one, and praises one. How does each one behave at work, what sort of person is he?'

Q4:2

Մեկին խոզ ա կծել, մեկին ձի ա կծել, մեկին մոծակ ա կծել: Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Mek-i-n	*xoz*	*a*	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*dzi*
one-DAT-DEF	pig	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	horse
a	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*motsak*	*a*	
be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	mosquito	be.3SG.PRS	
ktsel.	*Ov*	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?.*	
bite.PART	who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT	

'A pig bit one person, a horse bit one person, and a mosquito bit one person. What does each one do?'

Q4:3

Մեկին կատու ա կծել, մեկին մուկ ա կծել, մեկին ձուկ ա կծել: Ով ի՞նչ էր արել:

Mek-i-n	*katu*	*a*	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*muk*
one-DAT-DEF	cat	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	mouse

a	*ktsel,*	*mek-i-n*	*dzuk*	*a*	*ktsel.*
be.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	fish	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT	
Ov	*inč'*	*er*	*arel?*		
who	what	be.3SG.PST	do.PPT		

'A cat bit one person, a mouse bit one person, a fish bit one person. What had each one done?'

Q4:4

Ուսուցիչը աշակերտներից մեկին սիրում ա, մեկին գովում ա, մեկին էլ ընտրում ա, որ Օլիմպիադային մասնակցի: Ով ո՞նց ա սովորում, ի՞նչ ձևի երեխայ ա:

Usuts'ič-ə	*ašakert-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*	*sirum*	*a,*
teacher-DEF	student-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	love.IPT	be.3SG.PRS
mek-i-n	*govum*	*a,*	*mek-i-n*	*el*
one-DAT-DEF	praise.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	
əntrum	*a,*	*vor*	*olimpiada-yi-n*	*masnakts'i.*
choose.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	CONJ	olympiad-DAT-DEF	take.part.3SG.PRS.SUBJ
Ov	*vonts'*	*a*	*sovorum,*	*inč'*
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	study.IPT	what
dzev-i	*yerexa*	*a?*		
form-GEN	child	be.3SG.PRS		

'The teacher loves one of the students, praises one, and chooses one to take part in the Olympiad. How [well] does each one study, what kind of child is he?'

Q4:5

Մեր կատուն մեկի ոտն ա կծել, մեկի ձեռն ա կծել, մեկի քիթը: Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Mer	*katu-n*	*mek-i*	*vot-n*	*a*	*ktsel,*
1PL.GEN	cat-DEF	one-GEN	leg-GEN	be.3SG.PRS	bite.PPT
mek-i	*dzeŕ-n*	*a*	*ktsel,*	*mek-i*	*k'it'-ə.*
one-GEN	hand-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	nose-DEF	
Ov	*inč'*	*a*	*anum?*		
who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT		

'Our cat bit one person's leg, one person's hand, and one person's nose. What does each one do?'

Q4:6

Հարևանի աղջիկը իրա քույրիկներից մեկին սանրում ա, մեկին քսվացնում ա, մեկին էլ ծեծում ա: Ով ո՞նց ա իրան զգում:

Harevan-i	*ayjik-ə*	*ira*	*k'uyrik-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*
neighbour-GEN	girl-DEF	3SG.GEN	sister-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF
sanrum	*a,*	*mek-i-n*	*k'svats'num*	*a,*
comb.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	do.make.up.CAUS.IPT	be.3SG.PRS
mek-i-n	*el*	*tsetsum*	*a.*	*Ov*
one-DAT-DEF	PTC	beat.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	who
vonts'	*a*	*iran*	*zgum?*	
how	be.3SG.PRS	3SG.DAT	feel.IPT	

'The neighbour's daughter combs one of her sisters, puts make-up on one of them, and beats one of them. How does each one feel?'

Q4:7

Ուսուցիչը աշակերտներից մեկին ճնշում ա, մեկին վախացնում ա, մեկին էլ հանգիստ ա թողում: Դրանից հետո ով ո՞նց ա սովորում:

Usuts'ič'-ə	*ašakert-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*	*čnšum*	*a,*	
teacher-DEF	student-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	pressure.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	
mek-i-n	*vaxats'num*	*a,*	*mek-i-n*	*el*	
one-DAT-DEF	be.afraid.CAUS.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	PTC	
hangist	*a*	*t'oγum.*	*Dranits'*	*heto*	
quiet	be.3SG.PRS	leave.IPT	DEM2.ABL	after	
ov	*vonts'*	*a*	*sovorum?*		
who	how	be.3SG.PRS	learn.IPT		

'The teacher pressures one of the students, intimidates one, and leaves one in peace. After that, how does each one learn?'

Q4:8

Տղան երեք հատ քար ա շպրտել: Մեկը ավտո ա խփել, մեկը շուն ա խփել, մեկը հարևանին ա խփել: Որ մեկը ի՞նչ ձևի քար ա եղել:

Tγa-n	*yerek'*	*hat*	*k'ar*	*a*	*šprtel.*
boy-DEF	three	piece	stone	be.3SG.PRS	throw.PPT
Mek-ə	*avto*	*a*	*xp'el,*	*mek-ə*	*šun*

One-DEF	car	be.3SG.PRS	hit.PPT	one-DEF	dog
a	*xp'el,*	*mek-ə*	*harevan-i-n*	*a*	*xp'el.*
be.3SG.PRS	hit.PPT	one-DEF	neighbour-DAT-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	hit.PPT

Vor	*mek-ə*	*inč'*	*dzev-i*	*k'ar*	*a*	*yeɣel?*
which	one-DEF	what	form-GEN	stone	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT

'A boy threw three stones. One hit a car, one hit a dog, and one hit the neighbour. What sort of stone was each one?'

Q4:9

Մի տուն քամին ա քանդել, մի տուն՝ մրջյուններն են քանդել, մի տուն էլ՝ հարևանն ա քանդել: Որ մեկը ի՞նչ ձևի տուն ա եղել:

Mi	*tun*	*k'ami*	*a*	*k'andel,*	*mi*
one	house	wind	be.3SG.PRS	destroy.PPT	one
tun	*mrjyun-ner-n*	*en*	*k'andel,*	*mi*	*tun*
house	ant-PL-DEF	be.3PL.PRS	destroy.PPT	one	house
el	*harevan-n*	*a*	*k'andel.*	*Vor*	*mek-ə*
PTC	neighbour-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	destroy.PPT	which	one-DEF
inč	*dzev-i*	*tun*	*a*	*yeɣel?*	
what	form-GEN	house	be.3SG.PRS	be.PPT	

'The wind destroyed one house, ants destroyed one house, and the neighbour destroyed one house. What sort of house was each one?'

Q4:10

Շեֆը աշխատողներից մեկին գովել ա, մեկին վախեցրել ա, մեկին էլ ծեծել ա: Ով ո՞նց ա իրան զգում:

Šef-ə	*ašxatoɣ-ner-its'*	*mek-i-n*	*govel*	*a,*
boss-DEF	worker-PL-ABL	one-DAT-DEF	praise.PPT	be.3SG.PRS
mek-i-n	*vaxetsrel*	*a,*	*mek-i-n*	*el*
one-DAT-DEF	be.afraid.CAUS.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-DAT-DEF	PTC
tsetsel	*a.*	*Ov*	*vonts'*	*a*
beat.PPT	be.3SG.PRS	who	how	be.3SG.PRS
iran	*zgum?*			
3Sg.DAT	feel.IPT			

‘The boss praised one of the workers, intimidated one of them, and beat one of them. How does each one feel?’

Q4:11

Մեկին ավտո ա խփել, մեկին քար ա խփել, մեկին հարևենն ա խփել: Ով ի՞նչ վիճակում ա հիմա:

Mek-i-n	*avto*	*a*	*xp’el,*	*mek-i-n*	*k’ar*
one-DAT-DEF	car	be.3SG.PRS	hit.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	stone
a	*xp’el,*	*mek-i-n*	*harevan-n*	*a*	
be.3SG.PRS	hit.PPT	one-DAT-DEF	neighbour-DEF	be.3SG.PRS	
xp’el.	*Ov*	*inč’*	*vičakum*	*a*	*hima?*
hit.PPT	who	what	state.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	now

‘A car hit one person, a stone hit one, and the neighbour hit one. What sort of state is each one in now?’

Q4:12

Մեկի շունը հաչում ա, մեկի շունը փախնում ա, մեկի շունը հավ ա բռնել: Ով ի՞նչ ա անում:

Mek-i	*šun-ə*	*hač’um*	*a,*	*mek-i*	*šun-ə*
one-GEN	dog-DEF	bark.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	dog-DEF
p’axnum	*a,*	*mek-i*	*šun-ə*	*hav*	*a*
flee.IPT	be.3SG.PRS	one-GEN	dog-DEF	chicken	be.3SG.PRS
bŕnel.	*Ov*	*inč’*	*a*	*anum?*	
catch.PPT	who	what	be.3SG.PRS	do.IPT	

‘One person’s dog is barking, one’s dog is running away, one’s dog has caught a chicken. What does each person do?’

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Katherine HODGSON

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Relative clauses in colloquial Armenian: Syntax and typology

Volume II: Database

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Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 1.17	Q1: 1a	fin	intr subj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre		Anim		topic	*an mən k'ürə or k'ün a elats žamə tasnəerkusin, aŕav… k'šerov ver a kats'əm žamə tasin* 'that one sister who went to bed at twelve o'clock in the mor… evening gets up at ten'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 1.27	Q1: 1b	fin	intr subj	subj	dem pron N	0	conj	pre		Anim		topic	*isk an mən k'ürə or žamə yerkusin a k'ün elats, aveli šat… aveli šat a k'ün eləm or, ver a kats'əm žamə tasnerkusin* 'and that one sister who went to sleep at two, she sleeps more, she gets up at twelve o'clock'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 1.43	Q1: 1 (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem	(RP) RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*an… uv or or vir a kats'ats žamə ut'in, an hürän aveli lav a zgəm* 'that…the one who got up at eight, she feels better'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 5.22	Q1: 4a	fin	tr subj	IO	dem	0	conj	pre		Anim		topic	*de maman en, axk'atnerin or hots'ə tar… bažanats a, merə asil a or, apris balas* 'the mother, the one who gave bread to the poor, her mother will say well done, my child'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 6.22	Q1: 4a (b)	fin	tr subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Yerevi or an axk'atin hots' a təvats* [Which one is the mother most satisfied with?] 'I suppose, the one who gave bread to that poor person'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 11.01	Q1: 6a	fin	dest	loc	RP *inč'teɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim	topic	*de Hərómi Papə šti or mətats a, əte uremə mart'ik hok'epes, mətavor, aveli hangist ən elats* 'where the Pope went, there people became more calm spiritually and mentally'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 15.24	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	loc	RP *inč'teɣ*	0	(RP) RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg	topic	*bayts' ste… šti or or aprəm əs petk' a harmarvis at kyank'i hit, at mart'kants' hit* 'but in the place where you live, you have to adapt to that life, to those people'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 16.58	Q1: 8c	fin	loc	loc	RP *inč'teɣ*	0	(RP) RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim non-specific	topic	*šti or or at gortsaranə päts'äts in, mart'ik ašxatil ən hüränts' hamar karoɣ ən aprust stextsin u aprin* 'where they opened a factory, people worked, they could make a life for themselves and live'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 17.08	Q1: 8	fin	loc	loc	RP *inč'teɣ*	n/a	RP or RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*iharke et k'aɣak'əm vor, šti or ašxatank' ko, šti or mart' karox a stextsi, apri* 'of course in that city where there is work, where a person can create, live'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 17.08	Q1: 8	fin	loc	loc	RP *inč'teɣ*	n/a	RP or RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*iharke et k'aɣak'əm vor, šti or ašxatank' ko, šti or mart' karox a stextsi, apri* 'of course in that city where there is work, where a person can create, live'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 17.38	Q1: 9a	fin	time	time	RP *vor* N	0	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Inanim	?focus	*de iharke tsiranə, or tarin or ban a elats, da, tents', vonts' asim žamanaki het kapvats, ays ink'ən, tseranə, et, ir, hüra sezoni žamanak otəm us inč' or ko patrastəm əs* of course the apricot, whichever year it was…, that, how can I say, according to the time, that is, the apricot, that, its, in the time of its season you eat whatever there is and prepare it'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 17.21	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *inč'teɣ*	n/a	(RP) RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*šti or or gorts a päts'ats* [which city benefited the most?] 'The one where there is work' [lit. 'where work has opened']
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 17.48	Q1: 9	fin	intr subj	DO	RP *inč'*	0	RP or RP conj	pre		Inanim		?focus	*tseranə, et, ir, hüra sezoni žamanak otəm us inč' or ko patrastəm əs dzəmeŕn al otəm us* 'the apricot, that, its, in the time of its season you eat whatever there is, prepare it, and in the winter you eat it'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 18.52	Q1: 9	fin	adv	quantity	RP *inč'k'an* N	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	?focus	*inč'k'an čür ko, etk'an al popok a enəm, änguz* 'the more water there is, the more walnuts there are' [lit. 'how much water there is, there are that many walnuts']
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 20.45	Q1: 10c	fin	time	time	dem N or 0	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*ayn tarin or ərxa ya elats indz, mor zgats'munk'ə aveli [?pöt'ür] a elats* 'the year when I had a child, the maternal feeling was more [??]'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 27.27	Q1: 12	fin	loc	abl	RP *inč'teɣ*	dem	RP or RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Hents' steɣits', šti or aprəm əm* [Where could you get it from?] 'From just here, where I live'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 27.40	Q1: 12 (b)	fin	loc	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*An yerkirə or hümek's aprəm əm* 'That country where I live now'

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Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 32.57	Q1: 16a	fin	P obj	subj	N	dem N	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*maman vor, ərxin hamar kanfet a aŕats, et erxan yerevi č'ar a elats* 'the child who the mother bought a sweet for [RC]/if/when/since the mother bought a sweet for the child [Adv], I suppose that child had been naughty'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 35.22	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*an mən gəričʼov or yes usanoɣneri gəravornern em stugats, karmir guyni a elats* 'that pen that I marked the students' tests with was red'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 35.47	Q1: 18b (b)	fin	instr	subj	0	0	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Aveli sirun er or is gəravornern əm stugats* [Which was more beautiful?] 'The one I marked the tests with was more beautiful'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 36.06	Q1: 19a	fin	abl	subj	RP *um ani*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um ani or čür üm özäts, yet'e, k'ədzip mart' čʼeɣats čürə təvats a* 'the one I asked for water, if he wasn't a mean person he gave water'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 36.54	Q1: 19c (b)	fin	abl	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*yetʼe neɣatsʼel en, neɣähäts a elel, ov or partk'ov or p'oɣ əm özäts* 'If they were annoyed, if [one of them] was annoyed, [it was] the one who I asked for money'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 37.09	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	dem N	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*gəluxə vor ts'avəm a iharke at mart'ə petk' a hangəstani or gəluxə dinčäni* 'the one whose head hurts [RC]/if/when/since his head hurts [Adv], that person needs to rest so his head calms down'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 37.44	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	pred	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*duts'anits' amenatöžörə [kə?] um gəluxə ts'avəm a* 'The most [?difficult] of them is the one whose head hurts'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 39.08	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	instr	n/a	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Um or hiahats əm* [Who was my friend?] 'The one I admired'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 40.18	Q1: 23a	fin	intr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Yuri Gagarinə aŕačʼin sovetakan tiezeragənatsn a, or aŕačʼin ank'am tiezerk' a pits'irähäts* 'Yuri Gagarin was the first Soviet spaceman, who went up into space for the first time'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 42.12	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*dayakə or ərxan pahəm a mitsits'nïm ï* 'The nanny [is the person] that looks after and brings up the child'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQs1 11.31	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	subj	N	dem	0	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*mi yerkirn el ašxatum es, et el k'ezi hats' a talis* 'you work in one country, and that gives you bread'/'?the country where you work gives you bread'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQs1 14.53	Q1: 9	fin	time, subj	abl	RP vor N RP vor N	0 dem	RP N RP n	pre		Inanim		?focus	*vor tarin vor mirk'ə šat eɣe parz e dranits' enk' patraste* 'Whichever fruit was plentiful in that [lit. which] year, obviously [that year] we made things from that [fruit]'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQs1 14.35	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*Vorteɣ vor gortsaran a pats'e* [Which city benefited the most?] 'The one where a factory has opened'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQS1 20.18	Q1: 10b	fin	time	time	dem N or 0	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*et žamanak vor parts'r ašxatavarts' el kəstanink' hačuyk' el kəstanink'* 'at the time when we'll get a high salary, we'll also get pleasure'
Ararat (Masis)	Masis other	VLQs1 25.20	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	abl	n/a	RP *vorteɣits'*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*Vordeɣits' ašxatank'i həraver a stats'e, vordeɣits' p'axel a, amen depk'um…* [Which one was more like home for me?] 'Where I got an invitation to work from, where I fled from, in any case…'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQs1 25.25 *	Q1: 12a (b)	fin	abl	n/a	RP *vorteɣits'*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	[neighbour from Masis reminds M2: *Vordeɣits' ašxatank'i həraver a stats'e, vordeɣits' p'axel a, amen depk'um…*] *Vordeɣits' hem ašxatank' em tsənənt'avayrəs e hem el tus aki(n)k' or p'axer em...* [Context: Which one was more like home for me?] [Where I got an invitation to work from, where I fled from, in any case…] 'From where I [had?] work, and is my birthplace, and from where we [?came out] when I fled'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQs2 4.20	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	dem N or 0	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en mi erexen or maman koŕats'e vəren čʼaručyun a ere* 'that child who the mother shouted at had done something naughty'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQs2 11.27	Q1: 20 (b)	fin	tr subj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Ov vor hənaravorčʼun uni* 'Whoever/the one who has the opportunity'

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Mush (Vardenik)	M2	VLQs2 12.21	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	instr	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Vor hiats'el em* [Which was the good one?] 'The one I admired'
Ararat (Masis)	Masis other	VLQs2 14.13	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Et T'alyat' P'ašayin vor satkats'rel a* [Who was Soghomon Tehleryan?] 'The one who killed Talyat Pasha'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 3.00	Q1: 3a	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	0	RP	pre		Anim		topic	*vorə dəram a gədel gənats'el a bufet* 'the one who found money went to the buffet'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 3.03	Q1: 3b	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	0	RP	pre		Anim		topic	*vorə voski a gədel tarel a, milits'iayin a asel vor č'əbərnen iran* 'the one who found gold took it, told the police so they wouldn't arrest him'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 5.30	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vorteɣ Olimpiada, əti žoɣovurt'ə… žoɣovurt'ə uraxanum a, urxanum a* 'where the Olympics [are], the people are happy
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 5.43	Q1: 5b	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vorti, inč' er, hamerg er,* [Shnogh other: *hamerg a lum*] *hamerg a lum, əte el a urxanum* 'where, what was it, there was a concert, ['there is a concert'] there is a concert, they're happy there too'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 5.50	Q1: 5c	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vorti el ə, boɣok'i akts'ia ya lum, əte žoɣovurt'ə… žoɣovurt'ə šat mexk' a lum* 'and where there's a protest, I feel sorry for the people there'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 9.00	Q1: 6 (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*vorti hayn a* 'where there are Armenians'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 11.48	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	loc	N	dem	0	post		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*mi k'aɣak'um futbol a elel əti kəŕiv məŕiv a elel* 'in one city there was football, there there was fighting' '?in the city where there was football there was fighting'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 12.05	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*mi k'aɣak'um vorti futbol a elel, žoɣovurt'ə, inč' asem, uraxats'el a* 'in one city where there was football, the people, what can I say, were happy'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 0.11	Q1: 12	fin	loc	?subj	RP *vorteɣ*	NP	RP	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*yerkrits' p'axel em, et, ə, vor yerkrits er, vorti ašxatank' č'əkar, vorti paterazm kar?* [Neighbour: *Siria*] *Ha, Siriayits', ha* 'I fled from the country, that, which country was it, where there's no work, where there's a war? [Syria] Yes, from Syria, yes'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 2.50	Q1: 14a	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	adverbial	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*morəs hamar vor t'əxel em tsənəndyan tort' a elel* 'the one I baked for my mother was a birthday cake'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 2.54	Q1: 14b	fin	DO	topic	0	?	conj	pre	IO	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*harevanneris vor hyurasirel em, morəs tsənəndyan tort'its' em hyurasirel* 'If/when I offered [food] to my neighbours [Adv]/?the one I offered to my neighbours [RC], I offered them some of my mother's birthday cake'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 9.35	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	subj	0	0	conj	pre	DO	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*gəravornerə vor əstuge* [*iʔ*] *karmir er* 'the one I marked the tests with was red'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 11.11	Q1: 20c (b)	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Inanim	focus	*bəžəški gənats'oɣə, um voɣnašarə* [*ts'ə*]*, meč'k'ə ts'avum a, na ya gənum* 'the one who goes to the doctor, the one whose spine, back hurts, he is the one who goes'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 10.44	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um gəluxə ts'av* [*ʔ*] *a deɣə xəmets'* 'the one whose head hurt[s?] took the medicine'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 00.48	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*ureməs es yerkusin k'ənoɣən aveli mətatsoɣ e* 'so the one who goes to sleep at two is more thoughtful'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 01.08	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	poss			SPT			Anim		topic	*et erkusi k'ənoɣən, dəra uɣeɣən č'i anjatvi* 'the one who goes to sleep at two, her brain doesn't switch off'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 01.20	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk tasi k'ənoɣən šat hangist e* 'and the one who goes to sleep at ten is very calm'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 02.11	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay gənats'oɣə, Dubay gənats'oɣnerə tsaxum en irants'* 'the one who is going to Dubai, the ones who go to Dubai sell themselves'

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Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 02.11	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay gənats'oɣə, Dubay gənats'oɣnerə tsaxum en irants'* 'the one who's going to Dubai, the ones who go to Dubai sell themselves'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 04.20	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en, haryur dəram k'ət'noɣən, eni azniv mart' e* 'the one who found 100 drams is an honest person'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 4.28		non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*voski siroɣən voski e sirum* 'the one who loves gold loves gold'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 05.59	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*Es hats'ə bažanoɣən.* [Which one?] This one who gives out bread'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 06.42	Q1: 4 (b)	non-fin	tr subj	abl			SPT			Anim		?focus	*yerevi et təvoɣits' k'oy kəlni* I suppose she'll be more satisfied with the one who gave'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 17.00	Q1: 7a	non-fin	loc	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*yes č'ənayats tsənver im, bayts' im tsənvats teɣən č'em sirum* 'even though I was born [there], I don't like the place where I was born'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 29.15	Q1: 12 [Q1: 7a]	non-fin	loc	abl		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*yes iskakan im yerkirn e p'axer im, im tsənvadz yerkirn em p'axe, u č'əsirets'i yes* 'I fled from my real country, I fled the country where I was born, and I didn't like it'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 29.23	Q1: 12 [Q1: 7a]	non-fin	loc	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*č'əsirets'i im tsənvats yerkirə* 'I didn't like the country where I was born'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 36.31	Q1: 17c	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		topic	*Č'inastan kənats'oɣnerən, P'ariz kənats'oɣnerən…* 'the ones who go to China, the ones who go to Paris…'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 36.31	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		topic	*Č'inastan kənats'oɣnerən, P'ariz kənats'oɣnerən…* 'the ones who go to China, the ones who go to Paris…'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 39.36	Q1: 19c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*p'oɣ uzoɣə ink'ən p'oɣ a sire* 'the one who asks for money, he loves money'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 40.14	Q1: 19	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		?topic	*mahats'oɣən el, verč'i momentin č'ur e xəmum* 'and the dying man drinks water at the last moment'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 44.29	Q1: 21c	non-fin	instr	subj			RPT - uk			Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*en hiats'ukn a lav* 'the one I admired was good'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs4 00.37	Q1: 21b	non-fin	P obj	topic			RPT - uk			Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en jəɣaynats'ugn el de moment e jəɣaynanam yes megi vəren, edi moment e* ‘the one I got annoyed with, it’s just a momentary thing, if I get annoyed with someone, that’s just a momentary thing’
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs4 2.08		non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		topic	*ařač'in Mesrop Maštots'n eɣe, stexts'oɣən, taŕerən, heto el, banən, Xač'atur Abovyanən* 'the first one was Mesrop Mashtots, the creator, the letters, and then, Khachatur Abovyan'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs4 6.52		non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		?topic	*dayak ənt'unoɣnerin yes č'em ənt'unum* 'I don't accept people who have nannies'
Ararat (Masis)	Masis other	SHQs 00.29	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*erkusin k'ənoɣə k'anisin kəzart'ni?* 'what time will the one who goes to sleep at two wake up?'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 2.19	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan näts'uɣə parz a vor, or petk' a ləɣani hangəstani* 'the one who is going to Sevan, it is clear that he will bathe and relax'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 03.03	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan näts'uɣə aveli lav a ants'kəts'nel žamanakə k'an ənde nähats'ə* 'the one who is going to Sevan will have a better time than the one who goes there'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 03.03	Q1: 2	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan näts'uɣə aveli lav a ants'kəts'nel žamanakə k'an ənde nähats'ə* 'the one who is going to Sevan will have a better time than the one who goes there'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 03.36	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim		topic	*haryur dəram čarats axč'ikə at häryur dəramə karoɣ a mən bün aři uti* 'the girl who found 100 drams, [with] that 100 drams she can buy something and eat it'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 03.49	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		topic	*matanin čaratsə inč' a anelu?* 'what will the one who found the ring do?'

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Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 04.48	Q1: 3a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*An haryur dəram čaroɣə* 'that one who found 100 drams'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 05.46	Q1: 4b	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			RPT			Anim		topic	*de šorə təvatsə, č'ənayats…* 'the one who gave the dress, although…'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 01.13	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	topic			SPT			Anim		topic	*taserkəsi k'ənoɣən el, na el, nəra het el e mi ban kapvats eɣe* 'the one who slept at 12, she too, something has happened to her'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 03.17	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*amenadəžbaxtə Dubay gənats'oɣən e* 'the most unfortunate one is the one who is going to Dubai'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 03.52	Q1: 3c	non-fin	tr subj	topic			SPT			Anim		topic	*es, šefi k'ət'oɣən, ink'ən xoramank aferist iskakan es Sovetits' e* 'this, the one who found the boss's [letter], he is a devious selfish person, truly from this Soviet Union'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	ST Qs1 06.42	Q1: 4c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	abl			SPT			Anim		?focus	*yerevi et təvoɣits' k'oy kəlni, tsaɣik təvoɣits'* 'I suppose she will be satisfied with the one who gave, the one who gave flowers'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 28.00	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*tatikis patrastats tort'ə, tatikis patrastats, tatikəs mišt patrastəm nal kotap* 'the cake my grandmother made, the one my grandmother made, my grandmother always made kotap'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 28.43	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Im patrastatsəs? Im patrastatsəs, pətič'i malako.* 'The one I made? The one I made was ptichi moloko (Russian 'bird's milk').'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 29.06	Q1: 13c	non-fin	DO	pred			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Xanut'its' aŕatsə č'e* 'Not the one I got from a shop'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 29.16	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*tatikis patrastatsnerə öriš nal* 'the one my grandmother made was different'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 29.18	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 3sg pron	topic	*čišt a ink'ə tort' č'i nal patrastəm, hüra patrastatsə k'äta i nal, kotap nal* 'it's true that she didn't make cake, what she made was gata, kotap'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 29.35	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*Hamovə nänus patrastatsə.* 'The tasty one was the one my grandmother made.'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 31.06	Q1: 14c	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*t'ak'uhu t'əxatsə, e, yes im, čox, zärt'arvats yerevi…* 'the one the queen baked, splendid, decorated I suppose'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 31.15	Q1: 14b	non-fin	DO	P obj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*tatin al hürän t'əxatsin hamemat čišt a hamov a t'əxəl bayts' de gäril č'i ənents' t'əxi vonts' vor et t'ak'uhu hamar a t'əxats t'e t'ak'uhin a t'əxats gidəm č'im* 'and grandmother, compared to the one she made, it's true that she made it tasty but she couldn't make it like the one made for the queen or the one the queen made, I don't know'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 32.12	Q1: 15b	non-fin	tr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*k'ahanan al de, hok'evor, assu het kapvats, mexk' č'əgortsoɣ, et tesak, a, mart' a elats* 'and the priest, spiritual, linked with God, who doesn't commit sins, he was that sort of person'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 33.55	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		topic	*Tsaxkadzor nähätsï, nähätsə, dahuk a k'əšats* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor went skiing'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 34.01	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		topic	*Č'inastan nähätsə pirindz a kerats* 'the one who went to China ate rice'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 40.18	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*T'alyat' P'aša, P'aši spanoɣə.* [Who is Soghomon Tehleryan?] 'The one who killed Talyat Pasha.'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 41.18	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Hats't'uxə hots' t'əxoɣn a.* 'The baker is the one who bakes bread.'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 41.22	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*T'amadan or hərsanik'i t'amadayuts'yun ays ink'ən amboxč' hərsanik'ə seɣanə ɣekavaroɣə, kenats'ner asoɣə* [Who is the tamada?] The tamada that the tamada's job at the wedding, that is, the one in charge of all the tables, the one who makes toasts'

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Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 41.22	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*t'amadan or hərsanik'i t'amadayuts'yun ays ink'ən amboxč' hərsanik'ə seɣanə ɣekavaroɣə, kenats'ner asoɣə* [Who is the tamada?] The tamada that the tamada's job at the wedding, that is, the one in charge of all the tables, the one who makes toasts'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 41.46	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Et norapəsakneri, norapəsakneri k'avorə, duts'a irar kapoɣə, irar xorurt təvoɣə, ajakts'oɣə,* […] *nərants' mač'ki kang… kinnoɣə* [Who is the godfather/best man?] The godfather/best man of the newlyweds, the one who binds them together, the one who gives them advice, helps them, the one who stands with them'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 41.46	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Et norapəsakneri, norapəsakneri k'avorə, duts'a irar kapoɣə, irar xorurt təvoɣə, ajakts'oɣə,* […] *nərants' mač'ki kang… kinnoɣə* [Who is the godfather/best man?] The godfather/best man of the newlyweds, the one who binds them together, the one who gives them advice, helps them, the one who stands with them'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 41.46	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Et norapəsakneri, norapəsakneri k'avorə, duts'a irar kapoɣə, irar xorurt təvoɣə, ajakts'oɣə,* […] *nərants' mač'ki kang… kinnoɣə* [Who is the godfather/best man?] The godfather/best man of the newlyweds, the one who binds them together, the one who gives them advice, helps them, the one who stands with them'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs1 3.06	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London et'oɣə parz a ket'a, fəŕa* 'The one who is going to London, it's clear, he'll go, go around'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs1 3.42	Q1: 2a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Yerevi Sevan et'ats'oɣə* 'The one who is going to Sevan I suppose'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs1 4.26	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*voski matani k'tnox kəmətatsa…* 'the one who found the gold ring will think…'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs1 4.57	Q1: 3b (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*voski matani k'ətnoɣən, or matanin ti ira tiroč'* 'the one who found the gold ring, to give the ring to its owner'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs1 6.40	Q1: 4c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*De tsaɣik təvoɣis parz a, has təvoɣin el…* 'With the one who gave flowers obviously, and with the one who gave bread'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs1 6.40	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*De tsaɣik təvoɣis parz a, has təvoɣin el…* 'With the one who gave flowers obviously, and with the one who gave bread'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs1 8.24	Q1: 5	non-fin	tr subj	IO		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*Boɣok' təvoɣ mart'un ov a lav pan k'əse?* 'Who will say anything good to the one who complains?'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 2.17	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*mamayi eratsə amen išn el xamov a* 'the one mother made is the tastiest of all'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 2.22	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*mamayi eratsə amen inč'ən erexi hamar hamov a* 'what the mother makes, it's all tasty for the child'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 2.58	Q1: 15b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Anim	Anim	?topic	*de karoɣ a hents' k'ahanayi metsats'ukən k'ahana yeɣi* 'maybe the one the priest brought up will become a priest'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 5.14	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*P'ariz et'oɣn el ira hačuyk'n* [*a?*] *kəstana* 'and the one who goes to Paris will enjoy himself too'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 6.36	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Tsaxkadzor gənats'oɣən* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 7.13	Q1: 18c	non-fin	instr	subj		N	SPT			Inanim		topic	*mi kərič'ov tsaɣik em nəkare, et tsaɣik nəkarox kərič'ən erevi mi k'ani kəriš pəti eɣi, karmir, kaput, kanač'…* 'I drew a flower with one pen, that pen I drew a flower with, I suppose it must be several pens, red, blue, green…'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 9.11	Q1: 19b (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Yerevi has təvoɣən* 'I suppose the one who gave bread'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 9.19	Q1: 19c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Partk'ov p'oɣ təvoɣən* 'The one who lent money'

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Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 9.24	Q1: 19b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*has təvoɣən kita čišt a mišt el has təvoɣən kita* 'the one who gave bread [?will give], it's true that the one who gives bread will always [?give]'
Ararat (Masis)	Masis other	LQs2 10.21	Q1: 20a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*gəlxats'avov, b'an, tarapoɣə hešt a mi hat dex kəxəmi* 'the one who suffers from a headache, it's easy, he will take some medicine'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 13.32	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Hayereni aŕač'i ussič', taŕer kərox* [Who is Mesrop Mashtots?] 'The first teacher of Armenian, writer of the letters'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 13.47	Q1: 23a	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Arač'i, tizerk' parts'rats'ox* [Who is Yuri Gagarin?] 'The first one who went up into space'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQs2 15.03	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	n/a		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*Harsanik'ner en, k'eferin, pan, seɣanən, tsaxkets'nox mart'* [Who is the tamada?] 'Weddings, at celebrations, that person who adorns the tables [i.e. with speeches etc.]'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQS2 15.18	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Dayakn el, erexen paxoɣn a, xənamoɣn a, k'u tan mak'rut'yun eroɣn a* 'And the nanny is the one who looks after the child, who cares for it, the one who does the cleaning of your house'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQS2 15.18	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj				SPT			Anim			*Dayakn el, erexen paxoɣn a, xənamoɣn a, k'u tan mak'rut'yun eroɣn a* 'And the nanny is the one who looks after the child, who cares for it, the one who does the cleaning of your house'
Mush (Vardenik)	M2	LQS2 15.18	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj				SPT			Anim			*Dayakn el, erexen paxoɣn a, xənamoɣn a, k'u tan mak'rut'yun eroɣn a* 'And the nanny is the one who looks after the child, who cares for it, the one who does the cleaning of your house'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 20.19	Q1: 7c	non-fin	loc	pred		N	SPT			Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*a de vorde vor ašxatum es, art'en sovorer is žoɣovərt'i vəren, amenayndebəs k'u ašxatoɣ yerkirən e* 'where you work, you've already got used to the people, in any case it's the country where you work'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SHQs 37.50	Q1: 20a (b)	non-fin	poss subj	n/a			SPT			Anim	Inanim	focus	*Gəluxə ts'avoɣə* [Who went to the doctor's?] 'The one whose head hurt'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 0.44	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*žamə tasi k'ənoɣ axč'ikə ver a kenum žamə yot'in* 'the girl who goes to sleep at ten gets up at seven o'clock'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 0.55	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*taserkusi ve kenoɣ axč'ikə səmenits' a gali* 'the girl who gets up at twelve is coming from her shift'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 1.10	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*erkusi k'ənoɣ axč'ikn el ver a kenum žamə mekin* 'and the girl who goes to sleep at two gets up at one o'clock'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 1.20	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a		N	RPT			Anim		focus	*žamə yot'i ve kats'ats axč'ikə* 'the girl who got up at seven'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 1.33	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan gənats'oɣ axč'ikə petk' a hangəstana tsovi ap'in* 'the girl who is going to Sevan should relax on the sea shore'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 1.50	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*London gənats'oɣ axč'ikə petk' a sovori Londonum* 'the girl who is going to London should study in London'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 1.52	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay gənats'oɣ axč'ikə petk' a gəna tsov* 'the girl who is going to Dubai should go to the sea'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 3.17	Q1: 3c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*gaxtni namak gətnoɣn el, de uremə šefi het petq a gortsark'i meč' mətni* 'and the one who found the secret letter should negotiate with the boss'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 3.33	Q1: 3b (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*voski gətnoɣə* 'the one who found gold'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 4.15	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	IO		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*hats' t'əxoɣ axč'əkanə asel a šat el lav es arel* 'to the girl who baked bread she said, you did very well'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 16.08	Q1: 10b	non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*p'oɣə stats'ats [ʔvaxt] el em šat lav əzgats'el indz* 'and the [?time] I got money I felt very good'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 16.33	Q1: 10c	non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*ərexa unets'ats vaxtəs el aveli yerjanik em elel* 'and the time I had a child I was happier'

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Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs1 16.53	Q1: 10c (b)	non-fin	time	n/a		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*ərexa unets'ats vaxtəs* 'the time I had a child'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 1.59	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im sark'ats tort'ə, en el er lavə, bayts' tatiis sark'ats tor... gat'en aveli lavn er* 'the cake I made, that was good too, but the cake…gata my grandmother made was better'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 1.59	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im sark'ats tort'ə, en el er lavə, bayts' tatiis sark'ats tor... gat'en aveli lavn er* 'the cake I made, that was good too, but the cake…gata my grandmother made was better'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 2.23	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*Aveli hamov er tatiis t'əxats gat'en, tort'ə, aveli hamov er, eli tatiis t'əxatsə* 'the gata, cake my grandmother made was tastier, again the one my grandmother made was tastier'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 2.23	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*Aveli hamov er tatiis t'əxats gat'en, tort'ə, aveli hamov er, eli tatiis t'əxatsə* 'the gata, cake my grandmother made was tastier, again the one my grandmother made was tastier'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 3.51		non-fin	DO	instr		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 3pl	focus	*saɣn el irants' səvorats gortsov en əzbaɣvel* 'everyone did the job they learnt'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 9.35	Q1: 18c (b)	non-fin	instr	n/a		N	SPT			Inanim		focus	*Tsaɣik nəkaroɣ guynerə* [Which one was more beautiful?] 'The colours I drew a flower with'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 10.01	Q1: 19a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*jur təvoɣn el a jur təvel, hats' təvoɣn el a təvel* 'and the one who gave water gave water, the one who gave bread gave too'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 10.01	Q1: 19b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*jur təvoɣn el a jur təvel, hats' təvoɣn el a təvel* 'and the one who gave water gave water, the one who gave bread gave too'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 10.44	Q1: 20a	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*gəlux ts'avoɣə, um gəluxə ts'av* [*?*] *a deɣə xəmets' na lavə kəli* 'the one whose head hurts, the one whose head hurts took medicine, he will be fine'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 10.59	Q1: 20c	non-fin	tr subj	gen			SPT			Anim		topic	*meč'k' jart'oɣi mexk' a lum, na paŕkats vičakum a lum* 'I feel sorry for the one whose back is broken, he is lying down'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 11.12	Q1: 20c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		topic	*bəžəški gənats'oɣə* [*vo…*]*, um voɣnašarə* [*ts'ə*]*, meč'k'ə ts'avum a, na ya gənum* 'the one who goes to the doctor, the one whose spine, back hurts, he's the one who goes'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 12.30	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Mesrop Maštots'ə mer, ərexan, taŕerə stexts'oɣn a* 'Mesrop Mashtots is our, child, the one who created our letters'
Lori (Shnogh)	Shnogh other	ShAQs 13.19	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*es mart'ə azgayin heros a, T'alyat' P'ašayin əspanoɣn a* 'this person is a national hero, he's the one who killed Talyat Pasha'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 12.36	Q1: 23a	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Mer aŕač'i t'əŕč'oɣ, tiezeragənatsn a* [Who is Yuri Gagarin?] 'He is our first spaceman who flew'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 13.13	Q1: 23a	non-fin	intr subj	pred			RPT			Anim		focus	*yerkri šurj yekats čanaparort' er* '[Columbus] was a traveller who went around the world'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 13.26	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*hats't'uxə* […] *hats' t'əxoɣn a* 'the baker […] is the one who bakes bread'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 13.31	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*t'amadan el šulux anoɣn a* 'and the tamada is the one who makes jokes'
Lori (Shnogh)	L3	ShAQs2 14.03	Q1: 23b	non-fin	intr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*uraxuts'yan… inč'n a asoɣ xosoɣn a, asoɣ xosoɣn a* '[the godfather], of happiness [i.e. at celebrations]… what is he, he's the one who gives speeches, the one who gives speeches'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.02	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*tasin k'ənoɣ k'irə žamə yot'in pəti ve kena* 'the sister who sleeps at ten will get up at seven'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.12	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*taserkusin k'ənoɣə, nu ut'in* 'the one who sleeps at twelve, [gets up] at eight'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.20	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*erkusin k'ənoɣ k'urə ut' ants' kesits' inə, jerevi, et žamerin* 'the sister who sleeps at two [gets up] at half past eight or nine, I suppose, around that time'

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Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.27	Q1: 1a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*iran lav əzgats'oɣ k'irə kəlni tasin k'ənoɣə* 'the sister who feels good will be the one who sleeps at ten'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.27	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*iran lav əzgats'oɣ k'irə kəlni tasin k'ənoɣə* 'the sister who feels good will be the one who sleeps at ten'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.48	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan gənats'oɣə petk' a leɣana* 'the one who is going to Sevan will bathe'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.52	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London gənats'oɣə tesaržan vayrer [petk' a] nayi* 'the one who is going to London will look at the sights'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 0.58	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubai gənats'oɣn el kara loɣana el tesaržan vayrern el [?nayi]* 'the one who is going to Dubai can bathe and [?look at] the sights'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 1.08		non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		?topic	*yerkrits' durs ekoɣə pəti mi hetak'ərk'ir ban k'ətni nayi* 'whoever goes out of the country should find an interesting thing and look at it'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 1.30	Q1: 2c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*yerevi Dubai gənats'oɣə lav žamanak a ants'kats'num* 'I suppose the one who is going to Dubai has a good time'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 1.52	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*harur dəram k'ətnoɣə de harur dəramə sovorakan… inch pəti anel dəranov?* 'the one who found 100 drams, 100 drams ordinary… what should he do with it?'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 2.00	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*voski matani k'ətnoɣə kuraxana vor voski matnuk a gədel* 'the one who found a gold ring will be happy that he has found a gold ring'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 2.30	Q1: 3c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*šefi gaxtni gortser gətnoɣə kuzenai…* 'I would like [to be] the one who found the boss's secret dealings'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 3.08	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*hats' bažanoɣin u šorə nəviroɣin, maman asel a lav ban es arel* 'to the one who gave out bread and the one who gave the dress, the mother said, you did a good thing'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 3.08	Q1: 4b	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim			*hats' bažanoɣin u šorə nəviroɣin, maman asel a lav ban es arel* 'to the one who gave out bread and the one who gave the dress, the mother said, you did a good thing'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 3.15	Q1: 4c	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*tsaɣik nəviroɣin ira gohunakuč'unə šnorakaluč'unn a asel* 'to the one who gave flowers, she expressed her satisfaction and thanks'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 3.44	Q1: 4c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	abl			SPT			Anim		focus	*tsaɣik nəviroɣits', vor tsaɣik a iran nəvirel* 'with the one who gave flowers, who gave her flowers'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 4.03	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vorteɣ Olimpiada ya lelu, mətatsum a vonts' ani vor tena* 'where the Olympics are going to be, they think what they can do to see them'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 4.12	Q1: 5b	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*nuynə, vorti eli dzəri hamerg a əlelu, əti el a mətatsum, ənents ani gəna et hamergin, hamergə tesa* 'the same, where there is going to be a free concert, there too they think, what can they do to go to the concert, to see the concert'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 5.37	Q1: 6a (b)	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim	topic	*vorte vor Həŕomi Papn a elel, ənte kuzei yes əlem* 'where the Pope was, that's where I'd like to be'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 5.58	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	subj	RP *vor* N	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vor yerkrum vor tsənvel em, da bənakan a im hayrenik'n a im mayr hoɣn a* 'the country where I was born, that naturally is my fatherland, my mother land'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 6.09	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vorde el vor ašxatum em u aprum em, et im ašxatank'i, aprusti teɣn a* 'and where I live and work, that is the place of my work, my living'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 6.24	Q1: 7a (b)	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vorti vor tsənvel em ənde el indz šat lav a, vorteɣ vor tsənvel em* 'where I was born is very good for me too, where I was born'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 6.57	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP	pre	other	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*de et k'aɣak'nerits' vorteɣ futboln a, sporti dzev a zargats'rel* of those cities, where the football is, sport has developed'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 7.46	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vorti vor gortsaran a bats'el eli, et k'aɣak'ə aveli šat a šahel* 'where a factory has opened, that city has benefited the most'

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Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 8.05	Q1: 9a	fin	time	time	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Tsiranə, vorti vor tsiranə vor ežan a əlel et tari tsirani kampotn a jemə šat en arel* 'Apricots, where [i.e. when] apricots were cheap, that year they made a lot of apricot compote and jam'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 8.32	Q1: 9	fin	intr subj	?obj	RP *vorə*	NP	RP conj	post		Inanim		focus	*…nu, kakali muraba heto, vorə vor šat lavn a dzəmerva hamar* 'then walnut preserve, which is very good for the winter'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 9.26	Q1: 10c (b)	fin	time	n/a	RP *vor* N	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*vor tarin vor erexa enk' unets'el* 'the year we had a child'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 12.11	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vorteɣ vor indz ašxatank'i en kanč'el əndi indz həma harazat a elel* 'where they called me to work, that was like home for me'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 12.46 *	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	sc subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im sark'ats tort'ə č'əgitem vonts' a elel urši həmar* 'the cake I made, I don't know how it was for someone else'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 2.53	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*tatis sark'atsə šat lavn er saɣis həmar* 'the one my grandmother made was very good for all of us'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 12.57	Q1: 13c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de xanut'its' aŕatsn el geɣets'ik er, bayts' tatis sark'atsi nəman hamov č'er* 'the one I bought from a shop was beautiful, but it wasn't as tasty as the one my grandmother made'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 13.04	Q1: 13c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*xanut'its' aŕatsə sirun a lum, bayts' tatis sark'atsə hamov a* 'the one I bought from a shop is beautiful, but the one my grandmother made is tasty'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 13.04	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*xanut'its' aŕatsə sirun a lum, bayts' tatis sark'atsə hamov a* 'the one I bought from a shop is beautiful, but the one my grandmother made is tasty'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 13.42	Q1: 14a	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	adverbial	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de mamayis tsənəndi həmar vor t'əxel em, ašxatel em, inč'k'an karam lavn əli* 'the one I made for my mother's birthday, I tried to make it as good as I could'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 13.58	Q1: 14c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*t'ak'uhu patrastatsn el, t'ak'uhin ira paštonakan hyurerin vor hyurasirel a, yerevi lavn a elel, č'əgitem* 'and the one the queen made, the one the queen offered to her official guests, I suppose it was good, I don't know'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 13.58	Q1: 14c	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*t'ak'uhu patrastatsn el, t'ak'uhin ira paštonakan hyurerin vor hyurasirel a, yerevi lavn a elel, č'əgitem* 'and the one the queen made, the one the queen offered to her official guests, I suppose it was good, I don't know'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 15.42		fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP	pre	adverbial	Anim		topic	*esor ov tsənvum a derasan a əlum, bayts' derasan chi* 'Whoever is born today becomes an actor, but isn't [really] an actor'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 15.56		non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim		?topic	*…isk mer, sovorats, en sovorats derasannin mənum en angorts* 'and the actors we've got to know, those known actors' OR 'and our actors who have studied, those actors who have studied, remain unemployed'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 16.52	Q1: 16a	fin	P obj	subj	N	dem N	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*merə vor ərexi həmar kanfet a aŕel, et ərexen urxats'el a* 'the child who the mother bought a sweet for, that child was happy'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 17.04	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vor ərexi vəra el goŕats'el a, xəŕovats kəli et ərexen yerevi* 'the child she shouted at, that child will be hurt I suppose'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 17.33	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*uremə Tsaɣkadzor ɣənats'oɣə, yet'e dzəmeŕn a gənats'el bənakan a liža miža kəli k'əšats* 'so the one who went to Tsaghkadzor, if he went in winter, he will have gone skiing of course'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 17.42	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*P'ariz gənats'oɣ[ʔə] en Feloi aštarakə kəli tehats, Efelyan aštarakn eli* 'the one who went to Paris will have seen that Felo's tower, that is, the Eiffel tower'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 17.53	Q1: 17c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Č'inastan gənats'oɣn el yerevi bərindz mərindz kəli əndi tehats* 'and the one who went to China I suppose will have seen rice and stuff there'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 18.06	Q1: 17b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Č'e, P'ariz gənats'oɣə, P'arizə lav teɣer uni eli, mi uriš kark'i k'aɣak' a, P'ariz gənats'oɣə lav žamanak a ants'kats'rel* 'No, the one who went to Paris, Paris has good places, it's a different class of city, the one who went to Paris had a good time'

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Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 18.48	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	subj	0	dem	conj	pre	adverbial	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*banə, usanoɣnu həmar el vor stugel em gəravornin ban, et karmir [?stilil]* 'the one I marked the tests for the students with, that [was a] red [??]
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 19.39	Q1: 19a	fin	abl	subj	0	0	conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de vor jur em uzel təvel en* 'the ones I asked for water gave it to me' OR adv 'if/when I asked for water they gave it to me'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 19.51	Q1: 19c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*es t'əvin p'oɣ təvoɣ k'ič' a, šat dəžvar en tali* 'in this day and age there aren't many who give money, they give it with great difficulty'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 20.00	Q1: 19c	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*umits' vor p'oɣ enk' uzel, na šat a neɣats'el* *'the one we asked for money was very annoyed'*
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 20.35	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	dem RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Inanim	topic	*de et um gəluxə vor ts'avum a, amenaežan deɣn a xəmum, analgin a xəmum* 'that one whose head hurts, he takes the cheapest medicine, he takes analgin'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 20.47	Q1: 20b	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*en votə ts'avoɣn el, de tanjvum a eli* 'and the one whose leg hurts, he suffers'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 20.57	Q1: 20c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*meč'k'ə ts'avoɣn el, mi k'ič' ban a anum, inč' a et, iran tsuyli teɣ a dənum eli vor č'əšxati* 'and the one whose back hurts, he is doing a bit… what is it, he's being lazy so as not to work'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 21.14	Q1: 20c (b)	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	?	*um meč'k'ə vor ts'avum a, na el bəžəški ti gənal* 'the one whose back hurts, he will go to the doctor too'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 21.26	Q1: 21a	fin	abl	P obj	RP *umits'*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*umits' vor [?ets'] hiast'ap'vel em, ira hamar mek a eɣel kəhiast'ap'vem t'e č'e eli* ‘For the one I was disappointed with, it was all the same whether I’d be disappointed or not’
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 21.41	Q1: 21b	fin	P obj	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um vəra vor jəɣaynats'el em neɣats'el a* 'the one I was annoyed with was upset'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 21.46	Q1: 21c	fin	instr	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en vor hiats'el em, na indz hamar vonts' vor orinak a tsaŕayel* 'the one I admired, he served as something like an example for me'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 22.04	Q1: 21b (b)	fin	P obj	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*um vəra vor jəɣaynats'el em, na er im ənkerə* 'the one I got annoyed with, that one was my friend'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 22.08	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Mer hayereni es, taŕerə, steɣtsoɣə* [Who is Mesrop Mashtots?] 'The one who created our Armenian letters'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 22.17	Q1: 23a	non-fin	intr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Yuri Gagarinə aŕač'i ot' t'əŕč'oɣn er* 'Yuri Gagarin was the first one who flew in the air'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 22.33 *	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryanə, ays en t'urk'in T'alyat'in spanoɣn a* Soghomon Tehleryan, this is the one who killed that Turk Talyat'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 23.51 *	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	subj	0	dem	conj	pre	adverbial, DO	Anim		focus	*tanə ərexants'ə vor pahum a dayakn el da ya* 'the one who looks after the children at home, that's the nanny'
Lori (Shnogh)	L2	ShMQs 29.39	Q1: 21a	fin	abl	subj	RP *vorits'*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vorits' hiast'ap'vel em, yes vat mart' el em, indzani hiast'ap'vel a gənats'el* ‘The one I was disappointed with, I’m a bad person too, he was disappointed with me and left’
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 0.38	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		topic	*erkusin k'ənasn el kəzart'ni aŕavotə žamə tasin* 'and the one who went to sleep at two will wake up at ten in the morning'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 0.47	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		topic	*en k'ənatsə lav kəzga urän yet'e k'ənav yot'its' ut'ə žam* 'that one who is asleep will feel good if he slept from seven to eight hours'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 1.08	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan et'ats'oɣə kəhangəstana* 'the one who is going to Sevan will relax'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 1.26	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London et'ats'oɣə man kikyä tesaržan vayrerə* 'the one who is going to London will go around the sights'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 1.34	Q1: 2c	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*isk vav el vor et'a Tubay, kašxati vəer aŕevtur ani* 'and the one who is going to Dubai will try and do some shopping/trade'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 1.56	Q1: 2 (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*vav vəer kəzbaɣvi ekskursiayov, na ir žamanakə aveli lav kants'kats'ni* 'the one who is going on an excursion, that one will have the best time'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 2.17	Q1: 3a	fin	tr subj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en mart'ə vor gyidav haryur dəram, kašxati avelats'nel* 'that person who found 100 drams, he will try and increase it'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 2.35	Q1: 3b	fin	tr subj	subj	dem pron n	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en mek el mart'ə, vəer gyidav vəeski matani, kənəšanvi* 'and that person who found a gold ring, he will get engaged'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 2.48	Q1: 3	fin	tr subj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*isk en mart'ə vor kaskatseli gortsov kəzbaɣvi, šefi koɣmen kəvətarvi* 'and that person who will do suspicious business will be thrown out by the boss'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 3.13	Q1: 3a (b)	fin	tr subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vor harur dəramə gətav, heto avelats'rets'* [which was the first?] The one who found 100 drams, and then increased it'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 3.30	Q1: 4a	fin	tr subj	subj	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en mart'ə vor hats'ə t'əxets' u bažanets' axk'atnerin, na ur bažinə kəstana verevits'* that person who baked the bread and gave it to the poor, she will receive her portion from above'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 3.51	Q1: 4b	fin	tr subj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en mekə vəer mamayi šorə goɣats'av, təvets' ənkeruhun, səxalvets'* 'that one who stole her mother's dress, gave it to her friend, did wrong'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 4.04	Q1: 4c	fin	tr subj	subj	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*isk en mart'ə vor mamayin tsaɣik er nəvirel, na šat lav er arel* 'and that person who had given flowers to her mother, she had done a very good thing'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 4.35	Q1: 4c (b)	fin	tr subj	abl	RP *ov*	dem pron	RP	post		Anim		focus	*maman aveli goh kəmənar, kəmənа, en mekits' ov iren tsaɣikə təvel* 'the mother will be more satisfied with that one who gave her flowers'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 4.46	Q1: 4c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vor*	dem	RP	pre		Anim		topic	*vorovhetev var tsaɣik i tal, en aveli šat i nəvirvats ira mamayin* 'because the one who gives flowers is more devoted to her mother'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 5.11	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	loc	dem N RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en k'aɣak'um vorteɣ kəlni Olimpiadan, et mič'avayrum et teɣank'um žoɣovurt'ə mets uraxuts'yun kapri* 'the city where the Olympics will take place, in that environment, in that location the people will experience great happiness'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 5.37	Q1: 5b	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*isk varte vəer dzəri hamerg əlni, žoɣovurt'ə kəmasnakts'i* and wherever there might be a free concert, the people will participate'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 5.52	Q1: 5c	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*isk varte vəer boɣok'i ts'uyts' əlni, žoɣovərt'i meč' kəlinen, kəlni nayev boɣok'i akts'ia* 'and wherever there might be a protest, among the people will be, will also be a protest'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 6.25	Q1: 5a (b)	fin	loc	dest	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*yes kuzenai gənal en k'aɣak'ə vorteɣ kəlni Olimpiadan* 'I would like to go to that city where the Olympics will take place'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 7.03	Q1: 6	fin	loc	dest	RP *vorteɣ*	NP	RP	post		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*Həromi Papə gənats' Amerika, varte därə mets uraxuts'yamb ənt'unin* 'the Pope went to America, where they received him with great happiness'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 7.55	Q1: 6	fin	loc	dest	RP *vorteɣ*	NP	RP	post		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*K'im K'ardašyanə ekav Erevan, Hayastan, varte lav ənt'unin herik' č'er, bol č'er* 'Kim Kardashian came to Yerevan, Armenia, where it wasn't enough that they received her well'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 8.52	Q1: 6 (b)	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	NP	RP	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*yes kuzem er əlnem er Č'inastan, vorteɣ šat xorot, xorot tsaɣkanots'ner kan* 'I would like to be in China, where there are very pretty flower gardens'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 12.13	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	loc	dem N RP vorteɣ	?0	RP	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en k'aɣak'um, vorteɣ futboli ařač'nuts'yun ka, vartex [* corrects previous SEA *vorteɣ], futbolaserneri həmar kəlni mets noruts'yun* '[?in] the town where there is a football championship, it will be a great novelty for football fans'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 12.31	Q1: 8	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP conj	?post		Inanim	Inanim	?	*kinoi p'ařatoni masnakisnerə kuraxanan, vorteɣ el vor əlni, kani p'ařaton kəlni, t'e uriš, mievnuyn i, lav kəlni, lav kəlni* 'the people who take part in the film festival will be happy, wherever it takes place, as there will be a festival, or something else, it's all the same, it will be good, it will be good'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 12.59	Q1: 8c	fin	loc	loc	0 or N	?0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	?topic	*isk me ayl k'aɣak'um, vor kazmakerpve gortsaran, kəšahen gortsazurk mart'ik* 'and in another city, where a factory has been organized, unemployed people will benefit'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 13.09	Q1: 8	fin	P obj	subj	RP *voronts'*	NP	RP	post		Anim	Inanim	focus	*kəšahen gortsazurk mart'ik voronk', voronts' hamar kəlni ašxatateɣer* 'unemployed people will benefit, for whom there will be jobs'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 13.43	Q1: 8 (b)	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*šahel e en k'aɣak'ə vorteɣ žoɣovurt'ə kunena ašxatank'* 'that city benefits where the people will have work'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 14.10	Q1: 9	fin	abl	subj	RP *vorits'*	NP	RP	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Tsiranə tasnəves t'əvin yeɣel e ežan, vorits' patrastel enk' tarber baner* 'In the year [20]16 apricots were cheap, from which we make various things'
Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 12.57	Q1: 13c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*de xanut'its' ařatsn el geɣets'ik er, bayts' tatis sark'atsi nəman hamov č'er* 'the one I bought from a shop was beautiful, but it wasn't as tasty as the one my grandmother made'

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Lori (Shnogh)	L1	ShJQs 12.57	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	P obj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*de xanut'its' aŕatsn el geɣets'ik er, bayts' tatis sark'atsi nəman hamov č'er* 'the one I bought from a shop was beautiful, but it wasn't as tasty as the one my grandmother made'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 22.46	Q1: 13	fin	poss obj	DO	RP *vori*	NP	RP	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*uremə yes t'əxel em, t'əxel em gat'a, vori xorindzə me k'ič', me k'ič' aɣi em anum* 'so I bake, bake a gata, the filling of which I make slightly, slightly salty'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 23.06	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*tatiis patrastats gat'an uriš voč' mekə č'i patrastel* 'the gata my grandmother made, no-one else makes'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 23.27	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenaxamex, amenageɣets'ik, amenalavə tatiyis t'əxats gat'an er* 'the tastiest, the most beautiful, the best is the gata my grandmother made'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 24.28	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*mamayis xəma t'əxats gat'an šat xameɣ er* 'the gata I made for my mother was very tasty'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 24.50	Q1: 14	non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*mekelə… t'əxatsəs gat'an bažinir em axk'at mart'kants'* 'and one… gata I made I gave to poor people'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 30.54	Q1: 17a	fin	intr subj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en čižə vor gənats' Tsaɣkadzor, dzəmer er, sankiyov, sankiyov səɣum er* 'that child who went to Tsaghkadzor, it was winter, he was skiing'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 31.13	Q1: 17b	fin	intr subj	subj	dem pron n	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en mek el čižə, vor gənats' P'ariz, zärmats'ir er P'arizi tesaržan teɣerov* 'and that child who went to Paris was amazed at the sights of Paris'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 31.36	Q1: 17c	fin	intr subj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en mekeln el vor gənats'ir er Č'inastan, šat er zarmats'e Č'inastani hangist mart'kants' vəra* 'and that one who went to China was very amazed by the quiet people of China'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 32.14	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*et čižeren amenalavə, hangəstats'ir er Tsaɣkadzor gənäts'oɣə* 'of those children, the one who went to Tsaghkadzor had the best holiday'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 32.53	Q1: 18a	fin	instr	subj	dem N RP vorov	0	RP	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en gərič'ov varov dimum em gəre, hasarak gərič' er* 'the pen I wrote the application with was an ordinary pen'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 34.09	Q1: 18c (b)	fin	instr	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*amenalavə en guynən er vor nəkarel em tsaɣik* 'the best one was the colour I drew a flower with'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 34.43	Q1: 19a	fin	abl	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en meken vor čur em uze, mak'ur čur i təve* 'the one I asked for water gave me clean water'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 35.39	Q1: 19c	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*vav vəer p'əeɣə č'i təve, dären el šat i neɣats'e* 'the one who didn't give the money, he was very upset with him'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 37.21	Q1: 20 (b)	fin	?subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*bəžəški et'al en mart'ə varə vor voreve čar č'i linelu* ''the one who [for whom] there will be no [other] solution goes to the doctor'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 37.38	Q1: 21	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP	post		Anim		focus	*hiast'ap'vir em en mart'en vorə šat i xosel* 'I was disappointed with the person who talks too much'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 37.54	Q1: 21	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP	post		Anim		focus	*kəjəɣaynanam en mart'i vəran varə šat t'ambal i* 'I will be annoyed with the person who is very lazy'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 38.09	Q1: 21	fin	intr subj	?p obj	dem N RP vorə	dem	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		?topic	*isk en mart' varə vor ašxataser i, varə vor lav tun i paxel, dar xəma šat kuraxanam* 'and that person who is hard-working, who keeps a good house, I will be very happy for him/her/that'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 38.09	Q1: 21	fin	tr subj	?p obj	RP *vorə*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim			*isk en mart' varə vor ašxataser i, varə vor lav tun i paxel, dar xəma šat kuraxanam* 'and that person who is hard-working, who keeps a good house, I will be very happy for him/her/that'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 38.42	Q1: 21 (b)	fin	intr subj	DO	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*yes im ənkerə kəhama… kanem en mart'un varə vor ašxataser i* 'I will consider…make my friend that person who is hard-working'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 40.23	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	poss subj	DO	RP *vor*	dem N	RP	post		Anim	Inanim	focus	*gortsi kəverts'em ayn… en šoferin, var afton xarap er* 'I will give the job to the driver whose car has broken down'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 41.02	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Xayeren aybubeni steɣtsoɣə* 'The one who created the Armenian alphabet'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 41.23	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Kolombosə Amerikayi haytnaberoɣə* 'Columbus [is] the one who discovered America'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 42.36	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*t'amadan en mart'n i vor xarnisneri žamanak kam sək'o seɣani žamanak ɣekavarel təvyal seɣani vičakə* 'the tamada is that person who at weddings or funerals is in charge of the state of each table'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 44.21	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	subj	0	?pron	conj	post		Anim		focus	*mekə lav i vor lav erexa, čiž i paxel* 'one of them is good, who looks after children well'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQs 44.27	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	subj	0	?pron	conj	post		Anim		focus	*isk myusn el anamot' i vor erexayin voč' t'e xənamum ayl tsetsum e, tanjum e* 'and the other is shameless, that doesn't care for the child, but beats him, torments him'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs1 1.33	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*žamə tasi k'ənoɣə kara k'əni minč'ev ts'erekva tasə* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten can sleep until ten in the daytime'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs1 1.44	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*žamə tasnerkusi k'ənoɣə, tasnerkusi k'ənoɣə, yot'in a art'un, hastat yot'in zart'nel* 'the one who goes to sleep at twelve, the one who goes to sleep at twelve is awake at seven, definitely wakes up at seven'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs1 2.04	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*žamə erkusi k'ənoɣə minč'ev ut'ə kək'əni* 'the one who goes to sleep at two will sleep until eight'

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Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 1.10	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*žamə tasin k'ənoɣə kart'nana, kəzart'ni aveli uš, žamə innin, tasin* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten will wake up, will wake up later, at nine or ten o'clock'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 1.51	Q1: 1c	fin	intr subj	subj	0	0	conj	pre	adverbial	Anim		topic	*žamə erkusin vor pəti k'əne, zart'nel žamə ut'in* 'the one who will go to sleep at two wakes up at eight o'clock'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 2.27	Q1: 1b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim		topic	*žamə tasnerkusi k'ənats k'yurə iran aveli lav i zgal k'an en erku k'uyriknerə* 'the sister who went to sleep at twelve feels better that those two sisters'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 3.20	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan et'ats'oɣə et'al hangəstanalu* 'the one who is going to Sevan is going on holiday'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 3.41	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London et'ats'oɣə et'al… et'al man ik'yalu* 'the one who is going to London is going… going on a trip'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 4.02	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London et'ats'oɣə et'al man ik'yalu* 'the one who is going to London is going on a trip'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 4.54	Q1: 2c (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Yerrort'ə vor et'al Dubai* [Who will have the best time?] 'The third one who is going to Dubai'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 6.25	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*harur dəram gidnoɣə iran šat lav i zgal* 'the one who found 100 drams feels very good'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 6.46	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*voski matani gətnoɣə ham uraxanal, ham təxrel* 'the one who found a gold ring is both happy and sad'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 7.45	Q1: 3a (b)	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Yes eht'anits' kuzenam er linel aŕač'inə vor xayir dəram gidav* 'Out of those I would like to be the first one, who found 100 drams'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs2 9.32	Q1: 4a (b)	fin	tr subj	abl	RP *vorə*	0	RP	post		Anim		focus	*bayc dzezna amenašat yes goh em mənats'e ov, vorət hats' [e]I t'əxe u pažine axk'atnerin* 'but out of you [all] I was most satisfied with the one of you who baked bread and gave it to the poor'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs3 1.38		non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de boɣok'i akts'ia kazmakerpoɣnerə inč' vor pahanj unen* 'the people who are organizing a protest have some demand'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs3 1.58	Q1: 5a (b)	non-fin	loc	loc		N	RPT			Inanim	Inanim	focus	*yes et teɣeren kuzem er linel Olimpiada kazmakerpvats k'aɣak'um* 'out of those places I would like to be in the city where the Olympics are being organized'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs3 4.14	Q1: 6a (b)	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*…en k'aɣak'um varte Həŕomi Papn a… varte Həŕomi Papn i ele* '…that city where the Pope was… where the Pope was'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs3 5.47	Q1: 7a (b)	non-fin	loc	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im vəran aveli šat azde im tsənvats yerkirə, Hayastanə* 'the country I was born in, Armenia, affected me most'

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Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 0.12	Q1: 9a	non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*tsirani ežan elas tarin, et iš jemer, et iš soker…* 'the year when apricots were cheap, what jams, what juices…'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 1.42		non-fin	DO	instr		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*de vor gozə ežan elel žoɣovurt'ə šat təxrel, gozn elel gyuɣerum, hetevapes gyuɣats'in aprel et gozi vačaŕk'ov stats'ats gumarov* 'when walnuts are cheap, the people are very sad, walnuts are in the villages, therefore the villagers live off the money they make from selling walnuts'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 3.18	Q1: 10c (b)	non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*əndzik yerč'anik u lav em əzgats'e yerexa unets'ats tarin* 'I felt happy and good the year I had a child'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 3.38	Q1: 10a	fin	time	time	N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*aŕač'i tarin vor dəprots'ən avartink', avartman šabat'ə, šapat'ə, mezi xəmar šat təxur er* 'the first year when we finished school, graduation week, week, was very sad for us'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 6.06	Q1: 11a	non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*dəprots'um usas tarinerəs šat žamanak em unets'e xaɣalu* 'the years when I studied at school, I had a lot of time to play'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 6.58	Q1: 11c	fin	time	time	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*me tari el ašxatim, im aŕač'i tarin er vor yes ašxatim, im ašxatank'ov yes šat xəpart em er* 'one year I worked, it was the first year that I worked, I was very proud of my work'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 10.02	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im sark'as tort'ə aŕač'inn er vor yes sark'im* 'the cake I made was the first one I made'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 10.02	Q1: 13	fin	DO	subj	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im sark'as tort'ə aŕač'inn er vor yes sark'im* 'the cake I made was the first one I made'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 10.10	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk tatiis sark'as tort'ə šat dzevavor, šat sirun naxšerov, šat tonakan tort' er sark'e* 'and the cake my grandmother made, she had made a very well-formed, with very beautiful decorations, very festive cake'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 10.30	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenits' sirun im tatiis sark'ats tort'ə…* 'the most beautiful one [was] the cake my grandmother made...'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 11.45	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*mamayis tsənəndi hamar im t'əxas tort'ikə šat sovorakan, šat hasarak ele* 'the cake I baked for my mother's birthday was very ordinary, very common'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 12.04	Q1: 14b	fin	DO	implied adverbial PP (e.g. *vran*)	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*isk en tort'ə, vor, tort'ikə vor sark'ir em, huyrasirir em harevannerin, me vorošaki ašxatank' aveli šat em are k'an mamayis tsənəndi orva hamar t'əxats im tort'ikə* 'and the cake that, the cake that I made, offered to my neighbours, I did a bit more work [implied: on it] than the cake I made for my mother's birthday'

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Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 12.04	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	comparative		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*isk en tort'ə, vor, tort'ikə vor sark'ir em, huyrasirir em harevannerin, me vorošaki ašxatank' aveli šat em are k'an mamayis tsənəndi orva hamar t'əxats im tort'ikə* 'and the cake that, the cake that I made, offered to my neighbours, I did a bit more work than the cake I made for my mother's birthday'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 13.09	Q1: 14c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*amenasirun tort'ə ankeɣts t'ak'uhu hamar sark'ats tort'əs er* 'the most beautiful cake to be honest is the one I made for the queen'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 14.52	Q1: 15c	fin	DO	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	topic	*Yerrort' təɣa[n], vor metsats're, išt'är, derasan, hents' derasan el ašxate* [which was the third one?] 'The third boy, that, how, an actor brought up, works as an actor too'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 16.21	Q1: 16b	fin	P obj	subj	N	NP	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en me maman vor yerk'e ira erexayi xəmar, erexan k'əne* 'the child who the mother sings for sleeps' OR adv 'if/when the mother sings for her child, the child sleeps'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 17.33	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*Tsaɣkadzor et'ats'oɣ əngerə gənats'e hangəstanalu* 'the friend who went to Tsaghkadzor went on holiday'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs Q17b 18.43 *	Q1: 17b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*dants'en amenahetak'ərk'ir, lav žamanakə ants'kats're P'ariz et'ats'oɣə* 'out of them the one who went to Paris had the most interesting, best time'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs Q19 22.35 *	Q1: 19a	fin	abl	subj	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en vor čur em uze t'ərvərəŕalov urax urax bere čurə təve* 'the one who I asked for water, skipping, happy, brought the water and gave it'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs Q19 22.44 *	Q1: 19b	fin	abl	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en meken vor xats' em uze, me k'ič' dəžvaruts'yamb vorovhetev pəti ira mamayin papayin harts'ni, et xats'ə tanem tam et ənkeruhus, t'e č'ətam* 'the one I asked for bread, [gave it] with a bit of difficulty because she had to ask her mum and dad, should I take that bread and give it to my friend, or not?'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs Q19b 23.52*	Q1: 19c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*partk'ov p'oɣ təvoɣn i neɣats'e* 'the one who lent money got annoyed'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs5 23.55	Q1: 19c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		focus	*ov vor p'oɣə təve, na i neɣats'e, t'e č'e xats' u čur təvoɣə č'en neɣats'e* 'the one who gave money, he got annoyed, otherwise the ones who gave bread and water didn't get annoyed'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 22.58	Q1: 19a, Q1: 19b (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*xats' u čur təvoɣə č'en neɣats'e* 'the ones who gave bread and water didn't get annoyed'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 24.15	Q1: 20a	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*gəlox ts'avats'oɣə amboxč' orə paŕke, parzve divanin* 'the one whose head hurt lay down, stretched out on the divan'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 24.28	Q1: 20b	fin	poss subj	subj	dem RP *vori* N.poss3	0	RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Inanim	topic	*en vori, vari votn i ts'aval, xamp'eruts'yunə č'i tanel, nes u dus anel* 'the one whose leg hurts, his patience can't take it, he goes in and out'

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Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 24.44	Q1: 20c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*isk ač'k'ə ts'avats'oɣə, tserə dare aškin, eli amboxč' hayat'ov man ik'yal, č'i dimnal aški ts'avin* 'and the one whose eye hurts, he put his hand on his eye, again he goes all around the garden, he can't take the eye pain'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 25.04	Q1: 20c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*menak aški ts'av unets'oɣn et'al bəžəški* 'only the one who has eye pain goes to the doctor'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 25.12	Q1: 20a	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*gəlux ts'avats'oɣn u vot ts'avats'oɣə mətatsel en esor kasni* 'the one whose head hurts and the one whose leg hurts think, today it will pass'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 25.12	Q1: 20b	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim		*gəlux ts'avats'oɣn u vot ts'avats'oɣə mətatsel en esor kasni* 'the one whose head hurts and the one whose leg hurts think, today it will pass'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 28.36	Q1: 21b (b)	fin	P obj	subj	0	dem	conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Ay vor asem jəɣaynats'el em, eti. Vor jəɣaynats'el em.* [Who was my friend?] 'If I say [?if I'm honest] I was annoyed, that one. The one I was annoyed with.'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 28.40	Q1: 21b (b)	fin	P obj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Vor jəɣaynats'el em.* 'The one I was annoyed with'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 29.06	Q1: 22a	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*Afto p'əč'ats'oɣə tare vor afton sark'en* The one whose car broke down took it so they could mend the car'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 30.23	Q1: 22b (b)	fin	poss obj	DO	RP *vori*	0	RP	post		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*yes gortsi kəverts'nem vari afton koxts'ir en* 'I will give the job to the one whose car they stole'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQS 30.44	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Mesrop Maštots'ə mer taŕeri stexts'oɣn e* 'Mesrop Mashtots is the one who created our letters'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 30.55	Q1: 23a	non-fin	intr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*Yuri Gagarinə aŕač'i tiezerk' t'əŕč'oɣ... mart'n i* 'Yuri Gagarin is the first… person who flew to space'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 31.12	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim		?topic	*Kolombosə Amerika haytnoɣ EN mart'n i, vori, vari anunə Kolombos i* 'Columbus is the person who discovered America whose name was Columbus [as opposed to Vespucci]'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 31.12	Q1: 23a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vori*	dem N	RP	post		Anim	Inanim	focus	*Kolombosə Amerika haytnoɣ EN mart'n i, vori, vari anunə Kolombos i* 'Columbus is the person who discovered America whose name was Columbus [as opposed to Vespucci]'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 34.08		fin	intr subj	subj	0	pron N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*amen mart' č'i, vor dimana uriši erexa paxel* 'it isn't everyone who can cope with looking after someone else's child'

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Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 34.31		fin	gen subj of participial modifier, resembles poss	subj	RP *voronts'*	NP	RP	post		Anim		focus	*kan dayakner voronts' pahats erexan art'en hits'un vat'sun tarekan i* 'there are some nannies who the child they looked after is already fifty or sixty years old'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 34.31		non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	?focus	*kan dayakner voronts' pahats erexan art'en hits'un vat'sun tarekan i* 'there are some nannies who the child they looked after is already fifty or sixty years old'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQs 34.46		non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 2sg	?focus	*yes č'em moŕana k'o arats, k'o t'ap'ats ašxatank'ə im nəkatmamb* 'I won't forget the work you did for me'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 0.02	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tasin k'ənoɣə əntanik'ov tsanrabernvats č'i ləm* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten is not encumbered with a family'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 0.16	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tasnerkusin k'ənoɣə, de, en… əntanik'ov tsanrabernvats kəli* 'the one who goes to sleep at twelve will be encumbered with a family'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 0.39	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk erkusin k'ənoɣə uremə ink'ə ašxatəm a* 'and the one who goes to sleep at ten, she works'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 1.53	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de havanakan a, tasnerkusin k'ənoɣə mi k'ič' uš ver kəkena* 'it's likely that the one who goes to sleep at twelve will get up a bit late'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 2.02	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*yerkusin k'ənoɣə aveli uš ver kəkena* 'the one who goes to sleep at two will get up later'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 4.14	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə k'ənəm a hangəstanəm a* 'the one who is going to Sevan is going on holiday'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 4.34	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London k'ənats'oɣn el et… [] k'ənəm a ašxatank'i* 'and the one who is going to London is going to work'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 5.23	Q1: 2a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə* 'the one who is going to Sevan'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 6.35	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*harir dəram k'ət'noɣə uraxanəm a asəm a kətanem [?ez] mi tasə luts'ki kaŕnem* the one who found 100 drans is happy, he says I'll take it and buy ten or so matches'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 7.02	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	topic			SPT			Anim		topic	*voski k'ət'noɣn el, de, nayats t'e ov a k'ət'nəm* 'the one who found gold, it depends who finds it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 7.14	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en voski k'ət'noɣə karoɣ a li axk'at kin əli* 'the one who found gold could be a poor woman'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 8.05	Q1: 3	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*et k'ət'noɣə de meɣavor č'i vor ink'ə k'ət'av* 'the one who found it, it's not his fault that he found it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 9.04	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de megə hats' a t'əxel, et hats' t'əxoɣə axk'atin təvel a, et čišt a lel, č'e?* 'one of them baked bread, that one who baked bread gave it to a poor person, that was right, wasn't it?
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 11.02	Q1: 4a (b)	fin	tr subj	abl	0	0	conj	post		Anim		focus	*goh a mənats'el a vor hats' a təvel en mekin* 'she was satisfied that she gave bread to that one'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 16.00	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	loc	N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*mi yerkrəm el vor ašxatəm es nayats t'e et ašxatank'ə vonts' a, karəm es apres t'e č'es karəm apres* '(in) one country where you work, it depends what the work is like, whether you can live [on it] or can't live'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 17.41		fin	time	time	N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	?topic	*me žamanak vor hələ televizərə nor er dus ekel, et futbolin balet in anəm* 'at one time when television had just come out, they supported that football'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 19.02	Q1: 8c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Inanim		focus	*Gortsaran tənoɣə, vor žoɣovərt'in teɣ a təvel ašxatel* 'the one that put [opened] a factory, that gave people a place to work'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	KhEQs1 19.02	Q1: 8c (b)	non-fin	loc	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Inanim	focus	*Gortsaran bats'ats teɣə, et k'aɣak'ə šahel a* 'the place where a factory opened, that city has benefited'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 23.08	Q1: 10c (b)	fin	time	time	0	dem N	conj	post	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*hents' et, vor ərexay em perel et tarin er vor im ərxek'is het əzbaɣvel em, sirel em, dastiarakel em* 'just that, when I had a child, it was that year when I was occupied with my children, I loved them, I brought them up'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 25.14	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	0	dem	conj	pre		Inanim		focus	*de vor […] ašxatank' a təvel et a* 'the one that gave work, that's the one'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 25.39	Q1: 7c (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*vorte aprəm em* 'where I live'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 26.23	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*bənakan a tatis sark'atsə aveli k'axts'ər kəli* 'it's natural that the one my grandmother made will be sweeter'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 27.54	Q1: 14a	fin	DO	subj	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de mamayinə, aveli... lav kəli, iran... tsənəndyan orin vor t'əxel em* 'mother's will be better, the one I baked on her birthday'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 28.22	Q1: 13c (b)	fin	DO	subj	dem	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*Et vor xanut'its' aṅnəm en.* 'The one they buy from a shop.'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 28.52	Q1: 15a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de mat'ematika sovoroɣə biznesmen kəler* 'the one who studied mathematics will have become a businessman'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 31.39	Q1: 16b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*et k'ənoɣə, vor ira mamayi yerk'i tak k'əner* 'the one who sleeps, that would have gone to sleep to his mother's song'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 31.39	Q1: 16 (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*et k'ənoɣə, vor ira mamayi yerk'i tak k'əner* 'the one who sleeps, that would have gone to sleep to his mother's song'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 32.07	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de Tsaɣkadzor k'ənats'oɣə norits' k'ənats'el a hangəstats'el a* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor went on holiday again'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 32.17	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		topic	*P'arizə k'ənats'oɣn el…* 'and the one who went to Paris…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 32.42	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*et Tsaɣkadzor k'ənats'oɣə amusnats'el a, səɣats'el a, yes im inč' arel…* 'that one who went to Tsaghkadzor got married, went skiing, did whatever…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 32.51	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*P'ariz k'ənats'oɣn el tesaržan vayrer a tesel* 'and the one who went to Paris saw sights'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 33.14	Q1: 17b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*iharke Fransia k'ənats'oɣə* 'the one who went to France of course'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 34.12	Q1: 18b	non-fin	instr	topic			SPT			Inanim		topic	*isk banə, tetərə stugoɣn el, elə norits' xəmiški[?] matitov [?əlel] en vor ərexi tetər enk' stugəm* 'and the one I marked the notebooks with, again [it was??] with a [??] pencil, that one we mark the child's notebook with'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 34.12	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	subj	dem	?NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*isk banə, tetərə stugoɣn el, elə norits' xəmiški[?] matitov [?əlel], en vor ərexi tetər enk' stugəm* 'and the one I marked the notebooks with, again [it was??] with a [??] pencil, that one we mark the child's notebook with'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 34.58	Q1: 19a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*čurə təvoɣə sirov təvel a* 'the one who gave water gave it with love'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 35.26	Q1: 19c (b)	non-fin	abl	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*et p'oɣ uzoɣə, vor p'oɣ en uzel neɣats'el a* 'the one they asked for money, when they asked for money he got annoyed'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 35.37	Q1: 19a, Q1: 19b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*bayts' mi bažak čurn u has təvoɣə vonts' kara neɣana?* 'but the one who gave a glass of water and bread, how could he get annoyed?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 36.19	Q1: 20c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*mešk'ə ts'avoɣn el sus nəstəm a* 'and the one whose back hurts sits quietly'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 40.06	Q1: 22b	fin	poss obj	poss	pron	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim non-specific	topic	*megi afton vor koɣats'el en, et iran [.....]uts'yunits' a ləm* 'the one whose car they stole, that is because of his […]' OR adv 'if /when they stole someone's car…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 40.19		fin	clausal (adverbial)	loc	n/a	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*ənents' teɣ paher vor č'əgoɣanin'* 'he should have kept it in such a place that they wouldn't steal it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs1 40.24	Q1: 22c	fin	tr subj	subj	0	pron	conj	pre	DO	Anim		focus	*praven el vor keɣts a hanel eli ink'n a meɣavor* 'and the one who faked his license, it's his fault too'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs2 0.11	Q1: 22a	fin	poss subj	subj	dem	pron	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Inanim	topic	*bayts' en vor afton p'əč'anəm a, ink'ə inč' meɣavor a vor afton p'əč'ats'el a?* 'but the one whose car breaks down, how is it his fault that his car breaks down?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs2 0.25	Q1: 22a (b)	non-fin	poss subj	n/a			SPT			Anim	Inanim	focus	*en vor bani… p'əč'ats'oɣin* 'the one that… the one whose […] broke'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs2 0.52	Q1: 23a	fin	intr subj	subj	0	dem	conj	post		Anim		focus	*En er vor t'ərav lusin.* [Who is Yuri Gagarin?] He was that one that flew to the moon.'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs2 1.35	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*de hast'uxə has t'əxoɣə* 'the baker, the one who bakes bread'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs2 3.02	Q1: 23b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		focus	*dayakn el, en hənuts' ekats ban a lel vor ərexek'in pahel en* 'and the nanny, that was a thing coming from old times where they looked after the children'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs2 3.02	Q1: 23b	fin	?subj or clausal	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*dayakn el, en hənuts' ekats ban a lel vor ərexek'in pahel en* 'and the nanny, that was a thing coming from old times where they looked after the children'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1	KhEQs2 3.14	Q1: 23b	fin	difficult to say, the meaning is subject, it's grammatically locative, there is probably no direct syntactic link with a noun in the rc	subj	N	dem N	conj	pre	adverbial	Inanim		focus	*en əntanik'nerəmə vor mart'ik ašxatel en, kinə ašxatel a […], ətents' mart'ik en berəm* 'in those families where people worked, the woman worked […] those sort of people bring them'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 1.29	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tasin k'ənoɣə de amenk'its' erku žam šut kəzart'ni eli* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten will get up two hours earlier out of all of them'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 1.37	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tasin k'ənoɣə šut kəzart'ni* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten will get up early'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 1.49	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tasin k'ənoɣə, uzi č'uzi, ut'in kəzärt'ni* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten, whether she wants to or not will wake up at eight'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 1.54	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en tasnergəsin k'ənoɣə inni moterə kəzärt'ni* 'that one who goes to sleep at twelve will wake up around nine'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 2.00	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*erkəsin k'ənoɣn el, de nayats, geɣats'i eli šut kəzärt'ni* 'and the one who goes to sleep at two, it depends, a villager will get up early anyway'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 2.10	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*šut vekalnoɣə* 'the one who gets up early'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 2.16		non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*teɣits' šut vekats'oɣə kəšahi, min el šut pəsakvoɣə* 'the one who gets out of bed early will benefit, and also the one who gets married early'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 2.29		non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*šut amusnats'oɣə, šut pəsakvoɣə, asenk', ink'ə jahel kəli, ərexek'ə mets kəlen* 'the one who gets married early, let’s say, he will be young, the children will be big'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 2.39		non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk šut zärt'noɣn el šat panits' kok'təvi, ətents'* 'and the one who gets up early will benefit from many things, like that'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 2.52	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə uzi č'uzi ləɣanalu ya* 'the one who is going to Sevan, whether he wants to or not is going to bathe'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 2.59	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London k'ənats'oɣə ira mar fəŕfəŕalu ya* 'the one who is going to London will go around for himself [i.e. as he pleases]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 4.13	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk en mətani k'ətnoɣn el de kuraxana eli de inč' a* and that one who found the ring, he'll be happy, of course'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 6.16	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*en hats' təvoɣin asats kəli, lav es arel* 'she will have said to that one who gave bread, you did well'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 6.49	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*en has bəžanoɣin* 'that one who gave out bread'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 7.26		fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP	pre	object	Anim	Inanim	focus	*Olimpiadan el asenk', um hetak'ərk'ir a, en a masnakts'ilo* 'and the Olympics, let's say, whoever is interested will take part'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 7.59	Q1: 5c	fin	loc	loc	dem RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*et, vorteɣ boɣok', ts'uyts' a lilo, əte anart'aruts'yunə šad a* 'that, where there's going to be a protest, there there is a lot of injustice'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 9.07	Q1: 6a	fin	dest	loc	dem RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim	topic	*et, vorte vor k'ənats'el a et Həŕomi Papə, əte asoɣ, xosk'n a hənč'vilo yerevi* 'that, where that Pope went, there a speaker, speech will be heard I suppose'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 9.43	Q1: 6a (b)	fin	dest	n/a	?dem or 0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*et vor Həŕomi Papə k'ənats'el a* 'where the Pope went'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 10.13	Q1: 7	fin	loc	subj	dem RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*et… k'o mankuts'yunət vorte vor ants' a kyenəm, et, voč' mi bani het p'oxarineli č'i* 'that… where your childhood passes, that isn't replaceable by anything'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 10.25	Q1: 7b	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*isk vorte vor səvorel es et el a… k'o mot a, eli, harazatakan kap a steɣtsvəm k'o, kəštit* 'and where you studied, that too is… with you, a familiar bond is created with you'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 10.40	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*vorteɣ el vor abrəm es, ašxatəm es, ənteɣ el en vor asəm a vorte hats' ənte kats'* 'and where you live, work, there it's what they say, where there's bread, stay there'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 11.35	Q1: 7a (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*hastat vorte vor tsənvel es* 'definitely where you were born'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 12.28	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	dest	0	dem N	conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*asenk', vor futboli aŕač'nuts'yun a ləm, turist ban šat en k'ənəm, uzi č'uzi šat p'oɣ a mətnəm et yerkirə* 'let's say, where a football championship takes place, a lot of tourists go, whether it wants to or not a lot of money enters that country' OR adv 'if/when a football championship takes place...'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 12.43	Q1: 8c	fin	?clausal and/or loc	loc	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*ətank' ants'oɣik en, bayts' en vor kordzaran a himnəvəm, a et art'en mənayun a, əteɣ mart'ik šat kok'təven* 'those are temporary, but that where a factory is founded, that is already permanent, there people will benefit a lot'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 14.40	Q1: 9c (b)	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*konkret indz həmar vorte pobok šad a en a* 'for me in particular, the one where walnuts are plentiful is the [best] one'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 14.43	Q1: 9c (b)	fin	time	subj	RP *vor* N	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*vor tarin pobok šad a en a* 'the year when walnuts are plentiful, that's the [best] one'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 14.48	Q1: 9	fin	time	subj	RP *vorə*	0	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	?	*vorə šad əli lav a* 'whichever one there's a lot of is good' OR 'the one [i.e. year] when there's a lot is good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 14.49	Q1: 9	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vor lav č'i ləm uremə, yekamut č'əka* 'so when it isn't good, there's no income'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 15.40	Q1: 10b	fin	?time or clausal	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*et vor lav kordz es čarel, et el šat lav a* 'that [year] when you found a good job, that's very good too'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 19.32	Q1: 12b	fin	?loc, should be abl	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en vor deport er et Estonian er* 'the one where there was deportation, that was Estonia'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 20.53	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im t'əxatsəs lavə kəler* 'the one I made would have been good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs1 20.54	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*tatus t'əxadzn el lavə kəler vor tesadz əli* 'the one my grandmother made would have been good too, if I had seen it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 0.24	Q1: 15b	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*et ov vor k'ahanan a mendzats'rel, et əlilo ya terter* 'that one who the priest brought up, that one will be a priest'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 0.29	Q1: 15c	fin	DO	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*et vor derasann a mendzats'rel, et əlilo ya uzi č'uzi derasan* 'that one who the actor brought up, whether he wants to or not that one will be an actor'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 2.02	Q1: 16a	fin	P obj	subj	dem	dem N	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*et el vor kanfet a aŕel et ərexen urxats'el a* 'that one that [the mother] bought a sweet [for], that child was happy'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 2.07	Q1: 16b	fin	P obj	subj	dem	dem	?conj or RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en vor[əm] yerk'el a, et karoɣ a šat yerk'ats əli k'əni* 'the one she sang for, that one if she sang a lot might sleep'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 2.13	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en minə vor korkoŕats'el a, min axmaxč'un arats kəli* 'the one she shouted at would have done something stupid'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 2.22	Q1: 16a (b)	fin	P obj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*ham en vor kanfert a aŕel* 'and the one she bought a sweet for'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 2.24	Q1: 16b (b)	fin	P obj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*ham el en vor yerk'əm a* 'and the one she sings for'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 2.48	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de nayats P'ariz k'ənats'oyə inč'ov a zbaɣvel* 'it depends what the one who went to Paris did'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 2.51	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Tsaɣkadzor k'ənats'oɣə hangəstats'el a hastat* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor definitely relaxed'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 3.39	Q1: 17b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*əndants'its', hastat P'ariz k'ənats'oyə* 'of them, definitely the one who went to Paris'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 5.51	Q1: 19c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de et p'oɣ təvoɣə kaser yes el em neɣvats p'oɣ č'unem* 'that one who was to give money will have said, I'm hard up too, I haven't got any money'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 6.04	Q1: 19c (b)	fin	abl	subj	RP *um anits'*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um anits' vor p'oɣ em uzel, yes həvatəm č'em vor iran p'oɣ č'uni, et neɣats'ats kəli vor yes əski č'em həvatəm vor p'oɣ č'uni* 'the one I asked for money, I don't believe that he hasn't got any money, he will be annoyed that I don't believe at all that he hasn't got any money'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs2 6.42	Q1: 20a	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*kəlux ts'avats'oɣə dəžvar k'əna* 'the one whose head hurts is unlikely to go'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 0.18	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	instr	instr	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*hastat et ašxarov minə vor əlel em, uremə dəranov yes uraxats'el em, ədanov* 'definitely that one I admired, I was happy because of him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 1.18	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	poss subj	DO	dem RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Inanim	focus	*et um vor afton p'əč'ats'el a, ədan kəvennem* 'that one whose car has broken down, I'll take him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 2.06	Q1: 22a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	pron	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Inanim	topic	*de asəm em eli et um vor afton vor p'əčats'el a inč' anenk', aftoy a p'əč'ats'el a ink'ə meɣavor č'i vor p'əč'ats'el a* 'so I say that one whose car has broken down, what can we do, his car's broken down, it isn't his fault that it's broken down'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 3.42	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*čanaparort' a lel vor Amerikan haytnaberel a* '[Columbus] was a traveller who discovered America'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 4.12	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*En t'urk'in səpanoɣn a lel.* [Who was Soghomon Tehleryan?] 'He was the one who killed that Turk.'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 4.52	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*has t'əxoɣə, de has t'əxoɣn a eli* 'the one who bakes bread is the one who bakes bread, isn't it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 4.52	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*has t'əxoɣə, de has t'əxoɣn a eli, mer, ha en vor t'onarenə vaŕəm en hats' en t'əxəm* 'the one who bakes bread is the one who bakes bread, isn't it, yes, the ones who light the tonir and bake bread'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 5.07	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*t'ämäden el et, harg a, hargə varoɣn a* 'the tamada, that's honour, the one in charge of the honours'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh2	KhOQs3 6.14	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*dayagə, ərexek'i pahoɣ* 'the nanny, the one who looks after children'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 0.26	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en tasin k'ənoɣə kəzart'ni aveli šut* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten will wake up earlier'

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Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 0.30	Q1: 1	fin	intr subj	subj	dem pron	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*isk en mekelnerə vor mešu aveli uš en k'əne, hirank' kəzart'nen vap'še uš* 'and those ones who went to sleep a bit later, they will get up really late'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 0.43	Q1: 1 (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem pron	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*de parz a vor en mekə hiran aveli lav kəzga uv vor šut er k'ənuk* 'it's clear that the one who went to sleep early will feel better'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 0.55	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan gənats'oɣə əndzi t'əvum a vor banə, Sevana tsovn a loɣnalu* 'the one who is going to Sevan, it seems to me he will bathe in the Sevan sea'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 1.05	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London gənats'oɣə Big Benn a et'alu tena* 'the one who is going to London will go and see Big Ben'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 1.09	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay et'oɣn el et'alu a irants' šeyxin tenalu* 'the one who is going to Dubai will go and see their sheikh'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 1.17	Q1: 2c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*əndzi t'əvum a vor amenalav hira žamanak ants'kats'noɣə kəlni Dubay et'ats'oɣə* 'it seems to me that the one who has the best time will be the one who is going to Dubai'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 1.17	Q1: 2 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*əndzi t'əvum a vor amenalav hira žamanak ants'kats'noɣə kəlni Dubay et'ats'oɣə* 'it seems to me that the one who has the best time will be the one who is going to Dubai'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 1.44	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*harur dəram gət'noɣə maršrutkov et'um ira uzats teɣə* 'the one who found 100 drams goes where he wants by marshrutka'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 1.52	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*voski matani gətnoɣə et matanin tsaxum, et'um, ira hamar utelik' a aŕnum* 'the one who found a gold ring sells that ring, goes and buys food for himself'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 2.17	Q1: 3c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*yes kuzi həlni šefi namak gət'noɣə* 'I would like to be the one who found the boss's letter'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 2.33	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*xats' t'əxoɣ u bažanoɣin ase Astvats k'e paxa* 'to the one who baked and gave out bread, she said, God preserve you'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 2.38	Q1: 4b	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*mamayi šorə verts'noɣin, vor nəvire hənkeruhun, ase, k'ani č'əberes tun č'əgas* 'to the one who took her mother's dress, who gave it to her friend, she said, don't come home until you bring it'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 2.38	Q1: 4b	fin	tr subj	IO	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		topic	*mamayi šorə verts'noɣin, ə, ov vor nəvire hənkeruhun, ase, k'ani č'əberes tun č'əgas* 'to the one who took her mother's dress, who gave it to her friend, she said, don't come home until you bring it'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 2.48	Q1: 4c	fin	tr subj	poss	dem pron	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en myusn el vor mamayin tsaɣik a nəvire, maman ira t'ušə mi hat užeɣ pač'e* 'and that other one who gave her mother flowers, her mother kissed her cheek hard'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 3.03	Q1: 4c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	poss			SPT			Anim		focus	*əndzi t'əvum a vor maman xavnuk kəlni tsaɣik nəviroɣi aratsə* 'it seems to me that the mother will have liked what the one who gave flowers did'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 3.28	Q1: 5b	fin	loc	loc	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*isk en k'aɣak'um vor dzəri hamerg ka, asum en, yerevi, es a pəti lni, naxagahi əntruts'yunnerə, du xəmar en bere kazmakerpe vor iran əntren* 'and in that city where there is a free concert, they say, I suppose, this must be, presidential elections, that's why they've brought it and organized it, so they'll elect him'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 3.41	Q1: 5c	fin	loc	abl	dem pron	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*isk en mekə, mekum vor boɣok'i akts'ia ya kazmakerpe saɣ t'oɣum en p'axnum en əteits'* 'and that one where they have organized a protest, everyone leaves and flees from there'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 4.05	Q1: 5b (b)	fin	loc	dest	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*kuzei et'i en k'aɣak'ə vorde dzəri hamerg ka* 'I would like to go to that city where there is a free concert'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 4.24	Q1: 6	fin	dest	dest	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*Həŕomi Papə gats'e en yerkir vorte, vorte paterazm a skəse yerevi* 'the Pope went to that country where, where a war has started I suppose'

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Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 4.51	Q1: 6	fin	dest	dest	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*K'im K'ardašyann el gats'e ənents' yerkir vorte vor et pahin asenk' inč' vor ban a ele, ink'n el uzets'e vor saɣ ašxarə ira masin xosa* 'and Kim Kardashian went to some country where at that moment let's say something had happened, and she wanted all the world to talk about her'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 5.10	Q1: 6a (b)	fin	dest	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*kuzei həlni en yerkrum vorte Hərćomi Papn a gats'e* 'I would like to be in that country where the Pope went'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 5.26	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	subj	N (nom) RP *vorteɣ*	NP	RP	pre	RE Nom.	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de mi yerkir vorte tsənvel em, im hamar amena… harazat vayrn a* 'one country where I was born is the most familiar place for me'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 6.18	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	subj	dem N RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*isk en yerkrum vorte ašxatum em, parz a vor ed yerkirn el əndzi lik'ə p'orts' təvuk kəlni* 'and that country where I work, it's clear that that country will have given me lots of experience'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 6.34	Q1: 7a (b)	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*əndzi t'əvum a vor, vorte vor yes tsənver em, et yerkirn a im vəra azde* 'it seems to me that the country where I was born has affected me'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 6.46	Q1: 7a (b)	fin	loc	P obj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*eli parz a vorte vor tsənve metsəts'er em, ətu het el amenašat kap unets'uk kəlnem* 'again it's clear that I will be most attached to [the place] where I was born and grew up'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 8.25	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*əndzi t'əvum a šahe en k'aɣak'ə vorte vor et kazmakerputs'yunə gortsaran a bats'e* 'it seems to me that the city where that company has opened a factory has benefited'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 8.53	Q1: 9c	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*popokn el vor ežan a ele t'ats' popok en bere jart'e* 'when walnuts were cheap, they brought wet [fresh, not dry] walnuts and cracked them'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 12.19	Q1: 12a	non-fin	abl	subj		N	RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*et p'axuk yergirə vay t'e hele Amerigan* 'that country I fled from was probably America'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 12.28	Q1: 12b	non-fin	?subj or abl	subj		N	RPT - uk			Inanim		topic	*deport aruk yergirə hele Lehastanə* 'the country that deported [me] was Poland'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 12.32	Q1: 12c	fin	loc	subj	dem N (nom) RP vorteɣ	0	RP	pre	RE Nom.	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en me yergirn el vorte ašxatelu həraver em stats'e vay t'e Afrikan a ele* 'and that countru where I received an invitation to work was probably Africa'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 12.47	Q1: 12b, Q1: 12a (b)	fin	abl	loc	N (abl) and RP *vorteɣits'*	0	RP	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim, Anim 1sg	topic	*en yerkrits' vortits' xərkum en kam vortits' yes em p'axnum, p'axuki vičakum [ʔem əzgum] eli, vax em əzgum* '(In) the country from which they sent me away, or from which I am fleeing, [I feel] in a state of having fled, I feel fear'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 13.12	Q1: 13a	fin	DO	subj	0	dem	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de vor yes em sark'e, eti vay t'e hele kakaoyov xəmoreɣen* 'the one I made, that was probably biscuits with cocoa'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 13.33	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim	topic	*de tatu patrastukə, sark'ukə parz a pəti ban əlni, č'amičov bulki* 'the one grandmother prepared, made, it's clear that it must be, bulki with raisins'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 13.41	Q1: 13c	non-fin	DO	time			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*xanut'its' aćukn el, de et petakan banern en eli, karoɣ a tents' el lav ep'uk č'en əlnum* 'and the one I bought from a shop, those are [made by the] state, they might not be that well cooked'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 13.55	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim	focus	*həmmənasirunə tatus sark'ukn er* 'the most beautiful was the one my grandmother made'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 13.58	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim	focus	*həmmənaxamovn el, eli tatus sark'ukn er* 'and the tastiest, again the one my grandmother made'

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Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 14.14	Q1: 14a	fin	DO	subj	N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de me tort'ə vor mamayis tsənəndi xəmar em t'əxe, eti mamayi siruk tort'n a hele* 'the one I made for my mother's birthday, that was mother's favourite cake'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 14.21	Q1: 14b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*harevannerin hyurasirukə šat pəstik tort' a hele* 'the one she offered to the neighbours was a very small cake'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 14.24	Q1: 14c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*t'aguhin, ira paštonakan hyurerin hyurasiratsn el šat, vap'še sents' mi hat joč', joč' šat joč' tort' a hele* 'The queen, the one that she offered to her official guests was a very, really big like this, big, very big cake'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 14.36	Q1: 14a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*həmmənasirunə mamayi xəmar sark'ukn er* 'the most beautiful was the one I made for my mother'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 14.40	Q1: 14a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*həmmənaxamovn el, eli mamayi xəmar sark'ukn er* 'and the tastiest, again the one I made for my mother'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 14.57	Q1: 15a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT - uk			Anim	Anim	topic	*mat'ematiki joč'əts'ruk erexen el šat šat pəti tsəragəravorumov əzbaɣver* 'and the child the mathematician brought up at the most should do programming'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 15.04	Q1: 15b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT - uk			Anim	Anim	topic	*k'ahanayi metsats'ruk erexen aveli šat nents' mart'kants' xet kap unets'oɣ gortser vay t'e, asenk', karoɣ a, guts'e, hənaravor mankavarž əlni eli* 'the child the priest brought up, more, probably those sort of jobs where you deal with people, let's say, maybe, perhaps, it's likely that he will be a teacher'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 15.04		non-fin	tr subj	DO		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*k'ahanayi metsats'ruk erexen aveli šat nents' mart'kants' xet kap unets'oɣ gortser vay t'e, asenk', karoɣ a, guts'e, hənaravor mankavarž əlni eli* 'the child the priest brought up, more, probably those sort of jobs where you deal with people, let's say, maybe, perhaps, it's likely that he will be a teacher'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 15.14		non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*hnaravor mankavarž əlni eli, erexek'in dastiarakoɣ ban* 'it's likely that he will be a teacher, someone who educates children'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 15.20	Q1: 15b	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT - uk			Anim		topic	*u šat xelok' joč'əts'ruk čiž kəlni es k'ahanayi tan tsənvuk čižə* 'and this child who was born in a priest's house will be a very sensibly/cleverly brought up child'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 15.25	Q1: 15c	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT - uk			Anim		topic	*derasani tan tsənvuk čižn el yerevi tents' giž a darts'e* 'and the child born in an actor's house I suppose has become crazy'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 15.47	Q1: 15b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	pred		N	RPT - uk			Anim		focus	*yes kuzi həlni k'ahanayi tanə joč'əts'uk čižə* 'I would like to be the child that grew up in a priest's house'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 16.01	Q1: 16a	fin	P obj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*de en čižə vor konfet er aŕe, mamayi asuk gortsn er are* 'the child that she bough a sweet [for] had done the job his mother said'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 16.07	Q1: 16b	fin	P obj	topic	N	dem N	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*mi maman vor yerk'el a ira erexu xəmar, de yerevi et čižn el šat er k'unə tanum* Adv 'if/when one mother sang for her child, I suppose that child was very sleepy' OR less likely RC 'the child whose mother sang for him…'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 16.16	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	N	dem N	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*me maman el vor koŕats'e ira čəži vəren, et čižə uremə karoɣ a asenk' tan heɣats-č'eɣatsə hane təve harevani čəžerin* Adv 'if/when one mother shouted at her child, that child had maybe taken out whatever was in the house and given it to the neighbour's children' OR less likely RC 'the child whose mother shouted at him..'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 16.37	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Tsaɣkadzor gats'oɣə gats'e, ban, liža kšelu* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor went skiing'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 16.42	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*P'ariz gats'oɣə gats'e Efelyan aštarakə tenalu* 'the one who went to Paris went to see the Eiffel tower'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 16.45	Q1: 17c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Č'inastan gats'oɣn el gats'e ašxatelu* 'the one who went to China went to work'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 17.00	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*əndzi t'əvum Tsaɣkadzor gats'oɣə əmənalav žamanakə kənts'əts'na* 'it seems to me that the one who went to Tsaghkadzor will have the best time'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 17.04	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*u et Tsaɣkadzor gats'oɣə ham el lik'ə p'aray a unets'e vor gats'e Tsaɣkadzor* 'and that one who went to Tsaghkadzor must have had lots of money if he went to Tsaghkadzor'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 17.28	Q1: 18a	fin	instr	subj	dem RP *vorov*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en, vorov vor dimum em gəre, et gərič'ə sev guyn er* 'that one I wrote an application with, that pen was black'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 17.32	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	subj	RP *vorov*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vorov usanoɣneri gəravornern em stuge, eti matit er, gərič' č'er* 'The one I marked the students' tests with, that was a pencil, it wasn't a pen'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 18.01		non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Inanim	Anim non-specific	topic	*de ŕozəvi gərič'ov nəkaruknerə ŕomantik tesk' en…* 'things drawn with a pink pen [have] a romantic appearance…'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 18.13	Q1: 18c (b)	fin	instr	subj	dem N (nom) RP vorov	n/a	RP	pre	RE Nom.	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en gərič'ə vorov tsaɣik em nəkare, [tsaɣikə?] həmmənasirunə kəlni* 'that pen I drew a flower with, [..] will be the most beautiful'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 18.22	Q1: 19a	fin	abl	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de mekits' vor jur em uze, ase hesa kək'am gats'e moŕts'e el č'eke* 'the one I asked for water said I'm just coming, he wenk and forgot and didn't come again' OR adv 'if/when I asked someone for water, he said…'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 18.27	Q1: 19b	fin	abl	subj	RP *vinits'*	0	RP conj	pre	DO	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*xats' vinits' vor uzer em, ase, hələ č'em t'əxe* 'the one I asked for bread said, I haven't baked it yet'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 18.32	Q1: 19c	fin	abl	subj	0	0	conj	pre	DO	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*partk'ov p'oɣn el vor uzer em ase, təɣen hələ ŕusastanits' č'i čamp'e, neɣi enk'* '[The one] that I asked to lend me money said, my son hasn't sent anything from Russia yet, we're a bit hard up' OR adv 'if/when I asked [someone] to lend me money, he said, my son hasn't sent anything from Russia yet, we're a bit hard up'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 19.20	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	0	RP N conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*vi gəluxə vor ts'avum gəluxə patin a tanəm* 'the one whose head hurts hits his head on the wall'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 19.29	Q1: 20b	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *ov* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*ov vor votn a ts'avum, orerov iran k'əts'um divani vəren* 'the one whose leg hurts, throws himself on the divan for days'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 19.40	Q1: 20c	fin	poss subj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Inanim	topic	*mekel meč'k'ə vor ts'avum, jodi kletkay a anum* 'and the one whose back hurts does an iodine poultice'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 19.50	Q1: 20b (b)	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vi*	0	RP	post		Anim	Inanim	focus	*bəžəški et'um eni, ov, vi, yerevi, vi votn a ts'avum* 'I suppose the one whose leg hurts goes to the doctor'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 20.12	Q1: 21a	fin	abl	subj	RP *vinits'*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de vinits' vor hiast'ap'ver em vayt'e əndzi xap'er er* 'the one I was disappointed with probably tricked me'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 20.17	Q1: 21b	fin	P obj	subj	RP *vi*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vi vəren vor yersoter em, uremə eni, kam č'arts'yun a are kam me anšənork' ban are eli* 'the one I got annoyed with, he has either done something bad or something rude'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 20.43	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	instr	n/a	RP *vinov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*de vinov vor hiats'er em* 'the one I admired'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 21.17	Q1: 22a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	dem N	RP N conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*de vi afton vor p'əč'ats'e, et mart'ə zangum həngernerin tenum, vinits' kara asenk', kana ok'nuts'yun xənt're* 'the one whose car broke down, that person phones his friends to see who he can, let's say, ask for some help'

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Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 21.27	Q1: 22b	fin	poss obj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*meki afton vor goɣts'er en de kəzanga milits'iek'in* 'the one whose car they stole will call the police'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 21.53	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	poss subj	n/a	RP *vi*	n/a	RP N conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*əndzi t'əvum, vi, vi afton vor p'əč'ats'e* 'it seems to me, the one whose car broke down'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 22.10	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Mesrop Maštots'ə mer hay gəreri steɣtsoɣn a hele* 'Mesrop Mashtots was the one who created our Armenian letters'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 22.16	Q1: 23a	fin	intr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Yuri Gagarinə hele aŕač'i mart'ə vor t'aŕe kozmos* 'Yuri Gagarin was the first person that flew to the cosmos'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 22.24	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Kolombosə hele Amerikayi haytnaberoɣə* 'Columbus was the one who discovered America'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 22.44	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryanə hele, bani spanoɣə* 'Soghomon Tehleryan was the one who killed what's his name'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 22.53	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*et, bani, T'alyat'i spanoɣn a ele* 'the one who killed that, what's his name, Talyat'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 23.00	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		?	*de en mart'ə vor xats' a t'əxum hats't'uxn a* 'the person who bakes bread is the baker'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 23.03	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*t'amadan en mart'n a vor ban a, et, xarnisneri vaxtə asum xosum, žoɣovərt'in xosts'ənum, kenats' a asum* 'the tamada is the person who speaks during weddings, makes people speak, makes toasts'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QMQs 23.46	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*en mart'n a vor čəžerin, čəžerin a paxum asenk' yerp' vor merə kam xerə tunə č'en* '[the nanny] is that person who looks after the children, let's say, when the mother or father aren't at home'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 0.43	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tasergusin k'ənoɣə aveli lav kəzga iran* 'the one who goes to sleep at twelve feels better'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 0.59	Q1: 1a	fin	intr subj	subj	dem RP *vorə*	0	RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*enig vorə kək'əni tasin, č'orsin kəzart'ni* 'the one who goes to sleep at ten gets up at four'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 1.13	Q1: 1b	fin	intr subj	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*vor ergu… tasergusin er k'ənum* [which is the second one?] 'the one that went to sleep at twelve'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 1.49	Q1: 2c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*Dubay gənats'oɣə* 'the one who is going to Dubai'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQS 2.28	Q1: 4a	fin	tr subj	DO	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en megən or hats' e təve əsel e abris* 'the one who gave bread, she said [to her], well done'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 2.43	Q1: 4b	non-fin	tr subj	P obj			SPT			Anim		topic	*ira šorə əngeruhun təvoɣi vəra neɣets'el e* 'she was annoyed with the one who gave her dress to her friend'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 2.46	Q1: 4c	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		focus	*en tsəɣik nəviroɣin el e əse abris* 'to the one who gave her flowers too she said well done'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 2.53	Q1: 4a (b)	fin	tr subj	abl	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*um vor, ov vor hats' e təvel* 'the one who gave bread'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 4.51	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	loc	N (nom) RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*te im yergirəs urde vor tsənve medzəts'el em ənde aveli lav e* 'my country, where I was born and grew up, it’s better there'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 5.02	Q1: 7a (b)	fin	loc	P obj	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im yergəris, urde vor tsanve medzəts'el em* 'to my country, where I was born and grew up'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 5.22	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*futboli aŕašnuts'yan k'aɣa… te urde vor e aveli lav e k'ants' t'e myus teɣerə* 'the football championship ci[ty]… where [the football championship] is is better that the other places'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 5.39	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*č'əgidem, aveli lav e et k'aɣak'ə urde vor ašxari aŕač'nuts'yunn e* 'I don't know, that city where the world championship is is better'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 7.12	Q1: 10b	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*parts'ər ašxatavarts'n el or keɣni aveli lav keɣni* 'when there is a high salary it's better'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 7.15	Q1: 10c	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre	DO	Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*isk yerexa or kunenas aveli lav kəzgas k'ezi* 'and when you have a child you feel better'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 7.21	Q1: 10c (b)	fin	time	time	RP *yerb*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*yerp' vor erexa yes unets'e* 'when you had a child'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 10.16	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*te mer padrastadzə hamov keɣni* 'the one we hade is tasty'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 10.27	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*tadigi padrastadzə* 'the one grandmother made'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 10.31	Q1: 13a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im padrastadzə* 'the one I made'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 10.55	Q1: 14c	fin	DO	subj	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*harevənnerin el lavə keɣni payts' amenalavə t'ak'uhu tort'ə or hyurasirel e* 'the neighbours' one is good, but the best one [is] the queen's cake that she offered'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 11.20	Q1: 15b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*k'ahanayi medzats'əradzə* [Which one?] 'the one the priest brought up'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 12.04	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Vor maman koŕats'el e*
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 12.15	Q1: 16a (b)	fin	P obj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*vor konfet e aŕel* 'the one that she bought a sweet [for]'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 12.44	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		focus	*Tsaɣkadzorum kənats'adzə* 'the one who went in [i.e. to] Tsaghkadzor'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 12.46	Q1: 17a (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*əngernerits'əs Tsaɣkadzor ov or kənats'el e* 'the one of my friends who went to Tsaghkadzor'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 13.50	Q1: 19c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov or partk'ov p'oɣ č'ətəvets'* 'the one who didn't lend money'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 14.20	Q1: 20c	fin	poss subj	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*vor ts'a, meškə kəts'avar* [which one?] 'the one whose back was hurting'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 14.26	Q1: 20c (b)	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um*	n/a	RP N conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*um meškn or kəts'ava* 'the one whose back hurts'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 14.40	Q1: 21b	fin	P obj	subj	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 2sg	focus	*aŕač'in or a, jəɣaynats'el es vəren* [which one?] 'the first, that you got annoyed with'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 15.14	Q1: 21c	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov or hiats'rel e* [which was the third?] 'the one who caused me to admire him'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 15.18	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov or hiats'rel er* 'the one who had caused me to admire him'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 15.40	Q1: 22b	fin	poss obj	subj	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*afton or goxts'el en* [which one was that?] 'the one whose car they stole'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 15.46	Q1: 22c	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*pəŕaven or keɣdz e* [which one is that?] 'the one whose license is fake'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 15.55	Q1: 22 (b)	fin	intr subj	DO	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*vov or, afton kəkərna sark'e* 'the one who can mend the car'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 16.32	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred		n/a	SPT	no MC		Anim		focus	*Kolombosə, Amerikan haytnaberoɣə* 'Columbus, the one who discovered America'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 16.37	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryanə ov vor a T'alyat P'ašin satkəts'ərets' Germanya* 'Soghomon Tehleryan, the one who killed Talyat Pasha in Germany'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 16.48	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*hats't'uxə hats' t'əxoɣn ə* 'the baker is the one who bakes bread'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQs 17.08	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*dayagn el mangabardezi erexek'in nayelu, ov or kənaye, erexek'in* 'the nanny is for looking after the nursery children, the one who looks after them, the children'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs1 0.43	Q1: 1b (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov or taserkusin e k'ənum* 'the one who goes to sleep at twelve'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs1 0.58	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan gənats'oɣə anpayman piti loɣana* 'the one who is going to Sevan will definitely bathe'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs1 1.44	Q1: 3a	fin	tr subj	subj	N RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*urəmən aŕač'in ov or gətnum e harur təram, tanum e yekeɣets'in e k'əts'um* 'so the first one, who finds 100 drams, takes it and gives it to the church'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs1 2.27	Q1: 3a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*harur təram, harur təram gətnoɣə* 'the one who found 100 drams, 100 drams'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs1 3.14	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*hats' t'əxoɣin, č'e, hats' pahats bažanoɣin, asum e vor abres, yergar kyank' unenas* 'to the one who baked bread, no, the one who gave out bread, she says well done, may you have a long life'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs1 3.14	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*hats' t'əxoɣin, č'e, hats' pahats bažanoɣin, asum e vor abres, yergar kyank' unenas* 'to the one who baked bread, no, the one who gave out bread, she says well done, may you have a long life'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs1 3.42	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	abl			SPT			Anim		focus	*hats'ə bažanoɣin* 'to the one who gave out the bread'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs2 1.52		fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*gənats'el e et yergirə vorteɣ havatk'ə aveli kužeɣana eli, kəronə* 'he went to that country where faith is getting stronger, religion'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs2 2.13	Q1: 6a (b)	fin	dest	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*vorteɣ gənats'el e Həŕomi Pabə* 'where the Pope went'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 0.17	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*vorteɣ gordzaran e bats've* 'where a factory has opened'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 1.33	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*Yerrort'ə vor əsenk', gordzaran e bats'e* [Which is the third?] 'The third that, let's say, opened a factory'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 1.41	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vorteɣ əsenk' aš, futboli ašxari xaɣerə, finansapes šahel en* 'where let's say, the football world games [are], they have benefited financially'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 2.11	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	pred	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP	post		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*amenačištə et, vorteɣ, əsenk', vorteɣ et, gordzaranner en kaŕuts'um* 'the most correct, that, where, let's say, where they are building factories'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 3.28	Q1: 9c	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*bats'i et, kagalə or ežan e eɣel […] te, kagalov inč', inč' asim, kagalov inč lav ban kareli e sark'el č'idem* 'apart from that, when walnuts were cheap […], with walnuts what, what can I say, what good thing can you make with walnuts, I don't know'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 4.58	Q1: 10a	fin	time	time	dem N RP yerb	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*uraxats'el em, et tari yep' vor avartel em, uraxats'el em* 'I was happy, that year when I graduated, I was happy'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 6.34	Q1: 12a	fin	?abl or clausal	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*isk en yergərits' or p'axel em, bənagan e šad vad e* 'and that country I fled from, naturally it's very bad'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs3 6.48	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	time	n/a	RP *yerb*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*ha, yep' vor həravirel en indz* 'yes, when they invited me'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 0.21	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im patrastats tort'əs lavə č'e* 'the cake I made isn't good'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 2.00	Q1: 14a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im padrastatsəs tort'ə* 'the cake I made'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 3.02	Q1: 15a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*te pənakan e mat'ematika sovoroɣə pəti hašvapah elni* 'naturally the one who studies mathematics must/will become an accountant'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 4.30	Q1: 16a	fin	time	time	RP *yerb*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*yerp' vor maman konfet e aŕe yerexan uraxats'el e* 'when the mother bought a sweet the child was happy'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 7.33	Q1: 19c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov or partk'ov p'oɣ e təve* 'the one who lent money'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 7.48	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP N conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um kəluxn or ts'avum e teɣ e xəmum* 'the one whose head hurts takes medicine'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 7.51	Q1: 20c	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*meškn or ts'avum e masaž e anum* 'the one whose back hurts does massage'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 8.35	Q1: 21a	fin	tr subj	abl	RP *vorə*	pron	RP	post		Anim		topic	*megits' hiast'ap'vel em, vorə indz tavadžanel e* 'I was disappointed with one of them, who had betrayed me'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 8.41	Q1: 21b	fin	tr subj	abl	RP *vorə*	pron	RP	post		Anim		topic	*megits' jəɣaynats'el em, vorə indz pargats'ərel e, jəɣaynats'ərel e* 'I was annoyed with one of them, who made me angry, made me annoyed'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 9.00	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*umits' hiats'el em* 'the one I admired'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 10.19	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	poss subj	DO	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP N conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	focus	*um mek'enan or p'əč'ats'el e təran kordzi kəverts'nem* 'the one whose car broke down, I'll give the job to him'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 10.27	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*mer gir steɣdzoɣə, aybubenə steɣdzoɣə, Mesrop Maštots'ə* 'the one who created our writing, who created the alphabet, Mesrop Mashtots'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 10.40	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Kolombosə Amerikan haytnagordzoɣə* 'Columbus, the one who discovered America'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 10.45	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryanə ov T'alyat' P'ašayin xəp'ets', spanets'* 'Soghomon Tehleryan, the one who hit, killed Talyat Pasha'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 11.02	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*hats't'uxə hats' t'əxoɣn e* 'the baker is the one who bakes bread'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 11.07	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*kenats' aŕadžargoɣə* [the tamada is] 'the one who proposes toasts'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQs4 11.40	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*dayagə xənamoɣ e, yerexayin xənamoɣ e, erexin xənamoɣ e* 'the nanny is the one who looks after, is the one who looks after the child, is the the one who looks after the child'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 0.19	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*tas, tasin k'ənoɣ k'urə kəzart'ni aŕavot šut utin* 'the sister who goes to bed at ten wakes up early in the morning at eight'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 0.29	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*taserkusin k'ənoɣə tasnəmekin* 'the one who goes to sleep at twelve, at eleven'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 0.31	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*ergusin k'ənoɣə megin nor haziv kelni* 'the one who goes to sleep at two only just get up at one'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 0.43	Q1: 1a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*šut k'ənoɣə, tasin k'ənoɣə* 'the one who goes to sleep early, the one who goes to sleep at ten'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 1.30	Q1: 2b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		focus	*ov aveli lav, Londonum ants'kats'rats vortev tesaržan vayrer, hedak'ərk'ir teɣer kətesne* 'who better, the one who spent time in London because he sees sights and interesting places'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 2.18	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		topic	*madnik kədadzə [* G4: *kədnoɣə] kədnoɣə yerevi kənəvire kədadz madanin inč' or mekin* 'the one who found the ring I suppose will give the ring he found to someone'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 2.18	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*madnik kədadzə [* G4: *kədnoɣə] kədnoɣə yerevi kənəvire kədadz madanin inč' or mekin* 'the one who found the ring I suppose will give the ring he found to someone'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 2.18	Q1: 3b	non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Anim		topic	*madnik kədadzə [* G4: *kədnoɣə] kədnoɣə yerevi kənəvire kədadz madanin inč' or mekin* 'the one who found the ring I suppose will give the ring he found to someone'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 2.51	Q1: 3c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*kaxtnik imats'oɣə, vortev zenk e* 'the one who knows a secret, because it's a weapon'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 3.22	Q1: 4a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*or hats' e epel tsaxe* [which was the first?] 'the one who cooked bread and sold it'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 3.24	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	instr			RPT			Anim		topic	*hats' ebadz tsaxadzə maman həbarda… [ʔk'sor] kəhəbarda…* 'the one who baked bread and sold it, her mother is proud […]'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 3.36	Q1: 4c	fin	tr subj	no actual main clause, nouns	dem RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*isk en ov or mamayin tsaɣik e təve maman kuraxana* 'and the one who gave her mother flowers, her mother is happy'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 3.47	Q1: 4a (b)	fin	tr subj	abl	RP *ov*	NP	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*aŕač'inits' ov or hats' e epe vortev həbardanaka* 'with the first, the one who baked bread, because she is proud [of her]'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 4.33	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	loc	RP *vor* N	0	RP N conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Olimbiadan en vor k'aɣak'um or pədi eɣne pənagišnerə šat poɣo… kəmədatsen or poɣok'engə vorovhetev polor kumarə kešta əndeɣ* 'in the city where the Olympics are going to be, the inhabitants… think that they are complaining because all the money goes there'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 6.41	Q1: 6a (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *vor* N	n/a	RP N conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*yerevi Həŕomi Pabə vor yergrum vor eɣel e* 'I suppose the country where the Pope was'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 7.14	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	?loc or subj	RP *vorteɣ*	?0	RP	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vortex tsənvel em, en inč' or azgayin e, azgayin sovoruts'yunner avanduyt'ner* 'where I was born, that's some sort of national thing, national customs and traditions'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 7.20	Q1: 7b	fin	loc	subj	N RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en inč' yergərum vorteɣ or sovorel em təvel e kərt'uts'yun* 'the country where I studied gave education'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 7.52	Q1: 7a (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*vorteɣ or tsənvel em* 'where I was born'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 8.27	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	?loc or subj	dem N RP vorteɣ	?0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en yergrum vorteɣ or hamerk', ha, kino, yet'e kinoi p'aŕaton uremən məšakutayin e* 'that city where [there is] a concert, yes, film, if [it's] a film festival then it's cultural'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 8.36	Q1: 8c	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Inanim		topic	*isk vorn or kortsaran e kaŕuts'e yerevi amenalav pani təruts'yan meč' sots'ialakan et yergirn e* 'and the one that built a factory, I suppose the one that's in the best social situation is that country'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 10.55	Q1: 10b	fin	time	time	N RP *yerb*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*yergrort tarin yep vor parts'ər ašxatavarts'ov… ink'nahastatvel es* 'the second year when […] with a high salary, you felt self-respect'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs1 12.21	Q1: 11c	fin	time	time	RP *yerb*	0	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*isk amenak'ič' azat žamanakə yep vor ašxatel enk'* 'and the least free time, when we worked'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 0.53	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	loc	n/a	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*vorteɣ or ha, ašxatank'…* 'where, yes, [there is] work…'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 1.50	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenahamov tadigi padrastadzə* 'the tastiest, the one grandmother made'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 1.52	Q1: 13c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*amenis sirunə xanut'its' aŕadzə* 'the most beautiful of all, the one I bought from a shop'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 3.42	Q1: 14a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*isk amenahamovə im mamayi epas tort'ə* 'and the tastiest, the cake my mother cooked'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 6.24	Q1: 16a	fin	P obj	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*maman or konfet e erel, aŕel, lav e sovore, parts'ər kənahadagan e stats'e* 'the one whose mother bought [him] a sweet, he studied well, he got good marks'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 6.42	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en myus erexun or pargats'el e, inč' er ere, inč' or pan er kodre* 'that other child that she was annoyed [with], what had he done, he had broken something'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GArQs2 7.03	Q1: 16 (b)	fin	DO	pred	RP *vorə*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*[* G4 answers for G1*] Vorn or k'ezi tsetsel en.* [Which one would you like to be?] 'The one that they beat you.'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GArQs2 9.44	Q1: 19c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*p'oɣ taləts'oɣə* 'the one that ?gave money'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 11.50	Q1: 21b (b)	fin	P obj	subj	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*um vra čəɣaynats'el em* 'the one I got annoyed with'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 12.28	Q1: 22b	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-specific	topic	*um vor kogatsel en kešta vostikanuts'yun or kətnen* 'the one whose [car] they stole goes to the police so they can find it'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 12.30	Q1: 22c	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP N conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um pŕaven or p'əča… anəndhat… t'akun kašxade* 'the one whose licence is… always… works secretly'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 12.55	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	poss subj	DO	RP *um*	n/a	RP N conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*um afton or p'əčatsel e* 'the one whose car broke down'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 13.05	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*taŕer steɣtsoɣə hayereni* 'the one who created the Armenian letters'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 13.11	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*haytnagordzoɣ…* 'one who discovered…'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 13.17	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*T'alyat'i(n) spanoɣ hay…* 'Armenian who killed Talyat'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GArQs2 13.22	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*hats' təxoɣə* 'the one who bakes bread'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GArQs2 13.24	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*t'amadan, varoɣə* 'the tamada, the one in charge'
Karin (Gyumri)	G1	GArQs2 13.38	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*tayagə erexun pahoɣə* 'the nanny, the one who looks after the child'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 2.12	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*žami tasin k'ənoɣ k'uyrikə* [which one is that?] 'the sister who goes to sleep at ten'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 2.53	Q1: 1	non-fin	intr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*žamə innin k'noɣ k'uyrikə* [which is the youngest of these?] 'the sister who goes to sleep at nine'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 3.05	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*London et'ats'oɣə čoč' k'uyrikn er* 'the one who was going to London was the big sister'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 3.11	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay et'ats'oɣə mič'nak k'uyrikn i* 'the one who is going to Dubai is the middle sister'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 3.15	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan et'ats'oɣə pəstəlo k'uyrikn i* 'the one who is going to Sevan is the little sister'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 5.10	Q1: 3a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ařač'i təɣan vor kopek i gidal* [which was the first one?] 'the first boy, who found money'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 6.16	Q1: 4c	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*maman tsaɣik nəviroɣin gərkel, sirel, šnorakaluts'yun i haytnel* 'the mother hugged the one who gave her flowers, loved her, said thankyou'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 6.30	Q1: 4b	fin	tr subj	DO	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en myusə vor mayriki šorə təvats'rel ənkeruhun, asel, təvel es, payts' yerrort' ank'am č'əkərkənvi* 'the other one, who gave her mother's dress to her friend, says, you gave it, but let it not be repeated a second time'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 7.37	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	abl		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*hats' bažanoɣ axč'əkanits'* 'with the daughter who gave out bread'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 8.51	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	dest	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en mekel k'aɣak'um vor kətə mets boɣok'i akts'ia əl[n]i, et'al [orma[n]] mart'ik i šat mətats[el/en/i]* 'and the city where there will be a big protest, [?] people think a lot [?to go or not to go]'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 14.02	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	subj	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*yerevi gortsarani, vor bats'ir en* 'I suppose the factory [city], where they opened [one]'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 14.38	Q1: 8 (b)	fin	loc	subj	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*varte vor ašxatank' ka* 'where there is work'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 15.48	Q1: 9	fin	time	time	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*tari elel vor popo en/in šat* 'there are some years when there are a lot of walnuts'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 16.34	Q1: 10a	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vor dəprots'ə avartel em šat em təxre vor avartir em* 'when I finished school I was very sad that I finished'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 16.45	Q1: 10b	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vor ašxatir em p'oɣ em aŕe, šat urax em ele* 'when I worked and got money, I was very happy'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 16.50	Q1: 10c	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vor erexa yem unets'e, aveli em uraxats'e* 'when I had a child, I was even happier'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 18.51	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem	RP	pre		Anim		?topic	*vav əndzi həravire en el im harazat [əlni?]* 'the ones who invited me are familiar/close to me'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 19.11	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im patrastatsə dəžvar t'e lav əli* 'the one I made is unlikely to be good'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 19.16	Q1: 13c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*xanut'i aŕatsə lav i* 'the one I bought from a shop is good'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 19.30	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*tatiki patrastatsə* 'the one grandmother made'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 21.25	Q1: 14a (b)	non-fin	subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim		focus	*mamayi tsənundi nəvirvats tort'ə* 'the cake that was given on my mother's birthday'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 22.39	Q1: 15b	fin	intr subj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*mekə vor k'ahana i sovore, ašxatel k'ahana* 'the one who studied [to be a] priest, works as a priest'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 22.48	Q1: 15c	fin	DO	subj	dem pron	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en mekin vor derasan i sovorats're, en č'i ašxatel* 'the one who an actor taught, he doesn't work'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 24.48	Q1: 16 (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*et erexek'its' kuzem er… en xelok' təɣan əlnem er vor mayrikin ok'nes* 'out of those children I'd like to be that clever/sensible boy that helps his mother'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 26.47	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*Tsaɣkadzor et'ats'oɣə* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 30.37	Q1: 19a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*čur təvoɣə šat urax er vor əndzi čur təvets'* 'the one who gave water was very happy that he gave me water'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 30.42	Q1: 19c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*partk'ov p'oɣ təvoɣə Yulya tatikən i, č'i neɣana* 'the one who lent money was grandmother Julia, she won't be annoyed'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 31.04	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*meki kəloxə vor ts'aval, šat užeɣ ləŕəŕal, təktək'al, čəkčakal* 'the one whose head hurts, very strongly/loudly [??makes different noises]'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 31.28	Q1: 20b	fin	poss subj	poss	dem pron	?pron	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Inanim	topic	*en mek el vor votə ts'aval, et, aveli vat ə vorovhetev ira votə jart've* 'that one whose leg hurts, that's worse because his leg is broken'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 31.50	Q1: 20c	fin	poss subj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*en mekeli meč'k'ən el vor ts'aval, voč'inč', t'et'evaki ts'av, deɣ i xəmel* 'and that one whose leg hurts, it's OK, a light pain, he takes medicine'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 32.01	Q1: 20b (b)	non-fin	poss subj	subj			RPT			Anim	Inanim	focus	*vot jart'vatsə* 'the one whose leg is broken'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 32.04	Q1: 20b (b)	non-fin	poss subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Inanim	focus	*vot jart'vats mart'ə* 'the person whose leg is broken'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 33.27	Q1: 21	fin	DO	abl	dem N	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*yev et mart'un vor nor nəkaragərim, et mart'ə, mart'its' yes ham hiats'ap'vel em, ham el xist həŕsoti em vəran* 'and that person who I just described, I'm both disappointed with that person, and very angry with him'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 33.41	Q1: 21	fin	intr subj	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*isk hiats'el em en mart'uts' vor iran xelok' i paxel* 'and I admired that person who behaved well'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 34.05	Q1: 21 (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem N	RP	pre		Anim		topic	*ov xelok' i, en mart'ə im əngern i* 'the one who is clever/sensible, that person is my friend'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 34.37	Q1: 22b	fin	poss obj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim non-specific	topic	*en mart'i afton vor koxts'ir en, zangel milits'ian, vostikanuts'yunə* 'the person whose car they stole calls the police'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 34.48	Q1: 22a	fin	poss subj	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*en mekel mart'i afton vor xarab i, masnaget i kanč'el* 'and that person whose car is broken down calls an expert'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 35.01	Q1: 22c	fin	tr subj	DO	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*isk en mart'ə vor ira pŕavan i keɣtse, vostikanuts'yunə imana därə kədatin* 'and that person who faked his license, if the police find out they'll charge him'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 35.27	Q1: 22c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*pŕava keɣtsoɣin č'em verts'i* 'I won't take the one who faked his license'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 35.31	Q1: 22 (b)	fin	tr subj	DO	dem RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en vav vor avarya təve č'em verts'i* 'I won't take the one who caused an accident'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 35.36	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	poss subj	DO	dem RP *vir* N.poss3	0	RP N conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Inanim	topic	*en vir afton vor xarap i kok'nem kəsark'i/en, kətanem ašxatank'i* 'I'll help the one whose car has broken down to fix it, I'll take him to work'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 35.46	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Mesrop Maštots'ə hay gəreri steɣtsoɣn e* 'Mesrop Mashtots is the creator of the Armenian letters'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 35.56	Q1: 23a	non-fin	intr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Yuri Gagarinə aŕač'in tiezeragənats t'əŕč'oɣn i* 'Yuri Gagarin is the first flier who went to space'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 36.10	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryanə xay mart' i vor xatəts'e T'älyat' Pašayin* 'Soghomon Tehleryan is an Armenian person who got revenge on Talyat Pasha'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 36.26	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	dem N	RP	post		Anim		focus	*xast'uxə en mart'n i ov lavaš i t'əxel t'onirov* 'the baker is the person who bakes lavash with a tonir'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 36.34	Q1: 23b	fin	subj	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*t'amadan en mart'n i vor kenats'ner e[n] karoɣanal harsanik' əli, yas əli* 'the tamada is the person who can [?] toasts [?] wedding [?]'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 38.04	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*dayakə, čižeri, pstik erexaneri xənamakaln i, kerts'ənoɣə, hak'ts'ənoɣə, šahov pahoɣə* 'the nanny, the carer for children, little children, the one who feeds them, dresses them, looks after them for money'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	QNQs 38.04	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*dayakə, čižeri, pstik erexaneri xənamakaln i, kerts'ənoɣə, hak'ts'ənoɣə, šahov pahoɣə* 'the nanny, the carer for children, little children, the one who feeds them, dresses them, looks after them for money'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 10.15	Q1: 5c (b)	fin	loc	DO	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	pre	MC subject	Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*yes el, banə, vorteɣ vor ts'uyts' en anum, et k'aɣak'n em sirum* 'and I like the city where they are doing a protest'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 11.10	Q1: 6a	fin	dest	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*Hŕomi Papə vorteɣ vor gənats'e art'aruts'yun, lav baner e k'aroze* 'where the Pope went, he preached justice and good things'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 19.56	Q1: 7	fin	DO	DO	RP *inč'*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*inč' vor pənut'yunə steɣdze, yes ed em sirum* 'I like what nature created'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 20.19	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*a de vorde vor ašxatum es, art'en sovorer is žoɣovərt'i vəren* 'where you work, you've already got used to the people'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 21.16	Q1: 7	fin	loc	DO	RP *vorteɣ*	pron	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*vorte vor k'u kensaɣn e t'e ureməs dəran piti siris u harmarvis* 'where your living is, you have to love that and adapt to it'

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Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 22.52	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	P obj	RP *vorteɣ*	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	?topic	*vorde vor himnakan aprum em kapver em* 'I've got attached to the place where I mainly live'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 24.46	Q1: 8 (b)	fin	loc	DO	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*Es, vorde vor kazmakerpum en, ed em sirum, im sirats k'aɣak'ən ayd e* 'where they're organizing, that's what I like, that's the city I like'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 25.33		fin	DO	poss	dem N	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*es xaɣoɣən or kerank', es sev xaɣoɣə, dəra č'amič'ə…* 'these grapes that we've eaten, these black grapes, their raisins…'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 26.28	Q1: 10c (b)	fin	time	subj	0	dem N	conj	pre	DO	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*yerexanern or unets'er metsats'rer em, et tarin im amenayerjanik tarin er* 'when I had children and brought them up, that was my happiest year'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 32.18	Q1: 14a (b)	fin	DO	DO	0	dem	conj	pre	IO	Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im morə vor nəvirer em ed em sirum* 'I like the one I gave to my mother'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 38.38	Q1: 18b	fin	?instr or subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim		focus	*Kaput guyni e linum. [* Interviewer: *Vorə?] Banə, vor usanoɣnerin stugum e* 'It's blue.' [Which one?] 'The one that marks the students/?the one that she marks the students with'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 42.27		fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*vordeɣ ts'av a mart'u hoɣin əndeɣ a* 'where there is pain, that's where a person's soul is'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs1 44.29	Q1: 21a	fin	abl obj if real RC	subj	0	0	conj	pre		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*de or hiast'ap'ver es ureməs mi səxal gorts e are* 'the one you were disappointed with had made a mistake' OR adv 'if/when you were disappointed, [that person] had made a mistake'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs4 0.11	Q1: 21c	fin	instr	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*ureməs or mekov hiats'er e xelats'i pan e are axč'ik jan* 'the one you admired had done a clever thing, dear girl' OR adv. 'if/when you admired someone, [that person] had done a clever thing'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs4 0.51	Q1: 21a	fin	abl obj	subj	0	dem	conj	pre		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*…bayts' or hiast'ap'vum es ureməs edi anšənork' e* 'but the one you were disappointed with is rude' OR adv 'if you were disappointed, then [that person] is rude'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs4 1.20	Q1: 21c	fin	instr	pred	0	NP/pron *banən*	conj	post		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*xelats'in banən er, en vor hianum es, nəranov vor hianum es, eni xelats'in e* 'the clever one is the one you admire, the one you admire is the clever one'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs4 1.22	Q1: 21c	fin	instr	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*nəranov vor hianum es, eni xelats'in e* 'the one you admire is the clever one'
Mush (Shirak)	M1	STQs4 2.17	Q1: 23a	fin	intr subj	subj	0	?	conj	pre	instrumental	Anim		topic	*hima mer lezvov or kərer e Xač'atur Abovyann e kəre* 'now the one who wrote in our language, Khachatur Abovyan [was the one who] wrote'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 2.25	Q2: 1c	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*yes, um vor p'oɣ em təve, karoɣ a patahi et p'oɣ[en?] təvel en, aŕ esor indzi č'en veradardznəm* 'the one I gave money too, it could happen that they have given [i.e. spent] that money, today they don't return it to me'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 2.44	Q2: 1c	fin	IO	subj	0	NP	0	post		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*mart'[u ka?] p'oɣ em təve, asel a hing orits'* [there is?] a person I gave money, he said in five days'

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Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	Ejmiatsin other	AQ2s 3.57	Q2: 1a (b)	fin	IO	subj	RP *umə*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Umə vor jur a təve.* [Who was satisfied?] 'The one she gave water.'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 4.23	Q2: 1a	non-fin	tr subj	?			SPT			Anim		topic	*Jur təvoɣ šat [?] šat el ok'nel en* ?'many [?] who gave water helped a lot'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 5.49	Q2: 1a (b)	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*indz təvum a yes um vor jur em təve eti aveli šat goh a mənats'e* 'it seems to me that the one I gave water was more satisfied'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 9.26	Q2: 3a (b)	fin	tr subj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov vor futbolisti het kap a unets'e* 'the one who had dealings with a footballer'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 12.33	Q2: 5a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	šan kətsatsə voč'inč' kəlavana, bayts' mart'u kətsatsə č'i lavana 'the one a dog bit [OR N 'the dog bite'] will get better, but the one a person bit [OR N 'the bite of a person'] won't get better'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 12.35	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	mart'u kətsatsə č'i lavana 'the one a person bit [OR N 'the bite of a person'] won't get better'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 12.50		fin	tr subj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim		topic	*e parz a, ov k'ez viravorəm a…* 'it's clear, the one who hurts you…'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 14.05		fin	intr subj	P obj	dem N	dem pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*isk et… banə vor ka, et dəra het kaxum č'unem əski* 'and that… thing there is, [email address], I don't have any dependence on that'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 14.26		fin	subordinate clause subj	DO	0	NP	0	post		Anim		focus	*yes asenk' mi hat ənger unem yes gidem um mot a ašxatəm* 'let's say I have a friend [that] I know who he works for'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 15.41	Q2: 7b	fin	?DO or clausal	topic	0	n/a	conj			Anim	Anim		*Vor axpern a tsetse, əti asenk' de axperneri meč', yes č'em tese mi hat [?xay] vor erku axper [ir het] tsets č'uten eli* 'the one his brother beat [OR adv 'if/when his brother beat him'], that is, let's say, between brothers, I've never seen a [?game] where two brothers don't beat each other'

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Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 16.04	Q2: 7c	fin	DO	DO	0	0	conj			Anim	Anim		*Harevan axč'ikə vor tsetsel a halal [?iran et axč'ikə] tsetsel a* 'the one who the neighbour girl beat, that girl beat him fair and square'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 16.18	Q2: 7c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	Amenatsanər axč'əka tsetsatsə 'the hardest [lit. heaviest] is the one the girl beat [OR N the girl's beating]'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 16.44	Q2: 8c	fin	tr subj	clausal	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		topic	*isk et, ov vor p'oɣ a təve, [??], dəra, dəra mečʼ okʼut čʼəka eli* 'and that, the one who gave money, [??] there's no use in that'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 17.29	Q2: 8b (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Kanfet utoɣə* 'the one who is eating/ate a sweet'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 17.31	Q2: 8b (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*tatu təvas kanfetə* 'the sweet the grandmother gave'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 18.02	Q2: 9a	fin	intr subj	subj	N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*asenk', ařačʼinə ha vor, ařačʼinə vor hačaxortʼin boɣokʼel a, ašxatavardzə avelts'rel a, uremə, boɣokʼel a, i okʼut, inkʼə paštpanel a yerevi, banin, direktərin, dəra hamar ašxatavardzə barts'rats'el a* 'let's say, the first one that, the first one that complained to the customer, whose wages he raised, so, he complained, for the benefit of, I suppose he protected the manager, that's why he raised his wages'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 18.02	Q2: 9b	fin	poss obj	subj	N	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*asenk', ařačʼinə ha vor, ařačʼinə vor hačaxortʼin boɣokʼel a, ašxatavardzə avelts'rel a, uremə, boɣokʼel a, i okʼut, inkʼə paštpanel a yerevi, banin, direktərin, dəra hamar ašxatavardzə barts'rats'el a* 'let's say, the first one that, the first one that complained to the customer, whose wages he raised, so, he complained, for the benefit of, I suppose he protected the manager, that's why he raised his wages'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 18.49	Q2: 9b	fin	poss subj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*es mekə vor asenk', ašxatavardzə barts'rats'el a, asenk' i okʼut šefin a ele* 'this one, let's say, whose wages he raised, let's say it was [i.e. he did something] for the benefit of the boss'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 19.00	Q2: 9c	fin	DO	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Gortsits' vor hanəm a eli* [which one was the second?] 'the one he throws out of work'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 19.52	Q2: 9c (b)	fin	DO	poss	N	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	focus	*Banin eli, vor hanəm a gortsits' amenadəžvarn irann a* 'the most difficult is that [i.e. the situation] of the one that he throws out of work'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 20.35	Q2: 10b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Kart'ats'oɣə inkʼn ira, [zgats'oɣu...] talis a gərkʼin, čʼi karəm čʼəkart'a* 'the one who is reading, he gives his [?] to the book, he can't not read [it]'

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Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 22.44	Q2: 11a	fin	poss subj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	other	Anim	Anim	topic	*erexek'its' vor asenk' meki maman goŕəm a, uremə č'i yent'arkvəm, č'i ləsəm* '[the one] of the children who let's say the mother is shouting [at], he doesn't obey, doesn't listen'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 23.16	Q2: 11a	fin	poss subj	subj	pron	NP	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*meki maman, asi vor goŕəm a, uremə erexan č'i ləsəm č'i yent'arkvəm* 'the one whose mother I said is shouting, the child doesn't listen, doesn't obey' OR adv 'if I said the mother of one of them is shouting, then the child isn't listening, isn't obeying'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 24.30	Q2: 11c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*Erexek'its' asenk' yergusn el [men?] maŕožni aŕnoɣn el [el a?] motik indzi ban a* 'of those children let's say both of them [?] and the one who buys ice cream too [?] is something congenial to me'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 24.35	Q2: 11b (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		focus	*mek el vor tsitsaɣəm a, eli, erexen tsitsaɣəm a, amenalavn [hents'? indz?] et a* 'the one who's laughing, the child is laughing, that's the best [?for me]' OR adv 'if one [of them] is laughing…'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 24.55	Q2: 12a	fin	intr subj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*mekə vor vat a yerk'əm, harts' č'əka uremə vat a yerk'əm* 'the one who sings badly, there's no question, he sings badly'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 25.24	Q2: 12a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*vat yerk'oɣə* 'the one who sings badly'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E1	AQ2s 27.47	Q2: 14 (b)	fin	intr subj	poss	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*Ov vor šat kompi dem a kaynəm, nəra vičakə šat dəžvar a* 'the one who sits in front of a computer a lot, his situation is very difficult'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 0.19	Q2: 1a	fin	IO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	DO	Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*xəmelu həmar jurə vor talis es xəmin asəm a šnorhakaluts'yun* 'the one you give drinking water so they can drink says thankyou' OR adv 'if/when you give [him] drinking water so they can drink, he says thankyou'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 0.49		fin	intr subj	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim			*šat mart' vor galis a asenk' asəm a dzer tan hats'ə utvəm a* 'most people who come, let's say, say 'the bread from your house is eaten/edible''
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	Ejmiatsin other	HQ2s 3.38	Q2: 1b	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	?topic	*um el hats' enk' təve mezanits' šnorakal en, yerp'ek' č'en moŕats'e mer təvats hats'e gənahatel en* 'whoever/all the people we gave bread to was/were thankful, they never forgot the bread we gave, they appreciated it'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	Ejmiatsin other	HQ2s 3.40		non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*yerp'ek' č'en moŕats'e mer təvats hats'e gənahatel en* 'they never forgot the bread we gave, they appreciated it'

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Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 5.03	Q2: 2b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim		focus	*hamerašx amenalavə kapren et zoravari axč'… zoravarin təvats kənuts'yan, et axč'ikə* 'that girl who he gave to the general as a wife, they will live the best, harmoniously'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 7.01	Q2: 3a	fin	intr subj	subj	dem RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*de et ov vor Henrik Məxit'aryani het a tsanot'ats'e, asenk' vorte nəsti kasi yes Henrik Məxit'aryani het xosats'i [nəstahel a?]* 'that one who met Henrikh Mkhitaryan, let's say wherever he sits he will say I talked to Henrikh Mkhitaryan [?]'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 3.33	Q2: 3a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Henrik Məxit'aryani het zəruts'oɣə* 'the one who talked to Henrikh Mkhitaryan'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 9.11	Q2: 4c	non-fin	DO	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*De dəprots'i tənoreni mot taroɣə, maman a tare dəprots'i tənoreni mot?* 'The one who they took to the school principal, was it his mother who took him to the school principal?'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 11.12	Q2: 4b (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a			SPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*Tatu, mork'uri et, taroɣə vorovhetev vənasə, voč' mi vənas č'əka, irants' imanalov et erexun tanəm en, t'uxt'ugirə hanəm vərits', et erexen iran lav kəzga* 'that one who the grandmother and aunt took because the harm, there's no harm, they think they're taking that child [there], taking the spell off him, that child will feel good'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 11.48	Q2: 5a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	šan kətsatsə, čišt a, ts'avot a, kəlavana, kants'ni kəgəna, eti voč'inč', kəlats'i, kəlats'i ban kani, verč'ə kəbužen kəpərtsni ket'a 'the one who the dog bit [OR N 'the dog bite'], it's true that it hurts, it will get better, it will pass it will go, that's nothing, he will cry, he will cry and do what is it, in the end they'll cure it, it will finish and go'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 12.04	Q2: 5b	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	Motsaki kətsatsə de me varkyan a motsakə kəkətsi ket'a 'the one who a mosquito bit [OR N 'the mosquito bite] is one second, the mosquito will bite and go'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 12.08	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	bayts' harevani kətsatsə mi k'ič', šat dəžvar… ban kəlni eli 'but the one the neighbour bit [OR N 'the neighbour's bite'] will be a bit, a very… difficult thing'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 12.28	Q2: 5c (b)	fin	DO	subj	pron	dem	conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*ammenats'avə zgəm a et vor harevanə kətsel a iran* 'the one who the neighbour bit feels the most pain'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 13.38	Q2: 6c	fin	subordinate clause subj	subj	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*De en vor gitem um mot a ašxatəm asenk', ha ašxatəm a gitenk' asenk' iš vor mi gortsaranəm a* 'the one who I know who he works for, let’s say, yes, he works, we know, let's say, he's in some factory'

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Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	Ejmiatsin other	HQ2s 15.35	Q2: 6a (b)	fin	P obj	n/a	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*Um mot heŕaxosi hamar ka* 'the one who has a phone number'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 15.56	Q2: 7a	fin	DO	subj	poss3	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*Papan vor tsetsel a, parz a, papayi asatsə č'i are* 'The one who his father beat, it's clear, he hadn't done what his father said.' OR adv 'If/when his father beat him...'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 19.48	Q2: 8c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*Ammenašat, yerevi, uraxats'ats kəlni, banə, p'oɣ vekaloɣə* 'The one who felt the happiest, I suppose, will be the one who took money'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	Ejmiatsin other	HQ2s 19.44	Q2: 8c (b)	non-fin	IO	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Parz chi, p'oɣ təvoɣə* 'Isn't it obvious, the one they gave money'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 21.58	Q2: 9a	fin	tr subj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Et ov vor lav č'i pahe iran.* 'That one who didn't behave well.'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 22.30	Q2: 9a	fin	?	?	RP *umə*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*De parz a en um, umə vor asenk', boɣok'el a vor matuts'oɣə lav č'i spasarkəm yerevi… [] č'e, hačaxort' a de həmi…* 'It's obvious, the one to whom, to whom let's say he complained that the waiter isn't serving well I suppose, no, that's a customer now…'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 23.29	Q2: 9b	fin	DO	pred	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*En myusə, en vor ə, banə, es, govats'el a, banin, et ə, ašxatavarts'ə barts'rats'nel, asenk' karoɣ a, ski č'i el naye, ŕestorani nəstats et hats' utoɣin, [hane] č'ayevoy a təve č'i təve iran č'i hetak'ərk'ərve t'oɣe gənats'e et mart'n el mətatsel a nayi išk'an lav ašxatoɣ a vor ski uš č'i darts'nəm č'ayevoyin.* 'that other one, the one who he praised, to raise his wages, let's say maybe he didn't even look to see whether that person who was sitting in the restaurant eating had given him a tip or not, he wasn't interested, he let him go, and that person thought, look what a good worker he is that doesn't even pay attention to the tip'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 23.29	Q2: 9	fin	poss obj	pred	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Inanim	topic	*En myusə, en vor ə, banə, es, govats'el a, banin, et ə, ašxatavarts'ə barts'rats'nel, asenk' karoɣ a, ski č'i el naye, ŕestorani nəstats et hats' utoɣin, [hane] č'ayevoy a təve č'i təve iran č'i hetak'ərk'ərve t'oɣe gənats'e et mart'n el mətatsel a nayi išk'an lav ašxatoɣ a vor ski uš č'i darts'nəm č'ayevoyin.* 'that other one, the one who he praised, to raise his wages, let's say maybe he didn't even look to see whether that person who was sitting in the restaurant eating had given him a tip or not, he wasn't interested, he let him go, and that person thought, look what a good worker he is that doesn't even pay attention to the tip'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 23.38		non-fin	intr subj	DO		N	RPT			Anim		topic	*asenk' karoɣ a ski č'i el naye, ŕestorani nəstats et hats' utoɣin, [hane] č'ayevoy a təve č'i təve iran* 'let's say maybe he didn't even look to see whether that person who was sitting in the restaurant eating had given him a tip or not'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 23.38		non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*asenk' karoɣ a ski č'i el naye, ŕestorani nəstats et hats' utoɣin, [hane] č'ayevoy a təve č'i təve iran* 'let's say maybe he didn't even look to see whether that person who was sitting in the restaurant eating had given him a tip or not'

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Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 25.01		fin	tr subj	subj	0	NP	0	post		Anim			mart' ka sirəm a kart'al, iran voš mi ban č'əhangari ink'ə kart'a, ira tarerk'i meč' a 'there are people who like reading, let nothing disturb him, let him read, he is in his element'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 27.15	Q2: 11c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Maŕožni utoɣə iharke* 'the one who ate/is eating ice cream of course'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 27.55	Q2: 12c	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*ančašak yerk'oɣin kasen, lav herik' a inč' vor yerk'ə yerk'el es lav a t'oɣ gəluxəs ts'avts'rir* 'to the one who sings badly they will say, OK, that's enough, whatever the song you sang, it's OK, [now] leave it, you've made my head ache'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 28.09	Q2: 12b	non-fin	intr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*et barts'ər yerk'oɣin el kases mi k'ič' ts'atsər yerk'i* 'to the one who sings loudly you will say, sing a bit quietly'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 28.21	Q2: 12b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Et barts'ər yerk'oɣə, yerevi* 'the one who sings loudly, I suppose'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 29.11	Q2: 13b	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	Dzəkan kətsatsə č'em patkerats'nəm 'I can't imagine the one the fish bit [OR N 'the fish bite']'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 30.12	Q2: 13a (b)	non-fin	DO	poss			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*Aveli tsanər, šan kətsats, vorin vor šunə kətsel a, amenatsanər vičakə irann a* 'Heavier [i.e. harder], the one the dog bit, the one the dog bit, his is the hardest situation'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 30.12	Q2: 13a (b)	fin	DO	poss	RP *vorin*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*Aveli tsanər, šan kətsats, vorin vor šunə kətsel a.* 'Heavier [i.e. harder], the one the dog bit, the one the dog bit.'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 30.36	Q2: 14c	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*De zažigalken, um zažigalken vor p'əč'ats'el a, həmi próblem č'i et zažigalki harts' lutselə, me hat uriš, hits'un dəram a mi hat uriš zažigalka kańni* 'the lighter, the one whose lighter is broken, now it isn't a problem to solve that lighter issue, another, it's fifty drams, he'll buy another lighter'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 30.50	Q2: 14b	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*Heŕaxosə vor p'əč'ats'el a, mi k'ič', čišt a t'ang a bayts' eli, kara heŕaxosə kam, urišinə čari, urišits' vekali* 'the one whose phone broke, it's a bit, it's true it's expensive, but again, he can find a the phone, or someone else's, take from someone else'
Ararat (Ejmiatsin Aratashen)	E2	HQ2s 31.03	Q2: 14a	fin	poss subj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Inanim	topic	*isk en mek[en] vor kompn a p'əč'ats'e, əndzi t'əvəm a partadir pəti tani sark'elu, kam t'azen aŕni* 'and the one whose computer broke, it seems to me that he will have to take it to be fixed, or buy a new one'

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Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 0.23	Q2: 1	fin	?IO	n/a	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim		*amen mekə, asenk' um el vor...* 'each one, let's say the one whom…'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 1.05		fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	?	*ov, ov, um handipel em hents' et sovi tarinern el, es žamanaknern el, um handipel em hats' em təvel, mets gohunakuts'yamb het en gənats'el* 'who, who, whoever I met in those years of hunger, in these times too, whoever I met and gave bread to, went back very satisfied'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 1.15	Q2: 1a	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um jur em təvel, indz asel en jəri nəman yerkar apres* 'the one who I gave water said to me, may you live as long as water'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 1.21	Q2: 1c	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um p'oɣə, partk'ov p'oɣ em təvel, asenk' t'e, tarov er, het č'i veradarts'rel, bayts' ink'ə šat goh a yeɣel* 'the one who I gave, lent money, let's say that, it was [?for a year], he hasn't given it back, but he was very satisfied'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 1.32	Q2: 1c (b)	fin	IO	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Ov a aveli šat goh mənats'el? Et, p'oɣə vor partk'ov təvel em šat uš het em verts'rel* 'Who was most satisfied? That, the one I lent money and took it back very late'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 3.18	Q2: 2a (b)	fin	DO	n/a	pron	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*aha, vor ark'ayazni a təvel iren* 'the one he gave to a prince'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 5.45	Q2: 3a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Et em asəm eli, futbolisti het tsanot'ats'noɣə, tsanot'ats'oɣə* 'that's what I'm saying, the one who introduced, who met the footballer'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 6.13	Q2: 4a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*asenk', yerevi, ban a unets'el, inč' vor, problemner a unets'el, et bəžiški mot gənats'oɣə, taroɣə* 'let's say, I suppose, he had had some problems, that one who went, who they took to the doctor's'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 6.13	Q2: 4a	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*asenk', yerevi, ban a unets'el, inč' vor, problemner a unets'el, et bəžiški mot gənats'oɣə, taroɣə* 'let's say, I suppose, he had had some problems, that one who went, who they took to the doctor's'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 7.15	Q2: 4	fin	DO	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*En vor tar, et, hok'evor, hok'e, hok'ekani mot vor tarel en* 'the one they took to that spiritual, mental [practitioner]'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 7.57	Q2: 4c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	?topic	*Et dəprots'i tənoreni mot taroɣə aveli iran ink'nagoh a zgəm* 'that one they took to the school principal feels more self-satisfied'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 8.25	Q2: 5a	fin	DO	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*mekin, šunə vor kətsel a, pəti, bužman harts'er lutsi* 'the one the dog bit must solve the treatment issues'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 8.44	Q2: 5c	fin	DO	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk en myusin, vor harevann a kətsel, en harevani kətsatsə č'i lavana* 'and the other one, who the neighbour bit, the one the neighbour bit won't recover'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 8.44	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*isk en myusin, vor harevann a kətsel, en harevani kətsatsə č'i lavana* 'and the other one, who the neighbour bit, the one the neighbour bit won't recover'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 8.59	Q2: 5a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	šan kətsatsə kəlavana [teɣəm teg?] bayts' harevani kətsatsə č'i lavana 'the one the dog bit will recover [?], but the one the neighbour bit won't recover' OR N 'the dog bite will get better, but the neighbour's bite won't get better'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 8.59	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	šan kətsatsə kəlavana [teɣəm teg?] bayts' harevani kətsatsə č'i lavana 'the one the dog bit will recover [?], but the one the neighbour bit won't recover' OR N 'the dog bite will get better, but the neighbour's bite won't get better'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 9.05	Q2: 5c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	Aveli ts'av harevani kətsatsn a 'more pain is the one the neighbour bit [OR N 'the neighbour's bite]'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 10.04	Q2: 6c	fin	?p obj or subj	n/a	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*En myusə vorn er, ha, vor motn ašxatəm er* 'Which was the other one, yes, the one he worked with/who worked with him'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 10.04	Q2: 6c	fin	?p obj or subj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre		Anim		topic	*En myusə vorn er, ha, vor motn ašxatəm er, en mekn el, motə vor ašxatəm er, na el, yet'e ira šefn a…* 'Which was the other one, yes, the one he worked with/who worked with him, that one, the one he worked with/who worked with him, he too, if it's his boss...'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 10.42	Q2: 6a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Heŕaxosov xosats'oɣin* 'the one who talks on the phone'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 12.00	Q2: 7a (b)	fin	clausal	poss	n/a	dem	conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*Vor hern a tsetsel. Amenatsanər vičakn et a, vor hern a tsetsel* 'The one whose father beat him. That is the hardest situation, the one whose father beat him' OR adv 'If/when his father beat him'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 12.00	Q2: 7a (b)	fin	clausal	poss	n/a	dem		post		Anim	Anim		*vor hern a tsetsel, amenatsanər vičakn et a, vor hern a tsetsel* 'the one whose father beat him, that is the hardest situation, the one whose father beat him' OR adv 'If/when his father beat him'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 12.06	Q2: 7a (b)	fin	DO	P obj	0	poss3	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*axporə, kants'ni, en mekin kants'ni bayts' herə vor tsetsel a, ban a [nets'], ts'avot a mənəm mečʼə* 'the brother's, it will pass, the other one will pass, but the one whose father beat him [OR adv 'if/when his father beat him'], it remains painful inside him'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 12.39	Q2: 8a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*Hetak'ərk'ir a, et tatii təvats hats'ə aveli ənt'uneli a* 'It's interesting, that bread the grandmother gives is more acceptable'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 12.45	Q2: 8a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*mor təvats hats'ə aveli ənt'uneli a* 'the bread the mother gives is more acceptable'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 13.14	Q2: 8c	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*vonts' vor otari təvats p'oɣə, vonts' vor gənovi lini, vonts' vor et mart'un gəni* 'like money a stranger gave, it's as if it's bought, like he is buying that person'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 13.26	Q2: 8a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Hats' utoɣə* 'The one who eats/is eating/ate/was eating bread'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 14.38	Q2: 9b	fin	?poss obj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*En, barts'ər ašxatavarts' vor barts'rats'rel a. Et, šat əntir kerpov amen inčʼə katarel a* [Which one?] 'That, one whose wages he raised. That one did everything in a very perfect way'

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Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 14.55	Q2: 9c	fin	DO	pred	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*En vor herats'rel a ašxatank'its', en əst yerevuyt'i kaŕiv a arel heŕats'rel a ašxatank'its'* The one they sacked, that one, he probably started a fight and they sacked him'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 15.04	Q2: 9c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*En ašxatank'its' heŕats'oɣi* 'that of the one who was fired'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 15.20	Q2: 10a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*De yerk'oɣə, ink'ə mətatsmunk'neri meč' əngats, ir hamar hačuyk' a stanəm dəranits'* 'the singer, he, fallen deep in thought, gets pleasure for himself from that'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 15.28	Q2: 10b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en kart'ats'oɣn el, ink'ə, mətatsəm a et, asenk' kart'atsatsi t'emayi veraberyal* 'and the one who is reading, he, he is thinking let's say about the subject he read about'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 15.28		non-fin	DO	gen			RPT			Inanim	Anim	?	*en kart'ats'oɣn el, ink'ə, mətatsəm a et, asenk' kart'atsatsi t'emayi veraberyal* 'and the one who is reading, he, he is thinking let's say about the subject he read about'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 16.08	Q2: 10b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en kart'ats'oɣn ir mətk'eri meč' a lav əzgəm, en yerk'oɣn el, ir zgats'atsneri meč' a lav əzgəm* 'the one who is reading feels good in his thoughts, and the one who is singing feels good in the things that he feels'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 16.08	Q2: 10a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en kart'ats'oɣn ir mətk'eri meč' a lav əzgəm, en yerk'oɣn el, ir zgats'atsneri meč' a lav əzgəm* 'the one who is reading feels good in his thoughts, and the one who is singing feels good in the things that he feels'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 16.08		non-fin	DO	P obj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	?	*en kart'ats'oɣn ir mətk'eri meč' a lav əzgəm, en yerk'oɣn el, ir zgats'atsneri meč' a lav əzgəm* 'the one who is reading feels good in his thoughts, and the one who is singing feels good in the things that he feels'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 16.21	Q2: 10b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Kart'ats'oɣə* 'The one who is reading'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 17.25	Q2: 11b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*et yerexanerits' en tsitsaɣoɣə* 'of those children, the one who is laughing'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 17.46	Q2: 12a	non-fin	intr subj	P obj			SPT			Anim		topic	*En lav yerk'oɣi masin xosk' č'unem šat lav a* 'I don't have anything to say about the one who sings well, it's very good'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 17.52	Q2: 12a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en vat yerk'oɣə pəti č'əšarunaki yerk'el* 'the one who sings badly shouldn't continue singing'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 17.56	Q2: 12c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en ančašak yerk'oɣn el vap'še pəti č'əyerk'i* 'and the one who sings tastelessly should never sing'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 18.04	Q2: 12c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*A, en ančašak yerk'oɣə* 'A, the one who sings tastelessly'

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Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 19.04	Q2: 13a (b)	fin	?DO or clausal	?poss	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*En vor šunə kətsel ɑ, en ɑ tsanər* 'the one the dog bit, that's heavy [i.e. hard]'
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HSQ2s 19.20	Q2: 14c	non-fin	poss subj	poss			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*Et zažigats'eli p'əč'ats'oɣi gortsə šat tsanər ɑ* 'the work [probably means situation] of the one whose lighter is broken is very heavy [i.e. hard]'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 0.45		fin	DO	subj	RP *virn*	dem, dem N	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*Virn el ok'nats əlnes, du č'es mətats… pəti, kətə č'əmətatses et inch kasi k'o masin et mart'ə* 'The one you helped, you don't think… you shouldn't think about what that person will say about you'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 2.11	Q2: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim		topic	*t'ak'avori təɣayi xet psayvats, amusnats'ats axč'ikə parz i vor iran t'aguhin kartsel, t'aguhu pes kəta apri* 'the one who married, the girl who married a king's son, obviously she considers herself a queen, she must live like a queen'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 2.21	Q2: 2b	fin	intr subj	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*En vor zinvorakani xet i psayve, en kətə, ur əzgə, zinvorakani kənik, xəpartanə* 'the one who married a soldier, she will feel like a soldier's wife, be proud'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 5.21	Q2: 3c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			RPT			Anim		focus	*Bənakanabar angliayi t'ak'uhu xet tsanot'ats'atsə* 'Naturally the one who met the queen of England'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 7.13	Q2: 4c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim		focus	*Yerevi dasatui mot gənats'ats ašakertə, lav kəzgə* 'I suppose the student who went to the teacher will feel good'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 8.23	Q2: 5c (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	Iharke harevani kətsatsə 'The one the neighbour bit [OR N 'the neighbour's bite'] of course'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 8.48	Q2: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	dem RP *vir* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*šat hənaravor i vor, et, vir heŕaxosi hamarə vor unes, hnaravor i vor, nents' karevor, ban, arhestavor əlni* 'it's very likely that that, the one whose phone number you have, it's likely that he is an important tradesman/craftsman'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 9.13	Q2: 6b	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vir* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*Vir vor meylə unes, et aveli gortsnakan handipumneri i pahanjel* 'The one whose email you have, that one demanded more practical/work-related meetings'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 9.30	Q2: 6c	fin	intr subj	poss of sc obj	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*isk vav vor inč' vor meki motn i ašxatel, uremə, du pəti yerevi, enk'an el č'es karevore, vor dar voč' heŕaxosn unes, voč' el meylə* 'and the one who works with someone, I suppose it won't matter so much to you that you have neither his phone number nor his email address'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 10.15	Q2: 7a	fin	DO	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Vor xern i t'əp'e* [Which was the first one?] 'The one whose father beat him'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 10.33	Q2: 7b	fin	DO	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*Yerkrort'ə, vav vor axpern er t'əp'e, axperə vor t'əp'e, hnaravor i vor šat kensaɣayin harts'i, karoɣ i ira darakn i məte, karoɣ i ira namaynen i kart'ats'e vor pəti č'aner* 'the second one, who his brother had beaten, that his brother beat, it's likely that [it was because] of a very everyday question, maybe he went into his drawer, maybe he read his letters, which he shouldn't have done'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 10.38	Q2: 7b	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*axperə vor t'əp'e, hnaravor i vor šat kensaɣayin harts'i, karoɣ i ira darakn i məte, karoɣ i ira namaynen i kart'ats'e vor pəti č'aner* 'the one that his brother beat [OR adv 'if/when his brother beat him'], it's likely that [it was because] of a very everyday question, maybe he went into his drawer, maybe he read his letters, which he shouldn't have done'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 11.11	Q2: 7c (b)	fin	DO	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*En vor harevani axč'iyn er t'əp'e* [Which was the third one?] 'The one that the girl had beaten'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 12.49		fin	intr subj	DO	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*u yerp' vor [tese] xay usanoɣ, vor, mətatse vor etk'an p'oɣ č'uni yerevi, vat i aprel, gənats'e motikats'e ase təɣa jan…* 'and when [he saw] an Armenian student, that, he thought that he probably doesn't have that much money, he lives badly, he went up to him and said dear boy...'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 13.25	Q2: 8c (b)	fin	IO	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Vor antsanot' mart'ə p'oɣ er təve* [Which was the third one?] 'The one who a stranger gave money'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 14.39	Q2: 9a	fin	subordinate clause subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vor hač'axort'ə boɣokel vor lav č'i paxel urə* [Which was the first one?] 'The one that the customer complains that he doesn't behave well'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 15.08	Q2: 9b	fin	poss obj	pred	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Yerkrort'ə vor šefn ase vor pəti, azat ban ani, č'e, ašxatavarts'ə barts'rats'ni* [Which was the second one?] 'The second one that the boss said he had to, let him go, no, increase his wages'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 15.45	Q2: 9c	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vor [a, pəti et] dimum gəri azatvi* [Which was the third one?] 'The one [?that will] write the application and be fired'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 16.08	Q2: 9c (b)	fin	intr subj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Ov, vav vor pəti azatvi ašxatank'en bənakanabar* 'The one who will be fired from work of course'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 17.46	Q2: 11c	fin	P obj	subj	dem RP *vir*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*yet'e, et um hamar vor aŕe, vir xəma vor aŕe papan marožni xivand č'i, boɣaz č'i ts'aval, uremə həmmənilav iravičakum et təɣan i* 'if the one for whom he bought, for whom the father bought ice cream isn't ill, if his throat doesn't hurt, then that boy is in the best situation'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 18.25	Q2: 12a	fin	intr subj	IO	dem RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*En vav vor šat lav i yerk'el, kəta aseyx vay et iš lav es yerk'el, hay yerk'i mey ləsey* 'The one who sings very well, we will say, oh, you sing so well, [?] sing and let us listen'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 18.31	Q2: 12b	fin	intr subj	IO	dem RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*En vav vor šat pants'ər i yerk'el, tärə kətə asey ya meč' ts'andzər yerk'i* 'The one who sings very loudly, to him we will say, sing a bit quietly'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 18.38	Q2: 12c	fin	tr subj	IO	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*En el vor anəndhat ančašak i yerk'el, kətə asey, tsenət kəŕi* 'And the one who always sings tastelessly, we will say, shut up'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 18.53	Q2: 12c (b)	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vor, anəndhat ančašak yerk'er i yerk'el* [Which was the third one?] 'The one who always sings tasteless songs'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 21.04	Q2: 13b	fin	?clausal	subj	n/a	dem	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*Et dzukə vor kətse et patahakan ele, katun yerevi šat užeɣ vaxets'e* 'That one who the fish bit, that was by chance, the cat was probably very scared' OR adv 'if/when the fish bit [the cat]…'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 21.41	Q2: 13a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	amenatsanərə šan kətsasn a 'the heaviest [i.e. hardest] is the one the dog bit [OR N 'the dog bite']'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ2	QMQ2s 21.45	Q2: 13a (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*šan kətsatsə.* 'the one the dog bit.'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 0.08	Q2: 1a	fin	IO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*De vin vor jur em təve, asum a apres bala jan tsaravəs kotrir* 'The one I gave water says well done dear child, you have quenched my thirst'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 0.15	Q2: 1b	fin	IO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Um, vin vor xats' em təve, asum a, Astvats palek'ət paxa* 'The one I gave bread says, may God preserve your children'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 0.26	Q2: 1c	fin	IO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vin vor partk'ov p'oɣ, p'ara em təve, asum a, təkis durs kək'am sents' č'em t'oɣi* 'the one I lent money says, I'll pay you back, I won't leave it like this'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 0.51	Q2: 2a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin vor təvel a, təver a ark'ayazni, aŕok' p'aŕok' aprum en* 'the one he gave to the prince, they live splendidly'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 0.59	Q2: 2b	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin vor zoravari a təve, mešu dəžvar kyank'ov a aprum vortev irarits' heŕu en* 'the one he gave to a general lives quite a difficult life because they are apart'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 1.10	Q2: 2c	fin	DO	?	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin el vor aŕevtərakani a təve de gidum ek' himi inč' ka, saɣov uzum en aŕevtərov zbaɣven* 'the one he gave to a merchant, you know how it is now, everyone wants to get involved with trade'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 1.40	Q2: 3a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vin vor Henrik Məxit'aryani xet em tsanot'ats're, parzəvə ira balešč'iknerits' mekn a ele* 'the one I introduced to Henrikh Mkhitaryan, it turns out he was one of his fans'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 1.50	Q2: 3b	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vin vor bomži xet em tsanot'ats're, šat dəžgoh a mats'e, vortev ov kuza bomži xet tsanot'ana, tsanot' əlni* 'the one I introduced to a homeless person was very dissatisfied, because who would want to meet a homeless person, to know one?'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 2.02	Q2: 3c	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vin el vor Angliayi t'ak'uhu xet em tsanot'ats're, šat urax a ele* 'the one I introduced to the queen of England was very happy'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 2.16	Q2: 3c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT - uk			Anim		focus	*es, tonts'its', yerevi t'e Angliayi t'ak'uhu xet handipukn a amena, amənahetak'ərk'ir žamanak ə hənts'əts're* 'out of them, I suppose the one who met the queen of England had the most interesting time'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 2.46	Q2: 4a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*De vin vor bəžəški mot a tare ira maman yerevi t'e hənge votə ts'avtsəre* 'the one who his mother took him to the doctor's, I suppose he had fallen and hurt his leg'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 2.54	Q2: 4b	fin	DO	subj	0	pron	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*tatin u mork'urə vor nayoɣi mot en, kušt en tare yerevi t'e uzets'e gida inš kəlni ira xet heto, kam vi xet kamusnana* 'the one who grandmother and aunt took to a fortune teller, I suppose he wanted to know what will happen to him afterwards, or who he will marry'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 3.09	Q2: 4c	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*dasatun el [tə]vor dəprots'i tənoreni mot a tare parz a inč' vor šat vat ban a aruk ele* 'the one who the teacher took to the school principal had obviously done something very bad'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 3.30	Q2: 4b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*əndzi t'əvum a, iškoɣi kušt et'ats'oɣnern, et'oɣn er iran lav zgum, vin vor tatin u mork'urə tarer in iškoɣi kušt* 'it seems to me that the ones who went to the fortune teller, the one who went felt good, the one who grandmother and aunt took to the fortune teller'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 3.35	Q2: 4b (b)	fin	DO	n/a	RP *vin*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*vin vor tatin u mork'urə tarer in iškoɣi kušt* 'the one who grandmother and aunt took to the fortune teller'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 3.53	Q2: 5a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de vin vor šun a kətse, nəstuk ts'avits' lälum a* 'the one a dog bit is sitting and crying from the pain'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 3.57	Q2: 5b	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*vin vor motsak a kətse saɣ vaxt iran a k'orum* 'the one a mosquito bit is scratching himself constantly'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 4.00	Q2: 5c	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin el vor harevann a kətse ink'n el p'orts'um a amen inch ara vor harevanin kətsa* 'the one the neighbour bit is trying to do everything so he can bite the neighbour'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 4.09	Q2: 5c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Anim	Anim	focus	*əndzi t'əvum a, harevani kətsukn er aveli šat zgum vortev harevanner kan vor šənits' el bet'ar en kətsum* 'it seems to me that the one the neighbour bit feels [it] more because there are some neighbours who bite worse than dogs'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 4.32	Q2: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vi heŕaxosi hamarə vor unem, eti dasatu ya* 'the one whose phone number I have is a teacher'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 4.35	Q2: 6b	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vi meylə vor unem, eti…* 'the one whose email I have…'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 4.41	Q2: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*č'e, vi heŕaxosi hamarə vor unem, eti gortsənger a* 'no, the one whose phone number I have is a colleague'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 4.51	Q2: 6b	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*meki, vi meylə vor unem eti yerevi dasatu ya* 'the one whose email I have is probably a teacher'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 5.00	Q2: 6c	fin	subordinate clause subj	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*vin el vor gidum em um mot a ašxatum, yerevi t'e, naxarar a* ''and the one that I know who he works for is probably a minister'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 5.10	Q2: 6c (b)	fin	subordinate clause subj	DO	0	pron	conj	pre		Anim		topic	*vin aveli hešt kəgətnem, yerevi t'e, vor gidum em vi kuštn a ašxatum, ətun həmmənits' hešt kəgətnem* 'which one will I find the most easily, I suppose the one that I know who he works for, I'll find him the most easily'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 5.26	Q2: 7a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin vor papan a t'əp'e, tənits' koxtuk p'oɣ er koxts'e* 'the one father beat had stolen stolen money from the house'

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Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 5.34	Q2: 7b	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin vor axpern a tsetse, k'əroj xat'rin a kəpe* 'the one the brother beat had upset/insulted the sister'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 5.38	Q2: 7c	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin el vor harevani axč'ikn a t'əp'e, axč'əka hetevits' ŕeplika er bats' t'oɣe* 'and the one the neighbour's daughter beat had made an inappropriate comment to the girl'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 5.50	Q2: 7c (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT - uk			Anim	Anim	focus	harevani axč'əka t'əp'ukn a aveli tsandər vortev axč'ikə vor katɣum a el terə p'ərga 'the one the neighbour's daughter beat [OR N 'the neighbour's daughter's beating'] is heavier [i.e. harder, more serious] because when a girl gets angry, Lord save us'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 6.10	Q2: 8a	fin	IO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin vor maman xats' a təve, kere kəštəts'e, ase apres* 'the one mother gave bread to ate it, was full, and said thankyou'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 6.15	Q2: 8b	fin	IO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin vor tatin kanfet a təve, pəsti čiž a ele, šat a urxəts'e* 'the one the grandmother gave a sweet to was a little child, he was very happy'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 6.38	Q2: 8c (b)	fin	IO	n/a	RP *vin*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*yerevi t'e vin vor antsanot' mart'ə p'ara ya təve* 'I suppose the one a stranger gave money to'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 7.20	Q2: 9b	fin	subordinate clause poss subj	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin el vor šefə hərаman a təve vor ašxatavarts'ə havəlna yerevi t'e šefi č'əsiruk mart'kanshits' mekn a ele, tents' vor mi vat ban ase, šefi sərtits' a hele, ətu xəmar el barts'rəts're* 'the one that the boss gave an order that his wages should increase, [the customer] was probably someone the boss didn't like, so he [the waiter] said something bad [to the customer] and that pleased the boss, and that's why he raised it'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 7.38	Q2: 9c (b)	fin	intr subj	poss	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*əndu vičakə, ov vor, vorə vor pəti gortsits' azatvi* 'the situation of the one who will be fired from work'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 7.59	Q2: 10a	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *von*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*von vor yerk'um a šat, i sərte yerč'anik a iran zgum, kam el ira tsənundn a* 'the one who is singing feels very happy in his heart, or else it's his birthday'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 8.07	Q2: 10b	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *von*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*von vor kart'um a šat, inč' a zgum iran, hangist a zgum* 'the one who is reading, what does he feel, he feels very calm'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 8.18	Q2: 10c	fin	tr subj	subj	pron RP *von*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*mekn, ov el vor, von el vor futbol a xaɣum, šat, energiayov lik'n a zgum* 'the one who is playing football feels very full of energy'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 8.29	Q2: 10a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*kuzenai həlnei yerk'oɣə, vortev yerk'eln el, im xəmar el yerk'elə es yirek'its' həmmənahetak'ərk'ir u lav bann a* 'I would like to be the one who is singing, because singing, for me, singing is the most interesting and best thing out of these three'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 8.53	Q2: 11a	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	NP	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*maman vor goŕum a, čižə hayat'um gəndak a təše, patuhan, lusamutn a jart'e* 'the one whose mother is shouting, in the garden the child hit a ball hard and broke the window' OR adv 'if the mother is shouting…'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 9.00	Q2: 11b	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	NP	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vi k'urə vor xəndum a, axperə, moŕts'e košik hak'ni čamp'a dus galuts'* 'the one whose sister is laughing, the brother forgot to put his shoes on when he was going out'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 9.12	Q2: 11c	fin	?poss or IO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vin el vor papan maŕožni a aŕe, papayi asasnerə ləsats'e, lav a sorve, barts'ər gənahatakan a stats'e dəprots'um* 'the one whose father bought ice cream listened to what his father said, learnt well, got good marks at school'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 9.27	Q2: 11c (b)	fin	poss subj	pred	RP *vi*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*kuzei həlni, en, čižə vi, xerə vor maŕožni a aŕe* 'I would like to be the child whose father bought ice cream'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 9.44	Q2: 12a	fin	intr subj	IO	RP *von*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*von vor vat a yerk'um asum em dzenət kətra* 'the one who sings badly, I say shut up'

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Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 9.53	Q2: 12b	fin	intr subj	IO	RP *von*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*von vor barts'ər a yerk'um, asum em mešu yavaš ts'əra vortev čiž a k'ənuk* 'the one who sings loudly, I say [?*ts'rel* 'scatter, spread'] a bit quietly because the baby's asleep'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 10.00	Q2: 12c	fin	tr subj	IO	RP *von*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*von el vor anəndhat šat ančašak yerk'er a yerk'um asum em, kuzes mi erku hat disk k'ezi nəvirem haskanas, yerk'ə vorn a, xaskənas yerk'ə vorn a* 'and the one who constantly sings very tasteless songs, I say, would you like me to give you a couple of CDs so that you will understand what a [good] song is?'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 10.14	Q2: 12c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *von*	dem	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*eni a nerveris vəren azdum, ov, von vor ančašak yerk'er a yerk'um* 'the one who sings tasteless songs gets on my nerves'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 10.20	Q2: 12a	non-fin	intr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*vortev vat yerk', yerk'oɣin kam barts'ər yerk'oɣin mek el kətanem bayts' es ančašak yerk' yerk'oɣnerin č'em karum tanem* 'because I can stand the one who sings badly or the one who sings loudly, but I can't stand this one who sings tasteless songs'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 10.20	Q2: 12b	non-fin	intr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*vortev vat yerk', yerk'oɣin kam barts'ər yerk'oɣin mek el kətanem bayts' es ančašak yerk' yerk'oɣnerin č'em karum tanem* 'because I can stand the one who sings badly or the one who sings loudly, but I can't stand this one who sings tasteless songs'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 10.25	Q2: 12c	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*bayts' es ančašak yerk' yerk'oɣnerin č'em karum tanem* 'but I can't stand this one who sings tasteless songs'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 10.40	Q2: 13a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*von, vin vor šun a kətse, šan hetevits' anəndhat gats'e, uzets'e xetə xaɣa* 'the one the dog bit always went after the dog, wanted to play with it'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 10.50	Q2: 13b	fin	DO	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*vin vor dzuk a kətse, p'orts'e dzəkanə bəŕna* 'the one the fish bit tried to catch the fish'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 11.10	Q2: 13c (b)	fin	DO	poss	RP *vin*	pron	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*əndu vičakn a həmmənatsanərə vin vor yes em kətse* 'the heaviest [hardest] situation is that of the one I bit'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 11.30	Q2: 14a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vi* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*vi kompə vor p'əč'ats'e [] č'i gidum inč anə hənge stresi meč'* 'the one whose computer broke [] doesn't know what to do, he's got stressed out'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 11.40	Q2: 14b	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*vin vor heŕaxosn a p'əč'ats'e hangist ira xəmar nəstuk a* 'the one whose phone broke is sitting quietly for himself'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 11.52	Q2: 14c	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *vin*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*vin el vor zažigalken a p'əč'ats'e həmmənap'is dzevov a stresi meč' ənge* 'the one whose lighter is broken has fallen into stress in the worst way'
Bayazet (Hatsarat)	B1	QyMQ2s 12.10	Q2: 14c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	poss			SPT			Anim		focus	*vi vičakn a həmmənadəžvarə, et art'en asi vor es zažigalka č'unets'oɣi vičakn a həmmənatsanərə* 'whose situation is the most difficult, I already said that, that the situation of the one who doesn't have a lighter is the hardest [lit. heaviest]'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 0.16	Q2: 1a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*čur təvoɣə mətatsəm a, de düz ön, irek'n al karevor ən ət mart'kants' hamar, mart'uts' hamar* 'the one who gave water thinks, [?], all three are important for those people'

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Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 0.47	Q2: 1c	fin	IO	sc subj	RP *ov*	0	RP	pre	DO	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de partk'ov p'oɣn al ov təval əm ?in* [= *gitum* ?] *č'əm gärilov a het to* [?*karoɣanalu e het tal* OR pres cont with instr?] *t'e het č'i talu* 'the one who I lent money to, I don't know if he will be able to give it back, or if he won't give it back'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 0.31	Q2: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*de t'ak'avori təɣin het aproɣə, aproɣ axč'ikə amman inč'ov apahov a* 'the one, the girl who lives with a king's son is secure in every way'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 1.57	Q2: 2b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*bayts' as irek'its' yerevi amenayerč'anikə, axč'ikə, zoravari het aproɣn a* 'but of these three I suppose the happiest, the happiest girl is the one who lives with the general'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 5.54	Q2: 4b	fin	DO	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	topic	*tatin u mork'urə or tanəm ən kanoɣi mot…* 'the one that the grandmother and aunt are taking to the fortune teller'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 6.25	Q2: 4a	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim	topic	*hivand a elats vor tarats ən bəžəški mot* 'the one they took to the doctor was ill' OR 'he was ill if they took him to the doctors'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 9.14	Q2: 4b	fin	DO	DO	RP *vor*	pron	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	focus	*hur tarats ən nayoɣi mot, tura yen tanəm dəprots'i tənoreni mot* 'the one they took to the fortune teller, they take that one to the school principal'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 9.25	Q2: 4b	fin	DO	subj	?dem N (nom)	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*an ərxan or tatin u mork'urə tarats ən kanoɣi mot, dəprots'um hürän lav č'i pahats* 'the child who the grandmother and aunt took to the fortune teller hadn't behaved well at school'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 9.53	Q2: 4a (b)	fin	DO	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*hürän lav əzgats a an ərxan or tarats ən bəzaški mot, doxturi mot ən tarats* 'the one they took to the doctor's felt well'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.13	Q2: 5a	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*šun kətsatsin tanəm ən bužəm ən* 'they take the one a dog bit and cure him'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.16	Q2: 5b	non-fin	DO	DO			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*motsak kətsoɣin al, araɣ en k'əsəm* 'the one a mosquito bit they rub with vodka'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.24	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	poss			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*isk həravani kətsatsə, xosk'i, ays ink'ə as te, xosk'i kətsatsn al, ör bužum ko vič'* [= ?*ira bužum ka voč'*] 'and the one the neighbour bit, that is, the one words bit, there's no cure for that'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.33	Q2: 5a	non-fin	DO	poss			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*šun kətsatsin al bužum ko, motsak kətsatsin al* 'for the one a dog bit there is a cure, and for the one a mosquito bit'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.35	Q2: 5b	non-fin	DO	poss			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*šun kətsatsin al bužum ko, motsak kətsatsin al* 'for the one a dog bit there is a cure, and for the one a mosquito bit'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.36	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	poss			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*isk lezvi ays ink'ə həravanin kətsatsin, voč' mən bužum ko vič'* 'and for the one the tongue, that is, the neighbour bit there is no cure'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.42	Q2: 5c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*təra hamar al as harevani hit kərev aŕatsə kam harevanə um vor or kətsats a ays ink'ə xosk'ov a kətsats voč' t'e piränov a kətsats, at hürän [ats'] aveli šat užeɣ ts'av a, ts'ov a təvats sərtin k'an…* 'because of that, this one who fought with the neighbour or who the neighbour bit, that is, bit with words, not bit with his mouth, that gave a stronger pain to his heart than...'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 10.46	Q2: 5c (b)	fin	DO	IO	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*harevanə um vor or kətsats a ays ink'ə xosk'ov a kətsats voč' t'e piränov a kətsats, at hürän [ats'] aveli šat užeɣ ts'av a, ts'ov a təvats sərtin k'an…* 'because of that, this one who fought with the neighbour or who the neighbour bit, that is, bit with words, not bit with his mouth, that gave a stronger pain to his heart than...'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 11.05		non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	oxts'i kətsatsən səɣanel a, bayts' xosk'i kətsatsən, lözvin kətsatsə səɣanel č'i 'the one a snake bit [OR N 'the snake bite'] will get better, but the one words bit, the one the tongue bit [OR N 'the tongue bite'] won't get better'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 11.05		non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Inanim	?	oxts'i kətsatsən səɣanel a, bayts' xosk'i kətsatsən, lözvin kətsatsə səɣanel č'i 'the one a snake bit [OR N 'the snake bite'] will get better, but the one words bit, the one the tongue bit [OR N 'the tongue bite'] won't get better'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 11.05		non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Inanim	?	oxts'i kətsatsən səɣanel a, bayts' xosk'i kətsatsən, lözvin kətsatsə səɣanel č'i 'the one a snake bit [OR N 'the snake bite'] will get better, but the one words bit, the one the tongue bit [OR N 'the tongue bite'] won't get better'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 11.45	Q2: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*iharke, as mənin or heŕaxosi hamarə unem, da yes im yerevi ašxatəm a, č'i, ašxat... uɣɣaki hingir a* 'of course, this one whose phone number I have, I suppose he works, no… he's just a friend'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 11.56	Q2: 6b	fin	poss obj	subj	?dem pron (nom)	dem	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*as mənə vor meylə unem, [* Masis other: *paštonya] č'e, uzum em hišem, inč' baŕov asel en, at mənə, paštonov mart' a* 'this one whose email I have, [an official] no, I want to remember, what word they said, that one, it's a person with rank'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 12.29	Q2: 6b (b)	fin	poss obj	DO	RP *?ov*	pron	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*iharke, stuts'anits' aveli šüt, es, as u[r, uv?] vor or meylə unem, tura aveli šüt em gəti* 'of course, out of those more quickly, this, whose email I have, I'll find him more quickly'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 12.57	Q2: 6a (b)	fin	poss obj	DO	dem poss3 RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*uremə sa as heŕaxosi hamarə ov vor, um vor unem an aveli šüt əm [?čarəm]* 'so I will [?find] this one whose phone number I have more quickly'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 13.11	Q2: 6c (b)	fin	subordinate clause subj	DO	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*kam um or gidem um, um mot a ašxatəm* 'or the one I know who he works for'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 13.19	Q2: 6c (b)	fin	subordinate clause subj	pred	RP *um*	n/a	0	no MC		Anim		focus	*Art'en um mot vor ašxatəm a, gidəm əm or um mot a ašxatəm* [Which one was the third?] Already the one who he works for, the one I know who he works for'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 14.41	Q2: 7c (b)	fin	DO	poss	dem or dem RP	dem	?conj ?RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*et [or? um?] harevani axč'ikə t'akats a, tura vičakə aveli tsanər a* 'the one the neighbour's daughter beat, his situation is harder [lit. heavier]'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 14.45	Q2: 7a	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*vorovhetev papin t'akatsə, äxpür t'akatsə inč' or kerpov hürän harazatn a eli* 'because the one who his father beat, the one who his brother beat, in some way it was someone close to him'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 14.45	Q2: 7b	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*vorovhetev papin t'akatsə, äxpür t'akatsə inč' or kerpov hürän harazatn a eli* 'because the one who his father beat, the one who his brother beat, in some way it was someone close to him'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 17.25	Q2: 8b (b)	fin	IO	subj	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Tatun kanfetə, tatin vor kanfet a təvats* 'the grandmother's sweet, the one the grandmother gave a sweet to'

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Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 20.08	Q2: 9b	fin	subordinate clause poss obj	pred	pron	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Yerkrort' matuts'oɣə, or, et, at hačaxort'ə as[at]s or tərа ašxatavarts'ə pits'irits'nen* [Which was the second waiter?] The second waiter, who, that customer said they ?should raise his wages'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 20.27	Q2: 9b	fin	poss obj	pred	pron	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*Yerkrort'ə or hürän aš, ŕočikə pits'irits'nen* '[Which was the third one?] 'The second one whose wages they ?should increase'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 21.26	Q2: 9b	fin	poss obj	n/a	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*Or ŕočikə pits'irits'noɣ i [?], ŕočikə pits'irits'nen* [Which one?] 'The one increases his wages[?], whose wages they ?should increase'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 21.20	Q2: 9c	fin	DO	?obj	dem pron	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-specific	topic	*an mənin al, or gortsits' hanen, mən matuts'oɣin al gortsits' hanen, bayts' inč'i hamar hanen gortsits'?* 'and this one, who they ?should fire, they ?should fire one waiter, but why ?should they fire him from work?'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 21.47	Q2: 9c (b)	fin	DO	?topic	pron	dem N	conj	post		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*amenadəžvarə as yerrort'n a, or gortsits' petk' a hürän hanen* 'the most difficult is this third one, who they will fire from work'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 22.45	Q2: 9a	fin	subordinate clause subj	pred	RP *vor*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*An or or petk' a, hürän lav č'i pahats, kiräts or lav č'i pahəm hürän, matuts'oɣə lav č'i pahats hürän* '[which was the first one?] The one who will, who didn't behave well, he wrote that he didn't behave well, the waiter didn't behave well'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 23.17	Q2: 9b	fin	poss obj	n/a	RP *vor*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*An or or ašxata… ŕočikə petk' a pits'irits'nen* [Which one?] 'The one whose wages they will increase'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 23.42	Q2: 9c	fin	DO	n/a	RP *vor*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*An or or petk' a gortsits' azaten* [Which one?] 'The one who they will fire'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 25.45	Q2: 10b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		focus	*As kyärt'oɣin əm nal is özim nəmanv[em?]* 'I wanted to be like this one who is reading'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 27.23	Q2: 11c	fin	poss subj	subj	dem N	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*məni papan al, maŕožnin or aŕats a at ərxi hamar, uremən as ərxan hürän lav a pahats* 'and the father of one [of them], the child he bought ice cream for, that child behaved well' OR (more likely) adv 'and the father of one [of them], if/when he bought ice cream for that child, ...'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 28.06	Q2: 11c	fin	poss subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*En or papan maŕožni a aŕats* [Which was the third?] 'The one whose father bought ice cream'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 29.29	Q2: 12c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	0	0	conj	post		Anim		focus	*irek'n al mart'u, mart'i nerveri vəra azdəm ən, bayts' aveli šat mart'i nerveri vəra azdəm a or ančašak yerk'ar a yerk'əm* 'all three get on a person's nerves, but the one who sings tasteless songs gets on a person's nerves more'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 29.48	Q2: 12a	fin	intr subj	subj	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*as mənə vor šat vat a yerk'əm, yerk'ə šat vat a yerk'əm, yerk'ə gidəm č'i* 'this one who sings vert badly, sings the song very badly, doesn't know the song'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 30.30	Q2: 12c	fin	tr subj	IO	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*mənn al ančašak or yerk'ar a yerk'əm, asəm əm or antaɣand əs* 'the one who sings tasteless songs, I say, you are talentless' OR adv 'if/when one sings tasteless songs,…'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 32.40	Q2: 13c (b)	fin	DO	?poss	pron	dem	conj	post		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*amenatsanər vičakə an a vor is əm kətsats turan* 'the most serious [lit. heavy] situation is [that of] the one I bit'

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Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 33.32		fin	tr subj	P obj	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre	DO	Anim		?topic	*iharke, sigaret, ov vor papiros a k'ašəm undura het e šat dəžvar aŕants' sigaret mənalə* 'of course, cigarettes, whoever/the one who smokes cigarettes, it's very difficult for him to remain without cigarettes'
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	PHQ2s 33.29	Q2: 14c (b)	non-fin	poss subj	poss			RPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*dəra hamar al assi zažigalka p'əč'ähätsi vičakə aveli tsanər a* 'that's why I said that the situation of the one whose lighter is broken is harder [lit. heavier]'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 0.09	Q2: 1c	non-fin	IO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*jur təvoɣn asum a kyank'ət yerkar lini, tsaravəs hagets'av* 'The one who I gave water says "May your life be long, my thirst has been quenched"'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 0.21	Q2: 1b	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en, hats'in el ov vor, um el vor hats' em təvel, č'i moŕanum im təvats hats'ə* 'and that one, who bread, who I gave bread to, doesn't forget the bread I gave'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 1.44	Q2: 1c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		focus	*həmmənits' šat goh mənats' partk'ov p'oɣ verts'ratsə* 'the one who borrowed money was the most satisfied of all'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 2.12	Q2: 2a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*ark'ayaznin təvats axč'ikə aprum e ark'ayaznin vayel, aprel ark'ayaznin vayel* 'the daughter he gave to a prince lives as befits a prince, lives as befits a prince'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 2.23	Q2: 2b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*zoravarin təvats axč'ikə spasumov, anəndhat spasumov, spaselov i, spasel ira amusnun* 'the daughter he gave to a general, waiting, always waiting, waiting, is waiting for her husband'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 2.44	Q2: 2c	fin	DO	subj	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en axč'əkan vor təve aŕevtərakanin, əskəzbum en uraxats'av* 'the daughter he gave to a merchant was happy at first'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 3.20	Q2: 2a	fin	intr subj	poss	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*isk en axč'ikə vor amusnats'av ark'ayazni xetə, nəra kyank'ə, nərants' hamemat lav er ants'num* 'and the girl who married a prince, her life passes better compared to theirs'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 3.49	Q2: 2a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*papayin šat sirel er ark'ayaznin təvats axč'ikə* 'the father loved the one he gave to the prince the most'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 4.10	Q2: 3a	fin	intr subj	P obj	dem N RP vorə	dem	RP	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en usanoɣə vorə tsanot'ats'av Henrik Məxit'aryani het, där motə ts'ankuts'yun elav vor nəmanvi nəran* 'the student who met Henrikh Mkhitaryan, a desire arose in him to be like him'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 5.29	Q1: 3a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*hetak'ərk'ir žamanakə kants'əts'er iharke Henrik Məxit'aryani čanač'oɣə* 'of course the one who got to know Henrikh Mkhitaryan will have had an interesting time'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 7.24	Q2: 5a	fin	DO	DO	dem	?0 or pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*därə vor šunə kətse, kətanen bəžəški motə* 'the one the dog bit they will take to the doctor's'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 7.50	Q2: 5a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	šan kətsatsə kəbužvi 'the one the dog bit [OR N 'the dog bite'] will be cured'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 7.56	Q2: 5b	fin	DO	DO	dem RP *vorin*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*en varin vor motsakən i kətse, nəran el kəbužen* 'the one the mosquito bit, they'll cure him too'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 8.10	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	dat			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*isk harevani kətsatsin čar, illač č'əka* 'and for the one the neighbour bit there is no solution, no medicine'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 8.48	Q2: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*därə vor heŕaxosi hamarə unem, əndzi motik a* 'the one whose phone number I have is someone close to me'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 8.57	Q2: 6b	fin	poss subj	DO	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*därə vor meyli ka, nəran el, dann el kəxos kədimem kampyuteri mijots'ov* 'the one whose email there is [i.e. I have], I will get in touch with him by computer'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 9.34	Q2: 6a (b)	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vori*	dem N	RP	post		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*aveli heštə kəgətnəvi en ənkerə vori heŕaxosi hamarə gitem* 'I will find most easily the friend whose phone number I know'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 10.27	Q2: 7c	fin	clausal	P obj	n/a	dem	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk vor harevani axč'in i t'əp'e, eti aveli tsanər i et tsetsvoɣin xəma[n]* 'and if/when the neighbour's daughter beat him, that is harder [lit. heavier] for that one who was beaten'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 10.43	Q2: 7c (b)	fin	DO	poss	RP *virə*	pron	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*aveli tsanərə en, nəra vičakə virə vor axč'ikən i tsetse* 'the hardest [lit. heaviest] is the situation of the one the girl beat'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 11.05	Q2: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	P obj	dem N		SPT	pre		Anim		topic	*en mart'in vor xats' en təve, en təvoɣi hamar el lav ə, en hats'ə verts'oɣi hamar el a lav* 'if/when they gave bread to that person, that is good for the one who have, it's good for the one who took the bread too'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 11.05	Q2: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	P obj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en mart'in vor xats' en təve, en təvoɣi hamar el lav ə, en hats'ə verts'oɣi hamar el a lav* 'if/when they gave bread to that person, that is good for the one who have, it's good for the one who took the bread too'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 11.28	Q2: 8b	fin	DO	subj	N	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*kanfetə vor tatin təve, et erexun, uremə et kanfetə k'axts'ruts'yun i* 'the sweet the grandmother gave, to that child, that sweet is sweetness'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 12.03	Q2: 8c	fin	IO	subj	dem RP *vorin*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en, värin vor antsanot' mart'ə p'oɣ i təve, en el uraxats'e* 'the one who a stranger gave money, he was happy too'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 12.37	Q2: 8c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*həmmənen šatə uraxats'av en təɣan varə vor p'oɣi karik' uner* 'that boy who needed money was the happiest'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 13.27	Q2: 9	fin	intr subj	DO	dem RP *vorə*	pron	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en värə vor lav i veraberve hačaxort'neri xetə, dəra hamar nəran park'evatərel en aštavarts'ə pants'ərats'ir en, pants'ərats'rir en* 'the one who behaved well with the customers, because of that they reward him, they increased his wages'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 13.43	Q2: 9b	fin	poss subj	subj	dem RP *vorə*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	?Anim/Inanim	topic	*en värə vor ič'ats're, eč'əts'e aštavarts'ə, uremə et ašxatoɣə lav č'i veraberve hačaxort'i xetə* 'the one whose wages they reduced, that worker didn't behave well with the customer'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 14.05	Q2: 9	fin	intr subj	DO	dem pron	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*isk en mekelə vor bolorovin, həmmənen vatən I veraberve, nəran el, dann el azate ašxatank'its'* 'and the one who behaved worst of all, they fired him from work'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 14.20	Q2: 9b (b)	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vori*	NP	RP	post		Anim		focus	*et yerek'is mečə amenalavə šahe aŕač'i spasarkoɣə, vori ašxatavarts'ə barts'rats're* 'out of those three, the one who gained most [was] the first waiter, whose wages he raised'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 14.56	Q2: 10a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*iharke yerk'oɣə* 'the one who is singing, of course'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 15.00	Q2: 10a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*yerk'oɣə urə əzgal, inč' asem yeranuts'yan… lav təramadəruts'yan meč'* 'the one who is singing feels, what can I say bliss, in a good mood'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 15.17	Q2: 10b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en girk' kart'ats'oɣn el, siravep a kart'um* 'and the one who is reading a book is reading a romance novel'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 15.27		fin	intr subj	n/a	dem	n/a	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*isk en vor lav č'i yerkel, en mekə vor lav č'i yerk'el, voč' mekən el…* 'and the one who doesn't sing well, that one who doesn't sing well, no-one…'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 15.44	Q2: 10c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*futbol xaɣats'oɣn el, tarve ira gəndakov* 'and the one who is playing football is carried away with his ball'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 15.58	Q2: 10a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*həmmənen lav i urə əzgal yerk'oɣə* 'the one who is singing feels best'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 16.06	Q2: 10a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*yerk'oɣə* 'the one who is singing'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 16.59		fin	clausal	P obj	n/a	dem	conj	post		Anim		?focus	*k'uyrikən el tsəɣəzal där xəma vor maman goŕats'e č'aruts'yun anoɣ təɣayi vəra* 'the sister is laughing because the mother shouted at the boy who was naughty'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 17.53	Q2: 11b	fin	intr subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vor tsitsaɣum er axpor vəra* 'which was the girl?] 'The one who was laughing at her brother'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 18.12	Q2: 12	non-fin	intr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*aŕač'i yerk'oɣin asum em me k'ič' lav, asel em me k'ič' lav yerk'i* 'to the first singer I say, a bit better, I say sing a bit better'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 18.17	Q2: 12	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		topic	*yerkrort' yerk'oɣə vor pants'ər i yerk'e…* 'the second singer who sang loudly…'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 18.17	Q2: 12b	fin	intr subj	?	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		topic	*yerkrort' yerk'oɣə vor pants'ər i yerk'e…* 'the second singer who sang loudly…'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 18.20	Q2: 12b	fin	intr subj	IO	0	0	conj	pre		Anim		topic	*vor barts'ər a yerk'um, asum em mi čəɣa* [which was the second?] '[to] the one who is singing loudly, I say, don't screech'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 18.28	Q2: 12a	fin	intr subj	IO	0	pron	conj	pre		Anim		topic	*vor lav č'i yerk'um, lav č'i yerk'um, yes därə asel em, du əndhanərapes mi yerk'i* [which was the third?] 'the one who doesn't sing well, who doesn't sing well, I say to him, just don't sing'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 18.46	Q2: 12b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*aveli šatə, mart'kants' bolori nerveri vəra kazdi en kəŕkəŕan yerk'oɣə* 'the one who will get on everyone's nerves the most [is] that [?screeching] singer'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 19.37		fin	clausal	subj	n/a	dem	conj	pre		Inanim		topic	*isk vor mart'ə, mart'in i kətse, eti hivaduts'yun kəlni yerevi* 'and the one that bit the person, that will be [because of] an illness I suppose'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 19.41		fin	clausal	P obj	n/a	dem	conj	post		Inanim		?focus	*eti hivanduts'yun kəlni yerevi, där xəma vor kent'anu…nerits' mart'un ket'a kataɣutsyun hivanduts'yunə, värə vor šat vətangavor xəvanduts'yun i* 'that will be an illness I suppose, because from animals to people the illness rabies will pass, which is a very dangerous illness'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ2s 20.18	Q2: 13a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim non-human	Anim non-human	focus	*amenadəžvarə, šan kətsats katun i* 'the most difficult is the cat that a dog bit'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 9.58	Q2: 2c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim		focus	*amenašatə papayin sirel aŕevtərakan… təɣayi aŕats axč'ikə* 'the daughter who married the merchant… boy loved her father the most'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 16.01		non-fin	DO	P obj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim 1sg	?focus	*daserits' heto menk' handipank' im tsəragərats, mətatsats bomži het* 'after the lessons we met the homeless person I had planned, thought of'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 18.40	Q2: 3a (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP	post		Anim		focus	*amenalavə iran əzgats' yev žamanakə ənts'ts'ets' ayn usanoɣəs vorə tsanot'ats'av Henrik Məxit'aryani het* 'the one of my students who met Henrikh Mkhitaryan felt best and had the best time'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 24.22	Q2: 4c (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*sərants'its' amenalavə iran əzgats' ayn axč'ikə ov vor handipets' tənorenin* 'out of these the girl who met the principal felt best'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 26.42		fin	poss topic	subj	RP *vori*	dem N	RP	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*ammenašat ts'avə əzgats' ayn axč'ikə vori harevanə aysk'an təget təmart' u t'uyn er ira meč'* 'the girl whose neighbour was so ignorant, inhuman and poisonous in herself felt the most pain'

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Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 28.41	Q2: 6b	fin	poss obj	sc p obj	RP *vori* N.poss3	pron	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de vorpisi yes šat yerkar č'ətatsem er šat ašxatank' č'ət'ap'em er, vori meylə unem er, gyidem vor petk'ə č'i ira het kapnəvem asem* 'in order that I shouldn't think too long or work too hard, the one whose email I had, I know I shouldn't get in touch with him I say'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 29.15	Q2: 6c	fin	P obj	subj	N (nom) RP *um*	0	RP	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk mek el masnagetə um xetə vor ašxatel, əndzi tsanot' i* 'and the specialist he works with is known to me'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 37.54	Q2: 8c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP	post		Anim		focus	*amenašatə uraxats'av ayn erexan vori, vorə p'oɣ č'uner, təxrats nəstats er u hankartsaki iran p'oɣ aŕač'arkets'in* 'the child who didn't have money, who was sitting sadly and suddenly they offered him money was the happiest'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 41.25		non-fin	intr subj	n/a		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*amenalavə urax, zəvart' seɣanin motets'oɣ harts'erin patasxanoɣ matuts'oɣə* 'the best is the waiter who comes up to the table happy and cheerful, who answers questions'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 41.25		non-fin	tr subj	n/a		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*amenalavə urax, zəvart' seɣanin motets'oɣ harts'erin patasxanoɣ matuts'oɣə* 'the best is the waiter who comes up to the table happy and cheerful, who answers questions'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 41.52	Q2: 9c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	poss			SPT			Anim		focus	*amenavatə azatvoɣi vičakn [?a hima]* 'the worst is the situation of the one who is [going to be] fired'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 41.57	Q2: 9c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	poss		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*amenadəžvarə azatvoɣ matuts'oɣi vičakn i* the most difficult is the situation of the waiter who is [going to be] fired'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 43.17	Q2: 10a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		focus	*amenašat yes kuzenai yerk'oɣin* 'I would most want the one who is singing'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 46.38	Q2: 12c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*šat ahavor ančašak yerk'oɣ karoɣ ə ira yerk'erə im xəmar šat ančašak əlnen* 'the very terribly tasteless singer, maybe his songs are very tasteless for me'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 47.09	Q2: 12c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*im vəra azdel ančašak yerk', yerk'er yerk'oɣ yerexan* 'the one who affects [i.e. annoys] me is the child who sings tasteless songs'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 48.58	Q2: 13a (b)	fin	DO	poss	RP *vorin*	dem N	RP	post		Anim non-human	Anim non-human	focus	*ayt erek p'isikits' amenits' šat vat vičakə ayn p'isiki vičakn i vorin šunə kətsets'* 'of those three cats, the worst situation is the situation of the cat the dog bit'
Khoy (Aghanjadzor)	KhA1	ADQ2s 50.33	Q2: 14b (b)	fin	poss subj	poss	RP *um* N.poss3	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-specific	focus	*um heŕaxosə vor p'əč'ats'rir en, amenadəžvarə dəra vičakn i* 'the one whose phone they broke, his situation is the most difficult'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 0.01	Q1: 1a	fin	intr subj	subj	N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*mi k'urə vor k'ənam a tasin kəzart'ni aŕavotə ut'in* 'the one sister who goes to sleep at ten will wake up at eight in the morning'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 0.05	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*taserkusi(n) k'ənoɣə kəzart'ni žamə tasnəmekin* 'the one who goes to sleep at twelve will wake up at eleven o'clock'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 0.09	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*erkusi(n) k'ənoɣə kək'əni minč'ev erkusə* 'the one who goes to sleep at two will sleep untiv two'

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Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 0.16	Q1: 1a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*yerevi tasi(n) k'ənoɣə* 'I suppose the one who goes to sleep at ten'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 0.35	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan gənats'oɣə kəgəna kənayi kəhangəstana kəloɣana kəga* 'the one who is going to Sevan will go, look, relax, bathe and come back'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 0.47	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	topic			SPT			Anim		topic	*London gənats'oɣn el vochinch* 'and the one who is going to London, [it's] OK [lit. 'nothing']'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 0.55	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*bayts' Dubay gənats'oɣə ahavor i* 'but the one who is going to Dubai, it's terrible'
Khoy	KhG1	GLQs	Q1: 3a	non-	tr	topic			SPT			Anim		topic	*uremə et harur dəram gətnoɣə, ira baxtən et a*
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 3.57	Q1: 4a	fin	tr subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Aŕač'inə vor hats' a t'əxe bažanel a žoɣovərt'in* [which was the first?] The first one who baked bread and gave it out to the people'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 10.26	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	loc	0	dem	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*tsənəndyan vayrə vor tsənvir eyx, et šat lav i vor tsənvir eyx* 'the birthplace where we were born, that's very good that we were born [?there]'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 11.23	Q1: 8c	fin	loc	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim non-specific	focus	*Vor gortsaranə bats'el en* [Which was the third city] 'The one where they opened the factory'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 11.51	Q1: 8c	fin	loc	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim non-specific	topic	*isk vor ašxaten žoɣovurt'ə ayt k'aɣag'ə LAV kəli gortsaran vor bats'el en, vor gortsaran i pats'ats* 'and for the people to work, the city where they've opened a factory, where a factory has opened will be good'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 13.24	Q1: 10b	fin	time	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Vor ašxatel em.* [Which was the third year?] 'When I worked.'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 13.39	Q1: 10c (b)	fin	time	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Vor čiž em bere.* 'When I had a child.'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 15.37	Q1: 12b	fin	tr subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim		focus	*Vor deport arats* [Which one was Russia?] 'The one that deported [me]'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 16.40	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	loc	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim		focus	*Vor ašxatank'i en həravire* 'The one where they invited me to work'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 17.15	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	n/a		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*Tatikis patrastats gyat'an, kəloč'ə* 'The gata, kloch my grandmother made'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 18.38 woman from Yeghegn adzor town who lives in Yerevan	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*mamayi sark'atsə* 'the one mother made'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 18.40	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*mamayin nəviratsə* 'the one I gave to mother'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 24.17	Q1: 19c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Partk'ov p'oɣ təvoɣə* 'The one who lent money'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 25.03	Q1: 20b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Votk'i ts'avoɣ taŕapoɣə yerevi* 'The one who suffers from leg pain I suppose'

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Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 26.25	Q1: 21c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a		n/a	SPT	no MC		Anim		focus	*Hiats'noɣə* 'The one who caused me to admire him'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 26.56	Q1: 22c	non-fin	tr subj	dat			SPT			Anim		topic	*de en pravan gyoxts'oɣin, vor kexts i are shat lav elats* 'the one who stole a driving licence, who made a fake one, was very well'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 26.56	Q1: 22c	fin	tr subj	dat	0	?NP or 0	conj	?pre or centre-embedded		Anim		topic	*de en pravan gyoxts'oɣin, vor kexts i are shat lav elats* '[?for] the one who stole a driving licence, who made a fake one, [?it] was very well'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 27.01	Q1: 22b	fin	?poss	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Inanim	topic	*en yerkrort'ə vor gyoxts'ats [] enk'an harust mart' el e [jəruk] gyoxts'ats tarats* 'that second one who[se X??] was stolen is such a rich person [?] stolen, taken'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 27.18	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	tr subj	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vor afton [tanəm a] sark'i, p'əč'ats'el a, vor p'əč'ats'e* [Which was the first one?] 'The one who [?takes] his car to fix it, it's broken down, the one whose [car] has broken down'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 27.28	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Mer hay gəreri stexts'oɣə, Mesrop Maštots'ə* 'the one who created our Armenian alphabet, Mesrop Mashtots'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 27.45	Q1: 23a	fin	intr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Yuri Gagarin, mer aŕač'i tiezeragənatsn e vor t'əŕe hazar, [aš] var t'əvin er?* 'Yuri Gagarin is our first cosmonaut who flew in [?] what year was it?'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 29.13	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Kolombosə, vor et ašxar, banov stexts'e, gənats'e gəde* 'Columbus, who that world, created with something, went and found it'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 29.21	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Amerika stexts'oɣn e Kolombosə* 'Columbus is the creator of America'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 29.27	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryanə vor en t'urk'in xəp'e* 'Soghomon Tehleryan who hit that Turk'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 30.31	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*Seɣan ɣekavaroɣ, seɣanə ɣekavaroɣ* 'The one in charge of a table/tables, the one in charge of the table'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 30.50	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*t'amadan seɣanapet, che, vor ɣekavarel?* 'the tamada is the head of the table, isn't it, who is in charge?'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 31.23 woman from Yeghegnadzor town who lives in Yerevan	Q1: 23b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		?	*Tan gəloxə, tan gəloxə nəstoɣə k'avorn i* 'the head of the house, the one who sits at the head of the house is the kavor [godfather/best man]'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 32.15	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Dayakə erexayi xənamoɣə* 'The nanny is the one who cares for a child'

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Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 32.18 woman from Yeghegnadzor town who lives in Yerevan	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*č'e, čiži paxoɣə* 'no, the one who looks after a child'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQs 32.20	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*čiži paxoɣə, xənamoɣə, uriši, uriši erexek'i* 'the one who looks after, cares for a child, someone else's, someone else's child'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 0.22	Q2: 1a, Q2: 1b	fin	IO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	adverbial	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Orinak, partk'ov, banov, vor jur u hats' em təve yerevi lav baneri masin kəmətatsi* [Who?] 'For example, the one I loaned, who I gave water and bread will think about good things I suppose'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 0.29	Q2: 1c	fin	IO	subj	0	poss3	conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*bayts' vor partk'ov p'oɣ em təve, heto uzel em elel em ašk'i p'ušə* 'but the one I lent money to, afterwards I ask for it back and become a thorn in his eye'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 0.43	Q2: 1b (b)	fin	IO	n/a	RP *virə*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Um… virə vor xats' em təve* 'The one I gave bread'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 1.29	Q2: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		topic	*aŕevtərakann el, aŕevtərakan xet psayvasn el kəspasi vor p'oɣerə beri lətsʼi seɣanin* 'and the merchant, the one who married a merchant will wait for him to bring the money and pour it on the table'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 2.09	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*De Henriki xet psayvoɣə artakark' kəli* 'The one who marries Henrikh, that will be excellent'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 3.42	Q2: 4c (b)	fin	DO	n/a	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Yerevi vor dəprots'i tənoreni mot i tare* 'I suppose the one she took to the school principal'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 4.04	Q2: 5b	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*motsaki kətsatsə deɣ en k'ətsʼe, k'əse, lavatsʼe* 'the one a mosquito bit put some medicine on it, rubbed it, and got better'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 4.07	Q2: 5c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*isk harevani kətsatsə yerp'ek', lezun, amboxč' kyank'um č'i lavana* 'and the one the neighbour bit never, the tongue, in his whole life will never get better'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 4.24	Q2: 5b	fin	DO	subj	0	pron	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*Motsak. Motsakə vor kətse k'əsve ləsne aveli lav kəzgə eli iran* 'Mosquito. The one a mosquito bit and rubbed and [?put medicine on it] will feel better'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 5.18		non-fin	tr subj	P obj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Yerevi et meyli ban unetsʼoɣi mot i ašxatel, inč' imanam?* 'I suppose he works with the one who has email, how should I know?'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 6.01	Q2: 7a	fin	DO	subj	0	pron	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*De vor papan i tsetse uremə zink'ə me pan are vor papan tsetse* 'The one the father beat had done something for the father to beat him'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 6.22	Q2: 7c (b)	fin	DO	poss	pron	pron	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	?focus	*Axč'əkə vičak…ov… vor iran TSETSE harevani axč'ikə, där vičayn aveli tsanər i* 'The situation of the girl… the one who… that the neighbour's daughter BEAT him, his situation is harder [lit. heavier]'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 6.44	Q2: 8a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*Mamayi təvats hats'ə təve šat lav kəzgə* '?he gave the bread his mother gave, he will feel very good'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 6.51	Q2: 8c	fin	IO	subj	pron	0	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk vor ANTSANOT' mart' i p'oɣ təve iran, et, iran p'oɣ en təve, [anter mənə] p'oɣə, en mut' teɣn el los i tal, anpayman kuraxanə u kuraxanə* 'and the one who a STRANGER gave money, that, he gave him money, [damn] money, it brings light to a dark place, he will definitely be very happy'

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Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 7.43	Q2: 9a	fin	?	sc poss	pron	poss3	conj	?pre or centre-embedded		Anim		topic	*De et matuts'oγnerin vor tənorenin namak en kyire vor iran lav č'i pahum, həraman a təve vor ašxatavardzn avelana* '?those waiters[dat/gen] who wrote a letter to the boss that he doesn't behave well, he gave the order for [their] wages to increase'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 8.04	Q2: 9c (b)	fin	DO	poss	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*et vor, um ašxatank'its' azater.* 'that one who he would fire from work'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 8.24	Q2: 10b	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP	pre		Anim		topic	*ov kart'um a xoranum a gituts'yan meč'* 'the one who is reading is immersing himself in science'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 8.40	Q2: 11c (b)	fin	?poss or p obj	n/a	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*vor papan maŕožni a aŕe* 'the one who the father bought ice cream'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 8.54	Q2: 12a	non-fin	intr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*vat yerk'oγin asen, ŕadət k'yäš* 'to the one who sings badly, they ?would say, get out of here'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 10.22	Q2: 12c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*ančašak yerk'oγə.* 'the one who sings tastelessly.'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 10.24	Q2: 12c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Ančašak yerk'oγə [?vərak'erəs] azdel vor, ha, to, ov asə, goŕə vəran, ink'n ira asasn anel* 'The one who sings tastelessly annoys us that, yes, who says, shouts at him, does what he says'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 11.48	Q2: 13a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	yerevi šan kətsatsn aveli tsanər kəli 'I suppose the one the dog bit [OR N 'the dog bite'] will be more serious [lit. heavier]'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ2s 12.20	Q2: 14a (b)	fin	poss subj	n/a	RP *vir*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*vir kompə vor p'əč'ats'e* 'the one whose computer broke'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 0.05	Q3: 1a, Q3: 1b (b)	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	?dem or NP	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*et mart'kants'its' shatə goh mənats'ats kəlini banə, enə vor, um vor hats' u jur enk' təve* 'the most satisfied of those people will be the one who we gave bread and water'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 0.42	Q3: 2c	fin	intr subj	topic	0	pron	conj	pre	P obj	Anim		topic	*aŕevtərakani təγun ə, vor amusnats'el [ira] het, nərank', čišt e, mi k'ič dəžvar en aprum* 'the merchant's son, the one who married him, they, it's true, their life is a bit difficult'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 0.51	Q3: 2a	fin	DO	topic	0	pron	conj	pre	P obj	Anim	Anim non-specific	topic	*isk ark'ayazni təγayi het vor amusnats'rel en, nərank' aveli lav kapren* 'and the one who married the prince's son, they live better'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 1.32	Q3: 3c	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*de čemarani usanoγnerə vor iran nəvirel en parz a vor kəlni astvatsašunč'* 'the one the seminary students gave her, it's clear that it will be a Bible'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 1.57	Q3: 3c (b)	fin	DO	subj	N	?	conj	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*aveli hetak'ərk'ir im hamar, usanoγnerə čemarani, astvatsašunč'ə vor nəvirel en iren* 'the more interesting one for me [is] the seminary students, the Bible they gave her'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 2.33	Q3: 4c	fin	DO	subj	pron	NP	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*de, banə, aŕač'inə vor tarav tənoreni mot iran, erexen iran vat zgats' vor tənorenn ira vəra xosets'* 'the first one who she took to the principal, the child felt bad because the principal told him off'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 .41	Q3: 4a	fin	DO	subj	N	pron	conj	pre	adverbial	Anim	Anim	topic	*ə, bəžəški mot vor erexun tarel en, na iren lav č'i zgats'e* 'the child they took to the doctor's, he didn't feel well' OR adv 'if/when they took the child to the doctor's...'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 2.56	Q3: 4b	fin	DO	subj	0	NP	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk tatin vor tarel a nayoγi mot, erexen uraxats'ats kəlini im kartsik'ov* and the one the grandmother took to the fortune teller, the child will be happy in my opinion'' OR adv 'if/when the grandmother took him to the fortune teller…'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 3.08	Q3: 4a (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	0	0	conj	post		Anim		focus	*aveli šat lav a zgum iran, ə, en vor gənats'el en bəžəški mot vor aveli, bužvel a, yev iran aveli lav e zgum* 'the one who went to the doctor's feels best, as he is cured, and he feels better'

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Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 3.24	Q3: 5a	fin	DO	subj	pron	pron	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de xozə vor kətsel e mekin, na aveli mets vənas kunena* 'the one a pig bit, he will have more damage' OR adv 'if a pig bit someone...'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 3.51	Q3: 5b (b)	fin	DO	n/a	pron	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*ə, dzin vor kətsel a iren* 'the one the horse bit'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 4.24	Q3: 6a	fin	?	topic	pron	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk mekin e[l] vor hamarn e təvel, na, sovorakani nəman motik en eɣel irar/n* 'and the one he gave his number to, he, they will have been close to each other in the usual way'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 4.34	Q3: 6a (b)	fin	poss obj	n/a	dem pron RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim		*de en mekin ov vor ir hamarn uni, um hamarə uni* 'that one who has his number, whose number he has'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 4.34	Q3: 6a (b)	fin	poss obj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*de en mekin ov vor ir hamarn uni, um hamarə uni* 'that one who has his number, whose number he has'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 5.17	Q3: 7c (b)	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*et təɣanerits' aveli vatə əzgum e vor axč'ikn a iran tsetse, vor karoɣats'el a axč'ik ira vəra dzeŕk' barts'ərats'ni* 'of those boys, the one who feels the worst is the one a girl beat, that a girl could raise her hand to him'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 5.31	Q3: 8a	fin	IO	subj	pron	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim	?focus	*ə, šat lav zgats'ats kəlini iren vor ira maman iran hats' a təvel* 'the one whose mother gave him bread will have felt very good'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 5.56	Q3: 8b (b)	fin	IO	subj	pron	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim	?topic	*ə, šat a uraxats'el əm, ayn, tatiki konfetə, vor tatikə iran konfet a təvel* 'That, grandmother's sweet, the one the grandmother gave a sweet to was very happy'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 6.46	Q3: 9b (b)	fin	IO	subj	pron	dem	conj	post		Anim	Anim	?focus	*et təɣanerits' šat uraxats'ats kəlini et, ənkeruhi vor iren nəvirel e* 'of those boys the happiest will be the one whose girlfriend gave him [a sweet]'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 2 6.56	Q3: 10c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de futbol xaɣats'oɣə iran aynk'anov a lav zgum vor karoɣanum a, zbaɣvel, zbaɣvel ir, futbolov* 'the one who is playing football feels good that he can be occupied with his football'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 0.20	Q3: 10c	non-fin	tr subj	?subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*de futbol xaɣats'oɣin[ən aynpes] a zgum vor ink'ə ir hačuyk'i hamar a xaɣum* 'the one who plays football feels [?like that] as he is playing for his pleasure'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 0.42	Q3: 10b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*aveli lav a iran zgum girk' kart'ats'oɣə vorovhetev […]* 'the one who is reading a book feels better because […]'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 1.00	Q3: 11c	non-fin	tr subj	DO		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*de ančašak yerk'ə, yerk'ets'oɣ mart'un kəxənt'reink' vor aveli lav yerk'i ink'ə* 'and we will ask the person who sings the tasteless song to sing better'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 1.08	Q3: 11b	fin	intr subj	DO	dem pron RP *ov*	0	RP	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*iz en mekə ov šat barts'ər e yerk'um, ba, kəxənt'reink' vor mi k'ič' ts'atsər yerk'i* 'and that one who sings very loudly, we will ask to sing a bit quietly'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 1.34	Q3: 11c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*aveli šat nerverid vəra azdum a, banə, ančašak yerk'oɣə* 'the tasteless singer gets on your nerves the most'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 1.45	Q3: 12b	non-fin	poss obj	topic			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*ə, de, dzeŕə kətsoɣinə, im kartsik'ov, na katvi het xaɣats'el e yev katun [het] et patčaŕov e iren kətsel* '[as for] the one whose hand it bit, in my opinion, he played with the cat and for that reason the cat bit him'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 1.52	Q3: 12c	fin	poss obj	subj	poss3	pron	conj	pre	DO	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*ə, k'it'ə vor kətsel a, katvin inch vor mi ban a are paštpanel č'i karoɣats'e iran, katun [et erexi?] vəra ya t'əŕe ira k'it'n a kətse* 'the one whose nose it bit had done something to the cat, he couldn't protect himself, the cat flew at [that child] and bit his nose'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 2.10	Q3: 12b (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	0	0	conj	post		Anim		focus	*aveli šat neɣats'el a, en v[or], katvi het xaɣats'el a dzeŕk'ov, ayt mart'ə* 'the one who played with the cat with his hand was the most upset, that person'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 2.21	Q3: 13a	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	dem	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*de kompə vor p'əč'ats'el a, na šat č'i təxri vorovhetev heŕaxos kunena, heŕaxosov kəzbaɣvi* 'the one whose computer has broken, he won't be very sad because he will have a phone, he will occupy himself with his phone'

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Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 2.28	Q3: 13b	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um heŕaxosə vor p'əč'ats'el a, na šat kətəxri vorovhetev č'i karoɣ šəp'vel, zanger katarel ir ənkernerin* 'the one whose phone has broken, he will be very sad because he can't communicate, make calls to his friends'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 2.41	Q3: 13c	fin	poss subj	subj	pron	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*a de meki zažigalken, zažigalken vor p'əč'ats'el a na šat kətəxri vorovhetev č'i karoɣ tsəxaxotin kəpts'nel* 'the one whose lighter, lighter is broken, he will be very sad because he can't light his cigarette'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 2.51	Q3: 13b (b)	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	post		Anim	Inanim	focus	*aveli šat hangəsta, anhangəstanəm a heŕaxosə um vor p'əč'ats'el er* 'the one whose phone is broken is the most worried'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 3.06	Q3: 14c	fin	DO	subj	dem N	dem	conj	pre	adverbial	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*ə, de seɣani jart'ats votk'i tak vor dərel em et girk'ə, da lav girk' č'i lini* 'the book I put under the broken leg of the table, that won't be a good book' OR adv 'if I put that book under the broken leg of the table…'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 3.34	Q3: 14a (b)	fin	DO	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*aveli ok'takar er en girk'ə vor kart'ats'el er* 'the book he had read was the most useful'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 3.45	Q3: 15b	fin	poss obj	subj	poss3	pron	conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de vor matə mukn a kətsel, apa na kəp'orts'i paštpanvel ə, deɣeri mič'ots'ov* 'the one whose finger a mouse bit, he will then try to protect himself with medicines' OR adv 'if/when a mouse bit his finger…'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 3.55	Q3: 15c	fin	DO	P obj	0	pron	conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*ə vor motsakn a kətsel de šat ban č'i lini ira hamar* 'the one a mosquito bit, it won't be much trouble for him' OR adv 'if/when a mosquito bit him…'
Ararat (Marneul)	Mn1	MVQ3s 3 4.10	Q3: 15a (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*aveli vat a zgum ots'i kətsatsə* 'the one a snake bit feels worse'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 1 0.06	Q3: 1a	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um čur em təve, asel e, goh em* 'the one I gave water says I am satisfied/happy'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 1 0.11	Q3: 1a	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um hats' em təve, asel en hats'ət anspaŕ lini* 'the one I gave bread, they said may your bread never run out'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 1 1.50	Q3: 2a	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	?NP or dem	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*amenalavə t'ak'avori axč'ikə, en ov vor t'ak'avori a aŕe* 'the best [was] the king's girl, the one who married a king'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 2 0.26	Q3: 3a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*ənkeruhus təvats kirkə piti lini kyanki masin* 'the book my friend gave will be about life'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 2 0.32	Q3: 3b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*hayreni tasatui təvats kirkə, arten hayreniki masin* 'the book the Armenian teacher gave, about the homeland already'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 2 0.38	Q3: 3c	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk… čemarani usanoɣneri təvats kirkə arten hokevor kyanki masin* 'and the book the seminary students gave [will be] about spiritual life already'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 0.08	Q3: 3a (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*kyanki masin kirkə, ənkeruhus təvatsə* 'the book about life, the one my friend gave'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 1.19	Q3: 4a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	n/a		N	RPT			Anim		focus	*mamayi mot eɣats erexen, vor kənats'el e aŕoxč'analu* 'the child that was with his mother, who went to get better'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 1.19	Q3: 4a (b)	fin	intr subj	n/a	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		?	*mamayi mot eɣats erexen, vor kənats'el e aŕoxč'analu* 'the child that was with his mother, who went to get better'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 1.36	Q3: 5a, Q3: 5b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	xozi u tsiu kədzadzə pədi ts'avod lini 'the one a pig and a horse bit [OR N 'the pig and horse bite] [that] will be painful'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 1.42	Q3: 5c	non-fin	DO	?			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	modzaki kədzadzə k'or kəga 'the one a mosquito bit [OR N 'the mosquito bite'] will itch'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 1.56	Q3: 5a (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*xozi kədzadzə* 'the one a pig bit'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 2.15	Q3: 6a	non-fin	?poss obj	?			SPT			Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de heŕaxosi hamar unets'oɣə karoɣ e č'ašxadel* 'the one who has a phone number [?,it] might not work'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 2.26	Q3: 6b	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*meylə umə vor ka karoɣ e finansist linel* 'the one whose email there is [i.e. I have] might be a financier'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 3 2.58	Q3: 6a (b)	fin	tr subj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov vor heŕaxos uni* 'the one who has a phone'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 0.16	Q3: 7a	fin	DO	subj	poss3	dem N	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*paban vor tsetsel er, et təɣen, ink'n er ankark' eɣe* 'the one who the father beat, that boy had been naughty'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 0.36	Q3: 7a (b)	fin	DO	n/a	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*um vor paban e tsetse* 'the one the father beat'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 1.01	Q3: 8b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*tatii təvadzə k'axts'ər e* 'the one the grandmother gave is sweet'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 1.03	Q3: 8c	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk antsanot'i təvadz p'oɣə šat viravoragan e* 'and the money a stranger gave is very insulting'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 1.11	Q3: 8b (b)	non-fin	DO	instr		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*tadii təvats kanfetov* 'with the sweet the grandmother gave'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 1.36	Q3: 9a	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*tatii təvadzə verts'rel e* 'he took the one the grandmother gave'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 1.39	Q3: 9b	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*axč'əka təvadzn el* 'and the one the girl gave'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 1.40	Q3: 9c	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*karoɣ e maršrutkai šoferi təvadzə mi koɣm k'əts'i* 'he might throw the one the marshrutka driver gave away'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 2.07	Q3: 10c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*futbol xaɣats'oɣn el iren lav kəzga* 'the one who is playing football feels good'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 2.18	Q3: 10b (b)	fin	intr subj	n/a	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov vor kartum e* 'the one who is reading'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 2.35	Q3: 11	non-fin	intr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		focus	*et yerkoɣnerin asem?* 'shall I say [?to] those ones who are singing?'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 2.39	Q3: 11c	fin	tr subj	IO	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en vor ančašag e kasem tsenət k'tri el č'əyerkes* 'the one who is tasteless, I say shut up, don't sing any more'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 2.47	Q3: 11b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*parts'ər yerkoɣn el petk č'e* 'and the one who sings loudly shouldn't'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 2.55	Q3: 11c (b)	non-fin	tr subj	n/a			SPT			Anim		focus	*ančašak yerkoɣə* 'the one who sings tastelessly'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 3.15	Q3: 12c (b)	fin	poss obj	n/a	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*um vor k'itn a kədze* 'the one whose nose it bit'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 3.39	Q3: 13c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*zažigalken p'əč'ats'oɣə kənaye vor spiška kətni* 'the one whose lighter is broken looks to find matches'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 3.36	Q3: 13c (b)	fin	poss subj	n/a	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*um vor zažigalken e p'əč'ats'e* 'the one whose lighter is broken'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 4.27	Q3: 14a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*kartats'adzə kyanki masin kirk a eɣel* 'the one I read was a book about life'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 4.31	Q3: 14b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*kəradzə, hušerəs* 'the one I wrote, my memoirs'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 4.33	Q3: 14c	fin	DO	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*isk en kirkə vor tərel em seɣani votki tak, səsərən padmuts'yun* 'and the book I put under the table leg, a [?] story'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 4.44	Q3: 14a (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im kartats'ats... kirkə* 'the book I read'
Karin (Gyumri)	G2	GMQ3s 4 4.57	Q3: 15a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*ots'i kədzadzə kəmeńni* 'the one the snake bit dies'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 3.03	Q3: 3a (b)	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*yerevi əngeruhu nəviradzə* 'I suppose the one my friend gave'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GLQ3s 2.05	Q3: 3a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*əngeruhu nəviratsə... Urax* 'the one my friend gave… Happy'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GLQ3s 3.53	Q3: 5a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*xoz kətsatsə kətaŕna xozi, xozi hivanduts'yun* 'the one a pig bit becomes a pig disease'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GLQ3s 3.57	Q3: 5b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*tsi kətsatsə tsi kədaŕna* 'the one a horse bit becomes a horse'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GLQ3s 4.01	Q3: 5c	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*isk modzaki kətsadzə, [ʔuɣɣaki]* 'and the one a mosquito bit, [?just]'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 4.52	Q3: 5c	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*modzakə... kədzadzə saŕə [t'ərjorsʔ] kədəne* 'the one a mosquito bit puts a cold [?] [on it]'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 4.57	Q3: 5b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*tsiu kədzadzə, tsiunn el, xozinn el yerevi, bəžəškin kədimen* 'the one a horse bit, both the horse one and the pig one I suppose will go to the doctor's'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s 2 1.04	Q3: 5c	fin	DO	no actual role	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*modzagn or kədze[lʔ] uremə, modzaki depkum petk č'e bəžəški kənal* 'the one a mosquito bit, in the case of a mosquito you shouldn't/don't have to go to the doctor's'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s 2 6.40	Q3: 9c	fin	IO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*varortn or kanfet e təve, uremən, oknel e varortin* 'the one who the driver gave a sweet to had helped the driver' OR adv 'if the driver gave him a sweet then he had helped the driver'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s 2 6.57	Q3: 9b	fin	IO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*əngeruhin el or kanfet e təve uremə nəra t'ušə hampurel er* 'the one who his girlfriend gave him a sweet had kissed her cheek' OR adv 'if his girlfriend gave him a sweet then he had kissed her cheek'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s 2 7.11	Q3: 9b (b)	fin	IO	subj	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*amenašat, ov vor axčign er kanfet təve* 'the most, the one the girl had given a sweet'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 9.14	Q3: 9b (b)	fin	IO	n/a	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*um vor axčik [ara] təvav* 'the one who the girl gave'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh9	AQ4s.1 3.30	Q4: 5	non-fin	tr subj	pred		N	SPT			Inanim but effectively Anim		focus	*tseŕə vənas təvoɣ tseŕ a lel* 'the hand was a hand that did harm'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh9	AQ4s.2 2.18	Q4: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Inanim		topic	*aftoi xəp'adzə padahakan k'ar a* 'the one that hit a car is a random stone'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh9	AQ4s.2 2.24	Q4: 8b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Inanim		topic	*šan xəp'adzn el p'ok'ər kəli* 'and the one that hit a dog will be small'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh9	AQ4s.2 2.35	Q4: 8c	non-fin	tr subj	no actual role			RPT			Inanim		topic	*isk harevani xəp'adzə anpayman, t'ät'ə meknel a harevanin, goɣut'yun moɣut'yun are vor…* 'and the one that hit the neighbour, certainly, the neighbour had extended his hand, stolen something so that…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh9	AQ4s.2 3.04	Q4: 9a	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*k'ami k'andats tunə, varbednerə šat p'ənti en yeɣel, anvorak varbedner* 'the house the wind destroyed, the builders had been very dirty, very bad quality builders'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 0.56	Q4: 1c	fin	abl	DO	RP *um anits'*	0	RP	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*govum a um anits' spaselik'ner uni* 'he praises the one he expects something from'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 1.00	Q4: 1c	fin	tr subj	DO	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*ov vor ira [?] aŕač' kətani, iran govum a* 'he praises the one who will take his [?] forward'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 1.03	Q4: 1	fin	abl	n/a	RP *umits'*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*umits' vor tents' əndhanrapes kyank'um spaselik'ner unes…* 'whoever you generally expect something from in life…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 2.44	Q4: 3c	fin	intr subj	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en vor piti olimpiadayin masnakts'i, eni menak ira aŕarkan a sovorəm* 'the one who will take part in the olympiad studies only his subject'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 2.49	Q4: 3	fin	intr subj	DO	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP	post		Anim		focus	*en sovorəm a en yerexayin vorə dastiarakvats a* 'the child who is well brought up studies'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 3.04	Q4: 3b	fin	P obj	DO	RP *um*	pron	RP	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*isk govum a hatkapes nəran um nəkatmamb, um… xəraxuselu hamar el en govum* 'and he praises that one in particular towards whom, whom… he praises him to encourage him too'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 4.17	Q4: 6a	fin	DO	clausal	dem RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en um vor sanrum a, hačeli a* 'the one she combs, it's pleasant'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 5.56	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim non-specific	topic	*en um vor čanšum en, əndhanrapes č'i sovorelu indz t'əvəm a* 'the one he pressures generally won't study, it seems to me'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 6.03	Q4: 7b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim non-specific	topic	*um vaxats'nəm en, dzevi hamar, angir arats kəsovori, bayts' mi vaxt heto kəmoŕana* 'the one he makes afraid, for show, he will learn [the lesson] off by heart, but a bit later he will forget it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 6.16	Q4: 7c	non-fin	DO	P obj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*et hangist t'oɣats'oɣə mi guts'e art'nana mečʼə inč' vor ban sovori* 'the one he leaves in peace, maybe something will awaken inside him so that he learns something'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 6.37	Q4: 7	fin	DO	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*En aŕačʼinə vor ahabekum a.* [Which one?] 'The first one, who he terrorizes.'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 7.03	Q4: 8b	fin	tr subj	subj	0	0	conj	pre	DO	Inanim		topic	*šanə vor xəp'el a, dzeŕi ap'i metsuts'yamb k'ar a eɣel* 'the one that hit a dog was a stone the size of the palm of the hand'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 7.52	Q4: 8	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*irank' k'ar k'əts'oɣ en* 'they are ones who throw stones'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 8.24	Q4: 9b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*mərčunneri k'andatsə hoɣits' tun pəti lni* 'the one the ants destroyed must have been a house [made] of earth'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 9.30	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en um vor tsetsel a yet'e meɣavor er, lav kəzga* 'the one he beat, if he was to blame, he will feel good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 9.48	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *vorin*	0	RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en vorin govel a, kəmətatsi es govelu hetevin, k'amagin inč' vor ban ka, et xi govets' indz?* 'the one he praised will think there is something behind this praising, why did he praise me?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 10.04	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	n/a	dem RP *vorin*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk en vorin vor vaxets'rel a…* 'and the one he made afraid…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 10.22	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor vaxets'rel a, inč'i a vaxets'rel?* 'and the one he made afraid, why did he make him afraid?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 10.35	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	poss	dem RP *um*	poss3	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*et um vor vaxats'rel a, sirtə doɣ a ənkel* 'that one he made afraid, his heart started to tremble'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh5	MQ4s 10.47	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*ureməɴ en um vor vaxats'num a zgušats'el a, čʼe, petk' a p'oxi ira taktikan* 'the one he makes afraid, he warned him, didn't he, [that] he had to change his tactics'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 0.31	Q4: 1a	fin	DO	subj	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*ha, en vor atəm a, mišt, yerevi šefi het č'uni dəra hamar mišt, atəm a* 'yes, the one he hates, always, I suppose he doesn't get on with the boss, that's why he always, hates him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 0.46	Q4: 2c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*motsagi kətsatsn el šat heštuts'yamb [?kara] ink'nabužum katari* 'and the one a mosquito bit [? can] with great ease cure himself'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 0.52	Q4: 2b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*isk dzin el, dziu kətsadzə, xotager kent'ani a, anpatčaŕ petk' e dimi bəžəškin* 'and the horse, the one the horse bit, it's a herbivorous animal, he must definitely go to the doctor's'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 1.56	Q4: 3 Q4: 1a	fin	DO	subj	pron	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk mekin el vor, banə, atəm a, anəndhat yerevi, ankark'apah a et…* 'and the one he hates, I suppose he's always breaking the rules'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 2.59	Q4: 11a	non-fin	DO	n/a			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*eli katu kədzadzə […]* 'again the one a cat bit […]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 3.07	Q4: 11a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*katvi kətsatsn el piti dimi bəžəški* 'the one a cat bit must go to the doctor's too'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 3.29	Q4: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	dem	pron	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*yerevi en vor mišt [aŕandznelake] mazerə sanrəm a, iran aveli šat a sirəm* 'I suppose the one she always [??] combs her hair, she loves her the most'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 3.34	Q4: 6 [Q4: 1]	fin	DO	n/a	pron	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk mekin el vor šat a adəm…* 'and the one he hates very much'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 4.23	Q4: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Inanim		topic	*mek'enayi xəp'adzn el, hanaravor a verakangni* 'and the one that hit the car, it's possible to repair [the damage]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 4.38	Q4: 8b	non-fin	tr subj	topic			RPT			Inanim		topic	*šan xəp'adzn el, yerevi gišatič' šun a lel* 'and the one that hit a dog, I suppose it was a predatory dog'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 5.21	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	clausal	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en vor čənšəm a, et vat a* 'the one he pressures, that's bad' OR 'that one feels bad'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 5.23	Q4: 7b	fin	DO	poss	pron	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*mekin el vor vaxats'nəm a, mišt et yerexayi yerevi, vaxə, minč'ev…* 'and the one he makes afraid, that child's fear will always, I suppose, until…'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 5.39	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	subj	dem pron	dem	conj	?centre-embedded		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk en mekn el, vor bats' a t'oɣats'el ira kamk'ov, yerevi ašagertin [bats' č'ət'oɣas?], et, yerevi, sirašahel a t'e inč' a lel iran bats' a t'oɣats'el a* 'and that one he left to his own will, I suppose [??] the student, that, I suppose, he had won him over or what had he done, he left him alone'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 6.30		non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	focus	*isk mukə, yerevi k'ənadz žamanak, kam uriš, daštəm parkadz žamanak [el a] kətsel a* 'and the mouse, I suppose at the time when he was asleep, or another, at the time when he was lying in the field [??] it bit him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 6.45	Q4: 11a	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*katun kədzadzn el, gides yerevi tənaken... kent'ani a, šat žamanak mart'ik katui het xaɣəm en, bəŕnəm en votk'i tserits' en čangŕəm a kam kətsəm a* 'the one the cat bit, you know I suppose it is a house pet, people often play with a cat, they grab it by the end of its leg, and it scratches or bites'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 7.00	Q4: 11a	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	?contrastive	bayts' hənaravor a yev katvi kətsatsə bužel, yev məkan kətsatsə 'but it is possible to cure the one the cat bit {OR N 'the cat bite'] and the one the mouse bit [OR N 'the mouse bite']'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 7.43	Q4: 9a	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*k'amu k'andats el hənaravor a […] verakangnel* 'the one the wind destroyed it is possible to […] repair'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 7.49	Q4: 9c	fin	DO	topic	pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*mekn el vor harevann a k'andel, harevani k'andatsə šat dəžvar a* 'and the one the neighbour destroyed, the one the neighbour destroyed is very difficult'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 8.18	Q4: 9a	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en mekn el, k'amin er, asets', k'amu k'andatsn el, k'amin el, eli hənaravor a asenk', et bənuts'yan aɣet a* 'and that one, it was the wind, she said, the one the wind destroyed too, the wind too, again it's possible, let's say, it's a natural disaster'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 8.29	Q4: 9	fin	?poss	DO	?RP *inč' vor* N	0	?RP conj	?centre-embedded		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*inč' vor* [ ] *tun el vor k'andets' kəŕišə* [] *padə k'andets' hənaravor a verakangni* 'some [?] house where it destroyed the roof [?] destroyed the wall, it is possible to repair'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 8.35	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk harevani k'andatsə hənaravor č'i* 'and the one the neighbour destroyed is not'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 8.53	Q4: 9b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*et mərč'uni k'andatsə enk'an el [vənas č'i]* 'that one the ants destroyed, it's [not] so much [damage]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 9.20	Q4: 10c	non-fin	?DO	?subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	?	*[? Et tsetsats kəpatəžvi] asenk' vor šefə tsetsel a et mart'un* '[?] let's say, the person the boss beat' OR more likely 'if the boss beat that person'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 9.25	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	pron	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*mekin el vor mišt xəraxusel a govel a, yerevi ira inč' vor koɣmnakan a yeɣel et mart'ə, ira mišt ədents' het lav a yeɣel* 'and the one he always encouraged and praised, I suppose that person was one of his supporters, he had always been good to him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh6	NPQ4s 9.41	Q4: 10b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*vaxets'ratsə, ha vaxets'rats [harts'ə] mišt el inč' vor, ink'ə mi vat ban a katare* 'the one he made afraid, yes, the one he made afraid [?the question] always some, he had done a bad thing'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 0.41	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	DO	RP *umnits'*	dem/pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de patkerats'nəm enk' umnits' vor vaxəm a šefə, nəran anpayman kəhargi* 'we imagine, the one who the boss is afraid of, he will always respect him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 0.49	Q4: 1b	fin	intr subj	DO	RP *ov*	dem/pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*isk ov vor irenits' a vaxəm, nəran mišt kəčənši* 'and the one who is afraid of him, he will always oppress him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 1.08	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	subj	dem pron	dem pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en mekin el vor govəm a, en mekə iran ənents' kədərsevori vor aveli šat govi iren* 'and that one who he praises, that one will turn out so that he praises him more'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 2.39	Q4: 3	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*de ov vor lav sovori, en el olimpiadayin kəmasnakts'i* 'the one who studies well will take part in the olympiad'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 2.50	Q4: 3	non-fin	intr subj	DO		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*lav sovoroɣ ašakertin usuts'ič'ə šat kəsiri* 'the teacher will love the student who studies well very much'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 3.24	Q4: 5c	fin	poss obj	poss	RP *um* N.poss3	dem/pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de parz a um vor k'it'n a kətsel, nəra vičakə aveli vat kəlini* 'it's clear that the one whose nose it bit, his situation will be worse'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 3.31	Q4: 5a	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*isk um vor votn a kətsel, vočinč', karox a hents'… ink'ə iran bužvi lavana* 'and the one whose leg it bit, it's OK, he can just… cure himself and get better'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 4.00	Q4: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de parz a um vor mazerə sanrəm a, iran šat lav kəzga* 'it’s clear that the one whose hair she combs will feel very good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 4.06	Q4: 3a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor govəm a elə norits' šat lav kəzga* 'and again, the one she praises will feel very good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 4.07	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor tsetsəm a, en ira k'uyrikin č'i siri* 'the one she beats won't love her sister'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 4.16	Q4: 6c	fin	clausal	P obj	pron	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim	topic	*art'en ira hamar šat vat a et, vor iran tsetsəm a k'uyrikə* 'it's very bad for the one whose sister beats her'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 4.34	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor hangist a t'oɣəm eni iharke kəsovori* 'the one he leaves in peace will learn, of course'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 4.39	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umə vor čənšəm a, karoɣ a vaxits' sovori* 'the one he pressures may learn out of fear'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s. 5.22	Q4: 7b	fin	DO	poss	dem RP *umə*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en, umə vor vaxats'nəm a, nayats et ašakerti kets'vatsk'its'ə* 'the one who he makes afraid, it depends on that student's attitude'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 5.29	Q4: 7b	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim	topic	*karoɣ a et usuts'ič'ə yet'e iskakanits' xist a, et ašakertə ira inčk'an užerə nerəm a enk'an sovori, umə vor vaxats'nəm a* 'maybe, if that teacher is really strict, that student will study as much as his strength allows, the one he makes afraid'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 6.08	Q4: 11a	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*et umə vor katun kətsel a, yerevi xaɣats'el a katvi het* 'that one who the cat bit probably played with the cat'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 6.18	Q4: 11b	fin	DO	subj	0	dem	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*isk mukə vor kətsel a, yerevi et, yesim, nayats karoɣ a k'ənats əli, inč' əli, vor mukə motena iran kətsi* 'and the one a mouse bit, I suppose, it depends, he could be asleep or what, for the mouse to approach him and bite him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 7.53	Q4: 9b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*en mərč'uni k'andatsə, voč'inč', hoɣe tun a lel yerevi, et enk'an ban č'i* 'that one the ants destroyed, it's OK, it was a house made of earth I suppose, it's not such a[n important] thing'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 8.01	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*harevani k'andatsn a antaneli* 'the one the neighbour destroyed is unbearable'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 8.07	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*harevani k'andats tunə sarsap'eli a* 'the house the neighbour destroyed is horrible'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 8.34	Q4: 9b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*de mərč'uni k'andatsn el, elə, yerevi mi tents' ban a, mərč'unə č'i haskanəm inč' anəm a, et el, nereli, taneli a* 'and the one the ants destroyed, again, I suppose it's something similar, the ant doesn't understand what it's doing, that too is forgivable, bearable'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 8.42	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk harevani k'andatsə antaneli a, annereli* 'and the one the neighbour destroyed is unbearable, unforgivable'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 9.00	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en umə vor tsetsel a šat vat a zgəm* 'the one he beat feels very bad'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 9.04	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk umə vor govel a, en hianali yerč'anik kəlni* 'and the one he praised will be marvellously happy'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh7	NTQ4s 9.20	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk umə vor vaxets'rel a, yerevi inč' vor mi səxal t'uyl a təvel* 'and the one he made afraid, I suppose allowed himself to make some mistake'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 0.32	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	n/a	dem	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Et vor iran govəm en* [Which one?] 'The one they praise'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 0.41	Q4: 1	fin	subj	subj	dem RP *vorə*	0	RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en minn el vorə, ba inč' a anəm?* 'the one who, what does he do?'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 0.54		non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim		focus	*en pabenagan ekats t'əšnamuts'yun a* 'that is enmity coming from grandfather's [time]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 0.58	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	?	pron	0	0	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*minin el govəm a yerevi [tseŕəndats [= dzerə drants?] k'ari takin a le], yerevi, petk' a vor govəm a* 'the one he praises I suppose [?his hand was under their stone], I suppose, he has to praise him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 1.24	Q4: 2a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	de xozin, xozə kədzadzə šat p'is yärä kəli 'the one a pig bit [OR more likely N 'the pig bite'] will be a very nasty wound'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 1.50	Q4: 2b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*et, tsia kədzadzn el voč'inč', kəlavana* 'and that one the horse bit [OR 'the horse bite'] it's nothing, he/it will get better'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 2.36	Q4: 3c	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim	topic	*səvoroɣ erexa ya, vor olimpiadayi əntrəm a* 'the one he chose for the Olympiad is a child who studies'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 3.50	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de, vorə, vorin, vorin t'agəm a, de et šat təxur kəli* 'the one he beats will be very sad'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 5.25	Q4: 7a	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	contrastive topic	*voč' čənšoɣə kəsəvori…* 'neither the one he pressures will learn'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 5.29	Q4: 7b	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	contrastive topic	*voč' el vaxats'noɣə kəsəvori* 'nor will the one he makes afraid learn'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 5.42	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*bayts' vorin hangist a t'oɣəm [en nayek'] ira xodov kəsəvori* 'but the one he leaves in peace [?look at that] will learn by himself'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 5.59	Q4: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Inanim		topic	*de aftoin xəp'atsə bəjir kəli* 'the one that hit a car will be small'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 6.11	Q4: 8b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim		topic	*šan təvatsə lavə kəli, mendz kəli* 'the one he gave to the dog will be big'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 6.40	Q4: 9a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*k'amo k'andadzə uremə si, sak'at č'i lel, əndä t'et'ev a lel vor k'amin tarel a* 'the one the wind destroyed wasn't [?strong, solid], it was light so that the wind took it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 6.48	Q4: 9b	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*mərčyunni sark'adzn el hälbät' pul...pučaxə kextot a lel, k'axts'ər maxts'ərə šad a lel mərč'unnin kerel en, k'andvel a* 'and the one the ants made, the corner was definitely/probably dirty, there was a lot of sweet [stuff], the ants ate it, it was destroyed'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 6.57	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*hərevani k'andazn el, en el hərevani xaynut'unis, xaynut'unisn a k'andel hälbät'* 'and the one the neighbour destroyed, that was from the neighbour's jealousy, he surely/probably destroyed it out of jealousy'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 7.18	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de um govel a, en šat həbart kəzga iran* 'the one he praized will feel very proud'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 7.30	Q4: 10b	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*et vaxats'noɣn el, yet'e šefə t'igunk'ə pind a, kəvaxni, kəmedadzi kordzits' kəhani* 'and that one he makes afraid, if the boss's shoulders/back are strong [?if he has support], he'll be afraid, he'll think that he will fire him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh8	SQ4s 7.42	Q4: 10b	non-fin	DO	n/a			SPT			Anim	Anim	?	*en vaxats'noɣn el…* 'and that one he makes afraid…'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 0.04	Q4: 1	fin	DO	subj	pron RP *um*	pron	RP	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*ureman, ašxatoɣnerits' mekin um šefə šat havanum a, ink'ə sents' sahmanap'ak patkerats'mamb, [vod] zark'ats'ats, əst ira xoskeri adekvat mətatsox axč'ik a* 'so, the one of the workers who the boss really likes is a girl with a limited imagination, [?] developed, who thinks adequately according to his words'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 1.44	Q4: 2c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*et motsaki kətsatsə mi hat sents' histeria yesim čəvčəvəm a yesim inč' a anəm, yes tents' em patkerats'nəm eli* 'that one a mosquito bit, like hysteria, I don't know, he screams, I don't know what he does, that's how I imagine it'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 2.34	Q4: 3c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	object	Anim	Anim	topic	*uremə olimpiadayin, um vor əntrel a vor pəti gəna masnakts'i, et inč' vor ɣekavar, šiškai erexa ya, vor pəti tanen, sents' aŕač' tanen* 'so [in] the olympiad, the one he chose who is going to take part, that one will be the child of some boss, high official, who they have to take, take forward like this'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 2.54	Q4: 3	fin	intr subj	DO	RP *ov*	dem N	RP	post		Anim		focus	*sirum a en erexun ov, yev šat č'ar a, yev ənt'unak a yev šat lav a sovorum* 'he loves the child who is both very naughty and clever and learns very well'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 3.33	Q4: 5c	non-fin	poss obj	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de et k'it' kətsoɣə tərorum a yerevi* 'that one whose nose it bit rubs [it] I suppose'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 3.37	Q4: 5a	non-fin	poss obj	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*vot kətsoɣən eli mi hat sents' kani kəgəna,* 'the one whose leg it bit will go like this and it will go away,'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 3.40	Q4: 5b	non-fin	poss obj	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*dzeŕə kətsoɣn el es ham ban kani ham kənayi ham kənəvnəva ham kəlats'i ham el yod, spirt, č'əgidem inč' eli* 'and the one whose hand it bit will do something and will look and will whine and will cry and also iodine, alcohol, I don't know what'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 3.46	Q4: 5b	non-fin	poss obj	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*indz t'əvəm a et dzeŕi... kətsatsi mart'n a šat anhangist eli* 'it seems to me that that person whose hand it bit/was bitten is very agitated'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 4.06	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*ureman um vor tsetsum a, ink'ə šat č'aruts'yamb a lət'svum* 'so the one who he beats will be filled with resentment'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 4.32	Q4: 6a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um el vor sanrum a, ink'ə iran lav a zgum vor ira k'uyrikə iran bani teɣ a dənum* 'the one she combs will feel good that her sister gives her attention'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 4.58	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	P obj	RP *um*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*ureman, um hangist a t'oɣum, vapše dəra hamar mek a kəsovori t'e č'i sovori, mek a, ink'ə gidi vor ira hamar čanaparə hart'elu yen* 'so, the one he leaves in peace, for him it’s completely the same whether he studies or not, it's all the same, he knows that they will smooth the path for him'

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Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 5.28	Q4: 7c	non-fin	DO	?			RPT			Anim	Anim	?	*et hangist t'oɣatsə asets'i* 'that one he leaves in peace I said'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 8.39	Q4: 9c	fin	DO	subj	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*uremə et harevanə vor et tunə k'andel a, et šat yerč'anik zuyk'eri tun a eɣel sirun karuts'vats, u naxandzel a* 'so that neighbour who destroyed that house, that was the house of a very happy couple, beautifully built, and he was jealous'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y1	YSQ4s 10.54	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor vaxats'el a, ink'ə irakanum vaxats'el a, vorovhetev kara vaxats'ni asi ašxatank'ət normal čes anum* 'the one he was afraid [sic], he was really afraid, because he can make him afraid and say you aren't doing your job properly'
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 1.27	Q4: 3	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*Olimpiadayi masnakits'ə gerazants' sovoroɣ ašakertə karox a vor bolor gitelik'nerə uni yev hamapatasxan tirapetum e, na karoɣ e masnakts'el olimpiadayin* 'the participator in the Olympiad [is] maybe the student who gets top marks, who has all the knowledge and masters it appropriately, he can take part in the Olympiad'
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 1.27	Q4: 4	fin	tr subj	subj	?N	dem	conj	pre		Anim		?focus	*Olimpiadayi masnakits'ə gerazants' sovoroɣ ašakertə karox a vor bolor gitelik'nerə uni yev hamapatasxan tirapetum e, na karoɣ e masnakts'el olimpiadayin* 'the participator in the Olympiad [is] maybe the student who gets top marks, who has all the knowledge and
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 1.40		fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*Goveln el aržani e na ov vor partačanač' hačaxum e daserin yev sovorum e yurak'anč'yur dasə* 'And worthy of praise is the one who goes to class responsibly and learns every lesson'
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 2.41	Q4: 7a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*čənšvats ašakertə č'i karox sovorel* 'the student who is pressured can't learn'
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 2.51	Q4: 7b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*vaxats'noɣ ašakertə č'i uzi, kəxusap'i daserin masnakts'el* 'the student he makes afraid won't want, will avoid taking part in lessons'
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 2.54	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	subj	RP *ov*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk ov hangist e t'oɣum, na kəkaroɣana ir užerov aŕač' gənal yev šarunakel sovorel* ‘and the one he leaves in peace will be able to make progress by his own efforts and continue to learn’
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 3.31	Q4: 8a	fin	instr	subj	RP *vorov*	0	RP	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*Aveli mets vorov afto ya, mek'ena ya harvats'el* [Which one was bigger?] 'Bigger, the one he struck a car with'
Ararat/Literary (Artashat)	P7	ANQ4s 4.48	Q4: 9b	fin	DO	subj	N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*Mərč'unneri… tunə vor k'andel a, da hoɣi tak a yeɣel* 'the ants… the house they destroyed was under the ground'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P8	YTQ4s 0.33	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*Bənakanabar um vor govum a uremən bavakanin nəpatakasəlats, bavakanin lav yev vorakov ašxatank' a varum* 'Naturally the one he praises is quite determined, and does quite good and quality work'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P8	YTQ4s 0.46	Q4: 1a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor p'ənovum a uremən ink'ə mi k'ič' antarber, mi k'ič' aveli anvorak ašxatank' a katarum* 'the one he says bad things about is a bit indifferent, he does work that is not very good quality'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P8	YTQ4s 1.44	Q4: 2c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de um vor motsak a kətsel havanabar gišerə moŕats'el a [tumaŕaptərə] miats'ni motsakneri dem payk'arelu, vorovhetev himnakanum motsaknerə dəranits' en linum* 'the one the mosquito bit probably forgot to switch on the [?] to fight against mosquitoes, because mosquitoes are usually because of that'

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Ararat (Yerevan)	P8	YTQ4s 2.33	Q4: 3a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*yet'e xətrakanuts'yun čəlini usuts'ič'ə um vor sirum a bənakanabar et yerexan bavakanin hamest u bavakanin aŕač'adem yerexa ya* 'if there is no discrimination, the one the teacher loves, that child is quite a modest and advanced child'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P8	YTQ4s 2.45	Q4: 3	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor p'ənovum a uremən bavakanin xelats'i im kardzik'ov yerexa ya vor ink'ə č'i təramadərvum []i vəra* 'the one he says bad things about is quite a clever child in my opinion, who is not disposed to []'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P8	YTQ4s 2.46	Q4: 4	fin	intr subj	subj	pron	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*um vor p'ənovum a uremən bavakanin xelats'i im kardzik'ov yerexa ya vor ink'ə č'i təramadərvum []i vəra* 'the one he says bad things about is quite a clever child in my opinion, who is not disposed to []'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P8	YTQ4s 2.57	Q4: 3c	fin	subordinate clause subj	DO	RP *vorə* and pron in subordinate clause	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*olimpiadayin el əntrum a en masnakts'in vorə vor karevor č'i vor bavakanin šat medz xelk' unena bayts' bavakanin šat təramadərvats sovorum a u nuynisk angir gidi amen inč'* 'and for the olympiad he chooses that participant who is not necessarily very clever, but is quite well disposed to study and knows everything off by heart'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 0.12	Q4: 1b	fin	intr subj, tr subj	DO	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*šefə [...] vaxenal EN ašxatoɣin vorə č'ar i, č'aruts'yun anel* 'the boss […] is afraid of the worker who is bad, who does bad things'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 0.19	Q4: 1c	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim	focus	*yev gyoval en ašxatoɣin varə vor ir ašxatank'ə katarel LAV* 'and he praised that worker who did his work well'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 4.55	Q4: 5	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*vor et kətsats teɣerə č'əhivandana, katunerin pəti patvasten* 'so that those places that were/are bitten don't get ill [i.e. infected], they must vaccinate the cats'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 5.21	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	dem	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*k'uyrə varin vor tsetsel, eni viravorvel* 'the one her sister beat is hurt'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 5.38	Q4: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	dem pron	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk en mekelnerin, mekin vor, ban, mazern i sandərel, sanrel, kam [], dəra hamar el nərank' urax en əlnel vor irants' k'ürə urents' xetə tents' verabermunk' uni* 'and those ones, that one whose hair she brushes, or [], because of that they were happy that their sister behaved in that way towards them'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 6.23	Q4: 7	fin	P obj	subj	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*usuts'ič'ə vor, var ašakertin veraberyal zink'ə lav e verabervel, en ašakertə där daserə lav i sovorel* 'the student who the teacher behaves well towards learns his lessons well'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 6.43	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	subj	dem N	NP	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk en ašakertin vor dasatun čənšel, ašakertə viravorvel* 'and the student who the teacher pressures, the student is hurt'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 7.11	Q4: 7c	fin	intr subj, tr subj	subj	dem N RP vorə	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en vor, en ašakertə värə vor hangist e, ur daserə lav e sovorel* 'the student who is calm learns his lessons well'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 7.47	Q4: 8a	fin	DO	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim			*en k'arə vor k'əts'e xəp'e aftoin, uremə aftoi voreve masn i jart'e* 'the stone he threw and hit a car broke some part of the car'

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 8.02	Q4: 8b	fin	tr subj	0	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim			*isk vor xəp'e katuin, šanə, šunn el [gəngəstalov] p'axe* 'and the one that hit the cat, dog, the dog [?] ran away' OR adv 'if/when it hit the cat, dog, …'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 8.22	Q4: 8c	fin	tr subj	0	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim		topic	*en mekelə vor xəp'e harevanin, eni art'en šat č'aruts'yun i* 'the one that hit the neighbour, that's already a very bad thing' OR adv 'if/when that one hit the neighbour, …'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 8.33	Q4: 8	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*harevann el, ira, ur hert'in kəviravorvi, kəviravori k'ar k'ətsoɣin* 'and the neighbour in his turn will be hurt, will hurt the one who threw the stone'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 10.06	Q4: 10	fin	DO	subj	dem N (nom) RP vorin	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en ašxatoɣə värin vor šefə azate ašxatank'its', en ašxatoɣə urə šat vat e əzgal* 'the worker who the boss fired feels very bad'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 10.27	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	no MC	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en mekel ašxatoɣin vor govum e, eti…* 'the worker that he praises…'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 10.41	Q4: 10	fin	intr subj	subj	dem N RP vorə	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en ašxatoɣə värə vor lav i ašxatel, nəra… govalov yent'aka ye* 'the worker that works well is subject to praise'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 10.54	Q4: 10	fin	DO	subj	dem N (nom) RP vorin	dem	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en ašxatoɣə värin vor neɣats'rel a, en el ur hert'in urə vat kəzga* 'the worker he upset, he will feel bad in his turn'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	QJQ4s 11.14	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*värin vor TSETSE ira šefə, en ašxatoɣn el anpayman ket'ə kəboɣok'i nəra dem* 'the one who his boss beat will definitely go and complain against him'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ4s 3.38	Q4: 3c	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP	pre		Anim		topic	*ov šat p'oɣ ta ket'a olimpiadayin kəmasnakts'i* 'the one who gives a lot of money will go and participate in the olympiad'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ4s 5.43	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*yerrort k'əroč'ə vor tsetsum a eti yerevi ira xort k'uyrn a* 'the third sister who she beats is probably her stepsister'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ4s 8.21	Q4: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			RPT			Inanim		topic	*de aftoin xəp'atsə, et'e jart' u p'əšur elav mets k'ar kəli* 'the one that hit a car, if it was smashed up, it was a big stone'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ4s 9.48	Q4: 9c	non-fin	tr subj	topic			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk harevanə, tunə k'andoɣə, harevanin harevanə karox a ənents' tunə k'andi, vor minč'ev… partadir č'i sents' mets tun əli k'andi, ayl ira əntaneakan* 'and the neighbour, the one who destroyed the house, a neighbour can destroy his neighbour's house in such a way, that until... not necessarily destroy such a big house, but his family life'
Khoy (Gladzor)	KhG1	GLQ4s 11.44	Q4: 10c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tsetsvoɣə šat vat kəzga* 'the one who is beaten will feel very bad'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 0.43	Q4: 1b	fin	intr subj	abl	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*menak gyidəm em vor ov vor čišt a, ov vor pahanjum a čištə dəranits' el pədi VAXI šefə* 'I only know that whoever is right, whoever demands what is right, the boss should be afraid of him'

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Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 0.43	Q4: 1b	fin	tr subj	abl	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*menak gyidəm em vor ov vor čišt a, ov vor pahanjum a čištə dəranits' el pədi VAXI šefə* 'I only know that whoever is right, whoever demands what is right, the boss should be afraid of him'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 0.52	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	DO	RP *umə*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umə vor govum a, eli vaxəm a, govum a vor heto et mart'ə č'əmbostana* 'the one he praises, again he is afraid, he praises him so that that person won't rebel afterwards'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 1.12	Q4: 1a	fin	DO	sc obj	RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umə vor adəm a, yes čištn asats [] gyidəm č'em xi a adəm* 'the one he hates, to tell the truth [] I don't know why he hates him'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 2.56	Q4: 3a	fin	DO		N	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*dasatun vor ašakertin SIRƏM a, partadir č'i vor lav sovori* 'the student who the teacher loves doesn't necessarily learn well'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 3.27	Q4: 3b	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umn el vor govəm a kark'apah a lnəm* 'and the one he praises follows the rules'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 3.35	Q4: 3c	fin	DO	topic	0	0	conj	pre	destination	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk olimpiadayin vor uɣarkəm a, inč' vor mi teɣ yes, es mer ants'ats petuč'yan meč', vor yes gyidəm em vor olimpiadayin metsamasamb, metsamasamb uɣarkəm en tsənoɣi partadrank'ov* 'and the one he sends to the olympiad, in some place I, in our previous government, that I know that they usually sent [students] to the olympiad because their parents forced them to'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 5.03	Q4: 6a	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umə vor sandrəm a, inčk'an vor haskanəm em asenk' p'ok'ər yerexa ya ləm, mišt dəžgohum a* 'the one she combs, as I understand, let's say, she's a little child, she always complains'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 5.13	Q4: 6b	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*bayts' umə vor kosmetika ya anum, et kosmetikan el et, k'uyrikə šat a uraxanəm tesk'i vəra geɣets'kats'num a, šnorakaluts'yun a haytnum* 'but the one she puts make-up on, that make-up, that sister is very happy, she makes her more beautiful in her appearance, she says thankyou'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 5.23	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	?topic	dem pron	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*isk en mekin vor tsetsəm a, et, k'o kartsik'ov* [*?UM*] *vor tsetsen goh kəmənə?* 'but the one she beats, in your opinion, who will be satisfied that you beat them?' [if *um* , lit. 'whom that you beat will be satisfied?']
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 5.29	Q4: 6c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*bolor tsetsvoɣnern el dəžgoh en mənum* 'all the ones who are beaten are dissatisfied'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 9.08	Q4: 9a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorə*	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vorə vor k'amin a k'andel, yerevi t'əxtov a sark'ats əlel* 'the one the wind destroyed, I suppose it was made of paper'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 9.14	Q4: 9	non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*t'əxtov sark'ats tunə k'amin vəraz kətani* 'the wind will quickly sweep away the house made of paper'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 9.30	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*HAREVANI k'andats tunə oi amena, amenasarsap'eli amenavat, amenavat bann a et ašxarum vor harevanə tun a k'andum* 'the house the neighbour destroyed, it's the most horrible, worst, worst thing in the world when the neighbour destroys a house'

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Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 9.40	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*harevani k'andas tunə voš t'e himk'its' k'andelu masin a xosk'ə, prosto harevanə vor k'it'ə mətts'nəm a harevani tan meč' et nəšanakəm a tunə k'andel* 'the house the neighbour destroyed, it's not about destroying it from the foundations, just when the neighbour pokes his nose into the neighbour's house, that's what it means to destroy the house'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 10.05	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*iharke ov, umə vor tsetsel a et šat vat a iran əzgəm* 'of course the one he beat feels very bad'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 10.09	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	P obj	RP *umə*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umə vor govel a, yet'e govalu teɣ uni govel a, ira həmar sovorakan pəti əli* 'the one he praised, if he has reason to praise him and he praised him, for him it will be something ordinary'
Vayots Dzor (Rind)	VDzR1	RLQ4s 10.30	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	RP *umə*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umə vor vaxets'rel a na el, yes č'əgitem, yet'e vat ban a arel vaxets'rel a, elə pəti ink'ə iran həvak'i, haskana vor səxal pan a arel* 'the one he made afraid, he too, I don't know, if he has done something bad and he made him afraid, again he needs to get a grip on himself, to understand that he has done something wrong'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 0.13	Q4: 1a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor atum a, uremə na lav č'i ašxatum* 'the one he hates doesn't work well'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 0.18	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umits' vor vaxenum a uremə giž a* 'the one he is afraid of is crazy'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 0.33	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor govum a uremə šat lav ašxatoɣ a* 'and the one he praises is a very good worker'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 0.53	Q4: 2a	fin	DO	?topic	0	NP	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de xozə vor kətsel a uremə, xoz pahoɣin a kətse* 'the one the pig bit, it bit the one who looks after the pigs' OR adv 'if/when the pig bit [someone], ...'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 0.58	Q4: 2	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		focus	*xoz pahoɣin a kətse* 'it bit the one who looks after the pigs'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 1.00	Q4: 2b	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*dzin vor kətsel a uremə et, dzin el, lav č'i nəstel dziu vəra et mart'ə* 'the one the horse bit, the horse, that person hadn't sat on the horse properly' OR adv. 'if/when the horse bit [someone], …'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 1.24	Q4: 2a	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de vor xozə kətsum a, kəvazi vaxits' kəvazi ket'a bəžəški* 'the one the pig bites will run, out of fear he will run and go to the doctor's' OR adv 'if/when the pig bites [him], he will run, …'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 1.52	Q4: 3a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de um vor sirum a, et ašakertə lav a sovorum* 'the one he loves, that student studies well'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 2.11	Q4: 3b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor govum a uremə na enk'an xelok' č'i eɣe et pahin iran xelats'i a dərsevore dəra hamar govum a* 'the one he praises wasn't that clever, [but] at that moment he did something clever, that's why he praises him'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 2.20	Q4: 3c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um el vor əntrum a olimpiadayi masnakts'elu uremə na amenaxelats'i ašakertn a* 'and the one he chooses to take part in the olympiad is the cleverest student'

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Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 3.12	Q4: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	poss3	0	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de vor sanrum a mazerə, dzev a tali, yerevi patrastvum a mi lav teɣ gəna* 'the one whose hair she combs, styles, is probably preparing herself to go somewhere good'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 3.21	Q4: 6b	fin	DO	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en vor k'əsvats'num a en el a iran əzgum, ban, vorpes, modayi ts'uts'adəroɣ* 'and the one she puts make-up on feels like someone who demonstrates the latest fashions'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 3.31	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	dem pron	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en mekin el vor tsetsum a, en el pəti p'axni p'ərkəvi* 'and the one she beats will run away and be saved'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 3.53	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en um vor čanšum a, na lav č'i sovori* 'the one he pressures will not learn well'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 4.11	Q4: 7b	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en um vor vaxats'num a, et ankark' ašakert a* 'the one he makes afraid is an unruly student'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 4.20	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	subj	dem RP pron *vor mekin*	dem	RP	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en vor mekin el hangist a t'oɣnum et el uremə voč' mi ban č'i anum eli* 'and the one he leaves in peace doesn't do anything'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 4.38	Q4: 11a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	um vor katu ya kətse, uremə et katuin šat a neɣats're 'the one the cat bit had upset that cat very much'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 4.44	Q4: 11c	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*en um vor dzukn a kətse yerevi dzeŕə mətts'rel a akvariumi meč' et akvariumi dzukn a kətse* 'the one the fish bit probably put his hand in an aquarium and the fish from that aquarium bit him'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 4.52	Q4: 11b	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*en um el vor mukn a kətse yerevi k'ənats teɣə mukə ekel a tesel a dzen č'i hanum et mart'ə, kətsum a* 'and the one the mouse bit, probably when he was asleep the mouse came, saw that that person doesn't make a sound, and bites him'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 5.54	Q4: 8b	fin	DO	subj	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk et vor k'əts'um a šan vəra mi k'ič' mets kəlni vor šunə vaxena p'axni* 'and the one he throws at the dog will be a bit big so that the dog will be afraid and run away'

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Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 6.59	Q4: 9	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	?focus	*mərč'unneri buni vəra sark'ats tunn el kara, mərč'unnerə vor mets bun en unenum nərank' karum en k'anden tents' mets baner* 'the house built on an ants' nest can, ants that have a big nest can destroy such big things' OR adv 'if ants have a big nest they can destroy such big things'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 7.03	Q4: 9	fin	tr subj	subj	N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*mərč'unnerə vor mets bun en unenum nərank' karum en k'anden tents' mets baner* 'ants that have a big nest can destroy such big things' OR adv 'if ants have a big nest they can destroy such big things'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 7.20	Q4: 9c	fin	DO	topic	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk en vor harevann a k'andum et kara p'oxaberakan əlni* 'and the one the neighbour destroys, that could be metaphorical'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 7.52	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de um vor govel a, šat lav kəzga* 'the one he praised will feel very good'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 8.00	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor vaxets'rel a uremə mi nents' ban a arel vor asel a myus ank'am č'anes* 'the one he made afraid had done something such that he said, don't do it next time'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 8.02	Q4: 10	fin	subordinate clause DO	DO	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*mi nents' ban a arel vor asel a myus ank'am č'anes* 'had done something such that he said, don't do it next time'
Ararat (Yeghegnadzor)	Y2	YLQ4s 8.10	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en um el vor tsetsel a uremə art'en šat vat ban a are vor tsetsel a* 'and the one he beat, he'd already done a very bad thing if/when he beat him'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 1.47	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	subj	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*ov vor, ov vor govum a, banə, iharke aveli, banə, aveli urax a ink'ə* 'the one he praises, of course he is happier'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 2.01	Q4: 1a	fin	intr subj	subj	dem	pron	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en el vor atvum a, uremə ink'ə, ink'ə pəti aveli jank' ani* 'the one who is hated must make more effort'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 4.27	Q4: 3a, Q4: 3b	fin	DO	IO	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*nəran vor sirum a kam banə, govum a, nərants' k'ajaleruts'yan hamar a asum* 'the one he loves or praises, he says it to encourage them'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 4.38	Q4: 3c	fin	DO	sc subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*bayts' nəran vor əntrum a olimpiadayi hamar, art'en giti vor ink'ə art'en et, et ketin hasats a yev patrast a aŕačadem ašakert a* 'but the one he chooses for the olympiad, he already knows that he is an advanced student who has reached that point and is prepared'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 6.18	Q4: 5c	non-fin	poss obj	topic			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*k'it'ə kətsoɣə, da šat vat a vorovhetev yeresi vəray a* 'the one whose nose it bit, that's very bad because it's on his face'

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Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 8.28	Q4: 5	fin	intr subj	?subj	RP *ovk'er*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		?	*bayts' nərank' ovk'er vor neɣvatsuts'yan meč' en banə yev aylən, kan vor irents' banə xət'ana hangəst… hangist [?anum] yev aveli jank' en anum* 'but the ones who are in difficulties et cetera, there are some people who that spurs them on [...] and they make more effort'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 8.48	Q4: 5	fin	tr subj	subj	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		?	*bayts' EN ban ašakertnerə vor vox en pahum usuts'č'i handep, ankaskats nərank', nərank' teɣ č'en hasni* 'but those students who bear a grudge against the teacher will certainly not get anywhere'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 10.12	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	topic			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*harevani k'andatsə šat aveli dəžvar a* 'the one the neighbour destroyed is much more difficult'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 11.54	Q4: 10c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tsetsvoɣə vat a zgum* 'the one who was beaten feels bad'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 12.12	Q4: 10a	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*gov(v)oɣə anšušt aveli urax a* 'the one who he praised/who was praised is certainly happier'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 12.19	Q4: 10b	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*Vaxats'noɣə, petk' a vor iran havak'i, vor aveli lav ašxati vor banə, šefə iran, goh mənə iranits'* 'the one he made afraid must pull himself together so that he can work harder so that the boss will be satisfied with him'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P3	AEQ4s 14.13	Q4: 12c	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	NP	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*šunə vor havə bəŕnel a, yerevi harevani havn a bəŕnel, mart'ə yerevi, yerevi urax a* 'the one whose dog caught a chicken, I suppose it caught the neighbour's chicken, I suppose the person is happy' OR adv 'if/when his dog caught a chicken, …'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 0.12	Q4: 1	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*atum a vorovhetev et mart'ə šat xosk' tanoɣ beroɣ a* 'he hates him because that person is someone who fetches and carries words a lot' [i.e. he is a terrible gossip or telltale]
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 5.27	Q4: 3	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *voronk'*	NP	RP	post		Anim		?	*tents' ašakertner šat kan dəprots'nerum voronk' ban en, etalon en dasarani vəra, voronts' vəra usuts'ič'ə henvum a* 'there are many such students in schools who set the standard for the class, who the teacher relies on'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 5.27	Q4: 3	fin	P obj	subj	RP *voronts'*	NP	RP	post		Anim	Anim	?	*tents' ašakertner šat kan dəprots'nerum voronk' ban en, etalon en dasarani vəra, voronts' vəra usuts'ič'ə henvum a* 'there are many such students in schools who set the standard for the class, who the teacher relies on'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 9.42	Q4: 4b	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*k'ar[ə/ov?] xəp'oɣə, ov vor xəpvel a asum a vax, gəluxəs* 'the one the stone hit/the one he hit with the stone, the one who was hit says oh, my head'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 9.43	Q4: 4b	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*k'ar[ə/ov?] xəp'oɣə, ov vor xəpvel a asum a vax, gəluxəs* 'the one the stone hit/the one he hit with the stone, the one who was hit says oh, my head'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 13.10	Q4: 7b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor čənšum a əski č'i sovorum* 'the one he pressures doesn't learn at all'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 14.16	Q4: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim		topic	*et aftoin xəp'ats k'arə mi hat yek'a k'ar a* 'that stone that hit a car was a great big stone'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 15.02	Q4: 8c	non-fin	tr subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim		topic	*vay, harevanin xəp'ats k'arə k'ar a* 'alas, the stone that hit the neighbour was a stone'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 15.27	Q4: 9a	fin	DO	abl	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*Astvats heŕu pahi en tənits' vor k'amin a k'andum* 'God save us from [lit. keep away] the house that the wind destroys'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 15.32	Q4: 9a	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*k'amu k'andatsə k'andats a* 'what/the one the wind destroyed is destroyed'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 15.35	Q4: 9b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*isk mərč'uni k'andatsə inč' pəti lni?* 'and the one the ants destroyed, what could it be?'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 16.14	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*harevani k'andats tunə, Astvats heŕu tani* 'the house the neighbour destroyed, God save us from it [lit. take it far away]'

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Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 16.11	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenavətangavorə harevani k'andats tunn a* 'the most dangerous one is the house the neighbour destroyed'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P6	AQ4s 18.29	Q4: 11b	non-fin	DO	?			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*məkan kətsatsn el kətsats a* 'and the one the mouse bit is bitten' OR 'and the mouse bite is a bite'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s2 1.02	Q4: 3c	fin	intr subj	no MC	RP *vorə*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vorə, vorə petk' e olimpiadayin masnakts'i* [which one] The one that must take part in the olympiad'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s2 5.57	Q4: 4a	non-fin	DO	?			RPT			Anim	Inanim	focus	*Amenatsanər vičakə afton xəp'atsn a* 'the hardest [lit. heaviest] situation is the one the car hit'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s2 4.02	Q4: 5c	non-fin	poss obj	?			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*Amenap'isə k'it'ə kətsatsn a* 'the worst is the one whose nose it bit'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s3 0.17	Q4: 8a	non-fin	tr subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim		topic	*bayts' amen depqum aftoin xəp'ats k'arə ban č'i, vətangavor č'i* 'but in any case the stone that hit the car is nothing, it isn't dangerous'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s3 0.26	Q4: 8c	non-fin	tr subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim		topic	*isk mart'un kəpats k'arə karoɣ a mi k'ič' ts'avot lini* 'and the stone that touched the person could be a bit painful'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s3 0.56	Q4: 9b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*mərč'unnerə k'andats tunə p'ayti tun a eɣel* 'the house the ants destroyed was a wooden house'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s3 1.15	Q4: 9a	non-fin	DO	?			RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*k'amin k'andatsə... k'amin k'andatsə mi k'ič' dəžvar a* 'the one the wind destroyed… the one the wind destroyed is a bit difficult'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s4 0.10	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenavətangavorə harevani k'andats tunn a* 'the most dangerous one is the house the neighbour destroyed'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s4 0.41	Q4: 10a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*amenalavə govats, govatsə kəlni* 'the best one will be the one he praised'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s4 0.51	Q4: 10c	non-fin	DO	poss			SPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*čənayats rekompansə vor eɣel a tsetsoɣi koɣmits' a eɣel* 'although if/when there was compensation it was from the one who beat' OR judging from the continuation, 'it was for the benefit of the one who was beaten'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s4 1.00	Q4: 10c	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*šnorakaluts'yun kəhaytni tsetsoɣə, vorovhetev ban kani, anunə inč' a, rekompans, rekompans kunena eli, p'oɣ en tali, ha* 'the one who was beaten will say thankyou, because he will do, what's it called, compensation, he will have compensation, they give money, yes'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s4 2.34	Q4: 12c	non-fin	poss subj	?poss			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*amenadəžvarə hav bəŕnoɣin, šunə vor havə bəŕnel a, havə meŕav … mənats'atsnerə amen mart' ira het yola kətani eli* 'the most difficult is the [owner] of the one who caught a chicken, the one whose dog caught a chicken, the chicken died… the rest of them, each person will deal with it'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P5	SGQ4s4 2.34	Q4: 12c	fin	poss subj	subj	0 or poss3	0	conj	post		Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*amenadəžvarə hav bəŕnoɣin, šunə vor havə bəŕnel a, havə meŕav … mənats'atsnerə amen mart' ira het yola kətani eli* 'the most difficult is the [owner] of the one who caught a chicken, the one whose dog caught a chicken, the chicken died… the rest of them, e
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s1 0.16	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	subj	RP *vorits'*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vorits' vaxenum a, vaaa aŕač'in hert'in iren gərants'el a talis* 'the one he is afraid of, in the first place gets himself registered'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s1 0.20	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	0	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*aŕač'in hert'in iren gərants'el a talis, umits' vor vaxenum es* 'in the first place he gets himself registered, the one he is afraid of'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s1 0.42	Q4: 1	fin	indefinable	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*eti, et mart'ən a, vor dzen č'es karum hanes, vor karoɣ a nuynisk barts'rana dati el ta k'ez* 'that is that person who you can't say anything [to, against], who can even take you to court'

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Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s1 0.42	Q4: 1	fin	intr subj	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*eti, et mart'ən a, vor dzen č'es karum hanes, vor karoɣ a nuynisk barts'rana dati el ta k'ez* 'that is that person who you can't say anything [to, against], who can even take you to court'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s2 0.33	Q4: 2a	non-fin	DO	no MC			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*Xozə kətsoɣi? Ay kyank'um č'em tesel xozə kətsi.* 'The one a pig bit? In my life I've never seen a pig bite.'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s2 2.49	Q4: 4a	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*Afto xəp'oɣən hivandanots'um pəti lini* 'the one the car hit will be in hospital'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s3 0.10	Q4: 6a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	topic	*um vor sanrum es hačuyk' kəstana vor ira mazern es sanrum* 'the one you comb will get pleasure when you comb her hair'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s3 0.18	Q4: 6b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	post		Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*et nuyn zgats'munk'ə nayev myusə kunena um vor k'əsum es* 'the other one, who you puts make-up on, will have the same feeling'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s4 1.03	Q4: 10b	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*de vaxets'noɣə mišt ləŕum a* 'the one he makes afraid always keeps quiet'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAnQ4s4 2.44		non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim			*eti et psoriaz hivanduts'yunən unets'oɣnerə gənum en ətents'…* 'that, those people who have the illness psoriasis go like that…'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P4	SAQ4s4 3.56	Q4: 12c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*isk hav bəŕnoɣinə yerevi uraxanum a terə* 'and the owner of the one who caught the chicken is probably happy'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 0.22	Q1: 1 (b)	fin	intr subj	no MC	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov vor šut a ver kanəm* 'the one who gets up early'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 0.23	Q1: 1 (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem	RP	pre		Anim		focus	*ov šut a ver kanəm en a lav iran əzgəm* 'the one who gets up early feels good'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 0.26	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*tasnəmekin ver kats'oɣə* 'the one who gets up at eleven'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 1.00	Q1: 1c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*žamə ergəsin k'ənoɣn a lav əzgəm iran* 'the one who goes to sleep at two feels good'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 1.34	Q1: 2c (b)	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		focus	*ov vor k'na bdi Dubay, en a lav ants'kats'nilo* 'the one who is going to Dubai will have a good time'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 2.01	Q1: 2b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*London k'ənats'oɣə* 'the one who is going to London'

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Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 2.29	Q1: 3	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*ət k'ət'atsə inch en anilo?* 'the one who found it, what will he do?'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 2.34	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*harir təram k'ət'noγə, en aveli, en aveli hangist a hok'epes k'ants' en…* 'the one who found 100 drams is more calm psychologically than that…'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 2.55	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*mətanin k'ət'noγə, en anhangist a lilo* 'the one who found the ring, he is uneasy'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 3.19	Q1: 3a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*yes en harir təram k'et'noγə* 'me, the one who found 100 drams'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 3.50	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		topic	*um inč' er asel irants' merə... et hats' t'əxoγ bəžanoγə vor k'yäsibnerin təvel a* 'who did their mother say what to… that one who baked bread and gave it out, who gave it to the poor'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 4.01	Q1: 4b	fin	tr subj	no MC	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		topic	*en minn el vor mamayi šorerə ver a kalel a u təvel a əngeruhun* 'and that one who took her mothers clothes and gave them to her friend'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 4.14	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	?			SPT			Anim		focus	*bayts' amenalav gortsə en hats' t'əxoγə* 'but the best job, that one who baked bread'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 4.21	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*amenalavə et hats' t'əxoγə bəžanoγə[n?]* 'the best one, that one that baked bread and gave it out'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 4.31	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	abl			SPT			Anim		focus	*en, banits' a goh mənats'el, hats' bəžanoγits'* 'she was satisfied with that one, the one who gave out bread'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 5.10	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	loc	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	?	*Vor k'aγak'əm, ays ink'ən et vor olimpiaday a lilo, minəmn el dzəri hamerg a lilo…?* 'Which city, that is, the one where the Olympics are going to be, in another one there is going to be a free concert…?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 5.18	Q1: 5	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*et amen [er] mi k'aγak'nerəm et abroγ mart'ik inč' en mətadzəm, et žoγovurt'ə?* 'in each city what do those people who live there think, those people?'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 5.25	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	loc	dem N	0	conj	pre	locative	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*ays ink'ən et olimpiadayəm, vor olimpiaday a lilo et k'aɣak'əm, et žoɣovurt'ə inč', inč' kəmətadzi?* 'that is that where the Olympics, that city where the Olympics are going to be, what will those people think?' OR adv 'if/when the Olympics are going to happen in that city, what do those people think?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 5.50	Q1: 5b	fin	loc	loc	0	dem	conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*ba vor tsəri hamerk a ləm, əteɣ et k'aɣak'i žoɣovurt'ə inč' a mətadzəm, er [inč'i] a mətadzəm?* 'where there is a free concert, what do the people of that city think, why do they think that?' OR adv 'if/when there is a free concert, …'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 7.52	Q1: 6a	fin	dest	loc	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*de Hərómi Pabə vor k'ənats'el a, e, asenk', mətadzəm es vor k'ənats'el a, inč' arats kəli?* 'where the Pope went, let's say, what do you think he went and did?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 8.53	Q1: 6	non-fin	dest	dest		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*et vori, asenk', k'ənats'ats yergirə kuzir k'ənir, Vladimir Putini, Hərómi Pabi, t'e K'im K'ardašyani?* 'To the city that who went to would you like to go, Vladimir Putin, the Pope, or Kim Kardashian?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 9.49	Q1: 7	fin	loc	abl	0	dem N	conj	pre	?	Inanim	Anim 2sg	topic	*əta ənde, ba asa tesnam vor tsənvel es, inč' es əzgats'el, k'ez, inč' es səvorel et yerkrits'?* 'there, say so I can see, where you were born, what did you feel, what did you learn from that country?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 11.29	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	dem N	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*asenk' vor, vordeɣ vor futboli aŕač'nuts'yun a lel, et k'aɣak'əm kyank'ə vonts' a p'oxvel?* 'let's say that, where the football championship was, how has life changed in that city?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 12.30	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	subj	0	NP	conj	pre& post		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Ba vor k'aɣak'n a aveli šat šahel, et k'aɣak'nerits', asenk' et futboli ašxari aŕač'nuts'yunə vor əlel a, kam kinoyi p'aŕatonə vor əlel a, kam et mets kazmakerputs'yunə vor gordzaran a bats'el, ed vor k'aɣak'n a vor aveli šat a šahel?* 'Which city has benefited the most, out of those cities, let's say the one where the football championship was, or where the film festival was, or where that big company has opened a factory, which city has benefited the most?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 12.30	Q1: 8b	fin	loc	subj	0	NP	conj	pre& post		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Ba vor k'aɣak'n a aveli šat šahel, et k'aɣak'nerits', asenk' et futboli ašxari aŕač'nuts'yunə vor əlel a, kam kinoyi p'aŕatonə vor əlel a, kam et mets kazmakerputs'yunə vor gordzaran a bats'el, ed vor k'aɣak'n a vor aveli šat a šahel?* 'Which city has benefited the most, out of those cities, let's say the one where the football championship was, or where the film festival was, or where that big company has opened a factory, which city has benefited the most?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 12.30	Q1: 8c	fin	loc	subj	0	NP	conj	pre& post		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Ba vor k'aɣak'n a aveli šat šahel, et k'aɣak'nerits', asenk' et futboli ašxari aŕač'nuts'yunə vor əlel a, kam kinoyi p'aŕatonə vor əlel a, kam et mets kazmakerputs'yunə vor gordzaran a bats'el, ed vor k'aɣak'n a vor aveli šat a šahel?* 'Which city has benefited the most, out of those cities, let's say the one where the football championship was, or where the film festival was, or where that big company has opened a factory, which city has benefited the most?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 14.53		non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*de et sark'adznerits' em eli asəm, vorn a hamov əlel?* 'out of those ones that they made I'm saying, which one was tasty?'

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Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 15.41	Q1: 10c	non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*ərexa perats TARIN em, uraxats'el em* 'the year I had a child, I was, I was happy'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 15.49	Q1: 10c	non-fin	time	no MC		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*ərexa perats tarin* 'the year I had a child'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 19.40	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im sark'atss er lavə* 'the one I made was good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs1 20.04	Q1: 14a	fin	DO	subj	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim	Anim	?	*vor inč' tort' a lel, ays ink'ən et, mamayi tsənəndi, mamayi tsənəndi həmar vor t'əxel es, mekə hərevannerin es hyurasirel?* 'what sort of cake was each one, that is, the one you made for mother's birthday, one of them you offered to the neighbours?'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 20.47	Q1: 14c (b)	non-fin	DO	no MC			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*t'ak'uhu təvatsə* 'the one the queen gave'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 20.47	Q1: 14c (b)	fin	DO	DO	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*t'ak'uhu təvatsə, vor tarel a ɣonaɣnerin hyurasirel* 'the one the queen gave, that she took and offered to the guests'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 21.16	Q1: 15b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*k'ahanayi medzats'rats ərexen xelk'ov a lel* 'the child a priest brought up will be clever'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs1 21.34	Q1: 15b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*bayts' amenalavə k'ahanayi səvorts'ratsə kəli* 'but the best one will be the one the priest taught'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 1.01	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	dem pron	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*ba en minin vəra vor koŕats'el a, et ərexen inč' a arel, ira merə vor koŕats'el a?* 'the one she shouted at, what had that child done, the one whose mother shouted?' OR adv 'if/when she shouted at that one, what had that child done, if/when his mother shouted?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 1.04	Q1: 16c	fin	poss subj	subj	pron	dem N	conj	post		Anim	Anim	topic	*et ərexen inč' a arel, ira merə vor koŕats'el a?* 'what had that child done, the one whose mother shouted?' OR adv 'what had that child done, if/when his mother shouted?'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 2.22	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*Tsaxkadzor k'ənats'oɣni* 'the ones who went to Tsaghkadzor'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 3.09	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	no MC	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim	?	*ba usanoɣneri tedərni vor stugel es?* 'the one you marked the students' notebooks with?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 5.25	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um vor kəluxə ts'avəm a inč' a anəm?* 'what does the one whose head hurts do?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 5.34	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	0	conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*vor kəluxə ts'avəm a inč' a anəm?* 'what does the one whose head hurts do?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 5.53	Q1: 20b	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	0	conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*ba vor votn a ts'avəm inč' a anəm?* 'what does the one whose leg hurts do?'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 6.40	Q1: 20c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*meč'k' ts'avats'oɣn el, yaxu maxuy a k'əsəm* 'the one whose back hurts puts on a poultice'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 8.09	Q1: 22a (b)	fin	poss subj	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*Um afton vor ansark' a* 'the one whose car isn't fixed'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 8.20	Q1: 22b	non-fin	tr subj	DO			RPT			Anim		topic	*[dəva] koɣats'atsn ur vennes kam kextsə, praven hanats ur vennes?* 'the one who stole [], where would you take [i.e. you wouldn't take him], the one who took out a false license, where would you take?'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 8.20	Q1: 22c	non-fin	tr subj	DO			RPT			Anim		topic	*[dəva] koɣats'atsn ur vennes kam kextsə, praven hanats ur vennes?* 'the one who stole [], where would you take [i.e. you wouldn't take him], the one who took out a false license, where would you take?'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 8.36	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*Gəreri, giri kəroɣə* 'the one who wrote the letters, the writing'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 9.12 T	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Kolombosn el elel a mets čanaparort' vor haytnaberel a Amerikan* 'and Columbus was a great traveller who discovered America'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	ASQs2 10.06 T	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Hats't'uxə ov a, hats' t'əxoɣə?* 'Who is the baker, the one who bakes bread?'

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Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 10.22	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*T'ämäden handes, hərsanik' ɣekavaroɣ, xənjuyk' ɣekavaroɣ, tsənund, kənunk' ɣekavaroɣ* 'The tamada is the one in charge of a ceremony, wedding, the one in charge of a feast, the one in charge of a birthday, a christening'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 10.27	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*T'ämäden handes, hərsanik' ɣekavaroɣ, xənjuyk' ɣekavaroɣ, tsənund, kənunk' ɣekavaroɣ* 'The tamada is the one in charge of a ceremony, wedding, the one in charge of a feast, the one in charge of a birthday, a christening'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 10.28	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*T'ämäden handes, hərsanik' ɣekavaroɣ, xənjuyk' ɣekavaroɣ, tsənund, kənunk' ɣekavaroɣ* 'The tamada is the one in charge of a ceremony, wedding, the one in charge of a feast, the one in charge of a birthday, a christening'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 11.17	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		focus	*En ävil anoɣin* [who do they call a nanny?] The one who does the sweeping'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 11.24	Q1: 23b	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*Hivandanots'əm ašxatoɣni* 'The ones who work in a hospital'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQs2 11.41	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		?	*Uriši tan korts anoɣin asəm en dayak* 'The one who does housework in someone else's house they call a nanny'
Vayots Dzor (Aghavnadzor)	VDzA1	ASQ2s 11.45	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		?	*pahoɣin asəm en dayak* 'the one who looks after [a child] they call a nanny'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 0.24	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Aŕači k'irə zart'nəm a žamə ut'in, tasin k'ənoɣə, zart'nəm a žamə ut'in* 'The first sister wakes up at eight o'clock, the one who goes to sleep at ten wakes up at eight o'clock'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 0.35	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Tasnerkusi k'ənoɣə zart'nəm a žamə innin* 'The one who goes to sleep at twelve wakes up at nine'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 0.45	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*yerkusi k'ənoɣə zart'nəm a yerkusin* 'the one who goes to sleep at two wakes up at two'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 0.57	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*žamə ut'i k'ənoɣə* 'the one who goes to sleep at eight'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 1.00	Q1: 1a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*č'e, tasi k'ənoɣə, kənerek'* 'no, the one who goes to sleep at ten, I'm sorry'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 1.16	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə ləɣanaloy a* 'the one who is going to Sevan will swim'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 1.21	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London k'ənats'oɣə, London k'ənats'oɣə tesneluy a tesaržan vayrer, tenaloy a tesaržan vayrer* 'the one who is going to London, the one who is going to London will see the sights, will see the sights'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 1.37	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay k'ənats'oɣn el hangəstanaloy a* 'the one who is going to Dubai will relax'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 1.49	Q1: 2c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*Dubay k'ənats'oɣə* 'the one who is going to Dubai'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 2.08	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Voski k'ət'noɣə uraxats'el a šat* 'The one who found gold was very happy'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 2.17	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*[* Local interviewer*:] Harir təram k'ət'noɣə...* VDzKh4: *Harir k'ət'no… harir dəram k'ət'noɣn el, təxrel a* [Local interviewer:]'The one who found 100 drams… [VDzKh4:] The one who found 100, the one who found 100 drams was sad'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 3.11	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*Hats' t'əxoɣin asel a, apres bala jan* 'To the one who baked bread she said, well done, my child'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 4.01	Q1: 4a (b)	fin	tr subj	no MC	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*Vor axk'atnerin bažin a hanel* 'The one who gave a share to the poor'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 4.52	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	poss subj	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Vor k'aɣak'əm Olimpiaday a lilo, et k'aɣak'i mart'ik šat vok'evorvadz en* 'The people of the city where the Olympics are going to be are very excited'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 5.02	Q1: 5b	fin	loc	loc	RP *vor* N	0	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Vor k'aɣak'əm el tsəri hamerg a žoɣovurt'ə asəm a inč' lav a vor tsəri a k'ənank'* 'And in the city where there is a free concert, the people say, it's so good that it's free, let's go'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 5.26	Q1: 5b (b)	fin	loc	dest	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	intonation like topic, but should be focus	*Vor k'aɣak'əmə hamerg a, et k'aɣak'əmə kək'ənim* 'I would go to the city where the concert is'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 5.52	Q1: 6a	fin	dest	loc	RP *vor* N	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*Vor k'aɣak'əm Həŕomi Pabn a k'ənats'el, havatats'yalnerə šat, šat goh en [* local interviewer reminds consultant to use dialect form*] Həvatats'oɣni šat goh en* 'In the city where the Pope went, the faithful are very satisfied. The faithful [dialect form] are very satisfied'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 6.30	Q1: 6b	fin	loc	poss obj	RP *vor* N	NP	RP	pre		Inanim	Anim	topic	*Vor yerkrəm el Putinn a lel, deɣ el, en a gidem vor yergri harts'erə ludziloy a* 'The country where Putin was, there, I know that he will sort out that country'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 7.03	Q1: 6b (b)	fin	loc	no MC	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*Vorteɣ vor Putinn a lel* 'Where Putin was'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 7.35	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	loc	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Et yerkrəmə vor tsənvel em, yes šat ban em tesel, šat ban em sovorel [* local interviewer reminds consultant to use dialect form*] səvorel* 'In the country where I was born, I have seen many things, learnt many things, learnt [dialect form]
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 7.59	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	loc	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Et yerkir, yerkrəmə vor yes aprel em, tesel em deɣi, ham uraxuts'yunə, ham ts'avə, ham, amen inč', ašxatank'ə* 'The country where I lived, I have seen the happiness of that place, and the pain, and, everything, work'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 8.29	Q1: 7a (b)	non-fin	loc	no MC		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Im tsənvadz yerkirə* 'The country where I was born'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 8.35	Q1: 7a (b)	non-fin	loc	P obj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Im tsənvadz yerkri, Hayastani het* 'With the country where I was born, Armenia'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 9.05	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	loc	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*En k'aɣak'əmn a p'oxvel, vor k'aɣak'əm ašxadank ka, gordzazərguts'yun č'əka, ay et k'aɣak'n a, kyank'ə lav a lel* 'It has changed in the city where there is work, where there is no unemployment, it’s that city, life was good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 9.18	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	no MC	RP *vor* N	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*Vor k'aɣak'əmə ašxadank ka* 'The city where there is work'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 9.32	Q1: 9a	fin	time	time	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*Vor tarin tsirann ežan a lel, et tarin č'irə šad enk' sark'el* 'The year that apricots were cheap, we made a lot of dried fruit'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 9.38	Q1: 9b	fin	time	time	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vor tarin el prindz a lel, et tarin prindz em kerel* 'the year there was rice, I ate rice'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 9.43	Q1: 9c	fin	time	time	RP *vor* N	0	RP	pre		Inanim	Inanim	topic	*vor tarin el vor pobok'n a šad əlel pobok'n em tsaxel* 'and the year there were a lot of walnuts, I sold walnuts'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 10.13	Q1: 10a	fin	time	time	RP *vor* N	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*vor tarin vor dəprots'ə avartel em, art'en mətadzel em vor art'en kyank'i em tus ekel, hesa tents' lav kordzer em anilo* 'the year I finished school, I already thought that I have already come out into life, now I'll do such good works/jobs'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 10.25	Q1: 10b	fin	time	time	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Et tarin vor barts'ər ašxatavarts' em stats'el asel em tan hamar amen inč' aṅniloy em* 'That year when I got a high salary, I said I will buy everything for the house'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 10.32	Q1: 10c	fin	time	time	dem N	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1pl	topic	*isk et tarin vor ərexa enk' unets'el, berel, et tarin asel enk' et barts'ər ašxatavarts'ov es ərexin kəpahenk' kəmendzats'nenk'* 'and the year I had a child, that year we said, with that high salary we will look after this child and bring it up'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 11.57	Q1: 11c (b)	fin	time	time	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*Hangist es əzgəm en tarin vor art'en ašxadəm es, ašxadank' unes* 'You feel calm that year when you are already working, you have a job'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 12.26	Q1: 12	fin	dest	dest	RP *vorteɣ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Anim	focus	*čištn asats et yerkərnerə k'ənats'el č'em, bayts' yet'e k'ənayim el, vordeɣ ašxadank'i en həravirəm əndeɣ kək'ənayi* 'to tell the truth I haven't been to those countries, but if I went, I would go to the place where they are inviting me to work'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 12.41	Q1: 12c (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	0	NP	conj	post		Inanim		focus	*Indz həmar harazat a IM yerkirəs vor ašxadank'ə berel er* 'For me my country is familiar/like home, the one that had brought work'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 13.04	Q1: 13b	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*Tadis padrastvats tort'ə biskvit a lel* 'The cake that my grandmother was prepared [sic] was a sponge cake'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 13.08	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Im padrastats tort'əs iskagan tort' a lel* 'The cake that I prepared was a real cake'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 13.14	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Xanut'i aŕats tort'ə heč' lavə č'i* 'The cake I bought from a shop isn't good at all'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 13.26	Q1: 13a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*bayts' amenahamovə mer patrastvats tort'n a* 'but the tastiest is the cake that we are prepared [sic]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 13.46	Q1: 14a	non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Mamayi tsənəndi həmar t'əxas tort'ə yes padrastel em, uremə šat hamov kəli* 'The cake that I made for mother's birthday, I prepared it, so it will be very tasty'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 14.25	Q1: 14a (b)	non-fin	DO	no MC		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*Mamayi padrastas tort'ə, vor mamayi hamar padrastel em* 'The cake mother made, that I made for mother'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 14.25	Q1: 14a (b)	fin	DO	no MC	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Mamayi padrastas tort'ə, vor mamayi hamar padrastel em* 'The cake mother made, that I made for mother'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 14.48	Q1: 15a	fin	DO	subj	dem N	dem N	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vor mat'ematikosn a medzats'rel et ərexin, mendzats'rel et ərexin, et ərexen kək'əna mat'ematikayi uɣɣuts'yamb* 'the child a mathematician brought up will go in the direction of mathematics' OR adv 'if a mathematician brought that child up, he will go in the direction of mathematics'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 15.57	Q1: 16a	fin	IO	subj	0	dem N	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vor kanfet a təvel et ərexen sus a kats'el* 'the one she gave a sweet to, that child was quiet' OR adv 'if/when she gave [him] a sweet, …'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 16.05	Q1: 16b	fin	P obj	subj	dem N	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en mi ərexi həmar el vor yerk'el a et ərexen et yerk'i tak kək'əni* 'and the child she sang for, that child will go to sleep to the song'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 16.09	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	dem N	dem N	conj	pre	?	Anim	Anim	topic	*bayts' en vor ərexi merə koŕats'el a et ərexi vəren, et ərexen ədani bet'är kəkoŕa* 'but the child whose mother shouted at him, that child will shout worse than her'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 16.39	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Tsaxkadzor k'ənats'oɣə lav hangəstats'el a* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor had a good rest'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 16.54	Q1: 17b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*P'ariz k'ənats'oɣə k'ənats'el a P'arizi tesaržan vayrern a tesel* 'the one who went to Paris saw the sights of Paris'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 17.00	Q1: 17c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Č'inastan k'ənats'oɣn el k'ənats'el a aŕevtur peri ta* 'and the one who went to China went to buy goods to bring and sell'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 17.11	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*Aveli lav žamanagə ants' a kats'rel Tsaxkadzor k'ənats'oɣə vorovhetev ira žamanakə əndeɣ aveli lav ants' kəkenar* 'The one who went to Tsaghkadzor had the best time because his time there will have passed better'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 18.39	Q1: 19c (b)	fin	abl	subj	RP *um ani*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Ov, um ani vor p'oɣ em uzel, en a neɣats'el* 'The one I asked for money was upset'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 19.00	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*Um kəluxə ts'avəm a, kəluxə p'ərnəm a* 'The one whose head hurts holds his head'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 19.04	Q1: 20b	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um el vodn a ts'avəm, en a vodə p'ərnəm* 'and the one whose leg hurts holds his leg'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 19.32	Q1: 20a	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*kəlxi, kəlux ts'avoɣə šut kək'ənə* 'the one whose head hurts will go quickly [to the doctor's]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 19.34	Q1: 20b	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*vodi ts'avoɣn el minč'ev k'ənə hasni…* 'the one whose leg hurts, until he goes and arrives...'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 19.59	Q1: 21a	fin	abl	subj	RP *um anits'*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Um anits' vor hiast'ap'vel en, en šat vat, yerevi vaduts'yun a arel* 'The one they were disappointed with, I suppose he had done something very bad'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 20.14	Q1: 21b	fin	P obj	IO	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Um vəra el vor jəɣaynats'el es, asəm es tents' ban č'əbidi aneir, arel es* 'And the one you were annoyed with, you say, you shouldn't have done something like that, [but] you did'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 20.24	Q1: 21c	fin	instr	IO	RP *umov*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*umov el hiats'el es asəm es orinag es perəm* 'the one you admired, you say, you set an example'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 20.38	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	instr	subj	RP *um anov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	?	*Um anov vor hiats'el es, et im əngerəs a* 'The one you admired, that is my friend'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 20.59	Q1: 22a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*Um afton vor p'əč'ats'el a, en ira afton uzum a anpayman sark'i vor teɣ hasni* 'The one whose car broke down, he definitely wants to fix his car so that he can reach his destination'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 21.08	Q1: 22b	fin	poss subj	topic	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*Um afton vor goɣats'ats a, en el sirtə, en vor asəm en goɣ, sirtə doɣ* 'The one whose car is stolen, his heart, that thing they say, thief, [may his] heart tremble'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 21.20	Q1: 22c	fin	poss subj	subj	dem pron	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*en meki pravan el vor korel a, en el asəm a ba vor… keɣts a, ba vor indz el p'ərnen?* 'and that one whose license is lost, he says that… it's fake, what if they catch me too?'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 21.38	Q1: 22a	fin	tr subj	poss ?	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		focus	*Ov vor afton sark'əm a, ənda el pravan, asenk', afto č'i koɣats'el, pəravan el, pərava eli unen, əndan […] kortsi* 'The one who mends his car, his licence too, let's say, he hasn't stolen a car, and his licence, they have a licence, I'll [give him] the job'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 22.16	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Kolombosə čanaparort' a lel vor haytnaberel a Amerikan* 'Columbus was a traveller who discovered America'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 22.40	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Hast'uxn el, has t'əxoɣn a, vor hats' a t'əxəm menk' utəm enk'* 'The baker is the one who bakes bread, who bakes bread and we eat it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 22.40	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Hast'uxn el, has t'əxoɣn a, vor hats' a t'əxəm menk' utəm enk'* 'The baker is the one who bakes bread, who bakes bread and we eat it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 22.48	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*T'amaden el mer seɣanatan, harsank'atan t'ämäden a vor bažakačaŕ a asəm* 'The tamada is our tamada of the restaurant, wedding venue, who says toasts'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh4	AKhQs 23.14	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Dayakn el ərexek'in pahoɣn a* 'And the nanny is the one who looks after the children'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 1.33	Q1: 1a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*[* Local interviewer: *č'e, tasin k'ənoɣə] Tasin k'ənoɣə, tasin el ver kats'av* [Local interviewer: 'no, the one who went to sleep at ten'] 'The one who went to sleep at ten got up at ten too'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 1.35	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*tasnəmegi k'ənoɣə tasnəmegin el ver kats'av* 'the one who went to sleep at eleven got up at eleven too'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 1.39	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*taserkusi k'ənoɣə taserkusin ver kats'av* 'the one who went to sleep at twelve got up at twelve'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 1.48	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*Indz t'əvəm a, aŕač'in ver kats'oɣə, žamə tasi,* 'It seems to me, the one who got up first, at ten o'clock'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 1.53	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*žamə tasi ver kats'oɣə iran aveli lav kəzga* 'the one who got up at ten will feel better'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 2.19	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə sät'ərjäm a lilo* 'The one who is going to Sevan will get bronchitis'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 2.22	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay k'ənats'oɣə xašmiš, xašmaš a lilo* 'The one who is going to Dubai will be [?boiling]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 2.28	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London k'ənats'oɣn el ləxki bdi andzrevi tak* 'The one who is going to London will get soaked in the rain'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 3.01	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə məsilov ləɣanaluy a, indz t'əvəm a hivandanaluy a* 'The one who is going to Sevan will bathe [with ?], it seems to me that he will get ill'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 3.11	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay k'ənats'oɣə, yet'e p'oɣ uni, lav žamanak ants' kəkats'ni* 'The one who is going to Dubai, if he has money, he will have a good time'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 3.21	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London k'ənats'oɣn el, ski [?č'əni č'əlni], gone arvesti gortser kətena* 'And the one who is going to London, [?] at all, at least he will see works of art'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 3.27	Q1: 2b (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*Indz t'əvəm a amenalav London k'ənats'oɣə žamanakə kants'kats'ni* 'It seems to me that the one who is going to London will have the best time'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 3.56	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*De härir dəram k'ət'noɣə kək'əts'i jibə kək'ana* 'The one who found 100 drams will put it in his pocket and go'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 4.00	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en voski k'ət'noɣə elə t'äk'un koɣerə mətik kani kəvekali kək'ana, kəvenni kək'ana* 'and that one who found gold will look around secretly, he will take it and go, he will take it and go'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 4.07	Q1: 3c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*en šefi namagə k'ət'noɣn el kətani tanə kəkart'a* 'and the one who found the boss's letter will take it and read it at home'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 4.21	Q1: 3b (b)	non-fin	tr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		topic	*en voski k'ət'noɣə* 'that one who found gold'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 4.46	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	topic			SPT			Anim		topic	*de hats' t'əxoɣə, hats' t'əxats, t'əxatsin kasi apres, lav pan es arel* 'the one who baked bread, the one who baked bread, to the one who baked bread she will say well done, you've done a good thing'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 4.46	Q1: 4a	non-fin	tr subj	IO			RPT			Anim		topic	*de hats' t'əxoɣə, hats' t'əxats, t'əxatsin kasi apres, lav pan es arel* 'the one who baked bread, the one who baked bread, to the one who baked bread she will say well done, you've done a good thing'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 4.53	Q1: 4b	fin	tr subj	P obj	dem	poss3	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en šorerə vor ver a kalel təvel a, kaskadzəm em, karoɣ a pan asi vəren* 'the one who took her clothes and gave them away, I suspect, she might tell her off'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 5.04	Q1: 4c	non-fin	tr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		topic	*tsaɣik təvoɣin el, elə indz t'əvəm a kəgovi kasi lav pan es arel* 'and the one who gave her flowers, again I think she will praise her and say, you've done a good thing'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 5.15	Q1: 4a (b)	non-fin	tr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*Indz t'əvəm a hats' yed anoɣ təvoɣen* 'It seems to me, with the one who made bread and gave it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 5.37	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	loc	dem N	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*En k'aɣak'əm vor olimpiada ya, saɣ uraxuts'yan meč' kəlnen* 'In the city where the Olympics are, everyone will be happy'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 5.51	Q1: 5b	fin	loc	loc	dem N RP vorteɣ	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*En k'aɣak'əm vorde vor… [* local interviewer reminds consultant*] tsəri hamerg a, elə aseɣ k'əts'ili teɣ č'i lni indz t'əvəm a* 'In the city where… there is a free concert, again there won't be room to drop a needle it seems to me'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 6.04	Q1: 5c	fin	loc	loc	dem N RP vorteɣ	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*isk en k'aɣak'əm vordeɣ vor ts'uyts' a, indz t'əvəm a eli mart'ik pants'ər təramadəruts'yamb kək'ənan ts'uyts'i* 'and in the city where there is a protest, it seems to me that again people will go to the protest with enthusiasm'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 7.24	Q1: 6a	fin	dest	DO	dem N RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*en yerkirə vordeɣ vor k'ənats'el a Həŕomi Pabə, et yergirə lav kark'avorel en indz t'əvəm a* 'the country where the Pope went, they sorted out that country well it seems to me'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 8.00	Q1: 6b	fin	dest	subj	dem N RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*en yergirə vordeɣ vor, šteɣ vor Putinə piti ka, indz t'əvəm a et yergirə hents' Hayastann a* 'the country where Putin is going to go, it seems to me that that country is Armenia'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 8.28	Q1: 6c	fin	dest	dest	dem N RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*en yergirə vordeɣ vor, yerrort'ə ov er? [* local interviewer reminds consultant*] K'im K'ardašyann a k'ənats'el, et yergirn el, saɣ šoubiznesi, šoubiznesə barbaŕov… saɣ et taši tuši anoɣnin ver en kats'el k'ənats'el en* 'that country where, who was the third? Kim Kardashian went, all the show business, show business in dialect... all those dancing people have got up and gone to that country'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 10.26	Q1: 7a	fin	loc	gen	dem N RP inč'teɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*en yergrəm šteɣə vor tsənvel em, et yergri, im meč' mənats'el a im euts'yan mets masə* 'the country where I was born, that country's, has remained inside me the greatest part of my essential being'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 10.36	Q1: 7b	fin	loc	pred	RP *inč'teɣ*	dem N	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*ays ink'ən en teɣn a vor, šteɣ vor yes dastiarakuts'yun em stats'el* 'that is, it is that place where I received education/upbringing'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 10.51	Q1: 7b	fin	loc	abl	dem N (nom) RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en teɣə vordeɣ vor yes səvorel em, et teɣits' yes stats'el em, [* local interviewer reminds consultant*] teɣan yes stats'el em im yergrord dastiaraguts'yunə* 'from the country where I studied I have received my second education'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 11.07	Q1: 7	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*bayts' et səvorats amen mi panə, t'äza panə, elə kapvats a et aŕač'i teɣi het* 'but all that which I have learnt, new things, is still linked with that first place'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 11.21	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	loc	dem N (nom) RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en teɣə vordeɣ vor abrəm em, et teɣə, et teɣəm eli amen depk'əm səvorəm es* 'in the place where I live, you still learn in any case'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 11.27	Q1: 7a	fin	abl	P obj	RP *inč'teɣ*	NP	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*inč'vor paner səvorəm es, i šnoriv aŕač'i teɣi, štean vor tsənvel es, yergrort' teɣi šteɣ vor inč' vor paner səvorel es, u dəran gumarvel a et yerrort' teɣi k'o səvoratsə* 'you learn something, thanks to the first place, where you were born, the second place where you learnt some things, and to that was added what you learnt in that third place'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 11.27	Q1: 7b	fin	loc	P obj	RP *inč'teɣ*	NP	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*inč'vor paner səvorəm es, i šnoriv aŕač'i teɣi, štean vor tsənvel es, yergrort' teɣi šteɣ vor inč' vor paner səvorel es, u dəran gumarvel a et yerrort' teɣi k'o səvoratsə* 'you learn something, thanks to the first place, where you were born, the second place where you learnt some things, and to that was added what you learnt in that third place'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 11.27	Q1: 7	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	contrastive topic	*inč'vor paner səvorəm es, i šnoriv aŕač'i teɣi, štean vor tsənvel es, yergrort' teɣi štеɣ vor inč' vor paner səvorel es, u dəran gumarvel a et yerrort' teɣi k'o səvoratsə* 'you learn something, thanks to the first place, where you were born, the second place where you learnt some things, and to that was added what you learnt in that third place'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 11.57	Q1: 7a (b)	fin	loc	no MC	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Aŕač'i teɣə vor tsənvel em, mendzats'el em* [Which was the first place?] 'The first place where I was born, grew up'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 12.16	Q1: 7b	fin	loc	loc	RP *inč'teɣ*	dem	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*karoɣ a gortsi berumov du lines [* local interviewer reminds consultant*] kordzi perumov əndeɣ əlnes štеɣ vor səvorəm es, kam štеɣ vor abrəm es, bayts' amen depk'əm nerk'ust du aveli šat kapvats es ələm hents' en teɣi het štean vor tus es ekel* 'because of work you could be, because of work you could be where you studied, or where you live, but in any case internally you are more attached to exactly that place you came out of'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 12.16	Q1: 7c	fin	loc	loc	RP *inč'teɣ*	dem	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*karoɣ a gortsi berumov du lines [* local interviewer reminds consultant*] kordzi perumov əndeɣ əlnes štеɣ vor səvorəm es, kam štеɣ vor abrəm es, bayts' amen depk'əm nerk'ust du aveli šat kapvats es ələm hents' en teɣi het štean vor tus es ekel* 'because of work you could be, because of work you could be where you studied, or where you live, but in any case internally you are more attached to exactly that place you came out of'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 12.16	Q1: 7a	fin	abl	P obj	RP *inč'teɣ*	dem	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*Karoɣ a artak'napes däm kapvats č'em, vorovhetev karoɣ a gortsi berumov du lines [* local interviewer reminds consultant*] kordzi perumov əndeɣ əlnes štеɣ vor səvorəm es, kam štеɣ vor abrəm es, bayts' amen depk'əm nerk'ust du aveli šat kapvats es ələm hents' en teɣi het štean vor tus es ekel* 'because of work you could be, because of work you could be where you studied, or where you live, but in any case internally you are more attached to exactly that place you came out of'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 13.01	Q1: 8a	fin	loc	loc	dem N RP inč'teɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*En k'aɣak'əm štеɣ vor futboli aŕač'nuts'yun en kazmakerpel, et k'aɣak'əm indz t'əvəm a p'oxvats kəlni finansakan aŕumov* 'the city where they organized a football championship, in that city it seems to me that it will have changed from a financial point of view'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 13.19	Q1: 8b	fin	loc	loc	dem N RP vorteɣ	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en k'aɣak'əm vordeɣ vor kinoyi p'aŕaton a əlel, et k'aɣak'əm stats'ats kəlnen en mart'ik ovk'er vor, ovk'er vor arvesti het kab unen* 'the city where there was a film festival, in that city the people who are linked to the arts will have benefited'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 13.45	Q1: 8c	fin	loc	loc	dem N RP vorteɣ	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en k'aɣak'əm vordeɣ vor mendz kortsaran a pats'vel, indz t'əvəm a žoɣovurt'ə amenašatə uraxats'ats kəlni hents' əda vəra vorovhetev irants' həmar t'äza ašxatateɣer a pats'vel* 'the city where a big factory has opened, it seems to me that [there] the people will be happiest because of exactly that, because there are new jobs for them [lit. new jobs have opened for them]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 14.01	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	no MC	RP *inč'teɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*En k'aɣak'ə, štеɣ vor ašxatateɣ a pats'vel* 'the city where there are new jobs [lit. where job has opened]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 14.17	Q1: 9a	fin	time	time	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en tari vor tari[n?] vor tsirann a ežan əlel, et tari č'ir enk' sark'el* 'the year when apricots were cheap, we made dried fruit'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 14.22	Q1: 9b	fin	time	time	dem N RP yerb	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en tarin yep' vor prindzn a ežan əlel, et tari sax tari prindz enk' kerel* 'the year when rice was cheap, we ate rice all year'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 14.29	Q1: 9c	fin	time	time	dem N RP yerb	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en tari yep' vor ežan a lel [* man: *pobok'ə] pobok'ə, et tari el pobok'ə mič'uk enk' arel vor aveli t'angov tsaxenk'* 'the year when walnuts were cheap, we shelled the walnuts so that we could sell them for a higher price'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 14.41	Q1: 9c (b)	fin	time	pred	RP *yerb*	NP	RP conj	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*de amenahamovə yerrort' tarin er yep' vor pobok'ə ežan er, mič'uk arink' vor aveli t'ang tsaxenk'* 'the tastiest was the third year when walnuts were cheap and we shelled them so that we could sell them for a higher price'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 15.20	Q1: 10a	fin	time	time	dem N RP yerb	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*Aŕač'i tarin yep' vor dəprots'ə pərdzel em, et tarin uraxats'adz em zgats'el vor dəprots'ə pərdzel em* 'The first year when I finished school, I felt happy that I had finished school'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 15.32	Q1: 10b	fin	time	time	dem N RP yerb	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en tarin yep' vor ašxadank' em čarel, et tarin yep' vor ašxadank' em čarel, uraxats'el em vor t'äza kordz em čarel, p'oɣ em ašxadilo* 'the year I found a job, that year when I found a job, I was happy that I had found a new job, I would earn money'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 15.48	Q1: 10c	fin	time	DO	N RP *yerb*	n/a	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*yerrort' tarin yep' vor ərexay em perel, et minə kara č'em asem vortev ərexa perel č'em* 'the third year, when I had a child, I can't say that because I haven't had a child'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 16.11	Q1: 10c (b)	fin	time	time	RP *vor* N	dem N	RP conj	post		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*indz t'əvəm a en tarin, en tarin indz aveli lav kəzgam, yep' vor, vor tarin vor ərexa lni* 'it seems to me that I will feel happiest the year that a child is born'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 17.18	Q1: 11a (b)	fin	time	no MC	dem N RP yerb	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*en tarəmə yep' vor dəprots'əm em səvorel* 'the year I was studying at school'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 17.37	Q1: 11a (b)	fin	time	time	dem N RP yerb	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*de en tarəmə, hents' et tarəmə yerevi, yep' vor dəprots' im k'ənəm* 'that year, exactly that year I suppose, when I was going to school'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 18.37	Q1: 12a (b)	fin	abl	no MC	RP *inč'teɣ*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*en yergirə štean vor p'axel em* 'the country I fled from'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 18.52	Q1: 13b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*Tadis sark'adzə bəskəvit' er* 'The one my grandmother made was a sponge cake'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 19.02	Q1: 13c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*xanut'its' aŕadzn el, kremov* 'and the one I bought from a shop, with cream'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 19.18	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	no MC			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*a de tadis sark'adzə* 'the one my grandmother made'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 19.35	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	no MC			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*tadis sark'adzə* 'the one my grandmother made'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 19.36	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenahamovə tadis sark'adzn er* 'the tastiest was the one my grandmother made'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 19.52	Q1: 14a	fin	DO	subj	dem N RP vorə	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en tort'ə, vorə vor sark'el em mamayi mar, mamayi tsənəndi mar [* local interviewer reminds consultant*] həmar, əlel a tonagan tort'* 'the cake I made for my mother, for my mother's birthday was a celebration cake'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 20.16	Q1: 14b	fin	DO	subj	dem N RP vorə	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en tort'ə, vorə vor hərevanneri mar im sark'el, et tort'ə əlel a pobok'ov bəskəvit'* 'the cake that I made for the neighbours was a sponge cake with walnuts'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 21.38	Q1: 15a	fin	tr subj	subj	dem N RP ov	dem	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*indz t'əvəm a, en ərexen ov vor mat'ematikay a səvorel, da, ərexen… ha, mendzats'rats ərexen əlel a derasan* 'it seems to me that the child who studied mathematics, the child… the child that [the mathematician] brought up will become an actor'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 21.38	Q1: 15a	non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*indz t'əvəm a, en ərexen ov vor mat'ematikay a səvorel, da, ərexen… ha, mendzats'rats ərexen əlel a derasan* 'it seems to me that the child who studied mathematics, the child… the child that [the mathematician] brought up will become an actor'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 21.52	Q1: 15b	fin	DO	subj	dem N (nom) RP ov	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en ərexen ov vor, vor k'ahanan a mendzats'rel, [?əda] rexen el a əlel derasan* 'the child a priest brought up also became an actor'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 21.58	Q1: 15c	fin	DO	subj	dem N (nom) RP ov	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en ərexen ov vor derasann a mendzats'rel, [?əda] rexen kam k'ahanay a lel, kam elə derasan* 'the child an actor brought up became either a priest or an actor'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 22.18		fin	pred	subj	RP *vorə*	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg	?	*vortev vorə vor yes əlel em art'en lav a urax em* 'because that which I am is already good, I'm happy'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 22.46	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	dem N (nom) RP um	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en ərexen um vəra vor koŕats'el a, ed ərexen inch a arel?* 'the child she shouted at, what had that child done?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 23.02	Q1: 16a	fin	P obj	no MC	dem N, RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	topic	*en ərexen, en ərexi mar, um mar vor…* 'that child, that child for whom…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 23.07	Q1: 16a	fin	P obj	subj	dem N (nom) RP um	0	RP conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en ərexen ov vor, um mar vor kanfet' a aŕel, yerevi zuk'aran k'ənats' heto dzeŕerə ləvats'el a* 'that child who, for whom she bought a sweet, I suppose had gone to the toilet and washed his hands afterwards'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 23.37	Q1: 16b	fin	P obj	pred	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*En ərexen um mar vor maman yerk'i vor k'əni* [Which was the third?] 'The child for whom the mother sang so that he would sleep'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 23.55	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj		N	RPT			Anim		topic	*Tsaɣkadzor k'ənats'ats əngerəs t'ang u kərak k'ənats'el a, t'ang u kərak mi hing or mənats'el a* 'The friend of mine who went to Tsaghkadzor went at great expense and stayed about five days at great expense'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 24.16	Q1: 17b	fin	intr subj	poss loc	dem N RP vorə	dem	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en əngerəs vorə vor P'ariz a k'ənats'el, ənda dzeŕn el ärämägin p'oɣ č'əka* 'that friend of mine who went to Paris, he too has hardly any money left [lit. there is no decent money in his hand]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 24.42	Q1: 17c	fin	intr subj	subj	dem N RP ov	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en əngerəs ov vor Č'inastan a k'ənats'el, həle ekel č'i vorovhetev šat heŕuy a* 'that friend of mine who went to China hasn't come back yet because it’s very far away'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 24.56	Q1: 17c (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim		focus	de indz t'əvəm a Č'inastan k'ənats'atsə, həle ekel č'i 'it seems to me the one who went to China, he hasn't come back yet'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 25.26	Q1: 18a	fin	instr	subj	dem N RP vorov	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en gərič'ov vorov vor timum em kərel, et kərič'ə kabit guyni er* 'the pen I wrote an application with was blue'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 25.41	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	subj	dem N RP vorov	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en k'ərəč'ov vorov vor, ink'nahosov vorov vor namag em kərel, a, stugel em, et gərič'ə karmir guyni er.* 'the pen I wrote a letter with, I marked, that pen was red'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 25.58	Q1: 18c	fin	instr	subj	dem N RP vorov	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*en kərič'ov vorov vor tsaɣik em nəkarel, et gərič'ə sev er, karmir er, min el kabit er* 'the pen I drew a flower with was black, red, and another one was blue'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 26.34	Q1: 19a	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*umits' vor čur em uzel, čurə perel a* 'the one I asked for water brought water'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 26.48	Q1: 19b	fin	abl	subj	dem RP *umits'*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*əndanits' umits' vor hats' em uzel, lavaš a perel* 'the one I asked for bread brought lavash'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 27.02	Q1: 19c	fin	abl	subj	dem RP *umits'*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*əndanits' umits' vor partk'ov p'oɣ em təvel, həle tanits' tus č'i ekel* 'the one from whom I gave [sic?] borrowed money hasn't come out yet'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 27.17	Q1: 19c (b)	fin	abl	subj	dem RP *umits'*	0	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*de yerevi et umits' vor partk'ov p'oɣ em uzel, həle ekel č'i* 'I suppose the one I asked to lend me money and hasn't come yet'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 27.40	Q1: 20a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*de um kəluxə ts'avəm a, kəluxə paderov a xəp'əm, vor ts'avə ants' kena* 'the one whose head hurts hits his head on the walls so that the pain will pass'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 27.47	Q1: 20	fin	poss subj	topic	RP *um* N.poss3	n/a	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um vor p'orn a ts'avəm, asem vor im p'orəs vor ts'avəm a, tadəs mi hatuk deɣ uni* 'the one whose belly hurts, let me say that when my belly hurts, my grandmother has a special medicine'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 28.05	Q1: 20	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Inanim	topic	*indz t'əvum a et el um p'orə vor ts'avəm a et el ədents' mi pan xəmats kəli* 'it seems to me that the one whose belly hurts will have drunk something like that'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 28.09	Q1: 20c	fin	poss subj	subj	dem RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*ənda meč'k'n el ov vor ts'avəm a, poli vəra paŕgəm a* 'and the one whose back hurts is lying on the floor'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 28.46	Q1: 21a	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*umits' vor hiast'ap'vel em, yerevi xap'el a* 'the one I was disappointed with, I suppose he deceived [me]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 28.57	Q1: 21	fin	abl	no MC	RP *umits'*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*umits' vor xəŕovel em…* 'the one I was upset with…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 29.02	Q1: 21b	fin	P obj	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*ha, um vəra vor jəɣaynats'el em…* 'yes, the one I got annoyed with…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 29.07	Q1: 21b	fin	P obj	no MC	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um vəra vor hersodel em, elə xap'el a indz, dar həmar hersodel em* 'the one I got angry with also deceived me, that's why I got angry'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 29.13	Q1: 21c	fin	instr	subj	RP *umov*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*umov vor ašxarov min em, elə hents' et nuynn a ov vor xap'el a indz həle gidəm č'em* 'the one I admire, again it's the same one who deceived me [but] I don't know yet'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 29.23	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	instr	no MC	RP *umov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*de yerevi en umov vor ašxarov min em* 'I suppose the one I admire'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 29.44	Q1: 22a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*de um afton xarab a lel, en yerevi sark'əm a, kam varbed a perel sark'i* 'the one whose car had broken down, he probably fixes it, or brings a mechanic to fix it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 29.55	Q1: 22b	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	dem N	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um afton vor koɣats'el en, en mart'ə yerevi milits'ayuts'yun təvats kəli vor man kan k'ət'nen* 'the one whose car they stole will probably have got the police to look for it and find it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 30.05	Q1: 22	fin	tr subj	poss	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	post		Anim		topic	*ənda afton el ov vor… pŕavay a korts'rel?* 'the one whose car… has lost his licence?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 30.10	Q1: 22c	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*ha, en el vor, ov vor pŕavay a keɣdzel, milits'iya tenalits' yerevi kəluxə ŕuli k'amagn a čəxtəm* 'yes, and the one who faked a driving licence probably hunches up behind the wheel when he sees the police'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 30.26	Q1: 22 (b)	fin	intr subj	DO	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*əndanə vor ŕuli k'amagə čəxtats karəm a k'əši* 'the one who can drive hunched up behind the wheel'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 31.11	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*əst padmuts'yan, əst hayots' padmuts'yan, Mesrop Maštots'ə en mart'n a ov vor steɣdzel a hayots' taŕerə, ays ink'ən ov vor məšakel a hayots' taŕerə* 'according to history, according to Armenian history, Mesrop Mashtots is the person who created the Armenian letters, that is, the one who worked on the Armenian letters'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 31.12	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*əst padmuts'yan, əst hayots' padmuts'yan, Mesrop Maštots'ə en mart'n a ov vor steɣdzel a hayots' taŕerə, ays ink'ən ov vor məšakel a hayots' taŕerə* 'according to history, according to Armenian history, Mesrop Mashtots is the person who created the Armenian letters, that is, the one who worked on the Armenian letters'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 31.27	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		?	*ha, aŕač'i [?bähm] təvoɣə ink'n a hayots' taŕeri* 'yes, the first who gave [?] to the Armenian letters'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 31.55	Q1: 23a	fin	tr subj	pred	dem	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*Yuri Gagarinn el en kinoyi mart'n a en vor asəm a 'pəexəli'* 'Yuri Gagarin is that person from the film, the one who says 'poekhali''
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 32.04	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Kolombosn el Amerikan haytnagordzoɣn a lel* 'Columbus was the one who discovered America'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 32.16	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryann el, ban a ləm, T'alyat' P'ašayin gyülloɣn a ləm, sədagats'noɣn a ləm* 'and Soghomon Tehleryan was what, he was the one who shot Talyat Pasha, the one who killed him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 32.16	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*Soɣomon T'ehleryann el, ban a ləm, T'alyat' P'ašayin gyülloɣn a ləm, sədagats'noɣn a ləm* 'and Soghomon Tehleryan was what, he was the one who shot Talyat Pasha, the one who killed him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh10	NKhQs 33.21	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	RP *ov*	dem N	RP conj	post		Anim		focus	*bayts' indz t'əvəm a dayagə en mart'n a ov vor tənerə mak'rəm a, sərp'odank' a anəm* 'but I think the nanny is the person who cleans houses, who does the cleaning'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 0.13	Q1: 1b	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk en tasnergusi k'ənoɣə, ha?* 'and that one who goes to sleep at twelve, yes?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 0.46	Q1: 1c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*žamə ergusi k'ənoɣə haskanaliy a asenk' ver kəkena aŕavodə aŕnəvazə žamə tasnəmegin* 'the one who goes to sleep at two, it's understandable, let's say, she will get up in the morning at eleven o'clock at least'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 1.03	Q1: 1 (b)	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		focus	*iharke lav kəzga erekvan šut k'ənoɣə* 'of course the one who went to sleep early yesterday will feel well'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 1.34	Q1: 2a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə hangəstanaloy a* 'the one who is going to Sevan will relax'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 1.42	Q1: 2c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Dubay k'ənats'oɣə, hents' vor p'oɣə pərdzni moloruts'yan meč' a əngilo t'e vonts' pərdzəni vor kara hasni Hayastan* 'the one who is going to Dubai, as soon as his money runs out he will fall into a panic [lit. wandering, losing his way] [to work out] how he can manage to get back to Armenia'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 1.56	Q1: 2b	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*London k'ənats'oɣn el [???siktägilo a li siktä kadu] yed daŕna el inč' piti ani?* 'the one who is going to London [?] to come back, what else should he do?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 2.05	Q1: 2a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		topic	*Sevan k'ənats'oɣə* 'The one who is going to Sevan'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 2.29	Q1: 3a	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*härir dəram k'ət'noɣə hents' inč' vor padahi kəvenni* 'the one who found 100 drams whatever happens will take it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 2.37	Q1: 3b	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*voski matani k'ət'noɣə kətanjvi t'e es umn er?* 'the one who found the gold ring will suffer [thinking] whose is this?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 2.47		non-fin	tr subj	sc subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*et korts'noɣə ink'ə kəpatkerats'ni inč'k'an kətanjvi č'e, korts'noɣə* 'the one who lost it, he will imagine how much the one who lost it will be suffering'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 2.52	Q1: 3c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk en šefi namak k'ət'noɣə kuraxana vor pədi šefin səranov storats'ni* 'and the one who found the boss's letter will be happy that he can humiliate the boss with it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 3.42	Q1: 4b	fin	tr subj	DO	dem pron	NP	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim		topic	*en minə vor mor šorerə təvel a uriši, merə mi k'ič' kanətsi axč'əkanə* 'the one who gave her mother's clothes to someone else, the mother will curse the daughter a bit'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 3.51	Q1: 4c	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim		topic	*tsaɣik təvoɣə, merə kasi ay bala yerevi petk' er tarar təvir eli* 'the one who gave flowers, the mother will say oh child, I suppose they needed it and you took it and gave it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 4.02	Q1: 4a (b)	fin	tr subj	no MC	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		topic	*et vor hats'ə bəžanel a* 'the one who gave out bread'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 4.53	Q1: 5c	fin	loc	loc	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Inanim	topic	*en vor boɣok' moɣok' a ləm, žoɣovurt'ə sxalvəm a* 'in the one where there is a protest, the people are wrong'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 5.02	Q1: 5a	fin	loc	no MC	dem	n/a	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim	topic	*en vor pədi havak'ven, [meč'teɣin?] č'er, olimpiada li?* 'the one where they are going to gather together, [?] wasn't it, the Olympics?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 11.02	Q1: 8c (b)	fin	loc	subj	0	dem	conj	post		Inanim	Inanim	focus	*amenits' šat kəšahi et vor kordzaran mordzaran a bats'əm* 'the one where a factory is opening will benefit the most'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 12.35	Q1: 10c	fin	time	pred	0		conj	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*tsənoɣi həmar amenayerč'anik momentə, vor aɾač'i ərexen tsənvəm a* 'for the parent the happiest moment [is] when the first child is born'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	Khachik local interviewer	RTQs1 12.41 T	Q1: 10c	non-fin	time	no MC		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*[*local interviewer*] ərexa unets'ats vaxtə* 'the time I had a child'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 13.11	Q1: 10c	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim	topic	*bayts' vor yerexan a tsənvəm, art'en vonts' vor k'o əntanik'ə tsaxkəm a* 'but when a child is born, it's already like your family is blooming'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 13.41	Q1: 11a	fin	time	time	0	n/a	conj	post		Inanim	Anim	focus	*iharke azat žamanak et vor dəprots'əm a lel* 'of course [she had more] free time when she was at school'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 14.14	Q1: 11	fin	time	time	dem	0	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*amenahangistə kəzgas et vor hələ č'es amusnats'el* 'you will feel calmest when you haven't got married yet'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 14.45	Q1: 12a	fin	clausal	subj	dem	0	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*et vor p'axam, aŕač'i səxaləs er* 'where I fled from [OR 'that I fled'], that was my first mistake'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 14.55	Q1: 12b	fin	loc	no MC	dem N	n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim	topic	*en yergrəm vor deport arin,* […] 'that country where they deported me, […]'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 16.57	Q1: 12, Q1: 7a	fin	loc	no MC	RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*vordeɣ tsənvel es* 'where you were born'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 18.42	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenalavə kəli tadi t'əxadzə* 'the best will be the one grandmother baked'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 18.49	Q1: 13a	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*im t'əxadzəs yes deha deha kanem* 'the one I bake, I will make it quickly'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 18.50	Q1: 13b	fin	DO	subj	0	dem	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim		topic	*bayts' tadə vor marmand u sirov kani, et kəli amenalavə* 'but grandmother who does it with care and love, that will be the best'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 19.02	Q1: 13b (b)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim	focus	*amenaɣäšängə tadi aradzn a* 'the most beautiful is the one grandmother made'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 19.47	Q1: 14c (b)	fin	DO	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim	?	*en asets'i eli, et vor huyreri həmar aŕandznahatuk t'əxel a, et aveli sirun kəli ham el hamov kəli* 'I said that, the one she baked especially for her guests will be both more beautiful and tasty'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 20.10	Q1: 15b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*en k'ahanayi en mendzats'ratsə hok'eban kəli* 'the one the priest brought up will be a psychologist'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 20.26	Q1: 15b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*bayts' amenakirt'ə kəli k'ahanayi sovorats'ratsə* 'but the most educated will be the one the priest taught'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 20.36	Q1: 15b (b)	non-fin	DO	no MC			RPT			Anim	Anim	focus	*k'ahanayi səvorts'radzə* 'the one the priest taught'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs1 21.03	Q1: 16c	fin	P obj	subj	?dem pron (nom)	pron	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim	topic	*en minə vor korkoŕats'el a, ink'n el mor vəra kəkorkoŕa kəp'axni* 'the one that [his mother] shouted [at], he will shout at his mother and run off'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 0.33	Q1: 17a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*es Tsaxkadzor k'ənats'oyə menak ira hangəsti [?] kəpatmi* 'this one who went to Tsaghkadzor will just talk about his holiday [?]'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 0.56	Q1: 17a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		focus	*iharke Tsaxkadzor k'ənats'oɣə* 'the one who went to Tsaghkadzor of course'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 2.05	Q1: 18b	fin	instr	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim 1sg	topic	*et vor stugel em, et el karmir kəli vor gidz anem sxalnerə hanem* 'the one I marked [them with], that will be red so I can draw a line and cross out the mistakes'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 2.53	Q1: 19c	fin	abl	subj	dem	dem	conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim 2sg non-specific	focus	*et partk'ə vor uzes, da, et kəneɣana* 'that one you ask for a debt [i.e. a loan] will be upset'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 3.08	Q1: 20c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*mečʼkʼə tsʼavoɣə tʼekʼ kəngi* 'the one whose back hurts will stand crooked'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 3.10	Q1: 20c	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	topic	*votə tsʼavoɣə kara [el?] čʼi kʼayli, elə tʼekʼ kəngi* 'the one whose leg hurts can't walk, he'll stand crooked too'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 3.26	Q1: 20a	non-fin	poss subj	subj			SPT			Anim	Inanim	focus	*kəlux tsʼavoɣə kəkʼəna bəžəški* 'the one whose head hurts will go to the doctor's'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 4.15	Q1: 21 (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*et en martʼn a vor kʼez hargəm a* 'that is the person who respects you'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 4.36	Q1: 21c (b)	fin	instr	subj	0	dem	conj	post		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*im əngerəs hentsʼ et er vor ašxarov min em əlel* 'my friend is exactly that one I admired'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 5.16	Q1: 22a	fin	poss subj	pred	poss3	dem	conj	post		Anim	?	focus	*uremə amenaharmarə et a vor afton [?yaraniš er] sarkʼi* 'so the most convenient is the one whose car [?] to mend it'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 5.28	Q1: 22 (b)	fin	tr subj	subj	dem	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*et vor afton sarkʼi, mənatsʼats hartsʼerə lutsi* ?'the one who [can] mend the car, solve the other problems' OR not RC 'that one if he mends the car, solves the other problems'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 5.45	Q1: 23a	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*de ham katʼoɣikos er inkʼə, ham el ibər tʼe mer taŕeri horinoɣn a* 'he was both Catholicos and allegedly the inventor of our letters'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 6.41	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred			SPT			Anim		focus	*de hastʼuxə hatsʼ tʼəxoɣ a* 'the baker is the person who bakes bread'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 6.44	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	NP	conj	post		Anim		focus	*hastʼuxə hargvats martʼ a vor hatsʼ a tʼəxəm* 'the baker is a respected person who bakes bread'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 7.12	Q1: 23b	non-fin	tr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim		focus	*k'avorə ergu əntanik'i kaboɣ andznavoruts'yunn a* 'the best man/godfather is the person who links two families'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh3	RTQs2 7.42	Q1: 23b	fin	tr subj	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Anim		focus	*dayagə en mart'n a vor et erexin p'ok'ər vaxtits' keragərəm a, čišigats'nəm a, mak'rəm a* 'the nanny is the person who from a young age feeds the child, takes it to the toilet, cleans it'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 0.29	Q4: 1a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*ureman um vor atum a, ink'ə uš a gali ašxatank'i* 'so the one he hates is late for work'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 0.43	Q4: 1c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor govum a, na mišt, mišt gortsi a galis urax, həpart u ašxatum a amen inč'ov ok'ni* 'the one he praises always comes to work happy and proud and tries to help with everything'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 1.02	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umits' vor vaxenum a, ink'ə tsanot'ner uni* 'the one he is afraid of has contacts'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 1.26	Q4: 2a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*okey um vor xoz a kətsel, xozerin šat žamanak č'i kerakrel* 'OK the one the pig bit hadn't fed the pigs for a long time'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 1.37	Q4: 2c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*um vor meɣuy a kətsel, sportov er zbaɣvum, u meɣun jəri mot a eɣel iran kətsel a* 'the one the bee stung was doing sport and the bee was near the water and stung him'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 1.50	Q4: 2b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*um vor dzi er kətsel, iran lav č'er pahum* 'the one the horse bit wasn't behaving well'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 2.17	Q4: 3a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*ureman um vor sirum a, na barekam a* 'so the one he loves is a relative'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 2.29	Q4: 3b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor govum a, na bart'uts'yunneri meč'[ʔov] a ants'el* 'the one he praises has been through difficulties'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 2.42	Q4: 3c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor olimpiaday a uɣarkum amenalav sovoroɣn a* 'and the one he sends to the olympiad is the best learner'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 3.03	Q4: 4a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um vor aftoy a xəp'el, hima hivandanots'um a* 'the one a car hit is in the hospital now'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 3.09	Q4: 4b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um vor k'arn a xəp'el, yerevi uɣɣaki tann a* 'the one a stone hit is probably just at home'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 3.19	Q4: 4c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor harevann a xəp'el, kəŕvi meč' a* 'the one the neighbour hit is in the middle of a fight'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 3.37	Q4: 5b	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*um vor dzeńn a kətsel ureman xaɣum er katvi het u sxal teɣ a kəpel* 'the one whose hand it bit was playing with the cat and touched the wrong place'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 3.50	Q4: 5c	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*um vor k'it'n a kətsel, uzum er, uzum er pač'er katvin č'i stats'vel* 'the one whose nose it bit wanted, wanted to kiss the cat [and] it didn't work'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 4.01	Q4: 5a	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*um vor votn er kətsel ureman, ureman katvi het lav č'er varvum, yerevi* 'the one whose leg it bit didn't treat the cat well I suppose'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 4.32	Q4: 6a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um sanrum a en šat lav a zgum, šat urax a* 'the one she combs feels very good, she's very happy'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 4.36	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um tsetsum a iran lav č'i zgum vorovhetev inč' vor ban sxal a arel* 'the one she beats doesn't feel good because she's done something wrong'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 4.56	Q4: 6b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*o, um vor k'əsvəts'num a iran šat geɣets'ik a zgum* 'oh, the one she puts make-up on feels very beautiful'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 5.22	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*ureman, um vor čənšum a, kaxvats a iharke mart'ə, bayts' im kartsik'ov aveli lav a sovorum* 'so, the one he pressures, it depends on the person of course, but in my opinion he learns better'

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Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 5.36	Q4: 7b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor vaxets'num a, hakaŕakə, art'en p'orts'um a ani minimumə vor hasni et usuts'č'i uzatsin* 'the one he makes afraid, the opposite, he already tries to do the minimum [that will allow him] to do what that teacher wants'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 5.45	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor hangist a t'oɣnum, voč' mi tarberuts'yun indz t'əvum a č'i zgum* 'and the one he leaves in peace, it seems to me he doesn't feel any difference'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 6.33	Q4: 8b	fin	tr subj	subj	0	dem	conj	pre		Inanim		topic	*vor šan a xəp'el indz t'əvum a et uɣɣaki xaɣalu hamar inč' vor p'ok'ər k'ar a eɣel* 'the one that hit the dog, it seems to me that that will be just some small stone, to play'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 8.03	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor govel a iharke aveli lav a ašxatelu* 'the one he praised will work better of course'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 8.19	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor vaxets'rel a, el inč', inč'pes [dus] č'i et jamanak, art'en anum a nents' vor myus ank'am č'əkərkənvi* 'the one he made afraid, whatever, however [?] at that time, he is already doing what he can so that it won't be repeated next time'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 8.37	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor tsetsel a, iran heč' lav č'i zgum* 'and the one he beat doesn't feel good at all'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 9.06	Q4: 11a	non-fin	intr subj	DO			SPT			Anim		focus	*lav uremən katun kətsel a, katun kətsel a katvi het xaɣats'oɣin* 'OK so the cat bit, the cat bit the one who played with the cat'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P1	RMQ4s 10.13	Q4: 12b	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	NP	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*uremən um vor šunə vor p'axnum a, ays ink'ən, tern el a p'axnum* 'so the one whose dog is running away, that is, the master is running away too'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 1.10	Q4: 2a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*xozə, xozi kətsatsə č'əgitem inč' kara lini* 'the pig, the one the pig bit I don't know what it can be'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 1.15	Q4: 2a	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*xozi kətsatsə yerevi gənum a hivandanots'* 'the one the pig bit goes to hospital I suppose'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 1.28	Q4: 2b	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de, dzin vor kətsi, inč' kəlini?* 'the one the horse bit, what will happen?'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 1.54	Q4: 3c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*Olimpiadayi masnakts'oɣə šat lav a sovorum* 'The one who takes part in the Olympiad studies very well'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 2.30	Q4: 4c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor harevann a xəp'e ink'ə jəgaynats'ats a* 'the one the neighbour hit is angry'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 2.36	Q4: 4a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*um vor mek'enan a xəp'e de gənum a hivandanots'* 'the one a car hit goes to hospital'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 2.45	Q4: 4b	fin	DO	?	0	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*de k'arə vor xəp'el a art'en əst xəp'elu vənasi čap'i, et'e voč' mi ban č'əka uɣɣaki k'aylir aŕač'* 'the one a stone hit, already according to the extent of the damage from being hit, if there's nothing, just walk forward'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 3.35	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de um vor tsetsum a, iran vat a zgum* 'the one she beats feels bad'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 3.40	Q4: 6b	fin	DO	?	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor k'svats'num a [?] hačeli a* 'the one she puts make-up on [?] is pleasant'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 4.16	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	topic	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*uremən um vor čənšum a, kara lini yerku azdets'uts'yun* 'so the one he puts pressure on, there can be two effects'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 3.39	Q4: 7c	fin	DO	topic	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor hangist a t'oɣum šat havanakan a vor aveli aŕač'xaɣats'um lini* 'the one he leaves in peace, it's very likely that there will be more progress'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 5.15	Q4: 8a	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	dem	RP conj	pre		Inanim		topic	*o, vorə vor aftoin a kəpe, mek'enayin, eti mets k'ar kəlini* 'oh, the one that touched the car, the car, that will be a big stone'

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Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 5.20	Q4: 8c	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	0	RP conj	pre		Inanim		topic	*yerevi, vorə vor mart'un a harevanin a kəpe, husov em p'ok'ər a* 'I suppose, the one that touched the person, the neighbour, I hope it's small'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 5.56	Q4: 9b	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim non-human	topic	*a, vor mərč'unnern en k'ande uremən p'əšrank'nerits' sark'ats tun a eɣe* 'the one the ants destroyed was a house made of crumbs'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 6.20	Q4: 9c	fin	DO	topic	0	dem	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Inanim	Anim	topic	*yerevi harevanə vor k'andel a eti, harab, mart'kayin haraberuts'yunnerə amur č'en eɣe, harevanə k'andel a et tunə* 'I suppose the one the neighbour destroyed, that one, the human relationships weren't strong, the neighbour destroyed that house'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 6.49	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de um vor govel a hastat lav a zgum* 'the one he praised definitely feels good'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 6.52	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor vaxats'rel a, aveli, yerevi, vaxats'rel a aveli patasxanatəvuts'yamb a skəse motenal amen inč'in* 'the one he made afraid, more, I suppose, he made him afraid [and] he started to approach everything more responsibly'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 7.09	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	0	dem N	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de vor tsetsel a art'en et mekə šat jəɣaynats'ats a vor iran tsetsel en, šat vat a zgum* 'the one he beat is already very annoyed that he beat him, he feels very bad'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 8.54	Q4: 12b	fin	poss subj	no MC	RP *vori*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*Vori vor šunə hač'um a* [Which one?] The one whose dog is barking'
Ararat (Yerevan)	P2	RQ4s 9.02	Q4: 12c	fin	poss subj	subj	pron	NP	conj	pre	RE Nom.	Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*myusə vor šunə hav a bəŕnum, yerevi tern a patv, asum vor gəna mi hat hav bəŕni* 'the other one whose dog is catching a chicken, I suppose the master orders, tells it to go and catch a chicken'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 0.39	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	no MC	pron	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Et vor iranits' vaxenəm a* [Which one?] 'The one he is afraid of'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 1.23	Q4: 1a	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*et um vor vor atəm a, šefə, uremə eti, kam šat vat ašxatoɣ a, kam el inč' tesnəm a gənəm a səran nəran asəm a* 'that one he hates, the boss, that one is either a very bad worker, or goes and tells this or that person whatever he sees'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 1.36	Q4: 1, Q4: 3a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk vorin vor šat a sirəm šefə, uremə et hamest mart' a, xelok' mart' a* 'and the one the boss likes very much, that is a modest person, a sensible/clever person'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 2.02	Q4: 2b	fin	DO	gen	RP *um*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*de um dzin kətsel a, dəra gortsə dəžvar kəlni* 'the one the horse bit, his work will be difficult'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 2.20	Q4: 2c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*isk motsak kətsatsə, ha, pəti me, deɣ ka modzaki, et'e unets'av k'əsets' kants'ni* 'and the one a mosquito bit, yes, he has to, there is a medicine for mosquitoes, if he had any he put it on and it will get better'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 2.42	Q4: 2a	non-fin	DO	no MC			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*et xozi kətsatsn el yerevi…* 'and that one the pig bit too I suppose…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 5.32	Q4: 3b	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de ov vor, um vor govəm a, et uremə lav sovoroɣ kəli* 'the one he praises will be a good student'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 5.42		fin	intr subj, tr subj	DO	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*um vor, ov vor č'i sovorəm, daserə xangaŕəm a, əntan el č'i siri* 'the one who doesn't study, disrupts the lessons, he won't like that one'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 5.51	Q4: 3c	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	dem N	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en um vor or olimpiaday a uɣargəm, et olimpiada uɣarkoɣ karoɣ a šat lav sovoroɣ č'əlni bayts' iran tsanot' mart' əlni kam baregam əlni kam…* 'the one he sends to the olympiad, that one he sends to the olympiad might not be one who learns very well, but be someone he knows or be a relative or...'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 5.54	Q4: 3c	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*et olimpiada uɣarkoɣ karoɣ a šat lav sovoroɣ č'əlni bayts' iran tsanot' mart' əlni kam baregam əlni kam…* that one he sends to the olympiad might not be one who learns very well, but be someone he knows or be a relative or...'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 6.42	Q4: 3a	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*et, um vor sirəm a, et uremə xelok' erexay a* 'that one he likes is a sensible/clever child'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 8.16	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	dem N RP um	dem	RP conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en k'uyrigin um vor tsetsəm a, uremə et, dəran, č'i ləsəm, xangaŕəm a* 'the sister she beats doesn't do what she's told, causes trouble'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 8.33	Q4: 6a	fin	poss obj	no MC	dem RP *vorə* poss3	n/a	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en vorə vor mazerə sandrəm a, kam demk'ə ban anəm…* 'the one whose hair she combs, or does something to her face…'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 9.07	Q4: 6b	fin	poss obj	no MC	poss3	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*Et vor demk'in, demk'ə kəsəm a* [with which two?] 'The one whose face she puts make-up on'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 9.20	Q4: 6b	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *vorə* poss3	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vorə vor demk'ə k'əsəm a en uremə tarik'ov medz a* 'the one whose face she puts make-up on is older'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 14.29	Q4: 7a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um vor čənšəm a, en kəsovori bayts' amen ank'am tasə skəseluts kasi yerp' pəti pərtsni səra tasə vor yes pərtsnem səranits* 'the one he pressures will learn, but every time when the lesson starts he will say, when will this one's lesson finish so I can get away from him?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 14.40		fin	intr subj	P obj	RP *vorə*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*vorə vor lav sovoroɣ a, dəra həmar nəšanakuts'yun č'uni* 'the one who is a good learner, it has no importance for him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 15.14		fin	intr subj	DO	dem RP *vorə*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim		topic	*en vorə vor č'ar a, dəran kəvaxets'ni mišt* 'the one who is naughty, he will always make him afraid'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh12	HTAQ4s 21.32	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*šefn um vor tsetsel a, uremə et šat xexč mart' a lel* 'the one the boss beat was a very wretched person'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1 2	HTAQ4s 21.39	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk um vor govəm a, eti ašxatoɣ mart' a* 'and the one he praises is a person who works'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1 2	HTAQ4s 21.49	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	subj	dem RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*en um vor vaxets'rel a uremə eti anhajoɣ mart' a lel* 'the one he made afraid was an unsuccessful person'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1 1	HTAQ4s 21.59	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	abl	RP *um*	dem	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	VDzKh11: *Um govəm a, uremə nəranits' vaxenəm a vor govəm a* 'The one he praises, he's afraid of him so he praises him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1 2	HTQ4s 1.42	Q4: 2b	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*et dzin kətsatsn el, motsak kətsatsn el pəti anpayman deɣ k'əsi č'e?* 'that one the horse bit and the one the mosquito bit must certainly put medicine on, musn't they?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1 2	HTQ4s 1.42	Q4: 2c	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*et dzin kətsatsn el, motsak kətsatsn el pəti anpayman deɣ k'əsi č'e?* 'that one the horse bit and the one the mosquito bit must certainly put medicine on, musn't they?'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1 2	HTQ4s 4.57	(Q4: 3a)	fin	DO	DO	RP *vor* N	pron	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vor k'uyrikin el sirum a, mekin k'əsum a, mekin el sanrum a* 'the sister she loves, she puts make-up on one of them and combs the other one'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKh1 2	HTQ4s 5.08	Q4: 6c	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*iharke tsetsvoyə šat vat kəzga* 'the one she beats will feel very bad of course'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH1 1	HTQ4s 5.20	Q4: 6b	non-fin	DO	subj			SPT			Anim	Anim	topic	[local interviewer]: *K'əsvats'noɣ...* VDzKh11: *K'əsvats'noɣ... sanərvatsə šat lav kəzgan* 'The one she puts make-up on' 'The one she puts make-up on… the one she combs will feel very good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH1 1	HTQ4s 5.20	Q4: 6a	non-fin	intr subj	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	[local interviewer]: *K'əsvats'noɣ...* VDzKh11: *K'əsvats'noɣ... sanərvatsə šat lav kəzgan* 'The one she puts make-up on' 'The one she puts make-up on… the one she combs will feel very good'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH1 1	HTQ4s 5.40		non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Anim	Anim	topic	*et im nəkaragərats et dasatun vor menk' tesnəm ink' sərtačak' ink' əlnəm* 'that teacher I described who we would see and became terrified'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH1 1	HTQ4s 8.14	Q4: 9a	non-fin	DO	topic		N	RPT			Inanim	Inanim	topic	*k'amu k'andats tunə, yet'e žayri vəray es tunə sark'um, es hok'evor tsevov em asəm, žayri vəra sark'ats tunə yerp'ek' č'i k'andvi* 'the house the wind destroyed, if you build a house on a rock, I'm saying this in a spiritual way, the house built on a rock will never fall down'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH1 1	HTQ4s 8.24		non-fin	DO	subj		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*žayri vəra sark'ats tunə yerp'ek' č'i k'andvi* 'the house built on a rock will never fall down'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH1 1	HTQ4s 8.28	Q4: 9c	fin	DO	topic	0	0	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim	topic	*isk vor harevann a k'andum, harevann el, yent'adrenk' harevanə č'i uzum vor es harevanə steɣ apri* 'and the one the neighbour is destroys, let's suppose the neighbour doesn't want this neighbour to live here'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH1 1	HTQ4s 12.23	Q4: 10a	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de vorin vor govats'el a eti bənakan a šat lav vičakəm a* 'the one he praised, naturally he is in a very good state'

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Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH11	HTQ4s 12.28	Q4: 10c	fin	DO	DO	RP *vorin*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*vorin el tsetsel a, xexč mart'ə, de tsetsel a, šat vat vičak kəlni ira hamar* 'and the one he beat, poor man, he beat him, it will be a very bad situation for him'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH11	HTQ4s 12.47	Q4: 10b	fin	DO	abl	dem N	pron	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim	topic	*en mekin el vor vaxets'rel a karoɣ a hents' šefə vaxets'el a iranits' vor vaxets'el er* 'and the one he made afraid, maybe the boss himself was afraid of him so he made him afraid'
Vayots Dzor (Khachik)	VDzKH11	HTQ4s 13.19		non-fin	tr subj	topic		N	SPT			Anim		topic	*mi ank'am et vaxets'noɣ dasatun, gənats'el enk' kənk'vel enk' […] t'it'izanəm enk', mek el es Karapetyanə mətav ners, es inč' a?* 'one time that teacher who made us afraid, we'd been and got baptised […] we were showing off, then this Karapetyan came in, what's this?'
Ararat (Abovyan)	Ab1	SAQ4s 0.14	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	subj	RP *umits'*	pron	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umits' vaxum a, vorovhetev ink'ə šut nəkatum a šefi sxalnerə* 'the one he is afraid of, because he quickly notices the boss's mistakes'
Ararat (Abovyan)	Ab1	SAQ4s 0.38	Q4: 1c	fin	intr subj, tr subj	DO	0	dem	conj	post		Anim		focus	*govum a nəran vor ink'ə inč' ani k'ətsnəm a, mišt el asəm a duk' lavn ek'* 'he praises the one who whatever he does flatters him, and always says, you're good'
Ararat (Abovyan)	Ab1	SAQ4s 0.44	Q4: 1b	fin	abl	abl	RP *umits'*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*umits' el vaxenum a vor, vaxenum a vor karoɣ a gaxtnik'ner unena taratsi, nəman baner* 'the one he is afraid of because, he's afraid that he might have secrets and spread them, things like that'
Ararat (Abovyan)	Ab1	SAQ4s 3.05	Q4: 6c	fin	DO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*de parz a vor um tsetsen lav č'i zga iren* 'it's clear that the one they beat won't feel good'
Ararat (Abovyan)	Ab1	SAQ4s 3.09	Q4: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um mazerə sanren / sanre / sanri yerevi p'ok'ərn a* 'the one whose hair she/they comb is probably the little one'
Ararat (Abovyan)	Ab1	SAQ4s 5.46	Q4: 9c	non-fin	DO	0			RPT			Inanim	Anim	topic	*harevani k'andats nayats p'oxaberakan t'e uɣiɣ imastov* 'that the neighbour destroyed, it depends [whether it's] in a metaphorical or literal sense'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 0.29	Q3: 1a	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um čur təvel em kəmətadze čari pes yerkar arev eɣni* 'the one I gave water will think, may he live as long as water' [lit. 'may there be a sun as long as water']
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 0.35	Q3: 1b	fin	IO	?	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um hats em təve, hatsov məna* 'the one I gave bread, let him have bread'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 0.241	Q3: 1c	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um p'oɣ em təve kəmətadze lav keɣni moŕana* 'the one I gave money will think, it will be good if he forgets'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 0.52	Q3: 1a (b)	fin	IO	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*um čur em təve* 'the one I gave water'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 1.21	Q3: 2a	fin	DO	implied subj	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um t'ak… arkayazni e təve, inčɣ or ira hor tanə* 'the one he gave to a prince [will live] just like at her father's house'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 1.26	Q3: 2b	fin	DO	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um təvel e zoravari…* 'the one he gave to the general…'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 1.39	Q3: 2b	fin	DO	topic	RP *um*	0	RP	pre	IO	Anim	Anim	topic	*zoravari um təvel e, anəndhat yerevi spasoɣakan vičak* 'the one he gave to a general [is] probably constantly [in] a state of waiting'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 1.47	Q3: 2c	fin	DO	topic	RP *um*	0	RP	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*um təvel e aŕevtərakani, čem kərna asem aŕevtərakani…* 'the one he gave to a merchant, I can't say a merchant's…'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 2.05 £	Q3: 2c	fin	DO	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*yerevi um təvel e panin, ə, aŕevtəragani* 'I suppose the one he gave to, a merchant'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 4.25	Q3: 4c (b)	fin	DO	no MC	0	n/a	conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*yerevi tənoreni mot or tarel e* 'I suppose the one he took to the principal'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 5.54	Q3: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	poss3 RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	DO	Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*heŕaxosi hamarə um or unem, yerevi pəžišk e* 'the one whose phone number I have is probably a doctor'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 6.34	Q3: 6a (b)	fin	poss obj	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*heŕaxosi hamarə um or unem* 'the one whose phone number I have'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 7.34	Q3: 7a (b)	fin	DO	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*um or paban e tsedze* 'the one that father beat'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 7.56	Q3: 8b	fin	IO	subj	dem	pron	conj	pre	RC subject, RE invariant demonstrative	Anim	Anim	topic	*tadin en or konfet e təve, inkə uraxatsel e* 'the one grandmother gave a sweet was happy'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 8.01	Q3: 8c	fin	IO	implied subj	RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*antsanotn ov or təvel e, yete p'oɣ e təve, vad yerevi, antsanotə inči pədi p'oɣ tɑ?* 'the one who a stranger gave [something], if he gave money, [it's] bad I suppose, why should a stranger give money?'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 9.54	Q3: 10a (b)	non-fin	intr subj	no MC		n/a	SPT	no MC		Anim		focus	*yerkoɣə* 'the one who is singing'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 11.02	Q3: 12c (b)	fin	poss obj	no MC	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*k'itə, k'ətin ov or kətsel e* 'the nose, the one whose nose it bit'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 11.17	Q3: 13a	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3	0	conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*kompə or p'əčatsel e kəports'e heŕaxosits' oktəvel* 'the one whose computer is broken will try and use his phone'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 11.23	Q3: 13b	fin	poss subj	subj	poss3 RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Inanim	topic	*heŕaxosə um or p'əčats'el e, inč kene?* 'the one whose phone is broken, what does he do?'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 11.45	Q3: 13b (b)	non-fin	tr subj	no MC		n/a	SPT	no MC		Anim		focus	*heŕaxos č'unets'oɣə* 'the one who doesn't have a phone'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 12.23	Q3: 14c	fin	DO	no MC		n/a	conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*En votki tag or tərel em* [which one?] 'The one I put under the leg'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 12.31	Q3: 14c (b)	non-fin	DO	no MC			RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Es depkum seɣani votki tag təradzə* 'In this case the one I put under the table leg'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 12.54	Q3: 15a (Q3: 5)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*otsi kədzadzə pəžəški kətime* 'the one a snake bit goes to the doctor's'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 12.58	Q3: 15b (Q3: 5)	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	topic	*məkan kədzadzə, yerevi yod kəkəse* 'the one the mouse bit will put on iodine I suppose'
Karin (Gyumri)	G5	GAQ3s 13.05	Q3: 15a (Q3: 5) (b)	non-fin	DO	no MC			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*yerevi otsi kədzadzə* 'the one the snake bit I suppose'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s 1 0.13	Q3: 1a	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um or hats em təvel, uremə šənoragal e, Asttsuts* 'the one I gave bread thanks God'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s 1 0.19	Q3: 1b	fin	IO	subj	RP *um*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*um or čur em təvel, nɑ uremən hagetsel e čərits, čərits hagetsel e* 'the one I gave water quenched his thirst with the water, with the water quenched his thirst'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s1 0.25	Q3: 1c	fin	IO	clausal subject	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*isk um or partk em təvel, uremən, ta pari kordz e* 'and the one I lent money, that's an act of kindness'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s1 1.56	Q3: 2b	fin	intr subj	P obj	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*ov or zoravarin gənatsel e kin, harsnatsu, nəra hamar šat təžvar e* 'the one who went to the general as a wife, fiancee, it's very difficult for her'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s1 5.06	Q3: 3b (b)	fin	DO	no MC	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Inanim	Anim	focus	*tasatun ov or təvel e* 'the one the teacher gave'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s1 5.44	Q3: 4b	fin	DO	subj	0	0	conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	*isk or tarel e əsenk gušagi mot č'e? gušagi mot, uremən voreve hivandutsyun uni* 'the one they sent to a fortune teller, isn't it, to a fortune teller, has some illness'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 0.22	Q3: 4b (b)	fin	DO	clausal subject	RP *um*	0	RP conj	pre	RC subject (not RE)	Anim	Anim	topic	*tadin, tadi morkurə um or tarel e da aveli lav e, ha* 'the one grandmother, grandmother and aunt took, that's better, yes'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 1.20	Q3: 5a (b)	non-fin	DO	implied subj			RPT			Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*ov, xozi kədzadzə* 'who, the one the snake bit'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 2.20	Q3: 6a	fin	poss obj	subj	RP *um* N.poss3	dem	RP N conj	pre		Anim	Anim 1sg	topic	*uremən um heŕaxosi hamarn or unem, na uremən im axčigəs e* 'the one whose phone number I have is my daughter'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 3.10	Q3: 6c	fin	?	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Um or kidem* [Who was the third one?] 'The one I know'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 3.40	Q3: 6a (b)	fin	?	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim 1sg	focus	*Hents um mot or heŕaxosi hamarn unem* 'With that same one whose phone number I have'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 4.24	Q3: 7c (b)	fin	DO	subj	?RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim	Anim	topic	[?*ov or axčign or kətsedze* [..] *aveli vad e*] 'the one the girl beats [...] is worse'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 6.01	Q3: 8a (b)	fin	IO	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim	Anim	focus	*um or hats' e təvel* 'the one he gave bread'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 7.34	Q3: 10a	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*ov or kəyerke uremən yete iran tsapaharum en šat lav e zgum* 'the one who is singing feels good if they applaud him'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 7.45	Q3: 10b	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *ov*	pron	RP conj	pre		Anim		topic	*ov or kəkarta uremən inkn e šat lav kəzga vorovhetev kidelik tseŕk kəpere* 'the one who is reading feels very good because he is acquiring knowledge'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 7.52	Q3: 10c	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim		topic	*isk fudbol xaxts'oɣn el, uremən inkn el huys uni or lav fudbolist kətaŕna* 'and the one who is playing football hopes that he will become a good footballer'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 8.04	Q3: 10b (b)	fin	intr subj	no MC	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov or kartum e* 'the one who is reading'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 9.04	Q3: 11c (b)	fin	tr subj	no MC	RP *ov*	n/a	RP conj	no MC		Anim		focus	*ov or ančašak yerkum e* 'the one who sings tastelessly'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 9.56	Q3: 12c (b)	fin	poss obj	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP N conj	no MC		Anim	Anim non-human	focus	*um k'itn or kədzel e* 'the one whose nose it bit'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 10.19	Q3: 13a	fin	poss subj	subj	RP *ov*	dem	RP conj	pre		Anim	Inanim	topic	*ov or kampyutərə p'əčats'el e, et ə, ha, uremən veranorokman petk e tane* 'the one whose computer is broken, that, yes, he must take it to be repaired'
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s2 10.53	Q3: 13b (b)	fin	poss subj	no MC	RP *um*	n/a	RP	no MC		Anim	Inanim	focus	*um heŕaxosə p'əčats'el e* 'the one whose phone is broken'

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Karin (Gyumri)	G6	GKhQ3s 2 11.56	Q3: 14a (b)	fin	DO	no MC	RP *vorə*	n/a	RP	no MC		Inanim	Anim 1sg	focus	*vorə kartats'el em* 'the one I read'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GLQ3s 8.53	Q3: 11a	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		topic	*vad yerkoɣin* [..] 'to the one who sings badly [...]'
Karin (Gyumri)	G4	GLQ3s 8.56	Q3: 11b	non-fin	intr subj	no MC			SPT			Anim		topic	*parts'ər yerkoɣin, vapše mi yerke* 'to the one who sings loudly, don't sing at all'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 2.33	free speech	fin	tr subj	DO	dem RP *vorə*	pron	rp	pre	dem RC case (Nom.)	Anim			*əndonk' vorə her uner, vorə mer uner, heč' mekin ban č'erin* 'those who had a father, who had a mother, they didn't do anything to any one of them'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 3.45	free speech	fin	time	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RC subj	Inanim	Anim 1sg		*En žamanak, im tarəs el, yes vor aprel em, paterazmi žamanak er* 'That time, my ?century, when I lived, was wartime'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 6.34	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	0	0	conj	pre		Anim			*Yes el, vor mankut'yunits' ari em eɣel, šat hešar ei, art'un ei* 'And I, who have been an orphan from childhood, was very sharp, very clever'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 3.39	free speech	fin	tr subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	rp conj	pre		Anim			*Ov or arhest unets'av, minč'ev ts'erek e sovats* 'The one who/whoever has a craft will be hungry until daytime'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 4.05	free speech	fin	DO	DO	RP *inč'*	dem N	rp	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg		*Inč' tesnəm ei, en gortsn enəm ei* 'I did whatever work I saw'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 7.04	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *inč'*	0	rp conj	pre	adverbial	Inanim			*Martu gəlxum inč' or piti ga piti ga* 'That which/whatever must come in a person's head must come' (probably means 'whatever problems you are fated to have, they will come')
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM7	Msh15 17.51	free speech	fin	poss subj	dat obj	RP *vorin*	dem N	rp	pre	RC subj (not RE)	Anim			*es hoɣə vorin e vor a, et martun e gərum* 'the one whose land this is, he [other] writes to that person'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	?AM6	Msh15 22.55	free speech	fin	DO	time	0	dem N	conj	pre	adverbial	Inanim	Anim 3sg pron		*hima et martn el, et k'ari vra or ink'ə asum e, et t'əvin e sark'e, et t'əvin e gəre* 'now that person, that [date] which he says [is] on the stone, he made it on that date, he wrote it on that date'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM7	Msh15 22.33	free speech	fin	tr subj	subj	?pron	pron	conj	pre	adverbial, RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim			*hima ink'n or asum e, ink'ə me k'ič' mə jəɣayn e, šut e jəɣaynanum, voč'inč'* 'now the one who says it, he is a bit bad-tempered, he gets annoyed quickly, never mind'

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Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh15 29.00	free speech	fin	loc	loc	RP *ur*	0	rp	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg		*ur əses eɣel em* ‘I’ve been wherever you might say [i.e. everywhere]’
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh15 32.22	free speech	fin	DO	DO	RP *inč'k'an*	dem	rp conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg		*Inč'k'an or steɣ unim, enk'an el əndeɣ ŕusastan* 'As much as I have here, [I have] the same amount there too, in Russia' [lit. 'How much I have here, that much there too]'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh15 33.08	free speech	fin	tr subj	DO	dem	n	0	post		Anim			*esteɣ p'esa unim enig afto uni* ‘I’ve got a son-in-law here, that (one)’s got a car’
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM7	Msh16 00.29	free speech	fin	subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	rp conj	pre	adverbial, quantity	Anim			*me amsva meč' yot'anasun tokosi ov or k'ənnut'yun er, k'vearkel e dem, kent'ani č'ein* 'in one month, seventy percent [of] those who were [at] the examination/interrogation[?], who voted against, were no longer alive'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM7	Msh16 00.49	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	n	rp	post		Inanim			*ureman ka ban, kazmakerput'yun, vorə Kirovin dem e* 'so there is a thing, an organization, which is against Kirov'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh16 03.37	free speech	fin	abl obj	loc	*vor* N	0	rp	pre	RC subj	Inanim	Anim 1sg		*et martə, vor yergərits' əses eɣel er, gider, inč' ka inč' č'əka* 'that person, whichever country you might say, he'd been, he knew what was going on'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh16 04.05	free speech	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	rp	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific		*urdeɣ əses pəŕoblem ka* 'wherever you might say, there are problems'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh16 04.07	free speech	fin	dest	dest	RP *ur*	0	rp	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific		*hur uzəm es gəna, pəŕoblem ka* 'go where[ver] you want, there are problems [there]'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh16 04.10	free speech	fin	loc	P obj	RP *vorteɣ*	poss3	rp	pre		Inanim	Inanim		*urdeɣ kat' ka [?de asa] poč'ə vəren* ‘Wherever there’s milk, [say it] (there’s) a tail on it’ (probably means 'you have to take the rough with the smooth')
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM7	Msh16 04.50	free speech	fin	tr subj	DO	N RP *voronk '*	pron	rp	pre	RE separate (non-restrictive)	Anim			*sahmanamerdz gyuɣeri bənagič'nerə voronk' utelu hats' č'unen, bayts' mer sahmanapahnern en nərank', nərants' hats' č'en talis* 'the inhabitants of villages close to the border, who don't have bread to eat, but are our border guards, they [other] don't give bread to them'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 07.13	free speech	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 3pl non-specific		*en žamanak or padarak' ein enəm ban, terderə kart'əm er, girk' er kart'əm ban* 'at that time when they were doing mass, the priest was reading, he was reading a book'

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Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 08.38	free speech	fin	DO	subj	dem	n	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 3pl non-specific		*haraf-arevelyan koɣmə me p'ok'ər pedut'yunəm ka, or saɣ yergəri yeresə ədur hečʼ bani teɣ čʼen dənəm* ‘To the south-east there is a little country which no-one on the face of the earth pays any attention to’ (literally, ‘puts in the place of a thing’, i.e. the relativized element is DO of put)
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 09.45	free speech	fin	adv quantity	subj	RP *inčʼkʼan*	dem	rp conj	pre		n/a	Anim		*inčʼkʼan or steɣ kan, inčʼ pʼokʼramasnutʼyun en, erku ətkʼan artasahmanum hay kan* 'as many as there are here [lit. how many there are], what[ever] minorities there are, there are twice as many Armenians outside Armenia'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 11.15	free speech	fin	clausal	subj	n/a	n	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific		*iskakan mer paštmunkʼ ka, or xačʼ pəti hanes eresət vorpes hay kʼristonya* 'there is a real type of worship of ours, where you have to put a cross on your face as an Armenian Christian'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 11.31	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	0	0	conj	pre	RE separate (non-restrictive)	Anim			*Hisus terə, vor Asttsu əndriyal vortʼin er, galəm e əšxar yegestsʼelu, šərjagayəm eli* 'Lord Jesus, who is the chosen son of God, comes to the world to [?], he goes all around'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 11.44	free speech	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	rp	pre		Inanim	Anim		*urdeɣ gavazanə zargəm e, inčʼ pahanjəm e, jurə axpʼyuri nəman…* 'wherever he strikes his staff, whatever he demands, water like a spring…'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 11.55	free speech	fin	loc, DO	abl, subj	RP *vorteɣ* , RP *inčʼ*	dem, 0	RP RP	pre		double RC both Inanim	Anim		*urteɣ inčʼ pahanjəm e əndits' durs e galəm* 'whatever he demands in each place, it comes out of there'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 12.08	free speech	fin	loc	loc	RP *vorteɣ*	0	rp conj	post		Inanim	Anim		*tanəm en urteɣ or čʼayir horateɣ ka bani mozi, oxčʼar mortʼəm en tig en hanəm* 'they take him where there is a pasture, a pit/depression [where] they slaughter calves and sheep and take off the hides'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh16 12.08	free speech	fin	loc	subj	0	n	0	post		Inanim	Anim		*tanəm en urteɣ or čʼayir horateɣ ka bani mozi, oxčʼar mortʼəm en tig en hanəm* 'they take him where there is a pasture, a pit/depression [where] they slaughter calves and sheep and take off the hides'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh1 22.46	free speech	fin	time	time	dem N	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim 1pl		*en orn or ekankʼ, ed orə kəngətik nəstatsʼuytsʼ ein irantsʼ kʼambaši dem* 'that day when we came, that day women were doing a sit-in in fromt of their [?]'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh1 22.55	free speech	fin	time	time	0	dem N	conj	pre	RC subj	Inanim	Anim		*žoɣovurtʼn or artʼen šaržvav həraparak, et žamanak mer koɣin ekav mekʼenan ekav mekʼena azgayin žoɣovi* 'when the people had already started moving towards the square, at that time the car came up to us, a car belonging to the National Assembly'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh1 25.16	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	0	n	conj	post		Inanim			*minčʼev həmi žažki šenkʼ ka or makʼradz čʼe* ‘Until now there are earthquake [-destroyed] buildings that haven't been cleaned up’

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Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh1 26.37	free speech	fin	adv	adv	RP *inč'ɣ*	dem	rp conj	pre		n/a	Anim		*inč'ɣ or Nairitə č'ətəvin b'anvornerin, iman el ateɣ* 'Just as Nairit didn't give [anything] to the workers, it was the same there' [lit. 'How Nairit didn't give to the workers, [it was] like that there', with interrogative adverb *inč'ɣ* and corresponding demonstrative *iman*]
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh1 28.45	free speech	fin	clausal	metaphorical loc	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim		*bayts' inč'i pəti žoɣovurt'ə hasner et astičan or helnein ert'ain ədeɣ?* 'but why did the people have to reach that point [that degree of hardship and anger] that they would get up and go there?'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM2	Msh5 19.01	free speech	fin	time	time	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 3sg pron		*en teɣə gənats'ink' or həmi ink'ə č'ulkek'n er hak'ts'ənəm* 'we went at that time [lit. place] when she was putting on her stockings'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM2	Msh5 23.48	free speech	fin	DO	subj	dem N	0	conj	pre	adverbial, RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim 1sg		*həmi en pəztikin or nəšanel em, art'en ŕusastan e* 'now the youngest [son] who I've got engaged [to someone] is already in Russia'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM2	Msh5 33.18	free speech	fin	DO	DO	RP *inč'*	0	rp conj	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg		*inč' or tesel em, inč' or yes or tesel em, č'em uzəm or hankarts nor əsenk' galoɣə tesni* 'that which I have seen, that which I myself have seen, I don't want a person who comes now to see by any chance'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh5 42.11	free speech	fin	?DO	subj	0	n	0	post		Inanim	?		*mer baxč'i koxk'i het haryur hits'un hektaranots' ardəm kar, ts'oren er ts'anats* 'next to our garden there was a 150 hectare field [which] was sown with wheat'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh5 50.27	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *vorə*	0	rp conj	pre		Inanim			*vorn or mənats', tsiran eɣav* 'the ones (if any) that remain [of the flowers] become apricots' [lit. 'which one remained became an apricot', meaning 'if, by any chance, one remained, it became an apricot', expressive use of aorist.]
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh5 51.03	free speech	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	0	rp conj	pre		Inanim	Anim		*vorin or a ep'eja jərel ein əsksets' kanəč'elə* 'any ones that they had watered enough started to become green'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh5 51.05	free speech	fin	DO	subj	RP *vorin*	0	rp conj	pre		Inanim	Anim		*vorin or a ep'eja jərel ein əsksets' kanəč'elə, vorin or č'e mi kerp anjax kanəč'av* 'any ones that they had watered enough started to become green, the ones they hadn't became sort of weakly green'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM3	Msh6 2.30	free speech	fin	adv	adv	RP *inč'ɣ*	dem	rp	pre		n/a	Anim 3sg pron		*inč'əɣ kuzena eman kəxosa ink'ə* 'he talks how[ever] he wants'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh7 0.37	free speech	fin	tr subj	subj	0	n	conj	post		Anim			*en žamanak mart' č'əkar or bankerə p'ara č'unenar* 'at that time there wasn't a [single] person who didn't have money in the banks'

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Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh7 0.41	free speech	fin	pass subj	subj	0	n	conj	post		Anim			*isk həmi č'əka mart' or partk'i tak č'əxext'əvi* 'and now there isn't a [single] person who isn't drowning in debt'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh7 1.17	free speech	fin	subj, dest	n/a	RP *vorə,* RP *vorteɣ*	n/a	RP RP	pre		double RC Anim and Inanim			*Vorn urdeɣ harmar ts'ərav* [Where are they?] Each one spread wherever [was] convenient [for him]' [lit. 'which one where convenient spread'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh7 3.16	free speech	fin	intr subj, adv	adv, subj	RP *ov* , RP *inč'ɣ*	dem, 0	RP RP	pre		double RC Anim and n/a (manner adverbial)			*ov inč'əɣ kərts'av ənpes el šinets'* 'Each one built however he could' [lit. 'who(ever) how(ever) he could, thus he built']
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh7 3.28	free speech	fin	adv	?adv	RP *inč'ɣ*	n/a	rp conj	post		n/a	Anim 1pl		*aŕants' pəlan aŕants' ban inč'x or kərts'ank'* [we did it] 'without a plan, without anything, however we were able'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh8 11.56	free speech	fin	tr subj	subj	0	n	conj	post		Anim			*ašxarum aŕač'i mart'n e eɣe or ham gərel e ham k'ezi patasxanel e ham zangov xosats'el e* 'he was the first person in the world who both wrote and answered you and talked on the phone'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh8 17.33	free speech	fin	DO	DO	RP *inč'*	0	rp	pre		Inanim	Anim		*inč' uzəm en enəm en* 'they do what[ever] they want'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh8 18.49	free speech	fin	DO	subj	RP *inč'*	0	rp	pre		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific		*inč' uzəm es enes, demət aŕnəm en, č'i eɣnəm* 'do what[ever] you want [i.e. whatever you do], they come up against you, it doesn't happen'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 25.29	free speech	fin	?clausal or subj]	?adj or subj	?n/a or 0	?dem or dem N	conj	post		?n/a or Inanim			*eman kargut eɣav or ləriv mer daštə tarav* 'such hail fell that (it) took away [i.e. destroyed] our whole field' [does RC refer to *eman* 'such' or *eman karkut* 'such hail'?, i.e. 'hail such that it destroyed our field', or 'hail which destroyed our field'?]
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 43.38	free speech	fin	tr subj	DO	0	n	conj	post		Anim			*hənger unei or tak' jərin aɣ k'əts'er hasnəm ei* 'I had a friend who, if he put salt in hot water, I would arrive'

Dialect (location)	Speaker	Source	Question	Finite/Non-finite	RC role	MC role	RC anaphor	MC anaphor	type of relative marker or participle	pre vs post-MC (for finite RCs)	preposed elements (for pre-MC finite RCs)	animacy of RE	animacy of subject (not RE)	topic/focus of MC (for questionnaire responses)	example
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh8 46.48	free speech	fin	time	time	0	0	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Inanim	Anim		*en žamanak or K'oč'aryanə Putyinin əsav te et xaɣaɣ p'ulum yes tarva, or ira meč' ašxatank' č'əka, saɣ ŕusastan yert'an, en el əsav t'oɣ im žoɣovurt'n el ga k'o meč'ə ašxati* 'at the time when Kocharyan said to Putin that in that time of peace he [Kocharyan] had lost [the election?], that in his [country] there was no work, let everyone go to Russia, he said let my people come too and work in your [country]'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh9 0.32	free speech	fin	intr subj	DO	RP *k'ani* N	0	rp	pre		Inanim			*k'ani kenats' kar, xəməm ein* 'however many toasts/as many toasts as there were, we drank them'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh9 4.12	free speech	fin	adv	adv	RP *inč'ɣ*	dem	rp conj	pre	adverbial	n/a	Inanim		*inč'ɣ or həmi ert'alov yet e ert'əm č'es hasts'ənəm [Ves] or gətnes poč'ə, č'i eɣnəm, iman Sovetə ert'alov arag zark'anəm er* 'just as now as things progress [the country] is going backwards, you can't manage to [V] to find the tail [solution? make a living?], it doesn't happen, in the same way the Soviet Union as things progressed was developing quickly'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh9 16.06	free speech	fin	clausal	subj	n/a	dem	conj	pre		Inanim	Anim		*ɣarabaɣinə əskəzbits' šat lav er, yeto vor art'en irank' irants'n erets'in u žoɣovurt'ə yet kaynav, edig art'en patmelu ban č'e* 'the Karabagh [movement] was very good at first, [but] then when they took it all for themselves and the people stayed behind, that's not worth talking about'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM3	Msh11 2.03	free speech	fin	DO, subj	subj	RP *inč'* , RP *ov*	0	RP RP	pre		double RC Inanim and Anim			*inč' vov uzəm e eɣni* 'whatever each one wants, let it happen'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh13 2.25	free speech	fin	pass subj	subj	RP *ov*	0	RP	pre	adverbial	Anim			*zatki šap't'in vov e eɣnəm e, et dzevi mart'ik en eɣnəm* 'whoever is born in Easter week, they're that kind of people'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh13 13.49	free speech	fin	clausal	adv	n/a	dem	conj	post		n/a	Anim		*eman en xosəm or č'i haskəts'vəm* 'they speak in such a way that it can't be understood'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM2	Msh13 14.37	free speech	fin	clausal	adj	n/a	dem adj	conj	post		n/a	Anim 1sg		*eman geš bənavorut'yun unim or č'en utəm, art'en or gənats'ik' saɣ or piti mətadzim* 'I've got a bad nature such that [if] they [guests] don't eat, already after you've gone I'll think [about it] the whole day'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 5:45	free speech	non-fin	time	time		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg		*Im tsaŕayatsəs žamanagə Stalinə mahats'av* 'At the time when I was serving [in the army] Stalin died'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM5	Msh15 35.42	free speech	non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg		*yes im šinadzəs k'arə ədeɣ č'arč'ərve tanjəve dərel em* 'I struggled and suffered and put the stone I made there'

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Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM7	Msh15 37.27	free speech	non-fin	DO	abl		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim 1sg		*me tarim heto es mart'u ač'k'eri meč' uɣiɣ nayem, voč' t'e amač'em im asats xosk'its'* '[let me] one year later look this person straight in the eye, not be ashamed of the thing I said'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM6	Msh15 51.46	free speech	non-fin	tr subj	subj			SPT			Anim			*axč'əkat uzoɣ e eke* 'someone has come who wants [to marry] your daughter'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh5 43.05	free speech	non-fin	tr subj	pred		N	SPT			Inanim			*k'amin paštpanoɣ tsaŕer en* 'they are trees that protect [against] the wind'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM2	Msh5 33.18	free speech	non-fin	intr subj	subj			SPT			Anim			*inč' or tesel em, inč' or yes or tesel em, č'em uzəm or hankarts nor əsenk' galoɣə tesni* 'that which I have seen, that which I myself have seen, I don't want a person who comes now to see by any chance'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 2.03	free speech	non-fin	intr subj	pred			RPT			Anim			*jart'its' p'axadznern ein* 'they were [people] who had fled from the massacres'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 10.08	free speech	non-fin	tr subj	pred		N	SPT			Anim			*mart'u hark'oɣ mart' eɣnis, enig e* 'to be a person who respects people, that's it [i.e. the most important thing]'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 10.33	free speech	non-fin	DO	IO		N	RPT			Anim	Anim		*irank' irants' paštats K'əristosin enk'an ban avelats'rin kəroni meč' or sətvav xexč mart'ə* ‘in religion they’ve added so many things to the Christ who they worship that the poor man has become a lie’
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 15.44	free speech	non-fin	tr subj	IO			SPT			Anim			*lav sovoroɣin, inč'k'an er, hits'un ŕubli er ŕusagan p'oɣov?* 'for the one who studied well, how much was it, fifty rubles in Russian money?'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 20.32	free speech	non-fin	DO	DO		N	RPT			Inanim	Anim		*məšagadz hoɣə bažnin mezi* 'they gave out cultivated land to us'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 23.57	free speech	non-fin	intr subj	DO			RPT			Inanim			*bernes k'aladzə edonts' gərasenyaki meč' əsets'i* 'in their office I said what came out of my mouth'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 31.10	free speech	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Anim	Anim 1sg		*ut'yerort' dasaran ei, im aŕadzəs harsnats'us el inyerort' er* 'I was in the eighth class, and the fiancee I had taken was in the ninth'

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Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM1	Msh8 38.53	free speech	non-fin	DO	subj			RPT			Inanim	Anim non-specific		*sorvadzə mənum e sorvadz* 'what you have learnt remains learnt'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 39.00	free speech	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim 3sg pron		*ira sorvadzə čʿi kərnəm okʿtəvi okʿtagortse ira gidetsʿadzə* 'he can't benefit from what he's learnt, he can't use what he knows'
Artik-Maralik (Meghrashen)	AM4	Msh8 39.00	free speech	non-fin	DO	DO			RPT			Inanim	Anim 3sg pron		*ira sorvadzə čʿi kərnəm okʿtəvi okʿtagortse ira gidetsʿadzə* 'he can't benefit from what he's learnt, he can't use what he knows'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ4	Qar1 19.53	free speech	fin	DO	subj	RP *inčʿ* N	0	RP N	pre		Inanim	Inanim		*et vičaken el iš xəvantʿun ases patahel i* ‘and [resulting] from that situation, whatever illness you could mention, occurs’
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ1	Qar4 9.00	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	RP *inčʿə*	dem N	RP conj	post		Inanim			*čišt i goldenə kʿaxtsʿər i, baytsʿ nəra mečʿ en okʿtakar banerə čʿəkan inčʿə vor sibirenkoi mečʿ* ‘It is true that Golden [variety of apple] is sweet, but it doesn’t contain the healthy things that there are in Sibirenko [variety of apple]’
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ4	Qar1 18.58	free speech	fin	adv	adv	RP *vontsʿ*	dem	RP	pre		n/a	Anim		*vontsʿ uzel en ənentsʿ tsaxel en* ‘They sell [them] however they want’
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	LenP 15.31	free speech	fin	DO	subj	dem N	dem N	conj	pre	RE RC case (not Nom.)	Anim	Anim		*en ənkerojə or šat čʿi sire, en ənkerə kəse, yes kugam* ‘The friend who he doesn’t like very much, that friend says, I’m coming’
Karin (Gyumri)	G6	LenP 15.52	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	dem N	dem	conj	pre	RE RC case (Nom.)	Anim			*en ənkerə or hetə čʿekav, da harstutʿyunn er* ‘The friend who didn’t come with him, that was wealth’
Karin (Gyumri)	G3	LenQ 23.51 L	free speech	fin	loc	pred	0	dem N	conj	post		Inanim	Anim 2sg non-specific		*Es kʿaɣakʿə en kʿaɣakʿn e or du vorpes mart, vorpes eak, mets kəzgas* ‘This city is the city where you, as a person, as a being, feel big’
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	Qar1 18.45	free speech	fin	DO	DO	RP *inčʿ*	dem	RP	pre		Inanim	Anim 1sg		*inčʿ uzem en el kasem*
Agulis (Paraka)	Ag1	SH2.3 2.26	free speech	fin	tr subj	DO	dem N	NP	conj	post		Inanim			*hetov pumbus kʿar unekʿ mekʿ, or šat hetakʿərkʿir patmutsʿyun uni at pumbus kʿarə* ‘And then we’ve got a pumice stone, that has a very interesting history’
Vayots Dzor (Hors)	VDzH1	HorsSv1 9.18	free speech	fin	intr subj	subj	pron	NP	conj	post		Anim			*aŕačʿi mankavaržn a vor mer geɣəm əlnəm a inkʿə* ‘She is the first teacher that there is in our village’

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Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ4	Qar1 8.08	free speech	fin	DO	whole of which subject is partitive	RP *inč'* N	poss3	RP N conj	pre		Inanim	implied Anim		*inč' arhavirk'ner vor tese č'e et geɣə, voč' me banə et xač'k'arə əndeits' č'i k'əts'e* 'Whatever disasters that village has seen, hasn't it, not one thing (of them) has shifted that khachkar from there'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ4	Qar1 7.01	free speech	non-fin	tr subj	DO		N	SPT			Inanim			*heto patmakan nəšanakuts'yun unets'oɣ menk' xač'k'arer unenk'* 'then we have khachkars which have historical significance'
Khoy (Karaglukh)	KhQ3	Qar4 10.17	free speech	fin	dative (locative meaning)	poss loc	dem RP *vor* N	dem literally referring to the people, not the house	RP N conj	pre	RE invariant demonstrative	Inanim	Anim		*et, vor tanə vor dərank' mənats'el en, asum a dərants' hayat'ə, asum a mets apelsini tsaŕer kar* 'The house that they lived in, she says, in their yard, she says, there were big orange trees'
Karin (Gyumri)	G3	LenQ 34.05	free speech	fin	?clausal or subj	?adj or pred	?n/a or 0	dem or dem N	conj	post		n/a or Anim	Anim		*ink'ə ənpes mart e, or dəžvar etpes lurj k'erakanakan yes im inč' sxaləm ene* 'he is the sort of person who would be unlikely to make that kind of serious grammatical or whatever mistake' [lit. 'he is such a person that [?he] is unlikely…' where RC could refer to the adjective 'such' or to the noun 'such a person'.]

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Relative clauses in colloquial Armenian : Syntax and typology

Résumé: Cette thèse étudie la syntaxe et la typologie des propositions relatives en arménien parlé. Elle propose une analyse syntaxique et une classification des stratégies de relativisation disponibles en arménien, dans le cadre des approches théoriques et typologiques existantes de la relativisation, ainsi qu'à identifier les facteurs décisifs pour le choix des différentes stratégies. Chaque stratégie ayant des équivalents dans d'autres langues de la région, le contact linguistique peut influencer leur choix. Il est également probable que le rôle de l'élément relativisé dans la proposition relative soit pertinent pour le choix de la stratégie. En particulier, les données présentées dans de précédentes études sur l'arménien suggèrent que la distribution des relatives participiales peut constituer une violation de la hiérarchie d'accessibilité de la relativisation si elle est envisagée comme opérant directement en termes de fonctions grammaticales syntaxiques. L'étude se concentre sur les parlers de diverses régions d'Arménie. Les propositions relatives ont été saisies dans une base de données d'environ 2000 exemples avec des filtres portant sur les paramètres pertinents.

Les résultats montrent que l'accessibilité à la relativisation est déterminée par la saillance liée aux rôles sémantiques (affectivité) et pragmatiques (thematicité) et par de fréquents modèles d'association rôle-référence plutôt que directement par des fonctions grammaticales syntaxiques. Ceci fournit une explication cohérente des violations apparentes de la hiérarchie d'accessibilité trouvées en arménien, ainsi que d'autres phénomènes qui se sont révélés problématiques pour les interprétations de l'accessibilité à la relativisation basées directement sur la structure syntaxiques.

Mots-clés : Syntaxe, arménien, typologie, proposition relative, subordination, hiérarchie d'accessibilité, rôles grammaticaux, Anatolie, Caucase, Iran.

Summary: This thesis presents a study of the syntax and typology of relative clauses in colloquial Armenian. It proposes a syntactic analysis and classification of the relativization strategies available in Armenian within the framework of existing syntactic theoretical and typological proposals concerning relative clauses, and to identify the decisive factors associated with the distribution of these different strategies. As each of the available strategies is paralleled in other languages of the area, it is possible that language contact will have an impact on the choice of strategy. There is also evidence that the role of the relativized element in the relative clause is relevant for the choice of strategy; in particular, evidence presented in previous studies of Armenian suggests that the distribution of participial RCs may violate the Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy if this is envisaged as operating directly in terms of syntactic grammatical relations. The study is mainly based on data from sound recordings of native speaker consultants from various areas of Armenia, both spontaneous speech and responses to stimuli designed to elicit relative clauses with particular properties that have been proposed to affect the choice of relativization strategy. The relative clauses are entered into a database with filters for relevant features, which contains approximately 2000 examples.

The results show that accessibility to relativization is determined by semantic (affectedness) and pragmatic (topicality) role prominence, and by frequent role-reference association patterns, rather than directly by syntactic grammatical relations. This provides a coherent explanation of the apparent Accessibility Hierarchy violations found in Armenian, as well as other phenomena that have proved problematic for syntactic structure-based interpretations of accessibility to relativization.

Key words: Armenian, syntax, typology, relative clauses, subordination, Relativization Accessibility Hierarchy, grammatical relations, Anatolia, Caucasus, Iran.