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AN ANALYSIS OF DANTE'S TENSES IN THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA*

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TRANSLITERATION

The Armenian alphabet, which consisted of 36 letters, was created by S. Mesrop Maštoc' in the 5th century and is still used today. The letters *o* [ō] and *ƒ* [f] were introduced later in the 12th century. *Ō* substituted the diphthong [aw]. Now the Armenian alphabet consists of 38 letters.

This thesis adopts the Hübschmann-Meillet (H-M) scientific transliteration of Armenian letters based on the works of the linguists Heinrich Hübschmann and Antoine Meillet (1913, 2nd edition 1980). It is presented in the following table:

Ա	Բ	Գ	Դ	Ե	Զ	Է	Ը	Թ	Ժ
A	B	G	D	E	Z	Ē	Ë	T'	Ž
Ի	Լ	Խ	Ծ	Կ	Հ	Ձ	Ղ	Ճ	Մ
I	L	X	C	K	H	J	Ł	Č	M
Յ	Ն	Շ	Ո	Չ	Պ	Ջ	Ռ	Ս	Վ
Y	N	Š	O	Č'	P	Ĵ	Ŕ	S	V
Տ	Ր	Ց	ՈՒ	Ւ	Փ	Ք	Օ	Ֆ	
T	R	C'	U	W	P'	K'	Ō	F	

Table 1 Transliteration of the Modern Armenian alphabet

ORTHOGRAPHY DIFFERENCES

A few words on the orthography differences between the two modern standards of Armenian, Easter and Western, is warranted, as the reader will encounter them in the transliterations.

Modern Armenian employs two spelling systems: the classical and the new orthography. The classical orthography (CO) follows the spelling tradition established in the 5th century. The new orthography (NO) was standardized between 1922 and 1924 in the Soviet period and was used exclusively in Armenia. Until recently, all publications in Armenia were in the NO and in the diaspora, CO. This issue concerns the letter pairs *y/h*, *u/v* and diphthongs *oy/uy*, *ea/ya*, *eō/yo*, *iw/yu*, where the first letter or diphthong corresponds to the CO that Modern Western Armenian inherited. Later, the following more complex changes are made:

a. If *ye* is spoken in the initial sound of a word, one writes "Ե" [e] when *e*, then "Է" [ē]

b. The letter pair "ու" [u] becomes a full, independent letter in the 34th place of the alphabet.

c. The *о* [ō] is written only in the beginning of a word and in compound words. Otherwise, *ո* [vo] is used. The only exceptions are *ով* and *ովքեր* [ov, ovkʻer].

d. The *ւ* [w] is no longer an independent letter and appears only as a component of *ու* [u]. In its place, *վ* [v] is written.

e. The *և* [yev] becomes a full, independent letter in the 37th place of the alphabet. Some words originally written with *եվ* [ev] are now written with this letter.

f. In the spelling of conditionals *կ* [k] is added directly (without an apostrophe before vowels or *ը* [ə] before consonants) – see Khacherian (1999) fore more details

Abbreviations used

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	adjective
ABL	ablative
ACC	acusative
ADV	adverb
AGR	agreement
AOR	aorist
AUX	auxiliary
caus	causative suffix
CO	Classical Orthography
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
def	suffixed definite article
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DDP	Dartmouth Dante Project
E	event point
EANC	Eastern Armenian National Corpus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
H-M	Hübschmann-Meillet
IMP	imperfect
imp	imperative
INDEF	indefinite article
INF	infinitive

INST	instrumental	
INT	intensifier	
IO	indirect object	
LOC	locative	
MEA	Modern Eastern Armenian	
MWA	Modern Western Armenian	
N	noun	
NEG	negative	
neg	negation particle	
NO	New Orthography	
NOM	nominative	
NUM	numeral	
O	direct object	
pass	passive suffix	
PL	plural	
PERF	perfect	
PRES	present	
PAST	past	
POSS	possessive	
PROC	processual	
PTCP	participle	
R	reference point	
RES	resultative	
S	speech event	
SOV	subject_object_verb	
SUB	subject (participle)	
SUBJ	subjunctive	
SG	singular	
V	verb	
QNT	quantifier	
REL	relative	

INTRODUCTION

"Dante is the greatest poet of the Middle Ages,

the Homer of modern times."

(Zarbhanalean 1874, 160)

Knowledge of Dante and his writings began to be disseminated throughout the Armenian-speaking world at the beginning of the 19th century thanks to the monks of the Mekhitarist Congregation of St. Lazarus Island in Venice through their work on world geography (Agonc' 1802), short encyclopedias on the lives of illustrious people (Małak'-T'ēop'ileanc' 1839), and in studies on Western literature (Zarbhanalean 1874). The name Dante could be encountered not only in the periodicals of the time, but also in school textbooks, especially in history and literature.[1]

This dissertation is a monographic study of the translation of Dante's verbal system into the verbal systems of Modern Eastern Armenian and Modern Western Armenian.[2]

In what follows, I briefly explain the reasons, which underlie this choice of topic. Besides having a personal intellectual interest in Dante's work and Dante's cultural environment, which intrigued me long before I became interested in linguistic studies, I think that a closer analysis of the linguistic properties of Dante's translations might provide interesting insights both on the properties of the verbal systems of the languages involved – Dante's Italian on one side and Modern Eastern Armenian and Modern Western Armenian on the other – and the abstract structure of tenses in Universal Grammar, in particular.

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[1] It is well-known that as early as the first half of the 1800s, the Mekhitarists wrote and published books that were used in the schools of Constantinople, Smyrna and other cities, in addition to the institutions belonging to the Congregation.

[2] The history of the Armenian language is divided into three stages: Old Armenian (from the 5th to approximately the 10th century), Middle Armenian (10th–17th centuries, approximately) and Modern Armenian (since the 17th century). In spite of the presence of Middle and Modern Armenian, Old Armenian continued to be the literary written language until the 19th century. Modern Armenian is divided into two standards: Eastern and Western Armenian. Eastern Armenian is spoken and written in the Rebublic of Armenia and in the Persian and Indian colonies, while Western Armenian is spoken and written in Anatolian Armenia and in the other colonies.

This work will be mostly descriptive, but in those cases where a theoretical framework is warranted, I adopt the generative one, in particular, the minimalist program, as developed recently by Chomsky and many other scholars.[3]

Armenians were introduced to Dante's *Commedia* before many of the peoples of Asia and even some of Europe. The translator is the Mekhitarist father Arsēn Bagratuni (1868).[4] This fact shows that Armenian cultural environment was ready to receive the intellectual message transmitted by Dante's work.

The introduction of Dante into Armenian reality enriched the Armenian culture and became part of it both from a linguistic and a literary point of view. As early as the 19th century, when Dante began to appear in Armenian literature, the poet and critic Nalbandyan (1940) borrowed the poet's name as a banner for his avant-garde ideas. Nalbandyan presented himself as an apologist, an enthusiastic protector of modern Armenian, *Ašxarhabar*. His opponents claimed that to give up the ancient language, *Grabar*, in order to create literature that was simpler for people to understand, would lead to the extinction of the nation. Nalbandyan (1940, 21, the translation is mine) responded to this objection by posing another question: "How is one to explain the survival of the European peoples who adopted a language that everyone could understand, building a bridge to the world with the Enlightenment? Not only did they thrive, they continue to do so today." To buttress his ideas, Nalbandyan used Dante as an example, putting forward his proposal of the Italian "vulgar" language, which was met by a strong opposition in the Florentine world.

Famous Armenian poets Č'arenc' (1916) and Širaz (1991) were influenced by Dante. Širaz is the author of *Hayots Dant'eakanə* 'The Armenian *Danteakan* (Dantesque)', a poem of 4000 verses, which the poet likens to 4000 tombstones for the millions of Armenian innocent victims. Č'arenc' (1916) in his epic-like poem *Dant'eakan aŕaspel*

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[3] See, among the many other important works, Chomsky (1995) and Kayne (1994). The reason this dissertation is mostly descriptive, is that it constitutes just a first step in the analysis of a very complex field, scarcely addressed before from a theoretical point of view, namely the analysis of the Armenian verbal system.

[4] After Bagratuni's Armenian translation, Dante was translated into Hungarian in 1878, in Sanskrit 1881, in Bask in 1892, in Albanian in 1896, in Bulgarian in 1906, in Japanese in 1909, in Arabic in 1912, in Chinese in 1912, in Turkish in 1955, etc.

'The Dante Legend' deals with his experience of the Armenian genocide. In his poem, by crossing the *foaming river of blood*, Čʻarencʻ begins his journey towards the Armenian Nation's past. He chooses as a companion neither Homer nor Virgil, but Dante.

There are some articles on Dante's Armenian translations.[5] However, in spite of the great popularity of Dante's *Commedia* in the Armenian world, the linguistic perspective has never been addressed thus far. Namely, Dante's translation has never been considered from a linguistic point of view. It has only been analyzed from a literary one.[6]

This work deals with the linguistic aspect: the fact that one particular linguistic and grammatical system – Dante's Italian – is transposed into a very different one, the Armenian. Specifically, I consider the way in which morphology and syntax interact to yield a temporal interpretation. As well known, this is one of the crucial features of a language, given that the temporal interpretation of utterances is one of the central interface questions, which bridges the gap between grammar, on one side, and the conceptualization of time – a highly cultural phenomenon – on the other.

This work consists of an introduction and three chapters: Non-finite verbal forms of Armenian, Tenses of the Indicative mood in Modern Armenian, *Divina Commedia* versus *Astvacayin katakergutʻyun*.

In Chapter 1, I consider the participles of Modern Armenian, as all the tenses of Modern Eastern Armenian, except the aorist, as well as some of the tenses of Modern Western Armenian, are formed analytically, by combining a participle and an auxiliary. Where necessary, Old Armenian is also considered.

In Chapter 2, I compare the tenses of the indicative mood of Modern Eastern Armenian and Modern Western Armenian. I first discuss the auxiliary verbs and their diachronic development and synchronic description. I then provide a detailed analysis of the various tenses.

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[5] Teza (1889); Tēr-Nersēssian (1965); Babayan (1969); Tayan (1969); Haroutyunian (2008a, 2008b, 2006a, 2006b, 2001, 1998, 1997); Orengo (2005), etc.

[6] I too considered the literary aspect of Dante's Armenian translations in my first PhD thesis – *Dantei Astvacayin katakergutʻyan očʻakan yurahatkutʻyunnerə hayeren tʻargmanutʻyunnerum* (The Stylistic Particularities of Dante's *Divina Commedia* in Armenian translations – discussed at Yerevan State University in July 2006.

In Chapter, 3 I discuss the verbal system of the indicative mood of Dante's Italian and provide a history of the Armenian translations of the *Commedia*. I compare an inventory of verbal forms from various verses of the *Commedia* with the forms adopted in the Armenian translations and illustrate the synthetic and functional equivalences in the verbal systems - Dante's Italian on one side, and MEA and MWA on the other.[7] Finally I provide some concluding remarks.

In this study I consider Dante's Eastern Armenian translations by Tayan (1969) and Ghulyan (2004, 2005, 2007); a Western Armenian translation by Łazikean (1902, 1905, 1924); the Eastern Armenian National Corpus (EANC) - http://www.eanc.net, Dante's English translation by Mandelbaum (1980, 1982), the American-English translation by R. Hollander and J. Hollander (2001), the Enciclopedia Dantesca, the "Dante online" text provided by the Scientific Council of the Società Dantesca Italiana – http://www.danteonline.it – and the general overview of Old Italian grammar provided by Salvi and Renzi (2010).[8]

For my analysis and interpretation of the verses chosen from the *Commedia*, the comments provided by the Dartmouth Dante Project (DDP) were consulted – http://dante.dartmouth.edu.

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[7] The discussed verses are mainly from *Inferno* (I 19-21; 49-54; 130-135II 136-138; IV 131-133; 83-84; VI 97-99; VII 124; VIII 117-119; X 7-9; XIII 1-2; XIV 138; XVII 34-36; XX 49-51; XXI 85-86; XXIII 100-102; XXIV 142-144; XXVI 76-78, 130-133; XXVII 40, 67, 118; XXXII 112-114, 124-125, 127-129; XXXIII 22-26). My selections are based on the verses proposed by Ageno (1978). Moreover, all the Armenian partial translations include verses from *Inferno* and where necessary, I consulted them as well, in addition to the complete translations by Tayan, Ghulyan and Łazikean respectively. I also selected verses that reflect the phenomena discussed in chapter 2. Furthermore, verses from *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* are also included, particularly while discussing the future and the imperfect tenses (Purg V 61; XIX 7-17; XXIV 73-75; Par XIV 16-18, 58; XXV 109-111).

[8] Even if Salvi and Renzi (2010) provide an analysis of Italian at Dante's time, they do not include Dante's works in their corpus.

Basic Grammatical Properties in Armenian

In this section I illustrate the word order and the main syntactic properties of Armenian.

Armenian is an Indo-European language with the following features: no grammatical gender, rigid AP and NP order, no agreement inside the NP (invariable adjective); postpositions and non-rigid SOV order, i.e., in unmarked clauses, the subject usually precedes the predicate and the complements, even if word order can vary according to contexts.

There are no major differences in the order of the sub-constituents of a NP between the two standards of Modern Armenian, except for the indefinite determiner and Focus:

MEA preposed *mi*:

1. mi   katu

    INDEF cat

    'a cat'

MWA postposed *mə*:

2. katu mə

    cat INDEF

    'a cat'

In MEA the element in Focus is in a position immediately preceding the inflected auxiliary or the finite verb:

3. Anna – n   tun   – ə   tesn – um   ē.

    Anna – DET house – DET see – PRES PRTC AUX+3SG

    'Anna sees the house.'

    (unmarked order SOV)

4. ANNA – N   ē   tun   – ə   tesn – um.

    Anna – DET AUX+3SG house – DET see – PRES PRTC

    'ANNA sees the house.'

    (Focus on "ANNA "; preverbal Focus position)

5. Anna – n   TUN   – N   ē   tesn – um.

    Anna – DET   house   – DET AUX+3SG see – PRES PRTC

    'Anna sees the HOUSE.'

(Focus on "HOUSE"; preverbal Focus position)

6. Anna – n   TESN – UM   ē   tun   – ǝ.

   Anna – DET see   – PRES PRTC   AUX+3SG house – DET

   'Anna SEES the house.'

   (Focus on "SEES ", expressed by prosodic stress)

In MWA – according to Dum-Tragut (2002) – the focused phrase does not necessarily occupy the preverbal position, but can remain in situ.

The main syntactic properties are summarized in following table (adapted from Dum-Tragut 2002):

Syntactic features	Description
Case of Subject/Agent	Pro – drop In basic sentences: Subject=NOM In participial constructions: Subject/Agent=GEN In passive constructions: Subject/Agent=ABL if [+animate], INS if [– animate]
Case of Object/Patient	In all constructions: Object/Patient =ACC(=NOM) if [– animate] and =DAT if [+animate(+human)]
Case of Indirect Object/ Recipient	In all constructions: Indirect Object/Recipient=DAT

Table 1

Syntactic feature	Order
Basic word order	neutral, unmarked SOV
Verb and AUX	neutral, unmarked V+AUX
Negation of V	neg– Vfinite or neg– AUX+V
Adposition	predominantly postposition
Comparison of ADJ	usually standard +(marker)+A
Intensifier	INT+A
Noun phrase	
A	A+N
NUM	NUM+N
Quantifiers	QNT+N
Demonstratives	DEM+N
Determiners	suffixed definite articles N– def

Indefinite article	preposed "mi": INDEF+N
Possessor attributes	PRO+N, i.e. GEN+N, POSS+N suffixed possessives: N– poss
Relatives	usually N+REL if subordinate construction with finite verb REL+N if participial construction with agent in GEN
More than one modifier	DEM (QNT) NUM A N
Complex Noun phrases	the modifier relates to the noun it immediately precedes: DEM A GEN DEM NUM N → [DEM ADJ GEN] + [DEM NUM N]
Absolute negation	double negation
Emphasis	Focussing: element in Focus in immediate position before inflected AUX or finite verb

Table 2

CHAPTER 1

Non-finite verbal forms of Armenian

1.1 Introduction

Tenses in Armenian can be realized either analytically or synthetically. The analytical form consists of a participle and the inflected auxiliary *em* in the present or in the imperfect tenses, while the synthetic form is realized by means of verbal morphology (see chapter 2). In contrast to Modern Western Armenian, the tenses of the indicative mood in Modern Eastern Armenian are formed analytically, except the aorist, by means of the participles and the inflected forms of the auxiliary.

Various studies consider the diachronic development of the Armenian participles.[9] I shall not discuss them in detail, but only mention some relevant points when necessary – see sections 1.3, 1.4, 1.5.

Following the grammatical tradition of Armenian, I have chosen to classify the infinitive together with the participles, given that some participles – analogous to the infinitive – have mixed nominal and verbal properties, this type of classification seems more appropriate.[10]

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[9] Galano (1645), Čʻaləxean and Aytənean (1885), Palasanean (1906), Adoncʻ (1915), Ačaŕyan (1940), etc.

[10] Bagratuni (1852), A. Abrahamyan (1953), Ačaŕyan (1961), Abełyan (1965), S. Abrahamyan, Paŕnasyan and Ōhanyan (1974), etc.

Participle	1st conj. grel (to write)	2nd conj. kardal (to read)
Infinitive	gr – el write – INF PTCP 'to write'	kard – al read – INF PTCP 'to read'
Present (Imperfective)	gr – um write – PRES PTCP	kard – um read – PRES PTCP
Future I	gr – el – u write – INF – FUT PTCP	kard – al – u read – INF – FUT PTCP
Future II	gr – el – ikʻ write – INF – FUT PTCP	kard – al – ikʻ read – INF – FUT PTCP
Risultative	gr – ac write – RES PTCP 'written'	kard – acʻ – ac read – AOR – RES PTCP 'read' (p.p.)
Perfect	gr – el write – PERF PTCP	kard – acʻ – el read – AOR – PERF PTCP
Processual	gr – el – is write – INF – PROC PRTC '(when/while) writing'	kard – al – is read – INF – PROC PRTC '(when/while) reading'
Subject (nomen agentis)	gr – oł write – SUB PTCP 'one who writes' 'writer'	kard – oł read – SUB PTCP 'one who reads' 'reader'
Negative	čʻ – em gr – i neg – AUX+1SG write – NEG PTCP 'I'll not write'	čʻ – em kard – a neg – AUX+1SG read – NEG PTCP 'I'll not read'

Table 2 Classification of the Modern Eastern Armenian Participle[11]

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[11] Modern Western Armenian participles are also discussed in the following sections of chapter 1.

1.2 Infinitive

Anoroš derbay

The infinitive of the Armenian verbs is formed by the stem, the theme vowel, and the suffix *l*. Between the stem and the ending, affixes also may appear. The endings reflect the number of conjugations:

7. MEA   *xosel*   [= xos + e + -l] 'to speak'
8. MEA/MWA   *sirel*   [= sir + e + -l] 'to love'
9. MWA   *xōsil*   [= xōs + i + -l] 'to speak'
10. MEA / MWA   *kardal*   [= kard + a + -l] 'to read'

The three conjugations (*-el, -il, -al*) of Old Armenian have been preserved in Modern Western Armenian, as illustrated in examples (8)-(10). However, Modern Eastern Armenian drops the *–il* endings, transforming the majority of the originally *–il* verbs into *–el* endings, e.g., *xos-el* instead of *xōs-il as can be seen in (7), and less frequently to *–al*, as in *žpt-al* 'to smile' instead of *žpt-il. As a result, MEA functions in two conjugations, where as *–el* is considered the first conjugation and *–al* in (10) the second.

Note that MWA infinitives in *–il* shift to *–el* when followed by a case ending:

11. xōs   -il

    speak-INF in *il*

    'to speak'

12. xōs -el -u   aten-ə

    speak-INF -DAT time-DET

    'while speaking'

Some grammarians (Petermann 1837, 192, Patkanov 1864, 104-105) analyze the ending of the infinitive participle *–el, –il, –al* as: thematic vowel+*l*, i.e., *–e+l, –i+l, –a+l*. Petermann (1837, 187) compares the final *–l* of the Armenian participle to the *–r* of the Latin's present infinitive. Some linguists considered the *–l* of the infinitive the same as the *–l* of the perfect participle – see table 2. In section 1.5 – cf. table 6 – I demonstrate that this is not the case. However, one thing is evident, that *–l* is characteristic to all the verbs, while the thematic vowels are different: *–e, –a*, and for MWA, also *–i*.

The infinitive functions as a complement of the compound predicates of phrasal, modal and causative verbs – as illustrated in examples (13), (14), (15) respectively – as

well as in analytic causative constructions with *tal* (lit.: 'to make'), see the example (16) of this section and also (3b) in chapter 3:

13. Na hankarc sks -um   ēr   erg-el.
    He suddenly begin -PRES PART AUX+IMP+3SG sing-INF
    'He suddenly began(IMP) singing.'

14. Menk' bolor-s   uz -um   enkʻ   bžišk   daŕn -al.[12]
    We   all   -def1 want- PRES PART AUX+1PL doctor   become-INF
    'Each of us wants to become a doctor.'

15. Inčʻ - ə   kʻez stip -ecʻ   mn -al?[13]
    What-DET   you   make-AOR+3SG stay-INF
    'What made you stay?'

16. Hakob - ə   ord-u   -n   caŕ tnk -el ē   tal -is.
    Hakob-DET son-DAT-DET tree plant-INF AUX+3SG make-PRES PTCP
    'Hakob makes his son plant a tree.'

The infinitive also functions as a predicative complement with the auxiliary *em* in the 3rd person singular in impersonal clauses, as can be seen in examples (17)-(18).[14] It may also be used as a predicate in imperative sentences, as illustrated in (19):

17. Im   karcikʻ-ov   sa   ašxat-el   čʻ -ē.
    My   opinion-INST this   work-INF   neg-AUX+3SG
    'In my opinion this is not to work.'

18. Petk' ē   sir -el   hayrenikʻ- ə.
     need AUX+3SG love-INF fatherland-DET
    'One should love the fatherland.
    (lit: It is needed to love the fatherland.)

19. Nst-el!
    Sit - INF
    'SIT down!'

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[12] Kozintseva (1995).

[13] Kozintseva (1995).

[14] Dum-Tragut (2009).

The infinitive can also have a definite article, as in (20), and be declined (*u*-declension), as in (21):[15]

20. Cx   -el -n   argel -v   -um   ē.
    smoke-INF-DET   forbid-pass-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG
    'Smoking is forbidden.'

21. Ĵur   xm-el   -u   hamar bažak   verc'r-ek'.
    Water   drink-INF-DAT   for   glass   take -imp+2PL
    'Take a glass to drink water.'

In the following sections of this chapter we will see that there are other participles too that derive from the infinitive.

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[15] Kozintseva (1995).

1.3 Present (Imperfective) Participle

Nerka (*Ankatar*) *derbay*

Modern Eastern Armenian forms its present participle with the verb stem+ –*um*.[16]

Infinitive	Present Participle in -*um*
vaz-el	vaz-um
run-INF	run- PRES PTCP
'to run'	'run'

Table 3

In the dialects of MEA –*um* can have the following forms: –*um*> –*əm* –*am* –*äm* –*im*: the final *m* of the particle remains invariable, while the vowel changes (A. Abrahamyan 1953, 79).[17]

Three verbs – *gal* 'to come', *tal* 'to give', *lal* 'to cry' – do not have their present participle forms. Instead their participle is formed by infintive+*is (gal+is/tal+is/lal+is*) – see 2.4.

The present participle, together with the present and imperfect forms of the auxiliary *em*, gives rise to the present and the imperfect tenses of Modern Eastern Armenian – see 2.2, 2.4, 2.5. This form cannot be used without an auxiliary.[18]

Because the present participle's morphosyntactic structure largely determines its aspectual characteristics and consequently affects the peculiar interpretive properties of the present tense, a brief look into the diachronic development of this tense is enlightening. It is difficult to state at exactly which point the particle–*um* became a

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[16] Patkanean (1869) proposed that the –*um* must be attached to the verb-root to form the imperfective participle. However, A. Abrahamyan (1953) takes issue with this, as Patkanean's statement proves true only in cases when the verb is without any affix. As a result, the particle –*um* is attached to the verb-stem.

[17] A. Abrahamyan (1953) explains this fact by means of two co-occurring phenomena: accent and synharmonism.

[18] This participle is also called the *imperfective* as it expresses ideas of non-finite, imperfect event, event in progress or habitual activities. These characteristic expressions of the participle are hence transferred to the tenses that it forms – see Abełean (1906), A. Abrahamyan (1953).

morpheme of the present participle, due mainly to a lack of early written sources.[19] However, the oldest examples of this phenomenon can be found in Herac'i's 12th century *Relief of Fevers* (Herac'i 1832, 61):

22. Apa t'ē hiwand-i -n t'pir -n maš -um lin-i,
    Then if sick -GEN-DET stomach-DET weak-PRES PRTC be-SUBJ+3SG,

    kerakur č'or č' -ē pateh, na əncay-in ayl c'eł niwt'.
    food dry neg-AUX+3SG convenient, he give -3PL another kind staff

    'If the sick's stomach is weakened, dry food is not good, he must be given another kind of food.'

The second example dates back to the 13th century in Vardan's *Patmut'iwn tiezerakan* (Vardan 1861, 207):

23. As -ac' -i t'ē – zinč' k'ristoneay kay ew ark'unik' ənd cov
    say-AOR-1SG that – what Christian there is and court through sea

    ew ənd c'amak' amen -u sirt -n het k'ez law en,
    and through land everybody-GEN heart-DET with you good AUX+3PL

    ew k'ez ałōt'k' en aṙn-um.
    and you prayer AUX+3PL do -PRES PTCP

    'I said that all the Christians and the courts existing on the Earth love you and pray for you'.

In Vardan's (1861, 207) work we also find an example of a locative in –*um* as well:

24. I srt - um -s dr -i zk'o xosec'eal-k' -d.
    in heart -LOC -def1 put-PAST+1SG your saying -PL-def2

    'I kept in my heart your sayings (what you said).'

According to A. Abrahamyan (1953, 82), the use of the participle in –*um* can be dated to the 7th century, based on his findings in the *History* of Sebēos (1939, 127):

25. i tesan-el -um -n
    in see -INF-LOC-DET
    'in seeing'

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[19] A. Abrahamyan (1953) states that it has to be rather old.

This example is the initial form of the present participle of the verb *tesan-el* 'to see'. The final *n* is the determiner. Concerning *i,* it is an Old Armenian preposition and it works as a locative case when used with a dative singular or accusative plural noun. This participle derives from the dative case of the noun that further transformed into the locative (A. Abrahamyan 1953, 84, Aytənean 1866, 203). It is thus possible to conclude, that *–um* is a nominal morpheme.

In most Eastern Armenian dialects the present tense form *vaz-um ē* (run-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG) 'he runs' has a progressive meaning – see Meillet (1978):

26. *Na   vaz-el   -is   ē.

     He   run-INF-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

     'He is (while) running.'

Since 1866 there has been an acceptance by the linguists of the opinion of linguist and grammarian Aytənean (1866) who proposed that the particle *–um* of the present participle is the same *–um* as the locative declension of the noun as illustrated in (27):

27. Dprocʻ-um   ē.   vs.   Vaz-um   ē.

     school -LOC AUX+3SG   run-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

     '(S)he is at school.'   '(S)he is running.'

In fact, both MEA and its dialects use this imperfective participle and have the same ending in the locative case. The ending coincides also with dialectal vowel changes, i.e., the same vowel change is present both in the locative case and in the present participle, as illustrated in (28) and (29).

28. Dprocʻ-um   ē (standard EA) = dprocʻ-*əm* ē (dialectal form of MEA).

     school-LOC AUX+3SG

     '(S)he is at school.'

29. Vaz- um   ē (standard EA) = vaz-*əm* ē (dialectal form of MEA).

     run- PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

     '(S)he is running.'

Note that the form *-um* is a typical feature of all Eastern dialects of Modern Armenian, whereas Western dialects form the present and imperfect tenses typically with the *kə*-particle and synthetic verbal forms – see 2.4, 2.5.

1.4 Future Participle

Apaŕni derbay

The future participle of Modern Armenian is formed by means of the infinitive + *u*, as illustrated in table 4.[20]

Infinitive	Future Participle
vaz-el	vaz-el -u
run-INF	run- INF-FUT PTCP
'to run'	'will run'

Table 4

It derives from the future participle in *–oy* (which in its turn is the genitive case singular of the infinitive participle), declined with the *–u* case marker. The *oy>u* change took place in Middle Armenian, even though some authors have both forms for the future participle:

30. Mern-el   -oy   ē
    die   -INF-GEN   AUX+3SG
    '(S)he will die.'

31. Lavan -al   -u   ē
    recover-INF -Gen   AUX+3SG
    '(S)he will recover.'

The future participle of Old Armenian derives from the infinitive participle through declension and affixation. It had *-oc'* and *-i* endings that were added to the infinitive participle. According to A. Abrahamyan (1953, 126) *-oc'* is a commonly present affix in the different parts of speech in Armenian and in this example functions as the suffix of the future participle. For the *–i* ending, A. Abrahamyan (1953, 126) assumes that it derives from the genitive case of the infinitive of OA. It then appears that the infinitive has an *–i* declension marker in contrast to the standard *–oy* of OA. Confirmation of this fact has been found in various dialects of Armenian (Astraxan, Šamax, Łarabał), in

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[20] The future participle in Armenian denotes the idea of an event that is expected to happen (A. Abrahamyan 1953). It expresses a possible or probable event in the future with a hint of necessity and uncertainty (Hagopian 2007).

which the *–i* ending appears instead of *–oy* (A. Abrahamyan 1953, 126).[21] The following form is even present in one of the Old Armenian dictionaries (Aŕjeŕn baŕaran 1865):

    32. aŕanc'   buž -el   -i

        without   cure -INF -GEN

        'incurable'

Taking into consideration that the adverb *aranc'* 'without' can only have a genitive object (Č'aləxean and Aytənean 1885, 137), it is possible to conclude that the *–i* in *buž-el-i* is the genitive case of the infinitive participle *buž-el*.

Latin grammarians separated the *–oc'* and *–i* forms according to voice. They considered *–oc'* the active (sometimes neutral) voice and *–i* as the passive one. For example, Galano (1645, 53) listed *gov-el-oc'* (laudaturus, a, um) as active and *gov-el-i* (laudandus, a, um) as passive. According to A. Abrahamyan (1953, 131), the mentioned grammarians wanted the Armenian future participle to be function the same as the Latin one, which in turn yielded differences between *participium futuri activi* and *participium futuri passivi*. However, some Armenian grammarians followed the Latin grammarians' point of view, as for instance Ĵułayec'i(1725, 1730).

The future participle in *–i* has little use in Middle and Modern Armenian and holds a different value in that it does not express a verbal value. The adjectival meaning is more evident:

Old Armenian

    33. tesan- el   -i

        see   -INF -FUT PTCP

        'will see'

Modern Armenian

    34. tesan-eli

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[21] This does not mean that the *–i* ending of the future participle derives from these dialects, but it does show that it is not a strange phenomenon to have the genitive case of the infinitive participle *–i* in Armenian (A. Abrahamyan, *Hayereni derbaynerə ew nranc' jewabanakan nšanakut'yunə [Armenian participles and their morphological meaning]* (Erevan: Haykakakan SSH GA hratarakč'ut'yun [Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Press], 1953).

see   -suf

'visible'

Tesaneli 'visible' in example (34) has an adjectival meaning and is the same as the future participle –*i* of Old Armenian. Note that in Modern Armenian –*eli* and –*ali* become suffixes to form adjectives.

The following example shows the connection of the future participle with the genitive case (1865400):

35. cax-u   girk

    sale-GEN book

    'book for sale'

In this example, *caxu* expresses a future meaning, i.e., 'a book that will be sold'. In Modern Armenian *caxu* is used as an adjective but it is in fact the genitive case singular of the noun *cax* 'sale'.

The future participle, as illustrated in example (36), occupies a pronominal position. It is used to express, with the inflected auxiliary *linel* 'to be', a notion of "prospective event" – see section 2.9.

36. erg -el -u   erg

    sing -INF-GEN song

    'a song to sing'

    'a song that must be sung'

There is also a secondary future participle formed by the infinitive + *ik'*. It is derived from transitive and passive verbal forms only. It expresses an event that must be accomplished after the moment of speech. It is object-oriented and syntactically is a noun modifier. It can be declined and takes articles – see Dum-Tragut (2009, 208).

37. T'argman-v -el -ik'   ēĵ -er -ə nš -v -ac   en.

    tanslate-pass-INF-FUT PTCP page-PL-DET mark-pass-RES PTCP AUX+3SG

    'The pages that must be translated are marked.'

38. Menk' yaĵordiw xōs -el -u   enk'   anor   masin.

    we   then   speak-INF- FUT PTCP AUX+1PL her/him about

    We'll then speak about him/her.

1.5 Perfect Participle

Vaɫakatar derbay

The perfect participle denotes a past event, completed in the past, with no reference to a result or resultative state. Modern Eastern Armenian forms its perfect participle in the following way, as illustrated in Dum-Tragut (2009, 213):

	Simple in -el	Simple in -al	Suffixed in -n-	Suffixed in -č'-	Suffixed in -an-	Suffixed in -en-
INF	gr-el	kard-al	tes-n-el	p'ax-č'-el	urax-an-al	vax-en-al
Aorist stem	gr-	kardac'-	tes-	p'ax -	uraxac'-	vaxec'-
PERF PRTC	gr-el	kardac'-el	tes-el	p'ax-el	uraxac'-el	vaxec'-el
		Causativised in –c'n-el			Passivised in -v-el	
INF		karda-c'n-el			gr-v-el	
Aorist stem		kardac'r-			grv-	
PERF PRTC		kardac'r-el			grv-el	

Table 5

The perfect participle of the *–e* conjugation and the infinitive participle coincide. Yet, while they seem to have the same *–el* inflection, this is not so. The perfect participle derives from the perfect participle of Old Armenian, through an internal change following apophony rules of Old Armenian *eal >el*. This is a very common phenomenon in Armenian (*bareav >barev, c'orean >c'oren*). This change most likely took place between the 11th – 12th centuries (Aytənean 1866, 60, Donabédian and Ouzounian 2008). The perfect participle *–er*: *eal >el >er* also exists in Middle Armenian, where both *–el* and *–er* are used, and sometimes the same author used both. The perfect participle *–er*, does not exist in Modern Eastern Armenian, but it is present in Modern Western Armenian and in the dialects. Table 6 shows the evolution of the perfect participle:

Arm.	Simple –el and –il conjugation	Simple –al conjugation	–el (–il) and –al conjugation with affixes
Old[22]	gr- el > gr -eal; write-INF >write-PERF PRTC gr- el > gr -ec' -eal	zg -al >zg -ac' -eal feel -INF>feel-AOR-PERF PRTC 'to feel' 'have/has felt'	anc'-an -el > anc'-eal pass-affix- INF > pass-PERF PRTC 'to pass' 'have/has passed; passed'

22 Here I have taken into consideration only those conjugations of Old Armenian that are present in Modern Armenian.

	write-INF>write-AOR-PERF PRTC 'to write' 'have/has written; written' bnak-im > bnak-eal; live -1SG>live-PERF PTCP bnak-im > bnak-ec'-eal live-1SG > live-AOR-PERF PRTC 'I live' > 'have/has lived'		goł-an -al > goł-ac' -eal steal-affix-INF>steal-AOR-PERF PRTC 'to steal' 'have/has stolen' us -an -im > us -eal study-affix-1SG> study-PERF PRTC 'I study' > 'have/has studied'
Middle	gr-el> gr-el (-er)	zg-al> zg-ac'-el (-er)	goł -an-al > goł -ac'-el (-er) anc'-an-el > anc'-el(-er) us -an-el > us-an-el (-er)
ME	gr-el> gr-el	zg-al> zg-ac'-el	goł -an-al > goł -ac'-el anc'n -el > anc'-el us -an-il > us-an-el
MW	gr-el> gr-er	zg-al> zg-ac'-er	goł -an-al > goł -ac'-er anc'n-el > anc'-er us-an-il > us-an-er

Table 6

Note that in OA the perfect participle of simple –e and –i conjugations is based both on verb stem and aorist stem, while –a conjugation is based only on the aorist stem. On the contrary, in Modern Armenian only the –a conjugation is formed by means of the aorist stem.

As discussed by Donabédian (1996), in contrast to Modern Eastern Armenian, Modern Western Armenian distinguishes evidential or mediative perfect '–er participle' and stative perfect '–ac participle' − see also section 1.6.

In MWA the classic characteristic –eal became –er (by reduction + rhotacism), which is the morpheme of mediative, while the perfect is expressed by means of the resultative (adjectival) participle –ac − see section 1.6. According to Karst (1901, §415), the mutation l >r innovation is not predictable by internal rules. Donabédian (2008) proposes the following possible explanations:

a. contact-induced: Turkish aorist –r (gelir-im)

b. system reorganization: < Old Armenian prohibitive morpheme –r, as well as for the WMA new –r negative participle (see 1.9).[23]

According to table 6 we can deduce that the formation of the perfect participle has undergone the following changes:

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23 According to Karst (1901, §415), all Armenian dialects having one of those forms in –er have the second form too.

OA PERF PTCP	–a conj.	AOR stem+*eal*
OA PERF PTCP	simple –e or –i conj.	AOR stem+*eal* Verb stem+*eal*
OA PERF PTCP	affixed –*e* or –*i* conj.	AOR stem+*eal*
MidA PERF PTCP	–*a* conj.	AOR stem+*el*, AOR stem+*er*
MidA PERF PTCP	–*e* or –*i* conj.	Verb stem+*el,* verb stem+*er*
MEA PERF PTCP	–*a* conj.	AOR stem+*el*
MWA PERF PTCP	–*a* conj.	AOR stem+*er*
MEA PERF PTCP	–*e* conj.	Verb stem+*el*
MWA PERF PTCP	–*e* and –*i* conj.	Verb stem+*er*

Table 7

Even the perfect participle cannot be used without an auxiliary. This participle is used to form the present perfect and the past perfect tenses with the inflected auxiliary – see sections 2.6, 2.7.

1.6 Resultative Participle

Harakatar derbay

The resultative participle of MEA denotes a general idea of a fulfilled, finished event with some result as a temporary or permanent feature of the subject. It also denotes a state resulting from an event. It is generated by means of the present stem of the *e–* conjugation verbs and the aorist stem of the *a*–conjugation verbs plus the suffix *–ac*. In table 8 we see the formation of the resultative participle – as illustrated in Dum-Tragut (2009, 208):

	Simple in -el	Simple in -al	Suffixed in -n-	Suffixed in - č'-	Suffixed in -an-	Suffixed in -en-
INF Aorist stem	gr-el gr-	kard-al kardac'	tes-n-el tes-	p'ax- č'-el p'ax	urax-an-al uraxac'	vax-en-al vaxec'
RES PRTC	gr-ac	kardac'-ac	tes-ac	p'ax-ac	uraxac'-ac	vaxec'-ac
		Causativised in –c'n-el		Passivised in –v-el		
INF		karda-c'n-el		gr-v-el		
Aorist stem		kardac'r-		grv-		
RES PRTC		kardac'r-ac		grv-ac		

Table 8

In section 1.5 I showed that the perfect participle denotes a fulfilled, finished event. However, the resultative participle denotes the result. For example, in (39) the event is completed and nothing is implied about its result.

39. Hogn-el   em.
    tired-PERF PTCP AUX+1SG
    'I got tired.'

Example (40) not only denotes the event of getting tired but also the outcome of being tired:

40. Hogn-ac   em

    tired-RES PTCP   AUX+1SG

    'I am tired.'

For many years, grammarians did not consider this form as a separate participle. They considered it a variant of the perfect participle – see (Palasanean 1906, 77, Abełean 1906, 102, Aytənean 1866, 101).

The use of the resultative participle has been documented since Middle Armenian. Old Armenian lacks this form as a grammatical category of the participle. In Old Armenian this participle is present with a lexical value, being either a noun or an adjective.

The resultative participle can also be used as an adverb:

41. Hakob-ə   zayrac' -ac   ē   xos -um.

    Hakob-DET angry   -RES PTCP AUX+3SG   speak-PRES PTCP

    'Hakob speaks angrily.'

This participle is also frequently used as a noun attribute. It has a prenominal position as illustrated in (42) (Dum-Tragut 2009, 209):

42. Caŕ-i   tak nst-ac   ałjik- ə   kard-um   ē.

    tree-DAT under sit- RES PTCP   girl -DET   read- PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

    'The girl (who is) sitting under the tree is reading.'

The participle can also have a definite article as illustrated in (43) and can be declined following the *i*–declension, as illustrated by example (44):

43. Kangn-ac   - ə   nst-ec'.

    stand -RES PTCP -DET sit -AOR+3SG

    'The standing (person) sat down.'

44. Hakob-i   as -ac   -ic' oč'inč' č' -irakan-ac   -av.

    Hakob-DAT say-RES PTCP-ABL nothing neg-realize-AOR-3SG

    'Nothing realized of what Hakob has told.'

    'Nothing was realized from Hakob's telling.'

In Modern Western Armenian this participle, aside from denoting a state resulting from a completed event as in MEA, also denotes a completed event, and with the present/past tense of the auxiliary *em*, forms the present/past perfect of MWA, which also

has a parallel form ending in *–er*. Thus, Western Armenian distinguishes between a stative perfect (*–ac* participle) and a mediative perfect (*–er*) forms – see section 1.5.

According to Donabédian and Ouzounian (2008), this distinction could be the result of Turkish influence, as Turkish distinguishes "evidential past" from "testimonial past". According to this proposal, there could have been an internal reorganization of the verbs as well, as *–ac* is an old adjective with restricted productivity, becoming completely productive, and consequently, it becomes inflexional in MWA. It appeares to fill a gap because of the growing evidential meaning of *–er* perfect.[24] The *–er* participle has evidential (mediative) meaning (<old perfect) and *–ac* is a resultative perfect (<old adjective).

45. Hakob-ə   namak-ə   gr -er   ē.

    Hakob-DET   letter -DET   write - PERF PTCP   AUX+3SG

    'Hakob has written the letter.' (I think so)

46. Hakob-ə   namak-ə   gr -ac   ē.

     Hakob-DET   letter -DET   write - RES PTCP   AUX+3SG

    'Hakob has written the letter.' (I am sure)

47. Im   tes-ac   girk'-ə

     my   see-PRES PTCP   book-det

    'the book that I have seen'

In examples (45) and (46), MWA splits the meaning of the MEA perfect participle realizing the same temporal form by means of two different participles: example (45) expresses indefiniteness and example (46) expresses definiteness. The participle *–ac* in (47) characterizes the state of the subject. It cannot be used with an auxiliary and it must be translated into English by means of a relative clause.

As opposed to Modern Western Armenian, in Modern Eastern Armenian the use of the perfect participle with auxiliaries is limited to stative verbs in the neutral or passive voice:

48. Hogn-ac   em.

     tired RES PTCP AUX+1SG

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24 MEA perfect may also have evidential meanings, but not exclusively. In MEA it does not seem necessary to have a morphologic distinction between evidential and non-evidential perfect.

'I am tired.'

The active perfect with the resultative participle characteristic of MWA is impossible in MEA, and thus the perfect participle is used instead – see section 1.5.

1.7 Processual participle

Ënt'ac'akc'akan derbay

The processual participle is formed by means of the verb's infinitive and the suffix –*is* and is considered as a secondary present participle. The analysis which proposes two present participles dates back to Abełyan's (1906, 132) functional approach. The simple present participle –*um* cannot occur without an auxiliary; by contrast, the –*is* participle can. The event appearing as a participle has a progressive value, constituting the background for the event in the superordinate clause.

It is also possible to substitute the processual participle with a periphrastic expression like the dative infinitive plus *žamanak*, meaning 'during the time of, in the course of', etc. (Dum-Tragut 2009, 205):

49. Ays eražštut'un-ə lsel -is   tramadrut'yun-s barjran-um   ē.
    This music -DET listen -PROC PTCP mood   -my rise-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG
    'Listening (to) this music, my mood improves.'
    (When I listen to this music, my mood improves.)

50. Ays eražštut'un-ə ls   -el -u   žamanak tramadrut'yun-s barjran-um   ē.
     This music -DET listen-INF-DAT time   mood   -my rise -PTCP PRES AUX+3SG.
    'Listening (to) this music, my mood improves.'
    (When I listen to this music, my mood improves.)

There is no major semantic difference between example (49) and example (50), just a difference in style; example (49) is considered high or literary style. In (52), the progressive form is translated in Armenian by means of the processual participle. The progressive in Armenian can be expressed by means of one of the following forms:

51. Zbosn-el -ov   ut -um   em.
    Walk-INF-INST eat-PRES PTCP AUX1SG
     'I eat walking.' (When (while) I walk I eat.)

52. Zbosn -el –is   ut-um   em.
    Walk -Inf-PROC PTCP eat-PRES PTCP   Aux1sg
     'I eat walking.' (When (while) I walk I eat.)

Sentence (53) expresses only the causal meaning of the progressive form in Armenian, while using the processual participle as illustrated in example (52), and/or the construction *infinitive participle +instrumental case* as illustrated in example (51), only the temporal meaning:

53. Vaz-el -uc' hogn-um   em.

    Run-INF-ABL tired-PRES PTCP AUX1SG

    'When I run I become tired. (I become tired because of running.)'

According to Abrahamyan (1953, 288) the structure *infinitive participle +instrumental case* denotes an event that is parallel to the main event.

1.8 Subject participle

Ent'akayakan derbay

The subject participle of the *e*–conjugation verbs is formed by means of the verb-stem plus the suffix –*oł*, while that of the e *a*–conjugation verbs by means of the aorist stem plus suffix –*oł*. This participle is considered a *nomen agentis*.

Infinitive Participle	Subject participle
vaz-el [run-INF] 'to run'	vaz-oł [run-SUB PTCP] 'one who runs'
tes-n-el [see-suffix-INF] 'to see'	tes-n- oł [see-suffix- SUB PTCP] 'one who sees'
p'ax-č'-el [escape-suffix-INF] 'to escape'	p'ax-č'-oł [escape-suffix-SUB PTCP] 'one who escapes'
kard-ac'n-el [read-causative suffix-INF] 'to make read'	kard-ac'n-oł [read-causative suffix-SUB PTCP] 'one who makes read'
gr-v-el [write-pass-INF] 'to be written'	gr-v-oł [write-pass- SUB PTCP] 'what is being written'
kard-al [read-INF] 'to read'	kard-ac'- oł [read-AOR- SUB PTCP] 'one who reads'
vax-en-al [scare-suffix-INF] 'to scare'	vax-ec'- oł [scare-AOR-SUB PTCP] 'one who scares'
urax-an-al [happy-suffix-INF] 'to be happy'	urax-ac'-oł [happy-AOR-SUB PTCP] 'one who is happy'

Table 9

The subject participle turns verbs expressing ongoing events into nouns or adjectives and occupies a prenominal position:

54. Anna-n   mer dassaran-i amenic' šat xos -ołn   ē.

  Anna-DET our class -GEN the most   speak- SUB PTCP AUX+3SG.

  'Anna is the most talkative in our class.'

The participle can also be nominalised, as can be seen in example (55), and inflected following the *i*-declension, cf. example (56).

55. Šat   xos -oł   -ə   dasə   č' -i   ls   -i.
    much speak -SUB PTCP-DET lesson neg-AX+3SG listen-COND FUT+3SG.
    'The one who talks does not listen to the lesson.'

56. Tun   štap -oł   -ner-i   hagin anjrevanoc' č' -kar.
    Home hurry-SUB PTCP-PL -DAT wear raincoat   neg-be+IMP+3SG
    The people hurrying home were without raincoats.

Some of these participles have been lexicalized and nowadays may have different readings: *groł* 'writing/one who writes/writer,' *usanoł* 'learning/one who learns/student,' *cnoł* 'giving birth/ parent.'

1.9 Negative participle

Žxtakan derbay

The negative participle of MEA is formed by means of the infinitive stem and the suffix *–i* for *e*–conjugation verbs, and by means of the suffix *–a* for verbs of the *a*–conjugation.[25] This participle is used only with the negative form of the AUX – see the section 2.2:

    57. gr   -el > č' -i   gr -i

        write-INF   neg-AUX+3SG write-NEG PTCP

        'to write'   '(s)he will not write.'

    58. kard-al   > č' -i   kard-a

        read-INF   neg-AUX+3SG read-NEG PTCP

        'to read' > '(s)he will not read.'

Modern Western Armenian forms the negative participle with the *–er* morpheme for *e*–conjugation verbs and *–ar* for *a*–conjugation. In association with the auxiliary, such a participle forms the negative of the indicative mood:[26]

    59. Gr   -el > č' -i   gr -er

        write-INF   neg-AUX+3SG write-NEG PTCP

        'to write'   '(s)he does not write.'

    60. Kard-al > č' -i   kard-ar

        read-INF   neg-AUX+3SG read-NEG PTCP

        'to read'   '(s)he does not read.'

---

[25] In traditional Armenian grammars, the term "infinitive stem" is often used instead of the "present stem". see table 1 in chapter 2, for the present stem formation.

[26] For a detailed discussion of this topic please see Donabédian (1999)

CHAPTER 2

Tenses of the Indicative mood in Modern Armenian

2.1 Introduction

As previously stated, the Armenian tense can be realized either analytically or synthetically. MEA is particularly rich in analytical forms, expressed by a participle and the inflected auxiliary. Synthetic forms are realized by verbal morphology. To achieve a greater understanding of the Armenian verbal system, all tenses are discussed in this work. Past tenses deserve particular attention, as Modern Eastern Armenian and Modern Western Armenian differ in their expression of some aspectual values, for example, perfectivity. According to Donabédian (1996) while MEA has only one participle to form, together with the corresponding form of the auxiliary, the present and the past perfect tenses – see sections 1.5, 2.6, 2.7, MWA differentiates between a mediative perfect, expressed by the perfect participle – see section 1.5 – and a stative perfect, expressed by the resultative participle, see section 1.6.

In Modern Armenian the indicative distinguishes a present, a past and a future. All finite and non-finite forms of Armenian verbs are generated either from the present or the perfect aorist stem – see tables 1-3 of this section. In traditional Armenian grammar the term "infinitive stem" is often used instead of "present stem", which derives from the infinitive without ending in *–el*, *–il* or *–al*. Table 1 illustrates the formation of the present stem:

Conjugation	Present stem	Example
simple verbs in *–el*	stem –	gr- (< gr-el)
		ls- (<ls-el)
simple verbs in *–al*	stem –	kard- (< kard-al)
		xał- (<xał-al)
suffixed verbs in *–č'–el*	stem *–č'–*	p'ax-č'- (<p'ax-č'-el)
		tŕ-č'- (<tŕ-č'-el)
suffixed verbs in *–n–el*	stem *–n–*	tes-n- (<tes-n-el)
suffixed verbs in *–an–al*	stem *–an–*	moŕ-an- (<moŕ-an-al)

suffixed verbs in –en–al	stem –en–	moten- (<mot-en-al)
causativised verbs in –c'n–el	stem –c'n–	kard-ac'n- (<kard-ac'n-el)
passivised verbs in –v–el	stem –v–	tesn-v- (<tesn-v-el)

Table 1

The following non-finite verbal forms can be generated from the present stem:[27]

Participle	Conjugation	Example
infinitive	–el –al	gr-el kard-al
present participle of both conj.	–um (MEA)	gr-um, kard-um
future participle	e–conj. verbs –elu a–conj. verbs –alu	gr-elu kard-alu
perfect participle	e–conj. verbs –el (MEA) verbs –er (MWA)	gr-el gr-er
resultative participle	e–conj. verbs –ac	gr-ac
processual participle	e–conj. verbs –elis a–conj. verbs –alis	gr-elis kard-alis
subject participle: (nomen agentis)	e–conj. verbs –oł	gr-oł

negative participle	e–conj. verbs –i (MEA)
	e–conj. verbs –er (MWA)
	a–conj. verbs –a (MEA)
	a–conj. verbs –ar (MEA)
		(č'i) gr-i
		        gr-er
		        kard-a
		        kard-ar

Table 2

The aorist, or perfect stem, is formed as illustrated in the following table:

	Aorist stem	Example
simple verbs in –el	pres. stem–	gr- (<gr-el) ls- (< ls-el)
simple verbs in –al	pres. stem+ –ac'–	kardac'- (<kard-al)
suffixed verbs in –č'el	pres. stem without –č'–	p'ax- (<p'ax-č'-el)

---

27 There are also finite verbal forms generated from the present stem (subjunctive, conditional, debitive, imperative moods), however these forms are not considered here.

suffixed verbs in –*n–el*	pres. stem without –*n–*	tes- (<tes-n-el)
suffixed verbs in –*an–al*	pres. stem without –*an–* +*ac'*	moŕ-ac'- (<moŕ-an-al)
suffixed verbs in –*en–al*	pres. stem without –*en–* +*ec'*	mot-ec'- (<mot-en-al)
causativised verbs in –*c 'n–el*	stem+ –*c 'r–*	karda-c'r-(<kardac-'n-el)
passivised verbs in –*v–el*	pres. stem –*v–*	tesn-v- (<tesn-v-el)

Table 3

The perfect stem forms the perfect, resultative and subject participles – see sections 1.5, 1.6, 1.8 – and the aorist tense – see 2.8.

2.2 Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs, together with the participle, play an essential role in tense formation. I will begin here with their diachronic development, beginning with the Old Armenian's three auxiliary verbs: *em*, *linim* and *ełanim*.[28]

Present	Imperfect
e-m	ē-i
e-s	ē-i-r
ē	ē-r
e-mkʻ	ē-a-kʻ
ē-kʻ	ē-i-kʻ
e-n	ē-i-n

Table 4 Paradigm of the auxiliary verb *em* in OA

Present	Imperfect	Aorist	Present Perfect	Past Perfect	Future
lini-m	linē-i	-	leal e-m	leal ē-i	-
lini-s	linē-i-r		leal e-s	leal ē-i-r	licʻi-s, licʻe-s
lini	linē-r		leal ē	leal ē-r	licʻ-i
lini-mkʻ	linē-akʻ		leal e-mkʻ	leal ē-a-kʻ	licʻ-ukʻ
lini-kʻ	linē-i-kʻ		leal ē-kʻ	leal ē-i-kʻ	liĵi-kʻ
lini-n	linē-i-n		leal e-n	leal ē-i-n	licʻi-n

Table 5 Paradigm of the auxiliary verb *linim* 'to be, to become (habitually)' in OA

Present	Imperfect	Aorist	Present Perfect	Past Perfect	Future
ełani-m	ełanē-i	eł-ē>eł-eay> eł-ay	ełeal e-m	ełeal ē-i	ełēcʻ (eł-aycʻ)
ełani-s	ełanē-i-r	ełe-r	ełeal e-s	ełeal ē-i-r	ełicʻi-s, ełicʻ-es
ełan-i	ełanē-r	ełew	ełeal ē	ełeal ē-r	ełicʻ-i

---

[28] I've included tables 4-8 to give the complete panorama of the auxiliary. As far as those are so relevant to the present study, I have not provided the glosses which are present in table 9, which includes the paradigms of the preserved auxiliary verbs in Modern Armenian.

ełani-mkʻ	ełanē-a-kʻ	eł-a-kʻ, ełe-a-kʻ	ełeal e-mkʻ	ełeal ē-a-kʻ	ełicʻ-ukʻ
ełani-kʻ	ełanē-i-kʻ	eł-ē-kʻ	ełeal ē-kʻ	ełeal ē-i-k	ełiĵ-ikʻ
ełani-n	ełanē-i-n	ełe-n	ełeal e-n	ełeal ē-i-n	ełicʻ-in

Table 6 Paradigm of the auxiliary verb *ełanim* 'to become' in OA

infinitive	el[29]	linel	ełanel
present		-	
past		l-eal, li-eal	eł-eal
future		linel-ocʻ	ełanel-ocʻ

Table 7 Paradigm of participles of the auxiliary verbs in OA

As illustrated in tables 5-7, these were defective verbs, the most defective of which was the auxiliary *em*, as it encompassed only the present and imperfect forms, the aorist and the future tenses being formed by the use of the auxiliary *ełanim* (Ačaŕyan 1961, 56). However, according to Ačaŕyan (1961, 57), OA's real auxiliary was *em*, where the remaining two verbs were used to help complete the tenses *em* lacked. *Em* had a role even in the paradigm of *linim* and *ełanim*, as can be seen in tables 5 and 6.

In Middle Armenian, the auxiliaries *em*, *linim* and *ełanim* continue to exist, but *ełanim* looses many of its forms, preserving only the aorist form *ełay*, as illustrated in table 8, and the participles *ełel and ełac* (Karst 1901, 387):

Present		Imperfect		Aorist	Future
em	*linim*	*em*	*linim*	*ełanim*	*linim*
e-m	lini-m, ku lini-m	ē -i	linē-i	eła-y	ku lina-m
e-s		ē -i-r			ku lina-s
ē	lini, ku lini	ē –r			ku lina-y
e-nkʻ		ē -a-kʻ			ku lina-nkʻ
ē-kʻ		ē -i-kʻ			ku lina-kʻ, ku lina-ykʻ
e-n		ē -i-n			ku lina-n

Table 8 Paradigm of the preserved forms of the auxiliary verbs in Middle Armenian

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29 According to Ačaŕian (1961, 56) the auxiliary *em* also had an infinitive form: *el*, but it was already out of use in the V century.

In Modern Armenian dialects we see that the three auxiliaries together give rise to the full verbal paradigm.

Modern Eastern Armenian has one major auxiliary *em* 'to be' with a restricted inventory to express tenses and copular meaning.

e-m [AUX-1SG] 'I am'	ē-i [AUX-IMP+1SG] 'I was'	
e-s [AUX-2SG] 'you are'	ē-i-r [AUX-IMP-2SG] 'you were'	
ē [AUX+3SG] '(s)he is'	ē-r [AUX-IMP+3SG] '(s)he was'	
e-nkʻ [AUX-1PL] 'we are'	ē-i-nkʻ [AUX-IMP-1PL] 'we were'	
e-kʻ [AUX-2PL] 'you are'	ē-i-kʻ [AUX-IMP-2PL] 'you were'	
e-n. [AUX-3PL] 'they are'	ē-i-n. [AUX-IMP-3PL] 'they were'	

Table 9 Paradigm of the auxiliary *em* in the present and the imperfect tenses modern Armenian

The auxiliary verb *em* expresses person features –1ˢᵗ, 2ⁿᵈ, 3ʳᵈ – number – singular and plural – tense – present and past – and aspect – imperfective. The auxiliary usually follows the participle in neutral and unmarked sentences – see tables 1, 2 cf. in the introduction and the examples (3)-(6) cf. in chapter 1:

1. Anna-n   kard-um   ē.

   Anna-DET   read-PRES PTCP   AUX+3SG

   'Anna is reading.'

The auxiliary verb is negated by prefixing the negative particle *čʻ-* to the inflected auxiliary which precedes the participle in analytic forms:

2. Anna-n   čʻ - i   kard-um

   Anna-DET neg- AUX+3SG read-PRES PTCP

   'Anna is not reading.'

3. Anna-n   hognac čʻ -ē.

   Anna-DET tired   neg- AUX+3SG

   'Anna is not tired.'

As illustrated in examples (2)-(3) there are two forms of the negated 3SG present tense of the auxiliary verb *em*: *čʻi* and *čʻē*. *Čʻi* is exclusively used in analytic tenses, whereas *čʻē* is a copula and follows the participle.[30]

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[30] However, in colloquial MEA speakers frequently use the *čʻi* for both the analytic tense and copular use.

Linel 'to be repeatedly/habitually' has the following paradigm:[31]

present	imperfect	aorist	future
lin-um e-m be-PRES PTCP AUX-1SG '(habitually) I am'	lin-um ē -i be-PRES PTCP AUX-IMP+1SG '(habitually) I was'	-	lin-elu e-m be-FUT PTCP AUX-1SG '(habitually) I shall be'
lin-um e-s	lin-um ē-i-r		lin-elu e-s
lin-um ē	lin-um ē-r		lin-elu ē
lin-um e-nkʻ	lin-um ē-i-nkʻ		lin-elu e-nkʻ
lin-um e-kʻ	lin-um ē-i-kʻ		lin-elu e-kʻ
lin-um e-n	lin-um ē-i-n		lin-elu e-n

Table 10 Paradigm of the auxiliary verb *linel* in MEA

As a copular verb *linel* expresses a habitual state:

4. Erekoyan es tann   e   -m   lin-um.

    Evening I homeLOC AUX-1SG   be -PRES PTCP

    'I am at home in the evening.' (habitually)

aorist	present perfect	past perfect
eł- a be-1SG 'I was'	eł-el e -m be-PERF PTCP AUX-1SG 'I have been'	eł-el ē-i be-PERF PTCP AUX-IMP+1SG 'I have been'
eła-r	eł-el es	eł-el ē -i-r
eła-v	eł-el ē	eł-el ē-r
eła-nkʻ we were	eł-el enkʻ	eł-el ē -inkʻ
eła-kʻ	eł-el ekʻ	eł-el ē -ikʻ
eła-n	eł-el en	eł-el ē -in

Table 11 Paradigm of the auxiliary *eła* in MEA

The Table 12 illustrates the paradigms of the auxiliary verbs in Modern Western Armenian:

Present *em, əllam*	Imperfect *em, əllam*	Aorist	Future
e-m əlla-m	ē –i k-əllay-i	eł-ay	piti əlla-m

---

[31] Dum-Tragut (2009) calls *linel* a secondary auxiliary .

e-s	əlla -s	ē -i-r	k-əllay-i-r	eł-ar	piti əlla-s
ē	əlla-y	ē -r	k-əlla-r	eł-av	piti əlla-y
e-nkʻ	əlla -nkʻ	ē -i-nkʻ	k-əllay-i-nkʻ	eł-ankʻ	piti əlla-nkʻ
ē-kʻ	əlla -kʻ	ē -i-kʻ	k-əllay-i-kʻ	eł-akʻ	piti əlla-kʻ
e-n	əllam -n	ē -i-n	k-əllay-i-n	eł-an	piti əlla-n

Table 12 Paradigm of the preserved AUX in MWA

2.3 A Classification of Tenses According to a Reichenbachian model

In this work I adopt a version of Reichenbach's (1947) model as discussed in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997). The use of this model is important, especially from the following two perspectives: first, the model is an interface between morphosyntax and interpretation. On the one hand, a system based on a purely morphological analysis would miss generalizations in terms of interpretation, while on the other hand, a purely interpretative system would not be able to correlate the semantic properties with the morphology. Reichenbach's (1947) system was the first proposal correlating morphosyntax and interpretation.[32] Second, Reichenbach's (1947) notions are universal. He distinguishes three time points and two ordering relations. The points in time are: E (the event), R (the reference point) and S (the speech point). The two ordering relations are: anteriority (represented by '_') and simultaneity (represented by ','). The different relations between S and R express 'present' (R,S), 'past' (R_S) and 'future' (S_R). The position of the reference point R relative to the time of the event E corresponds to the categories 'anteriority' (E_R), 'posteriority' (R_E) plus 'neutral' (E,R) (Reichenbach 1947). The combination of the three temporal points and the two ordering relations gives rise to thirteen major relations. On the basis of these considerations, it is possible to have the following table:

Temporal relations	Tense category	Traditional label	Example
E_R_S	Anterior Past	Past Perfect	I will have passed the exam by the end of the winter.
E,R_S	Simple Past	Simple Past	I passed the exam.
R_E_S	Posterior Past	--	I did not know that he would win.

---

[32] Before Reichenbach, Jespersen (1924) discussed the existence of an interface between morphosyntax and interpretation, even if it was never fully conceptualized.

			(yesterday)
R_S,E	Posterior Past	--	I did not know that he would be here. (right now)
R_S_E	Posterior Past	--	I did not know that he would come. (tomorrow)
E_S,R	Anterior Present	Present Perfect	I have passed the exam.
S,R,E	Simple Present	Present	I love John/ I am happy.
S,R_E	Posterior Present	Simple Future	I shall see John.
S_E_R	Anterior Future	Future Perfect	I will have passed the exam by the end of the winter.
S,E_R	Anterior Future	Future Perfect	John will have fixed the car by tonight. (already repaired)
E_S_R	Anterior Future	Future Perfect	I will have fixed the car by tonight. (just repairing it)
S_R,E	SimpleFuture	Simple future	I will see John tomorrow.
S_R_E	Posterior Future		I shall be going to see him.

Table 13

This model has been adopted and revised by several linguists (Comrie 1976, 1985, Vikner 1995, Hornstein 1990, Scorretti 1994, Declerck 1986, Giorgi and Pianesi 1997). Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) proposed that the relations among R S and E give rise in the morphosyntax to two verbal projections. The relation between E and R projects T1 and the one between E and R projects T2. T1 and T2 are temporal projections, which Giorgi and Pianesi (1991) use to account for the verbal system of Latin, Italian and the Romance languages. This same system was also successfully applied to Dante's verbal system – see Molani (1996).

By means of such a system, a direct relation between E and S is never realized, but is always mediated by R. The possible relations are the following:

T1: S_R future	T2: E_R perfect
R_S past	R_E prospective
(S,R) present	(E,R) neutral

Table 14

According to Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 27), the various tenses are the result of the composition of the projection T1 with the projection T2. For instance, the representation of the present tense is the result of the combination of S,R with E,R, thus yielding S,R,E.

The revised Reichenbachian theory accounts, in a natural and elegant way, for the limited number of morphological tenses, given that the combinatorial possibilities are a priori very limited. The inventory of tenses proposed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) is the following:[33]

present	(S,R)(R,E) = S,R,E
past	(R_S)(E,R) = E,R_S
future	(S_R)(R,E) =S_R,E
present perfect	(S,R) (E_R) = E_S,R
future perfect	(S_R)(E_R)
past perfect	(R_S)(E_R)= E_R_S
future in the past	(R_S)(R_E)
proximate future	(S,R) (R_E)=S,R_E
distant future	(S_R)(R_E)=S_R_E

Table 15

2.4 Present

Nerka

Modern Eastern Armenian forms the present tense by means of the present participle in –*um* and the auxiliary *em* in the present tense:

5. Hakob-ə   kard-um   ē.

   Hakob-DET read-PRES PTCP   AUX+3SG

   'Hakob is reading.'

There are only three verbs, that form their present tense with the participle in –*is* +auxiliary *em*. These are the monosyllabic verbs *gal* 'to come', *tal* 'to give' and *lal* 'to cry'. The root of each of these verbs is marked by a single consonant and as such the verbs remain invariable and the suffix *-is* is added:

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[33] For a detailed discussion, see Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 29). I do not reproduce here the full range of the empirical and theoretical arguments adopted by authors and refer the reader to their works.

6. Hakob-ə   gal-is   ē   Hasmik-i   het.

     Hakob-DET come-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG   Hasmik-DAT   with

     'Hakob is coming with Hasmik.'

7. Hakob-ə   tal-is   ē   girkʻ-ə   Hasmik-in.

     Hakob-DET   give-PRES PTCP   AUX+3SG   book-DET Hasmik-DAT

     'Hakob is giving the book to Hasmik.'

8. Hakob-ə   lal-is   ē.

     Hakob-DET   cry-PRES PTCP   AUX+3SG

     'Hakob is crying.'

For the other verbs the '*infinitive-*is* AUX *em*' structure is ungrammatical:

9. *Hakob-ə   *vaz-el*   -*is*   ē.

     Hakob-DET   run-INF-PRES PTCP   AUX3SG.

Sentence (9) is grammatical only with the auxiliary *linel* (meaning 'to be repeatedly/habitually) in the present tense – see table 10 of this chapter:

10. Amen aravot   Hakob-ə   *vaz* -*el* -*is*   ē   lin -um.

     Every morning Hakob-DET run-INF-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG be - PRES PTCP

     'Every morning Hakob is running.'

The verbs *git-en-al* [know-suf-INF 'to know'], *un-en-al* [have-suf-INF 'to have'], *ka-m* [exist-1SG 'I exist'] are exceptions as well.[34] The first two verbs are inflected in the present by simply connecting the present form of the auxiliary *em* onto the end of the root *git-, un-* as shown in (11):[35]

11. Es git   -em. / Es un   -em.

     I   know -1SG/ I   have -AUX+1SG

     'I know.'   / 'I have.'

In the case of *ka-m* 'I exist', only the inflections of AGR (-m, -s, Ø, -nkʻ, -kʻ, -n) are attached without the thematic vowel.

Only one form for the present tense exists in MEA. In section 1.3 I showed that the present participle of MEA, also called *imperfective,* has a nominal derivation, which is the locative case of the noun. The present tense expresses an idea of non-finite,

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[34] In the text the glosses of the Armenian forms are inside square brackets.
[35] The inflection of the 3SG is *i* and not *ē*: *giti* '(s)he knows', *uni* '(s)he has.'

imperfective event. The imperfectiveness of the participle is also transmitted to the tenses – MEA present and imperfect – formed by it (Abełean 1906, 100, A. Abrahamyan 1953, 75). This form often expresses the same meaning as the periphrastic forms of Italian *stare+gerund* or English progressive *be+ing* form. For this reason, in my English translations of Armenian present tense I often use the present continuous tense.

According to Binnick (1991, 282), the category of progressive is a universal. Comrie (1976, 12, 35) however claims that languages do differ in their use of the progressive and denies that the progressive is the same as the imperfective aspect, considering the progressive as a subtype of the imperfective. He sees the imperfective as having to do with continuousness, to which the progressive adds non-stativity. For Armenian, the imperfective aspect gives rise, in most cases, to a progressive interpretation.

The present tense has a variety of usages. The uses of the present tense suggested by Binnick (1991, 247) are also valid for Armenian – see also Ačaŕyan (1961, 95):

12.　　Futurate:

　　　Hakob-ə　　žaman-um　　　ē　　　　valə.

　　　Hakob-DET arrive -PRES PTCP AUX+3SG　tomorrow

　　　'Hakob is arriving tomorrow.'

　　　'Hakob arriva domani.'[36]

13.　　Historical:

　　　Napoleon-n　　anc'n-um　　　　ē　　　　Alp-er-ə.

　　　Napoleon-DET cross -PRES PTCP AUX+3SG Alp-PL-DET

　　　'Napoleon crosses the Alps.'

　　　'Napoleone attraversa le Alpi.'

14.　　Stative:

　　　Hakob-ə　　　sir -um　　　ē　　　　　Hasmik-in.

　　　Hakob-DET　　love-PRES PTCP　AUX+3SG　Hasmik-DAT

　　　'Hakob loves Hasmik.'

　　　'Hakob ama Hasmik.'

---

[36] As far as my central task is to explain in a comparative perspective how a verbal system of (Dante's) Italian can be translated into Armenian, for the completeness of the discussion, the Italian translation will be presented where necessary.

15. Frequentative:

Hakob-ə hašvaŕ -um ē
Hakob-DET register-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

mankapartezayin tarikʻi erexa -ner-in.
Kindergarten age children -PL-DAT

'Hakob registers Kindergarten-Age Children.'

'Hakob registra i bambini in età di scuola materna.'

16. Reportative:

Hakob-ə kaŕucʻ-um ē ir erazac tun -ə.

Hakob-DET build -PRES PTCP AUX+3SG his dream house-DET

'Hakob builds his dream house.'

'Hakob costruisce la casa dei suoi sogni.'

17. Indefinite:

Hakob-ə taxi ē var -um aprel-u hamar.

Hakob-DET taxi AUX+3SG drive-PRES PTCP live -DAT for

'Hakob drives a taxi for living.'

'Hakob guida il taxi per vivere.'

18. Gnomic:

Erku angam erku havasar ē čorsi.

two per two equal AUX+3SG four

'Two times two is four.'

'Due per due fa quattro.'

19. Descriptive:

Katu -n čʻorkʻotani ē.

feline-DET quadruped AUX+3SG

'The feline is a quadruped.'

'Il felino è quadrupede.'

20. Performative:

Hamajayn em.

agree AUX+1SG

'I agree.'

'Sono d'accordo.'

In the following lines I also test the interpretability of four kinds of predicates classified according to the (Aristotle)-Dowty-Vendler system (Dowty 1979, Vendler 1967). Consider the behavior of the present tense with stative, accomplishment, achievement and activity predicates:

21.   Stative:

Hakob-ə   sir -um   ē   Hasmik-in.

Hakob-DET   love-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG   Hasmik-DAT

'Hakob loves Hasmik.'

'Hakob ama Hasmik.'

22.   Accomplishment:

Hakob-n   ut -um   ē   xnjor.

Hakob-DET eat- PRES PTCP AUX+3SG   apple

'Hakob eats an apple.'

'Hakob mangia una mela.'

23.   Achievement:

Hakob-ə   hałt'-um   ē   xał - ə.

Hakob-DET win -PRES PTCP AUX+3SG game- DET

'Hakob wins the game.'

'Hakob vince la gara.'

24.   Activity:

Hakob-ə   vaz-um   ē.

Hakob-DET run-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

'Hakob is running.'

'Hakob corre.'

The present tense in Armenian exhibits the progressive/continuous interpretation it has in Italian.[37] This is not true for accomplishments and activities in English. In fact, in English, the progressive continuous reading is excluded. Note that with the achievement predicates, the progressive reading is again not available in any language.

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[37] For a cross-linguistic analysis in Germanic and Romance, see Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

Present tense sentences can express habituality. For example (22) and (24) can mean in Armenian, Italian, and in English as well, that *Hakob is an apple-eater* or *Hakob is a runner*.[38]

In its morphological system, Armenian does not identify a specific morpheme to express the present tense. The semantics of this tense, as suggested by Reichenbach (1947), is S,R,E — i.e., the three points coincide. In my work I assume the conclusion of Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 40): in all the cases in which a relation is represented by means of a comma, there is neither a morpheme lexicalizing it nor a corresponding category. Hence, the temporal properties of the present tense are specified only at LF. The assumption is that in order to have a present tense interpretation, no tense category can surface. The Modern Eastern Armenian present tense is realized via an analytical form. Thus the auxiliary will be dominated directly by the projections of the AGRP.

Unlike Modern Eastern Armenian, Modern Western Armenian uses a conjugated form of the verb that is preceded by the particle *kə* in the present:

I conj. *sir-el* 'to love'	II conj. *xōs-il* 'to speak'	III conj. *kard-al* 'to read'
kə sir-em [kə love-1sg]'I love'	kə xōs-im [kə speak-1sg] 'I speak'	kə kard-am [kə read-1sg] 'I read'
kə sir-es	kə xōs-is	kə kard-as
kə sir-ē	kə xōs-i	kə kard-ay[39]
kə sir-enkʻ	kə xōs-inkʻ	kə kard-ankʻ
kə sir-ekʻ	kə xōs-ikʻ	kə kard-akʻ
kə sir-en	kə xōs-in	kə kard-an

Table 16

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[38] This meaning is compatible with the several adverbs. Adopting the classification of the adverbs suggested by Cinque (1999) the following "lower" adverbial classes can be used with the present tense in Armenian - see also Kozintseva (1995): *sovorabar* 'usually', *krkin, noricʻ* 'again', *evs mek angam* 'one more time', *hacax* 'often', *sharunakabar* 'repeatedly', *hazvadep* 'seldom', *sakav* 'rarely', *erbemn* 'sometimes', *žamanak aṙ žamanak* 'from time to time, occasionally' and *mek-mek* 'sometimes, from time to time'. The following temporal distributive adverbs can also be used with the present tense: *ōrekan* 'daily', *tarekan* 'yearly', *amsakan* 'monthly', *amen ōr* 'every day', etc.

[39] In Western Armenian, final /y/ in polysyllabic words is silent.

According to Meillet (1978, 271), the MWA *kə* is a result of a transformation of the following complex form:

25.*kay   u

     there is/ (s)he exists   and

The following transformation is present: *kay u>ku>kə*. In fact, in Middle Armenian texts the form in *ku* is often found. In MWA this form is preserved only with the three irregular verbs: *gal* 'to come', *tal* 'to give' and *lal* 'to cry': *ku gam/tam/lam* 'I come/give/cry', see also chapter 3, (3c). With regard to *kay*, it is now only used to mean, *there is*.[40]

When the verb begins with a vowel, MWA has a sincretic form:

ut-el	'to eat'
k'ute-m [*k'*eat-1SG]	'I eat'
k'ute-s	'you eat'
k'utē	'he/she/it eats'
k'ute-nk'	'we eat'
k'ute-k'	'you eat'
k'ute-n	'they eat'

Table 17

Consider the contrast between MEA and MWA present tenses illustrated respectively in examples (26) and (27):

26.   MEA   vaz-um ē

27.   MWA   kə vaz-ē

According to some hypotheses regarding its colloquial register, MWA also has a periphrastic progressive tense (Gevorkian 1994, Donabédian and Ouzounian 2008, Hagopian 2007, 123, Donabédian 2001). The periphrastic continuous form is formed by the post-particle *kor* and the inflected verb:

28.   K'-ute-m   kor.

      K'-eat-1SG   kor

      'I am eating'.

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[40] In MWA the verbs *gitenal* 'to know', *unenal* 'to have', *krnanal* 'can' and *kam* 'I exist' in MWA are without the particle *kə*.

Kor does not seem express any lexical meaning. It is characteristic to the Constantinople dialect, which is the base of Modern Western Armenian. MWA uses *kor* for those cases in which the event is simultaneous with S. The leading linguistic hypothesis for the origin of *kor* is that it derives from the Turkish continuous morpheme –*yor*. Ačaŕyan (1961) considers also *kor < kə + or*, *or* being the conjunction *or*, meaning 'that'. Ačaŕyan (1961) does propose a Turkish influence and not a borrowing, as the –*yor* particle does not exist in any Armenian dialect.

Aytənean (1866) considers also that the origin of *kor* is Turkish –*yor*, which was phonetically modified, as there is no syllable beginning with *y*– in Armenian. He considers that the *y>k* mutation is impossible in Armenian, but accepts the mutation *yor>or*. This analysis is compatible with the one proposed by Ačaŕian (1961).

According to Donabédian and Ouzounian (2008), *kor* is a specific marker for the continuous tense in WMA, impeding the future/hypothetic contextual meaning of the non-marked present (*kə grem* 'I write'). They consider that the internal necessity for creating a continuous present in MWA results from the large scope of the *kə*-marked present (actual, generic, hypothetic, future).

2.5 Imperfect

Anc'yal ankatar

Another MEA tense formed by means of the present participle is the imperfect. It has the same structure as the present, with the imperfect tense of the auxiliary verb *em*: e.g., *gr-um ēi* 'I was writing' – see table 10 in section 2.2.

The imperfect is a form of the indicative, characterized as an anaphoric past form, i.e., the imperfect must on the one hand be interpreted as the past with respect to S, and on the other, requires that the temporal argument of the predicate be overtly specified.[41] The present, simple past, and future tenses are fully acceptable even when the temporal argument of the predicate is not overtly specified and they are interpreted relative to S. The imperfect, on the contrary, cannot be interpreted so straight forward, but rather needs a temporal reference somewhere in the context:

29. Erg -um   ē   /erg -ec'   / piti erg -i   erg-ə   (Arm.)
    sing-PRES PTCP AUX3SG/ sing-AOR+3SG/ FUT sing-3SG song-DET
    'He is singing / he sang / he'll sing the song.'

30. canta / cantò   / cantera' la   canzone'   (It.)
    'He is singing / he sang / he'll sing   the song.'

31. # Erg -um   ēr   erg-ə.   (Arm.)
    sing- PRES PTCP AUX+IMP3SG   song-DET
    'He sang (IMP) the song.'

32. #'Cant-av -a   la canzone.'   (It.)
    'He sang (IMP) the song.'

Sentences (29) and (30) are felicitous both in Armenian and in Italian, even despite the absence of any context, however, if randomly uttered, sentences (31) and (32) are decontextualized and incomprehensible. Instead, they are appropriate as answers to

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[41] This property has been studied by many authors, among others Kamp and Rohrer (1983); Eberle and Kasper (1991); Bertinetto (1991); Delfitto and Bertinetto (2000); Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

questions such as: *What were you doing yesterday?* which, provides the temporal location from which the imperfect can take its temporal reference — in this case, *yesterday*. The temporal expression can also appear in the same sentence:

33. *Erek*   Anna-n   erg -um   ēr.   (Arm.)

     Yesterday   Anna-DET sing- PRES PTCP   AUXIMP+1SG

34. *Ieri*   Anna cant-av   -a.   (It.)

    Yesterday Anna   sing-IMP-3SG

    '*Yesterday* Ann sang (IMP)'

Sentences (29)-(30) can be uttered both in Italian and in Armenian out-of-the-blue unlike examples (31)-(32).

When embedded under a past tense, the imperfect can express simultaneity with the superordinate predicate. Interestingly, only the imperfect (and the subjunctive) can have this reading. The other past tenses of the indicative do not express this property:

35. Hakob-n   as -ac',   or Hasmik-ə   xnĵor ēr   ut -um.

    Hakob-DET say-AOR+3SG that Hasmik-DET apple   AUX+IMP+3SG eat-PRES PTCP

    'Hakob ha detto che Hasmik mangiava (una) mela'

    'Hakob said that Hasmik ate (IMP) (an) apple.'

In (35) Hasmik's eating can be understood as simultaneous with Hakob's saying. In this case there is an accomplishment predicate, however the same reading also arises with stative and activity predicates:

36. Hakob-n   as-ac',   or   Hasmik-ə   erĵanik ēr.   (Arm.)

    Hakob-DET   say-AOR3SG   that   Hasmik-DET   happy AUXIMP3SG

    'Hakob ha detto che Hasmik era felice.'   (It.)

    'Hakob said that Hasmik was (IMP) happy.'

37. Hakob-n   as -ac',   or   Hasmik-ə   vaz-um   ēr.   (Arm.)

    Hakob-DET say-AOR+3SG that   Hasmik-DET   run-PRES PTCP AUXIMP+3SG

    'Hakob ha detto che Hasmik correva.'   (It.)

    'Hakob said that Hasmik ran (IMP).'

Finally, the examples in (38)-(39) show that with the achievement predicates, in order to obtain a simultaneous interpretation there is a strong preference for a progressive (imperfect) form, as in (39), and that a simple imperfect gives rise to an infelicitous sentence in Italian like in example (38) (the symbol # signals lack of a simultaneous

interpretation). In Eastern Armenian there is only one form of the imperfect (the imperfect tense expressed by the present participle and auxiliary in the imperfect tense) which can also express simultaneity:

38. Hakob-n   as -acʿ,   or Hasmik-ə   haɫtʿ-um   ēr   xaɫ -ə.
    Hakob-DET say-AOR+3SG that Hasmik-DET win   -PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG game- DET
  #'Hakob ha detto che Hasmik vinceva la gara.'
  'Hakob said that Hasmik won (IMP) the game.'

39. 'Hakob ha detto che Hasmik stava vincendo la gara.'
  'Hakob said that Hasmik was winning (PROG-IMP) the game.

As mentioned, when the subordinate sentence contains other indicative past tenses, such as a present perfect or a simple past, the simultaneous interpretation is unavailable both in Armenian and in Italian, a fact which is not valid with the imperfect:

40. # Hakob-n   as -acʿ,   or Hasmik-ə   xnjor ē   ker-el.
    Hakob-DET say-AOR+3SG that Hasmik-DET apple AUX+3SG eat-PERF PTCP
    #'Hakob ha detto che Hasmik ha mangiato (una) mela'
    'Hakob said that Hasmik has eaten (an) apple.'

41. # Hakob-n   as -acʿ,   or   Hasmik-ə   xnjor ker-av.
    Hakob-DET   say-AOR+3SG that Hasmik-DET   apple eat-AOR
    #'Hakob ha detto che Hasmik mangiò (una) mela'
    'Hakob said that Hasmik ate (an) apple.'

Notice also that a non-simultaneous reading is impossible in sentences like (35) and (36). The non-simultaneous interpretation is available only if the context provides a temporal reference that is *not* the superordinate predicate (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, 175). This is another instance of a more general phenomenon observed above—namely, the fact that the imperfect is anaphoric. Consider the following example:

42. Hakob-n   *ays aŕavot* as -acʿ,
    Hakob-DET this morning say-AOR+3SG

  or   Hasmik-ə   *erek*   xnjor ēr   ut -um.
  that Hasmik-DET *yesterday* apple AUX+IMP+3SG   eat-PRES PTCP

  'Hakob ha detto questa mattina che Hasmik ieri mangiava (una) mela.'

  'Hakob said this morning that Hasmik yesterday ate (IMP) (an) apple.'

The embedded imperfect in (42) can have a non-simultaneous interpretation and can be interpreted as a past with respect to the saying, due to a derivative effect of the presence of the temporal argument provided by *erek* 'yesterday'. Example (42) contrasts with (40) where a present perfect appears in the subordinate clause and the shifted reading is the only one available even though the temporal argument *yesterday* is missing. The imperfect predicate is interpreted as simultaneous with respect to *erek* 'yesterday' and not with respect to the saying.

As I mentioned in the beginning of the section there are several arguments which illustrate that the imperfect is an indicative form. For instance, it can appear in main clauses and give rise to assertions like an ordinary indicative, as opposed to the subjunctive verbal form:

43. *Erek   erekoyan Anna-n   erg erg -er.   (Arm.)

    Yesterday   evening   Anna-DET song sing-PAST SUBJ+1SG

    'Ieri sera Anna cantasse una canzone.'   (It.)

    'Yesterday evening Ann sang (PAST SUBJ) a song.'

44. Erek   erekoyan Anna-n   erg ēr   erg -um.   (Arm.)

    Yesterday   evening   Anna-DET song AUX+IMP+3SG sing- PRES PTCP

     'Ieri sera Anna cantava una canzone.'   (It.)

    'Yesterday evening Ann sang (IMP) a song.'

The imperfect tense in (44) matches with the indicative mood and not with the subjunctive one.

The other important property that the imperfect shares with the indicative mood concerns the embedded contexts in which it is allowed. Again it matches with the indicative forms and not with the subjunctive:

45. Hakob-n   as -acʻ,   or Hasmik- ə   mekn-el   ē.

    Hakob-DET say-AOR+3SG that Hasmik-DET leave-PAST PTCP   AUX+3SG

    'Hakob said that Hasmik left (lit. has left).'

46. Hakob-n   as -acʻ,   or Hasmik- ə mekn-el   ēr.

    Hakob-DET say-AOR+3SG that Hasmik-DET leave-PAST PTCP   AUX+IMP+3SG.

    'Hakob said that Hasmik had left.'

47. Hakob- ə   cʻankan-um   ēr,   or Hasmik-ə   mekn-er.

Hakob-DET wish-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG that Hasmik-DET leave-PAST SUBJ+3SG

'Hakob wished that Hasmik left.'

48. *Hakob- ə   cʻankan-um   ēr,
    Hakob-DET wish   -PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

    or Hasmik-ə   mekn-el   ē.
    that Hasmik-DET leave -PAST PTCP AUX+3SG

    'Hakob wished that Hasmik has left.'

49. *Hakob- ə   cʻankan-um   ēr,
    Hakob-DET wish   -PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

    or Hasmik-ə   mekn-um   ēr.
    that Hasmik-DET leave-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

    'Hakob wished that Hasmik left (IMP).'

The imperfect is compatible only with those contexts allowing for the use of the indicative, while incompatible as a subordinate form under a verb like *cʻankanal* 'to wish', which, in Armenian, strongly requires the subjunctive, see (49)-(50).

With *karcel* 'believe' predicates, the constructions are the following:

50. Karc -um   ēin   aysor p'oł - ə   tv - ecʻ -in
    believe-PRES PTCP AUXIMP3PL today   money-DET give-AOR-3PL

    vał   -ə   karoł ēin   nerkayacʻum dit   -el. [EANC]
    tomorrow-DET can   AUX+IMP+3PL play   watch-INF

    'They believed (IMP) to give the money today and to watch the play tomorrow.'

51. Karc -um   ēi,   or ekoł tari mer xmb-i   andam-ner-ə
    Believe-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+1SG, that next year our group-GEN member-PL-DET

    k   -cʻankan-ayin   arden   anhatapes aycʻel-el Hayastan.
    COND-wish   -PAST+3PL already   individually visit -INF Armenia.

    'I believed (IMP) that next year the members of our group would have liked to visit Armenia individually.' [EANC]

52. Es kə karc   -ei   or amen-ēn   karewor-ə
    I   *kə* believe-IMP+1SG that all   -ABL important-DET

    azgayin hpartutiwn-n ēr.
    National pride   -DET AUX+IMP+3SG

    'I believed (IMP) that the most important thing was national pride.' [EANC]

53. *Hakob-ə   karc -um   ēr,
    Hakob-DET believe-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG

or   Hasmik-ə   apr-er   Venetik-um.
that Hasmik-DET live-PAST SUBJ Venetik-LOC

'Hakob credeva che Hasmik abitasse a Venezia.'

'Hakob believed that Hasmik lived (Past SUBJ) in Venice.'

Notice that *karcel* 'believe' predicates in both MEA, as illustrated in examples (50)-(51) and MWA – see (52) – require the indicative mood and not the subjunctive as does Italian:

54. Gianni credeva che Maria abitasse a Parigi.

To show that the imperfect is a continuous tense, I adopt the traditional test, i.e., the compatibility with *minč'* 'while'. According to Bertinetto (1991) only continuous tenses can appear in a clause introduced with *while*:

55. Minč' Hakob-ə   kinonkar ēr   dit   -um,
    While Hakob-DET film   AUX+IMP+3SG watch-PRES PTCP

    Hasmik-ə   çaš   ēr   patrast-um.
    Hasmik-DET dinner AUXIMP3SG prepare-PRES PTCP

    'Mentre Hakob guardava il film, Hasmik preparava il pranzo.'

    'While Hakob was watching (IMP) the film, Hasmik was preparing the lunch.'

56. #Minč' Hakob-ə   kinonkar dite -c',
    While Hakob-DET film   watch-AOR+3SG

    Hasmik-ə   erg -um ēr.
    Hasmik-DET sing-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

    #'Mentre Hakob guardò il film, Hasmik cantava.'

     'While Hakob watched the film, Hasmik was singing.'

57. #Minč' Hakob-ə   kinonkar ēr   dit -el,
    While Hakob-DET film   AUX+IMP3SG watch-PAST PTCP,

     Hasmik-ə   erg -um   ēr.
    Hasmik-DET sing-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

     #'Mentre Hakob ha   guardato il film, Hasmik cantava.'

      'While   Hakob has watched (PrPerf) the film, Hasmik was singing.'

In contrast with the imperfect, neither the present perfect nor the simple past in Armenian and Italian, can appear in this context.

According to Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), the imperfect has several uses, that are often called *modal* in literature. They mention two modal meanings: Quasi-epistemic modal and Imperfait preludique.[42] Sentence (58) is an example of a quasi-epistemic modal:

58. Vałə   Aznavour-n   ēr   erg -um.

    Tomorrow Aznavour-DET AUX+IMP+3SG   sing-PRES PTCP

    Tomorrow Aznavour sang (IMP) (meaning that he is supposed to sing).

In cases like the example illustrated in (58), the imperfect loses its past temporal value because of its compatibility with the adverb *vałə* 'tomorrow'.

In contrast to the MEA tense illustrated in example (59) the Modern Western Armenian imperfect is not an analytical form, as can be seen in example (60). Instead, it is formed by means of *kə* plus the conjugated imperfect:

sir-el [love- INF] 'to love'	xōs-il [speak- INF] 'to speak'	kard-al [read-INF] 'to read'
kə sir-ēi [*kə* love-IMP]	kə xōs-ēi [*kə* speak-IMP]	kə kard-ayi [*kə* read-IMP]
I loved (IMP)	'I spoke'(IMP)	'I read (IMP)'
kə sir-ēir	kə xōs-ēir	kə kard-ayir
kə sir-ēr	kə xōs-ēr	kə kard-ar
kə sir-ēink'	kə xōs-ēink'	kə kard-ayink'
kə sir-ēik	kə xōs-ēik'	kə kard-ayik'
kə si-ēin	kə xōs-ēin	kə kard-ayin

Table 18

59. Nrankʿ kard-um   ēin   im girk' -ə.

    They   read-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3PL   my book-DET.

    'They were reading my book'

60. Anonkʿ kə kard-ayin   im girk'-ə.

    They   *kə* read-IMP+3PL my book-DET.

    'They were reading my book.'

The uses of the MWA imperfect are the same as with MEA.

2.6 Present Perfect Tense

Vaɫakatar

In Modern Eastern Armenian, the present perfect is formed with the verb's perfect participle and the inflected auxiliary *em* in the present tense:

infinitive	perfect participle	auxiliary em in the present
kardal 'to read'	kard-acʻ-el [read-AOR-PERF PTCP]	e-m [AUX-1SG]

Table 19

61. Annan gn -acʻ   -el   ē   tun.
    Anna   go-AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG home.
    'Anna has gone home.'

As illustrated in table 19, the perfect participle also uses the aorist morpheme for its formation.[43] Here I argue that the presence of the aorist morpheme gives rise to a perfective reading, i. e., the event is a bounded sequence, and in the present perfect as well we find a bounded sequence, see also section 2.8. The example in (62) means that '(actually) he is in a state of having finished to read.'

62. kard-ac   -el   ē
    read-AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG
    '(s)he has read'

In Modern Western Armenian the present perfect is formed by means of the verb's perfect participle in *–er* and *–ac* and the inflected auxiliary *em* in the present tense:

63. Hasmik-ə   kʻn -acʻ -ac   ē
    Hasmik-DET sleep -AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG
    'Hasmik has slept.' (I am sure)

64. Hasmik-ə   kʻn -acʻ -er   ē
    Hasmik-DET sleep -AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG
    'Hasmik has slept.' (I think so)

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[43] See also the diachrony of the perfect participle discussed in section 1.5.

As we have seen in sections 1.5 and 1.6, Modern Western Armenian distinguishes stative perfect (-*ac* participle) as illustrated in (63) and evidential or mediative perfect (-*er*) as can be seen in (64).

MWA has three aspecto - temporal forms for the accomplished past: aoristic, perfect and mediative. In MWA the perfect and mediative are distributionally equivalent (Donabédian 1996).

According to Donabédian (1996), the mediative form has the following values with a present tense auxiliary:

a. Hearsay: This is traditionally presented as the central (if not the only) value. A propositional content is attributed to a third person, identified or not. One of the effects of this value is a slight doubt in the speaker's mind as to the veracity of the propositional content.

(Someone is telling the misadventures of a friend who had requested a visa):

65. Ës -er   ē   t'ē k'uz -ē   ir hayrenik'-ə   april.
    say-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG that want-3SG   his fatherland-DET live

    Merž-er   en.
    refuse-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG

    He said(MED)   that he wanted(PRES) to live in his fatherland. They refused(MED).

The speaker is relating facts provided by his unfortunate friend.

b. Inference:

66. Anjrew ek   -er   ē

    rain   come-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG

    It has rained.

Sentence (66) is only possible if the ground is still wet. Thus the mediative has peculiar interpretive value. It indicates that the propositional content is a reading put forward by the speaker.

c. Admiration or surprise: in (c) **e** carries an intonation mark of admiration.

67. Ls -ec' -i   or amusn-ac' -**er**   ēk'.
    hear-AOR-1SG that marry-AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+2PL.

    I heard (aorist) that you'd got married (MED)!

In this case, the reference to hearsay is purely rhetorical: it is a request to the interlocutor to say more about the matter. Finally, the utterance of (67), when made without any special intonation, tends towards an inferential value. The same holds for (68), as is demonstrated by the presence of *uremn*, 'so': the speaker is reacting to statistics he has heard read aloud:

68. Aydkʿan eł-er enkʿ uremn.

    that many be-PERF PTCP AUX+1PL so

    So there were that many of us?

2.7 Past Perfect

Ancʻyal vałakatar

In Modern Eastern Armenian the past perfect is formed by means of the perfect participle of the verb and the inflected auxiliary *em* in the imperfect:

infinitive	perfect participle	auxiliary *em* in the imperfect	past perfect
kard-al read-INF to read'	kard-acʻ -el read-AOR-PERF PTCP	ē -i AUX-IMP+1SG	kard-acʻ-el ē-i 'I had read'

Table 20

As in other languages, the past perfect denotes an event or state that precedes the main event (expressed by means of the aorist or the imperfect), as illustrated in the following example (EANC):

69. Sportayin amsagr -er -um   kard-acʻ -el   ēi   Madrid-um
    sports   magazin-PL-LOC read-AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+1SG Madrid-LOC

    nra erku eluytʻneri   masin, usti   inj apahov ēi   zg -um.
    his two performance about   hence me safe   AUX+IMP+1SG feel-PRES PTCP

    'I had read in sports magazines about his two performances in Madrid, hence I
    was feeling myself confident.'

Such a reference to an interval preceding the reference point is sometimes explicitly expressed with adverbs such as *vałucʻ* 'long ago', *arden* 'already'; with the preposition *minčʻew* 'until', or the postposition *aṙaj* 'before; ago':

70. Hakobn arden   kard-acʻ -el   ēr   namakə erb   tun   ek -av.
    Hakob already read-AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG letter when home come-AOR+3SG
    'Hakob had already read the letter when he came home.'

71. Vałucʻ   ēr   hasun -acʻ -el   namakə grelu cʻankutʻyunə.
    Long ago AUX+IMP+3SG mature-AOR-PERF PTCP letter   writing   wish
    'Long ago there had matured the wish to write the letter.'

According to Comrie (1985, 68), MEA past perfect can also cover the meaning of an even more remote past, due to the past tense of the auxiliary verb and the past participle.

The past perfect can also denote a resultative state as a backdrop for another event, constituting a narrative sequence:

72. Mi   angam əntanikʻ-ov   antaṙ ēi-nkʻ   gn-acʻ-el.

One time   family -STR wood AOX+IMP-1PL go-AOR-PERF PTCP

'Once we had gone to the wood with the family.'

In Modern Western Armenian the past perfect tense is formed from the verb's perfect participle in *–er* and *–ac* and the inflected auxiliary *em* in the imperfect:

73. Hasmik-ə kʻn   -acʻ -ac   ēr.

Hasmik-DET sleep -AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

'Hasmik had slept.' (I was sure)

74. Hasmik-ə   kʻn   -acʻ -er   ēr.

Hasmik-DET sleep -AOR-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

'Hasmik had slept.' (I think so)

2.8 Aorist

Anc'yal kataryal

The aorist is the only synthetic tense in Modern Eastern Armenian. It is formed from the aorist stem of the verb, as illustrated in table 3 of section 2.1 that I represent here for commodity – see table 21 – plus the so-called primary endings for simple verbs in *-el* and *-al*, as illustrated in table 22, including verbs suffixed with *–v–* (passives, reflexives, reciprocals, anticausatives) and *–cʻr–* (causatives), as can be seen in table 23.

	Aorist stem
simple verbs in *–el*	pres. stem–
simple verbs in *–al*	pres. stem+ *–acʻ–*
suffixed verbs in *–čʻ–el*	pres. stem without *–čʻ–*
suffixed verbs in *–n–el*	pres. stem without *–n–*
suffixed verbs in *–an–al*	pres. stem without *–an–* +*acʻ*
suffixed verbs in *–en–al*	pres. stem without *–en–* +*acʻ*
causativised verbs in *–cʻn–el*	stem+ *–cʻr–*
passivised verbs in *–v–el*	pres. stem *–v–*

Table 21

Singular	Plural
AOR-stem + *–i*	AOR-stem + *–inkʻ*
AOR-stem + *–ir*	AOR-stem + *–ikʻ*
AOR-stem + Ø	AOR-stem + *–in*

Table 22

	Simple in –el	Simple in -al	Causativised in –cʻn-el	Passivised in -v-el
Infinitive	gr-el	kard-al	karda-cʻn-el	gr-v-el
Aorist stem	gr-	kard-acʻ	karda-cʻr-	gr-v-
Aorist tense	gr -ecʻ -i write-AOR-1SG 'I wrote'	kard-acʻ -i read-AOR-1SG 'I read (PAST)'	karda-cʻr -i read-AOR-1SG 'I made read'	gr -v -ecʻ -i write-pass-AOR-1SG 'I was written'

Table 23

If the verb has a suffix *-enal, -anal, -n-* or *č'*, as illustrated in table 25, the aorist is formed by adding to the stem the so-called secondary endings, as illustrated in table 24.

Singular	Plural
AOR-stem + –a	AOR-stem + –ank'
AOR-stem + –ar	AOR-stem + –ak'
AOR-stem + –av	AOR-stem + –an

Table 24

	Suffixed in -en-	Suffixed in -an-	Suffixed in -n-	Suffixed in – č'-
Infinitive	vax-en-al	urax-an-al	tes-n-el	p'ax- č'-el
Aorist stem	vax-ec'	urax-ac'	tes-	p'ax
Aorist	vax -ec' -a freight-AOR-1SG 'I was (AOR) afraid'	urax -ac' -a happy-AOR-1SG 'I was (AOR) happy'	tes-a see-AOR+1SG 'I saw'	p'ax -a escape- AOR+1SG 'I escaped'

Table 25

Three irregular verbs change their stems to form the aorist: *gal* 'to come'<ek-av [come-AOR+3SG] 'he/she came,' *linel* 'to be habitually'< eł-av [be-AOR+3SG] 'he/she was AOR,' *utel* 'to eat'<ker-av [eat-AOR+3SG] 'he/she ate.'

Consider now the behavior of the Armenian aorist tense with statives (75)-(78) accomplishments (79)-(90), achievements (91)-(94) and activity (95)-(99) predicates, see Bertinetto (1991, 33):[44]

75. Maria-n   apr-ec'   Paris-um   erek' tari.   Arm.
    Maria-DET   live-AOR+3SG Paris-LOC three year
    'Maria ha vissuto (lit. visse) a Parigi per tre anni.'   It.
    'Maria lived in Paris for three years.'
76. *Maria-n   apr-ec'   Paris-um   erek' tar -um.   Arm.

---

44 In Italian, in many contexts, the present perfect and the simple past seem to be largely equivalent forms and their distribution varies according to the dialectal and regional linguistic background of the speaker (Giorgi 2010, 19). As I show here in Armenian they are two different tenses, exhibiting different properties and obeying different constraints.

Maria-DET   live-AOR+3SG Paris-LOC three   year -LOC

'Maria ha vissuto (lit. visse) a Parigi in tre anni.'   It.

'Maria lived in Paris in three years.'

77. Maria-n   sire-cʻ   Hakob-in   erekʻ tari.   Arm.

Maria-DET   love-AOR+3SG Hakob-DAT three   year

'Maria ha amato (lit. amò) Hakob per tre anni.'   It.

'Maria loved Hakob for three years.'

78. ? Maria-n   sire-cʻ   Hakob-in   erekʻ tar   -um.   Arm.

Maria-DET   love-AOR+3SG Hakob-DAT three years -LOC

'Maria ha amato (lit. amò) Hakob in tre anni.'   It.

'Maria loved Hakob in three years.'

We see that in (75) there are no interpretative differences among Armenian, Italian and English. Example (75) yields grammatical results in three languages and in (76) it is ungrammatical, as stative verbs cannot be combined with such adverbials like 'in X TIME'.[45]

79. Maria-n   erekʻ žamʻ xnjor ker-av.

Maria-DET three hour   apple   eat-AOR+3SG

'Maria ha mangiato (lit. mangiò) mela/e per tre ore.'

'Maria ate apple(s) for three hours.'

80. Maria-n   erekʻ žam xnjor-ə   ker-av.

Maria-DET three hour apple-DET eat-AOR+3SG.

'Maria ha mangiato (lit. mangiò) la mela per tre ore.'

'Maria ate the apple for three hours.'

81. Maria-n   erekʻ žam mi   xnjor   ker-av.

Maria-DET three hour one apple   eat-AOR+3SG

'Maria ha mangiato (lit. mangiò) una mela per tre ore.'

'Maria ate an apple for three hours.'

82. *Maria-n   erekʻ žam-um   xnjor   ker-av.

Maria-DET three hour -LOC apple   eat-AOR+3SG

---

[45] Yet on the other hand we also note that even if example (78) contains a stative predicate, it is not completely ungrammatical in Armenian meaning 'it took Maria three years to begin to love Hakob'.

'Maria ha mangiato (lit. mangiò) mela/e in tre ore.'

'Maria ate apple(s) in three hours.'

83. Maria-n   erek' žam-um   mi xnjor   ker-av.

Maria-DET three hour -LOC   one apple   eat-AOR+3SG

'Maria ha mangiato (lit. mangiò) una mela in tre ore.'

'Maria ate an apple in three hours.'

84. Maria-n   erek' zham-um   xnjor-e   ker-av.

Maria-DET three hour-LOC apple-DET eat-AOR+3SG

'Maria ha mangiato (lit. mangiò) la mela in tre ore.'

'Maria ate the apple in three hours.'

In (79) the apple is not quantified, in (80) we have a certain quantity of apples and the interpretability of the sentences is the same in three languages. In contrast to (79) where the sentences are grammatical, the ungrammaticality of (82) derives from the fact that the apple is not quantified. It means that in the presence of the adverbial 'in X TIME' the VP needs a quantified NP as an Object as can be seen in example (84).

85. Maria-n   erek' tari tun   kaŕuc'-ec'.

Maria-DET three   year house build-AOR+3SG

'Maria ha costruito (lit. costruì) casa per tre anni.'

'Maria built house(s) for three years.'

86. Maria-n   erek' tari mi   tun   kaŕuc'-ec'.

Maria-DET three year one   house build-AOR3SG

'Maria ha costruito (lit. costruì) una casa per tre anni.'

'Maria built a house for three years.'

87. Maria-n   erek' tari   tun-e   kaŕuc'-ec'.

Maria-DET three year house-DET build-AOR3SG

'Maria ha costruito (lit. costruì) la casa per tre anni.'

'Maria built the house for three years.'

88. Maria-n   erek' tar-um   tun   kaŕuc'-ec'.

Maria-DET three year-LOC house   build-AOR3SG

'Maria ha costruito (lit. costruì) casa in tre anni.'

'Maria built house in three years.'

89. Maria-n   erek' tar-um   mi tun   karuc'-ec'.

Maria-DET three year-LOC   one house   build-AOR3SG

'Maria ha costruito (lit. costruì) una casa in tre anni.'

'Maria built a house in three years.'

90. Maria-n   erek' tar-um   tun-e   kaŕuc'-ec'.

Maria-DET three year-LOC house-DET   build-AOR3SG

'Maria ha costruito (lit. costruì) la casa in tre anni.'

'Maria built the house in three years.'

The sentences (85)-(87) mean that Maria devoted three years to the construction of house (a house/the house) and afterwards she stopped, but the result is not clear, whether she finished the construction or not. Sentences (88)-(90) express a clear result: Maria finished building a/the house.

91. *Maria-n   has -av   sar   -i   gagat'- e   erek'   žam.

Maria-DET reach-AOR+3SG   mountain-GEN   top   -DET three   hour

'Maria raggiunse la vetta per tre ore.'

'Maria reached the top of the mountain for three hours.'

92. ?Maria-n   has-av   sar   -i   gagat'- e   erek' žam-um.

Maria-DET reach-AOR+3SG mountain-GEN top   -DET three   hour -LOC

'Maria raggiunse la vetta in tre ore.

'Maria reached the top of the mountain in three hours.'

93. *Hakob-ə   nkat-ec'   Maria-yin   erek' žam.

Hakob-DET   notice-AOR+3SG Maria-DAT three   hour

'Hakob notò Maria per tre ore.'

'Hakob noticed Maria for three hours.'

94. ? Hakob-ə   nkat -ec'   Maria-yin   erek'   žam-um.

Hakob-DET   notice-AOR+3SG Maria-DAT three   hour-LOC

'Hakob notò Maria in tre ore.'

'Hakob noticed Maria in three hours.'

The adverbial *erek' žam-um* 'for three hours' is incompatible with achievement predicates, as can be seen in examples (91)-(93), as achievement predicates are punctual. Sentence (93), contains an irreversible situation, i.e., Hakob cannot notice Maria 'for X TIME' and then cease noticing her. In fact the result is ungrammatical both in Armenian, in Italian and in English.

95. Maria-n   vaz-ec'   erek' žam.

     Maria-DET   run-AOR+3SG three hour

     'Maria corse per tre ore.'

     'Maria ran for three hours.'

96. *Maria-n   vaz-ec'   erek' žam-um.

     Maria-DET run-AOR+3SG three hour-LOC

     *Maria corse in tre ore.

     *Maria ran in three hours.

In order to make (96) grammatical, the following change has to be made:

97. Maria-n   vaz-ec'   1km   erek' žam-um

     Maria-DET run-AOR+3SG 1km three hour-LOC

     'Maria corse 1 km in tre ore.'

     'Maria ran 1km in three hours.'

98. Maria-n   hr-ec'   saylak-ə   erek' žam.

     Maria-DET push-AOR3SG handcart-DET   three hour

     'Maria spinse il carretto per tre ore.'

     'Maria pushed the cart for three hours.'

99. *Maria-n   hr-ec'   saylak-ə   erek' žam-um.

     Maria-DET push-AOR+3SG handcart-DET   three hour-LOC

     'Maria spinse il carretto in tre ore.'

     'Maria pushed the handcart in three hours.'

As we see the adverbial 'in X TIME' is compatible only with telic verbs, i.e., with trasformatives and resultatives. In fact, it is ungrammatical with the achievement predicates, as in (92) and (94), where the event is punctual, or with the activity predicates, as can be seen in (96) and (99), where the event is continuative.

According to Bertinetto (1991, 34) The adverbial 'for X TIME' is compatible with trasformatives, continuatives and resultatives. Let's consider the Armenian translation of the Italian example provided by Bertinetto (1991, 34):

100.   Elio-n   inj tv -ec'   girk'-ə   erek' orov

        Elio-DET   me give-AOR+3SG   book-DET three day

        'Elio mi prestò il libro per tre giorni.'

        'Elio gave me the book for three days.'

The sentence (100) means that there is a three day span between the moment when I took the book and the moment I returned it.

The aorist tense can also express ingressive meaning with verbs of emotion as illustrated in (101) and future (imminential) meaning with verbs of motion as can be seen in (102)(Dum-Tragut 2009, 232):

101.   Lilitʻ-n   at-ecʻ   ayn nor usanoł -i   -n.

        Lilitʻ-DET hate-AOR+3SG   that new student-DAT-DET

        'Lilitʻ started to hate (lit.: hated) that new student.'

102.   Es gn-acʻ   -i.

        I   go-AOR-1SG

        (lit : I went). 'I am gone!'

Sentence (102) can mean both 'I went' and 'I am gone'. The latter has an imminential reading, i.e., 'I am about to leave'. On the contrary, we cannot use the aorist tense with an imminential reading in a sentence such as the following one:

103. * Karc   -um   em,   or   erku ams-icʻ
       Suppose-PRES PTCP AUX1SG, that two month-ABL

       Hasmik-e   kʻnnutyun-e   handzn-ecʻ.
       Hasmik-DET FUT   exam-DET   pass-AOR3SG.

       'Credo che fra due mesi Hasmik passò l'esame.'

       'I suppose that Hasmik passed the exam after two months.'

In the presence of the adverbial *erku ams-icʻ* 'after two months', the aorist does not express an imminential reading, as shows by the fact that sentence (103) is ungrammatical.

Aorist is grammatical in the following example:

104. Ete gn-acʻ   -i   graxanutʻ kʻez   girkʻ k   -gn -em.

     If   go-AOR-1SG book-store youDAT book   COND -buy-1SG

     'Se vado (lit.: andai) in libreria ti comprerò un libro.'

     'If I go (lit: went) to the book-store I'll buy you a book.'

Sentence (104) means that 'I haven't gone there yet' and not 'if I went' — it means 'if I go.'

A good example of a marked perfectivity is Russian where the perfective morpheme forms both aorist and future tenses in the following way:

Perfective morpheme+Verb-stem+PAST = Past:

105.　On　pro　　　- čʻita -l.

　　　he　perf.prefix- read -PAST+3SG

　　　'Lui lesse.'

　　　'He read (PAST).'

Perfective morpheme+Verb-stem+PRES (i.e., no tense morpheme, only AGR)= future:

106.　On　pro　　　　-čʻita-et

　　　he　perf.prefix- read-3SG

　　　'Lui leggerà'

　　　'He will read.'

In Russian the presence of a perfective morpheme is not sufficient enough to obtain the past interpretation. It also needs a past mopheme (suffix). If the past morpheme is not there, the interpretation is a future one.

There is no difference in the use of the aorist between Modern Eastern Armenian and Modern Western Armenian. The main difference between them is in aorist-stem formation as can be seen in tables 23 and 27:

Aorist primary endings for simple verbs in –el, –al; for suffixed verbs in –cʻn, –u–		Aorist secondary endings for verbs suffixed with –en, –an, –n– and – č–	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
-i	-inkʻ	-ay	-ankʻ
-ir	-ikʻ	-ar	-akʻ
-ø	-in	-aw	-an

Table 26

	Simple in –el	Simple in -al	Causativised in –cʻn-el	Passivised in -u-el
Infinitive	gr-el	kard-al	karda-cʻn-el	gr-u-el
Aorist stem	gr-	kard-acʻ	karda-cʻucʻ-	gr-u-
Aorist tense	gr　-ecʻ　-i write-AOR-1SG	kard-acʻ　-i read-AOR-1SG	karda-cʻucʻ-i read-AOR-1SG	gr　-u　-ecʻ　-ay write-pass-AOR-1SG

	'I wrote'	'I read (PAST)'	'I made read'	'I was written'

Table 27

	Suffixed in -en-	Suffixed in -an-	Suffixed in -n-	Suffixed in – č'-
Infinitive	mōt-en-al	urax-an-al	tes-n-el	p'ax- č'-el
Aorist stem	mōt-ec'	urax-ac'	tes-	p'ax
Aorist	mōt -ec' -ay approach-AOR-1SG 'I was (AOR) afraid'	urax -ac' -ay happy-AOR-1SG 'I was (AOR) happy'	tes-ay see-AOR+1SG 'I saw'	p'ax -ay escape- AOR+1SG 'I escaped'

Table 28

2.9 Future

Aparni

The future tense of Modern Eastern Armenian is formed by means of the verb's future participle and the inflected auxiliary *em* in the present tense:

107. Vałə   Hakob-ə   mekn-el -u   ē   Venetik.
        Tomorrow Hakob-DET leave-INF-FUT PTCP AUX+3SG   Venice
        'Tomorrow Hakob will leave for Venice.'

Sentence (107) means that Hakob will leave after the Speech event (S).

In MEA this tense is rarely used. In Armenian the future meaning is also expressed by a conditional, a debitive, and a subjunctive moods, respectively illustrated in examples (108)-(110). Even if in the present work I discuss only the tenses of the indicative mood, I take time to discuss the conditional, dubitative, and subjunctive moods as they are directly connected to the MEA future tense.

The conditional mood is formed by means of the prefix *k-*, which is always prefixed to the finite verb form. Even if the conditional mood usually refers to a hypothetical state or event, contingent on another set of circumstances, in MEA, it is often used to express future:

108. Vałə   Hakob-ə   k-mekn-i   Venetik.
        Tomorrow Hakob-DET   k-leave-COND FUT3SG   Venice

'Tomorrow Hakob will leave for Venice.'

The debitive mood expresses a subject's obligation. The debitive mood is marked by the particle *piti* or *petkʻē* and the verb in the subjunctive mood:

109. Vałə   Hakob-ə   piti mekn-i   Venetik.

     Tomorrow Hakob-DET leave-DEB FUT+3SG   Venice

     'Tomorrow Hakob must leave for Venice.'

The subjunctive, in contrast to the indicative, is typically used in dependent clauses to express a wish, emotion, possibility, doubt, judgment, hypothesis, recommendation, opinion, necessity, etc. In MEA, the subjunctive has many functions and can be used in simple sentences and subordinate clauses. In subordinate conditional clauses, final clauses, as well as in comparative constructions, it denotes a hypothetical event. The subjunctive is expressed by synthetic verbal forms. It is formed using the present stem of the verb, the verb's conjugation vowel, and the personal endings.

110. Uz -um   em   or vałə   Hakob-ə   mekn-i   Venetik.

     Wish-PRES PTCP AUX1SG that   tomorrow Hakob-DET leave -SUBJ3SG Venice

     'I want Hakob to leave for Venice tomorrow.'

Note that across languages there is a close relationship between future tense and modality. This is a commonly accepted stance. Lyons (1977, 677), for example, states that future tense is partly temporal and partly modal in that there is always an element of prediction involved.

Mithun (1995, 378) claims that languages that systematically mark irrealis often include future events in the irrealis domain.[46] Palmer (2001, 104-5) states that "the future is not fully known and it is always no more than a reasonable assumption that a future event will ensue."

Following Bertinetto (1991), I will consider the following examples:

111. Vałn   ardyokʻ   anjrew-elu   ē?

     tomorrow whether   rain-FUT PTCP   AUX+3SG

     'Will it rain tomorrow?'

112. Vałə   gal-u   em.

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46 On this point, see among others see Boland (2006 vol.1, 87), Mithun (1995, 376), Comrie (1985, 50-52).

tomorrow   come-FUT PTCP   AUX1SG

'Tomorrow I'll come.'

113. Vałə nran-ic'   nerołut'yun es   xndr-elu,   hask-ac' -ar?
       Tomorrow   him-ABL excuse AUX+2SG   ask-FUT PTCP understand-AOR-2SG

      'Tomorrow you must apologize to him, did you understand?'

114. Aysōr-vanic' iravaxaxtič'-ner-ə   krknaki tugank' en   vjar-elu.
       Today-ABL transgressor-PL-DET double   fine   AUX+3PL pay-FUT PTCP

      'From now on the transgressors will pay double the fine.'

The example in (111) illustrates a dubitative simple future, while the one in (112) expresses a volitional simple future which indicates the intention of a speaker to execute the action indicated by the verb; the example in (113) illustrates an injunctive future that contains an injunction addressed to the interlocutor and the sentence in (114) is an example of deontic simple future which is frequently used in moral precepts and ordinances.

In the sentence (111) the dubitative meaning is emphasized also by the adverb *ardyok'* 'whether'. Sentences (111)-(114) are of deictic use and of modal meaning.

In books on history or in narrative literature and sometimes in journalism, the future can indicate the time of the event earlier than its utterance. This is the *retrospective* future:

115. Hingerord dar   -ə   karevor   nšanakut' yun ē   unen-alu
       Fifth   century-DET important significance   AUX+3SG have-FUT PTCP

       hay   jołovrd-i   kyank'-um.
       Armenian   nation -GEN life   -LOC.

      'The fifth century will have an important significance in the life of the Armenian
      nation.'

This use of the simple future implies posteriority of the described event but it is not computed from the moment of utterance. It is computed starting from a temporal anchor on the basis of the content and localized in the past. Practically, the speaker pretends to shift back the moment of utterance – see Giorgi (2010).

The epistemic interpretation is again a modal one, implying the speaker's subjective deduction on the present situation. For example, sentence (116) doesn't mean that in a while it will be 5 o'clock. It means that the speaker thinks that it is five o'clock precisely in that moment:

116. Hima žam-ə hing-n ē lin-elu.

Now hour-DET five-DET AUX+3SG be-FUT PTCP

'Now it will be 5 o'clock.'

With non-statives, in order to express simultaneity with the speech act, usually we have to state it explicitly. Besides we have to use the combination of the processual participle and the ausiliary *linel* in the future tense:

117. Hima anjrev-elis ē lin-elu.

Now rain-PROC PTCP AUX+3SG be-FUT PTCP.

'It should be raining now.'

Modern Western Armenian future tense is formed by means of synthetic verb preceded by the particle *piti*. The lexical meaning of *piti* is 'must' and it is invariable for person and number:

I conj. *sir-el* 'to love'	II conj. *xōs-il* 'to speak'	III conj. *kard-al* 'to read'
piti sir-em	piti xōs-im	piti kard-am
[FUT love-1SG] 'I shall love'	[FUT speak-1SG] 'I shall speak'	[FUT read-1sg] 'I shall read'
piti sir-es	piti xōs-is	piti kard-as
piti sir-ē	piti xōs-i	piti kard-ay[47]
piti sir-enkʻ	piti xōs-inkʻ	piti kard-ankʻ
piti sir-ekʻ	piti xōs-ikʻ	piti kard-akʻ
piti sir-en	piti xōs-in	piti kard-an

Table 29

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[47] In Western Armenian, final /y/ in polysyllabic words is silent.

CHAPTER 3

Divina Commedia versus *Astvacayin katakergut'yun*

3.1 Introduction

On the basis of the linguistic considerations provided in chapters 1 and 2, I will now consider the verbal system and the temporal interpretation in MEA and MWA translations of Dante's work.

In section 3.2, I discuss Dante's verbal system. The past tenses are particularly interesting, given the existence of important differences between Dante's Italian and MEA and MWA pasts. Note also that the Modern Italian verbal system has different properties with respect to Dante's and I will briefly address this issue for completeness – see the example (48)-(51).

In section 3.3 I give a brief overview of the *Commedia's* Armenian translations. Some scholars translated it into verse (Łazikean 1902, 1924, Tiroyean 1930) others into rhymed verse (Tayec'i 1947, 1952, 1959). Łazikean (1905) translated *Purgatorio* into prose on the basis of the consideration that it is impossible to render Dante's masterpiece into Armenian using *terza rima*. He, following the philosophy of Saint Jerome—*non verbum de verbo, sed sensum esprimere de sensu*—has privileged "word" over "form."[48] However, the latest translator of Dante managed to obtain a *terza rima* translation (Ghulyan 2004, 2005, 2007), a choice that often forced him to stray from the original content of the *Commedia*, distinguishing him from his predecessors.

In section 3.4 I examine the various Armenian translations of the *Commedia*. For each case, which I am going to analyze, I give three translations: the one by Tayan (1969), by Ghulyan (2004, 2005, 2007) in Eastern Armenian and the one by Łazikean (1902, 1905, 1924) in Western Armenian. I will gloss Dante in Italian and the morphological features are specified only for verbs and cases. The translations are listed with the letters a, and c, referring to Tayan, Ghulyan and Łazikean respectively.

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48 Saint Jerome, *De Optimo Genere Interpretandi*, Epistula LVII.

3.2 Dante's Verbal System

In this section I propose an overview on the temporal values of Dante's indicative verbs. The generalizations are mainly based on the work by Ageno (1978), and especially for past tense, on the unpublished MA thesis of Molani (1996).

3.2.1 Present

Presente

The present tense is often characterized as a verbal form describing an event ongoing at the speech time. Example (1) expresses a simultaneous relationship between the time of the utterance and the time of the event:

1. Per piacermi a lo specchio, qui m'*addorno*… (Purg XXVII 103)

The example in (2), again illustrates simultaneity and the adverb *ora* 'now' is located in the time interval in which the event takes place:

2. or ci *attristiam* ne la belletta negra… (Inf VII 124)

In the same vein the present tense in (3) has a descriptive value, expressing a state – *son di piombo* – holding at the speech time:

3. …"Le cappe rance

   son di *piombo* sì grosse, che li pesi

   fan così *cigolar* le lor bilance." (Inf XXIII 100-102)

The example in (4) shows the present tense – *si manduca* – which has a descriptive function in comparative, realized in the past tense, by the verb *pose*.[49]

4. e come 'l pan per fame *si manduca*

   così l sovran li denti a l'altro pose

   là 've 'l cervel *s'aggiugne* con la nuca. (Inf XXXII 127-129)

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[49] Ageno (1978) provides the following examples for this phenomenon in Dante: Inf I 24, 55-57; VI 28-30, VII 13-14; IX 76-78; XVII 100; Purg III 79-84; VI 1-9; X132-134; Par XX 73-75, etc.

As is well known, a present tense can also express a "timeless" value, and Dante's Italian is no exception in this respect. An example of the timeless present is in the gnomic present illustrated in the following example – see also example (18) in 2.4:[50]

5. ch'assolver non si può chi non si pente… (Inf XXVII 118)

The verse in example (6) illustrates historical present – see also (13) in 2.4.[51] Ageno (1978, 223) emphasizes that the historical present is mostly used in matrix clauses as can be seen in example (6):

6. com'io fui dentro, l'occhio intorno *invio*… (Inf IX 109)

Ageno (1978, 223) points out that in some cases, the present tense can also stand for the imperfect. This occurs when the verb is durative:

7. vidi 'l maestro di color che sanno

    seder tra filosofica famiglia.

    Tutti lo *miran*, tutti *onor* li *fanno*… (Inf IV 131-133)

Sometimes, the event expressed by the present tense is indeterminate and can be temporally located in the future by inserting an adverb or an adverbial phrase, as for instance in *in eterno* 'forever' in the following example provided by Ageno (1978, 224).

8. ciascun rivederà la trista tomba,

    ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura,

    udirà quel ch'in etterno *rimbomba*". (Inf VI 97-99)

The following example denotes an iteration of an event in the future. The verb – *si ricorca* – though used here in the present tense, clearly implies a future, this being a prophecy:

9. Ed elli: "Or va; che 'l sol non *si ricorca*

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[50]

i.   *Erku angam erku havasar ē čorsi.*   (ex = 18 in 2.4)
     two per two equal AUX+3SG four
     'Two times two is four.'

[51]

i.   *Napoleon-n anc'n-um ē Alp-er-ə.*   (ex = 13 in 2.4)
     Napoleon-DET cross -PRES PTCP AUX+3SG Alp-PL-DET.
     'Napoleon crosses the Alps.'

sette volte nel letto che 'l Montone

con tutti e quattro i piè cuopre e inforca,

che cotesta cortese oppinïone

ti fia chiavata in mezzo de la testa

con maggior chiovi che d'altrui sermone… (Purg VIII 133-138)

In the following example, the present tense verbs *si dimagra* and *rinova* again stand for the future tense in a prophecy.

10. apri li orecchi al mio annunzio, e odi.

   Pistoia in pria d'i Neri *si dimagra*;

   poi Fiorenza *rinova* gente e modi. (Inf XXIV 143-146)

In the following two tercets of the *Commedia* – provided by Ageno (1978, 224) – the adverb *tardi* 'later' moves the occurrence of the event in the future:

11. Poi cominciai: "Non dispetto, ma doglia

   la vostra condizion dentro mi fisse,

    tanta che tardi tutta *si dispoglia*… (Inf XVI 52-54)

12. Rodolfo imperador fu, che potea

   sanar le piaghe c' hanno Italia morta,

   sì che tardi per altri *si ricrea*. (Purg VII 94-96)

Frequently, a present tense with a future value occurs in negative sentences with such adverbs as *più non*, *mai non*, *già mai più non*, *già mai non* (Ageno 1978, 224):

13. E'l duca disse a me: "Più non si desta

   di qua dal suon de l'angelica tromba,

   quando verrà la nimica podesta: (Inf VI 94-96)

The verse in (14) is an example of an intentional present expressed in the 1st person (Ageno 1978, 224):

14. più non ti dico e più non ti rispondo". (Inf VI 90)

3.2.2 Imperfect

Imperfetto

The imperfect tense is an anaphoric verbal form – see section 2.5 – the event with the imperfect morphology needing a temporal reference somewhere in the context. In example (15), the imperfect denotes simultaneity in relation to another event expressed in the simple past.

15. e rivolsesi a me con passi rari. /…e *dicea* ne' sospiri: (Inf VIII 117-119)

In example (16), the past-tense verb in the first member of the coordination denotes an event of limited duration. The imperfect appearing in the second member of coordination, expresses an event of equal duration in respect to the verb of the first member:

16. ebbe tra ' bianchi marmi la spelonca

    per sua dimora; onde a guardar le stelle

    e 'l mar non li *era* la veduta *tronca*. (Inf XX 49-51)

The event expressed by means of a verb with imperfect morphology is anchored to and interpreted as simultaneous with the superordinate predicate.

The following example proposed by (Ageno 1978, 227) is a special case scenario to to describe the attitude of a secondary character, i.e., the character that until that moment was not the focal point of the story:

17. Misesi lì nel canto e ne la rota;

    e la mia donna in lor *tenea* l'aspetto,

    pur come sposa tacita e immota. (Par XXV 109-111)

In example (18) the imperfect denotes an event that extends beyond the temporal boundings of the one expressed by the simple past:

18. sì lasciò trapassar la santa greggia

    Forese, e dietro meco sen *veniva*… (Purg XXIV 73-74)

According to Ageno (1978, 227), in the *Commedia*, the verb of the first member of the coordination expressed by means of the past tense indicates the event of the protagonist as an observer (often Dante or his guide), whereas the imperfect in the second member of the coordination expresses the content of the observation. The state or the

event in the imperfect may extend temporally before and after the event in the first member of the coordination as illustrated in the following example:

19. vidi quattro grand'ombre a noi venire:

    sembianz'*avevan* né trista né lieta. (Inf IV 83-84)

The imperfect is also used in clauses subordinate to fictional verbs to express the content of dream and visions.[52] Dante's Italian is no exception to this generalization as illustrated in example (20):

20. mi venne in sogno una femmina balba, / Io la *mirava*; …lo sguardo mio le *facea* scorta/ la lingua, e poscia tutta la *drizzava*/ in poco d'ora, e lo smarrito volto…così le *colorava*./ Poi ch'ell'avea 'l parlar così disciolto, *cominciava* a cantar. (Purg XIX 7-17)

3.2.3 Present perfect

Passato prossimo

Dante's present perfect refers to a state resulting from a bounded event. This complexity of the aspectual-temporal character is exemplified in the verses below:

21. siete a veder lo strazio disonesto

    c' ha le mie fronde sì da me disgiunte… (Inf XIII 140-141)

22. Vedi quanta virtù l' ha fatto degno

    di reverenza; e cominciò da l'ora… (Par VI 34-35)

Ageno (Ageno 1978) asserts that in the above-mentioned sense, there appear non-durative verbs, as can be seen in (23)-(24):

23. Tu m' hai con disiderio il cor disposto

    sì al venir con le parole tue… (Inf II 136-137)

24. tratto m' hanno del mar de l'amor torto,

    e del diritto m' han posto a la riva. (Par XXVI 62-63)

The present result of the past event may not be related to the grammatical subject of the present perfect:

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[52] See also Giorgi and Pianesi (2001), for an analysis of this phenomenon. Note that the use of the imperfect in dream contexts is very common crosslinguistically.

25. fate i saper che 'l fei perché pensava

già ne l'error ["dubbio"] che m'*avete soluto*". (Inf X 113-114)

According to Ageno (1978, 225), the event indicated by the present perfect may have had some duration, which would then be (at times) underlined by the context elements, as illustrated in (26).

26. troppo da me, e questa dismisura

migliaia di lunari *hanno punita*. (Purg XXII 35-36)

The present (with which the present perfect is in relation) can be a habitual or iterative as can be seen in (27) or a timeless present as that of judgments as illustrated in (28):

27. Ma perché l'ovra tanto è più gradita

da l'operante, quanto più rappresenta

de la bontà del core ond'ell'*è uscita*… (Par VII 106-108)

28. Qual è quel toro che si slaccia in quella

c' *ha ricevuto* già 'l colpo mortale… (Inf XII 22-23)

The following example illustrates a present perfect verb – *venuti semo* – in relation to a historic present, expressed by the verb *veggio*:

29. E quando noi a lei *venuti semo*,

poco più oltre veggio in su la rena

gente seder propinqua al loco scemo. (Inf XVII 34-36)

As pointed out by Ageno (1978, 225), the present perfect *hai* […] *mutato* in (30), denotes an iterated event:

30. Quante volte, del tempo che rimembre,

legge, moneta, officio e costume

hai tu *mutato*, e *rinovate* membre! (Purg VI 145-147)

According to Ageno (1978, 225), the present perfect verbs *ha tenuto* in (31), *avem sofferto* in (32) and *stata è* in (33) express a condition, existing in the past and continuing in the present. Usually an adverb of time or an equivalent expression emphasizes such a persistent condition.

31. solvetemi, spirando, il gran digiuno

che lungamente m' *ha tenuto* in fame… (Par XIX 25-26)

32. E Libicocco "Troppo *avem sofferto*"… (Inf XXII 70)

33. Ravenna sta come *stata è* molt'anni… (Inf XXVII 40)

The passive voice of the present perfect is usually formed by the present tense of *essere* and the past participle '*-to*'. The form in *stato* was not yet affirmed. Such a periphrasis expresses a bounded event and the state achieved from it in the present:

34. quando la colpa pentuta *è rimossa*" (Inf XIV 138)

However, the participle often takes an adjectival value as illustrated in example (35) provided by Ageno (1978, 225):

35. potrebbesi veder? già *son levati*

tutt'i coperchi, e nessun guardia face". (Inf X 8-9)

According to Ageno (1978, 226) in some cases it is difficult to establish if the periphrasis expresses the passive voice of the present perfect or that of the present tense as in the following example:

36. Son le leggi d'abisso così rotte? (Purg I 46)

3.2.4 Past perfect

Trapassato prossimo/Piuccheperfetto

The past perfect denotes an event or a state in the past prior to another one in the past, as illustrated in the following example: [53]

37. Le sue parole e 'l modo de la pena

m'*avean* di costui già *letto* il nome;

però fu la risposta così piena. (Inf X 64-66)

The past perfect can relate to a temporal clause in the simple past tense introduced by *quando* 'when':

38. Breve pertugio dentro da la Muda…

m'*avea mostrato* per lo suo forame

più lune già, quand'io feci 'l mal sonno… (If XXXIII 22-26)

According to Ageno (Ageno 1978, 228) the past perfect '*Fatto avea*' and the

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53 Actually the English term 'past perfect tense' can indicate both the *trapassato prossimo* and the *trapassato remoto* of the Italian verbal system. In this thesis by 'past perfect' I mean the *trapassato prossimo* expressed by means of AUX+IMP PP: *aveva mangiato* '(s)he had eaten'. While for the *trapassato remoto* tense I maintain the Latin name Piuccheperfetto II.

imperfect '*era* […] *bianco*' describe the background of the event expressed by the clause in the past tense:

39. *Fatto avea* di là mane e di qua sera

    tal foce, e quasi tutto era là bianco

    quello emisperio, e l'altra parte nera,

    quando Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco

    vidi rivolta e riguardar nel sole… (Par I 43-47)

In the *Commedia*, in order to give movement and variety to the narration, it is often the case that the temporal representation of the first verse as E_R_S and the second one as E,R_S. In this case the terminal sentences that set out facts which come afterwards are often introduced by *quando*, *che*, *e, ed ecco,* as illustrated in the following example provided by Ageno (1978, 228):

40. Noi eravam partiti già da ello

    *ch'*io vidi due ghiacciati in una buca. (Inf XXXII 124-125)

In a relative clause the past perfect denotes anteriority with respect to an imperfect in the main clause.

41. per ch'io, che la ragione aperta e piana

    sovra le mie quistioni *avea ricolta,*

    stava com'om che sonnolento vana. (Purg XVIII 86)

The past perfect is taken to precede events that are not indicated by the clause. In example (42), the past perfect tense verb *'nnanellata* [...] *m'avea* is in relation to *disfecemi* of the verse 134 and not with *salsi*, from which it directly depends.

42. Siena mi fé, disfecemi Maremma:

    salsi colui che '*nnanellata* pria

    disposando m'*avea* con la sua gemma". (Purg V 134-136)

The past perfect can denote an event or a state of a certain duration. The "anteriority" of the verbal form implies that at a certain time the sequence becomes a bounded one.

43. Allor fu la paura un poco queta,

    che nel lago del cor m'*era durata*

    la notte ch'i' passai con tanta pieta. (Inf I 19-21)

Two past perfects, one of which is the predicate of a relative clause – n'*avea vòlti* –

and the other, the predicate of the clause that contains the antecedent of the relative – *era* […] *rimaso* – are simultaneous.

44. Già *era* l'angel dietro a noi *rimaso*,

l'angel che n'avea vòlti al sesto giro… (Purg XXII 1-2)

Independently of any relationship between them, the two past perfects are 'anterior' with respect to an event explicitly stated or referred to implicitly.

A verb in the past perfect can be rendered iterative by an expression from the context. The whole series of events is then to be interpreted as preceding the event in the past perfect. Most often a temporal adverb indicates the beginning of the series, as illustrated in the following example:

45. Cinque volte racceso e tante casso

lo lume era di sotto da la luna,

poi che 'ntrati eravam ne l'alto passo,

quando n'apparve una montagna, bruna… (Inf XXVI 130-133)

The past perfect can be accompanied by *non ancora* 'not yet', in which case the anteriority is negated and the posteriority of the fact expressed by the past perfect has to be interpreted with respect to another past event.

46. Non *era* ancor di là Nesso *arrivato*,

quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco… (Inf XIII 1-2)

3.2.5. Past

Passato remoto

Dante uses the past tense as the souls remember the events of their earthly lives, as in the following example provided by Ageno (1978):

47. Io *fui uom d'arme*, e poi *fui cordigliero,* (Inf XXVII 67)

In Old Italian, the past tense has values similar to those of the present perfect of modern Italian (Molani 1996).[54] The simple past in Dante can be defined by the Reichenbachian relationship (R,S)(E_R) rather than (R_S)(E,R). This hypothesis is based primarily on two observations. Molani (1996) hypothesizes that in Latin the perfective

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54 The generalizations of this section are based on the unpublished MA thesis of Molani (1996).

form is to be represented as (R,S) and (E_R), corresponding to the project form.[55] From a diachronic point of view, it is possible to hypothesize a phase of transition in which it was possible to use the synthetic form both in a conservative and in an innovative way – i.e., in some cases according to the values proper in Latin perfect tense and in others according to those of modern simple past. Moreover, the empirical co-occurrences of verb-adverb sequence, especially with respect to adverbs such as like *ora* 'now', *mo* 'now', *gia'* 'already' characteristic of the present perfect, are used with the past tense.

In Modern Italian the adverb *ora* 'now', where expressing temporal meaning, occurs only with the S,R relation. This means that this adverb cannot be used with the simple past, which bears instead the R_S value. However, in Dante, *ora* 'now' occurs with the simple past, as shown in the following examples:

48. E io a lui: "Poeta, io ti richeggio

per quello Dio che tu non conoscesti,

acciò ch'io fugga questo male e peggio,

che tu mi meni là dov'*or dicesti*,

sì ch'io veggia la porta di san Pietro

e color cui tu fai cotanto mesti". (Inf I 130-135)

In Modern Italian *or dicesti* 'now you spoke' illustrated in (48) is not grammatical. The existence of this apparently anomalous phenomenon can be explained diachronically. Molani (1996) proposes that Dante's Italian represents an intermediate stage between Latin and Modern Italian – as can indeed be expected. The categorial status of T2 from a verb (as it was in Latin) becomes adjectival (as it is now), passing through a phase where it can be realized in both ways. Dante's Italian seems to be in this phase, where the simple past and the present perfect might have the same semantic values. It is true that in verse 133 the verb *dicesti* is rhymed with the verb *mesti* in verse 135, but it doesn't make sense to assume that Dante violates grammar because he was in search of a form in *–esti*. This assumption can be confirmed by the next example where the verb *ebbe* 'he had' in verse 114 is not in a rhyme position.

49. "Va via", rispuose, "e ciò che tu vuoi conta;

ma non tacer, se tu di qua entro eschi,

---

di quel ch'*ebbe or* così la lingua pronta. (Inf XXXII 112-114)

The verse 114 in (49) appears acceptable if the past simple is again interpreted as a (S,R)(E_R) relationship. However, were the verb in verse 114 in the present perfect, a metric problem would arise, to obtain a hendecasyllabic verse. This confirms the fact that Dante's Italian is in a transitional phase when T2 could be realized in two different ways. Due to metric, stylistic and rhetoric necessities, the author could choose the form suiting the verse.

In the following example, the adverb *mo* 'now' appears with a verb in the simple past:

50. D'i Serafin colui che più s'india,

    Moïsè, Samuel, e quel Giovanni

    che prender vuoli, io dico, non Maria,

    non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni

    che questi spirti che *mo t'appariro*,

    né hanno a l'esser lor più o meno anni; (Par IV 28-33)

Mo is an adverb of the S,R type like *ora* 'now'. In (50) *mo* 'now' appears with the verb *appariro* 'they appeared', which does not express the S,R relationship. In order to accept the occurrence of *mo* with a verb in simple past, a E_R,S relationship must be hypothesized.

51. Ed una lupa, che di tutte brame

    sembiava carca ne la sua magrezza,

    e molte genti *fé già* viver grame,

    questa mi porse tanto di gravezza

    con la paura ch'uscia di sua vista,

    ch'io perdei la speranza de l'altezza. (Inf I 49-54)

In (51) there is the co-occurrence of the simple past, characterized in Reichenbachian terms as (R_S)(R, E), with the adverb *già* 'already' which cannot co-occur with a verbal form not expressing a E_R. This observation can be explained by means of the hypothesis that in Old Italian the simple past can be characterized as (S,R)(E_R) as in the cases of the adverbs *ora* and *mo* – both meaning 'now' – argued above.

3.2.6 Piuccheperfetto II

Squartini (2010, 534) proposes that in Modern Italian the piuccheperfetto II has an anaphoric value.[56] In Old Italian, by contrast, a purely deictic use is also permitted, as can be seen in example (52). When anaphoric, this tense expresses immediate anteriority with respect to a reference time located in the past, as can be seen in example in (f.56) When deictic, it simply locates the event in the past, as shown in example (52):[57;58]

52. Poi che la fiamma *fu venuta* quivi

    dove parve al mio duca tempo e loco,

    in questa forma lui parlare audivi… (Inf XXVI 76-78)

Squartini (2010, 534) proposes that Old Italian uses the piuccheperfetto II in main clauses. In this case, it doesn't imply anteriority – see *fu* […] *caduto* 'it had fallen' in the following example – but expresses the idea of immediate fulfillment, while the simple past emphasizes its opening and closing, without specifying its course, as the verb *lasciò cascar* 'let drop' in the following example provided by Ageno (1978, 231).

53. Allor li *fu* l'orgoglio sì *caduto*,

    ch'e' si lasciò cascar l'uncino a' piedi…(Inf XXI 85-86)

3.2.7 Future and Perfect Future

Futuro and *Futuro anteriore*

The future tense is represented as S_R,E:

54. né *potrà* tanta luce affaticarne… (Par XIV 58)

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[56]

    i.   Dopo che *ebbe vinto* il concorso, parti' per l'America.

       'After having won the competition, he left for America.'

[57] Squartini (2010, 534) quotes an example from *Vita Nuova* where the piuccheperfetto II has an anaphoric function: "E poi che m'ebbe dette queste parole, non solamente ella, ma tutte l'altre cominciaro ad attendere in vista la mia risponsione." (XVIII, 3)

[58] Squartini (2010, 534) quotes an example from *Novellino* where the piuccheperfetto II has a deictic function: "E lo favolatore fue ristato, e non dicea piu'. " (30, r.18)

According to Ageno (1978, 232) in Old Italian in the first person the future can be intentional, i.e. equal to a verb *voluntatis* in present+inf.:

55. voi dite, e io *farò* per quella pace…(Purg V 61)

According to Ageno (1978, 232) in the second person the future often assumes an imperative-exhortative meaning and expresses the will by the speaker – as shown in the following example by means of the verbs *portera'* 'you will take' and *dirai* 'you will tell' – with respect to the addressee:

56. e *portera'* ne scritto ne la mente

di lui, e nol *dirai*"… (Par XVII 91-92)

The perfect future is a relative tense. This tense often appears in temporal clauses:

57. e se rimane, dite come, poi

che *sarete* visibili *rifatti*,

esser porà ch'al veder non vi nòi".

Ageno (1978, 232) provides some examples of the suppositive future in the *Commedia*. The following one appears in an interrogative sentence:

58. "Cianfa dove *fia rimaso*?" (Inf XXV 43)

The second example occurs in a consecutive clause:

59. Ma voi torcete a la religïone

tal che *fia nato* a cignersi la spada… (Par VIII 145-146)

According to Ageno (1978, 232) both *fia rimaso* in example (58) and *fia nato* in example (59) are equivalent to a present perfect, hence oriented towards the present.

3.3. The Armenian Translations of Dante

The *Commedia* has played a role in the history of culture and civilization that requires no introduction. I will therefore begin by looking into how this heritage was received in the Armenian culture. I provide an overview of scholarly works on Dante, focusing especially on the contribution of Mekhitarist Fathers. I then present the history of Armenian translations of the *Commedia*.

Thanks to the work of the Mekhitarist Fathers of San Lazzaro Island in Venice, Armenians have been given access to and are able to read in their own language not only anthologies but even entire texts by authors such as Dante, Tasso, Metastasio, Alfieri, Foscolo, Manzoni, Leopardi, Collodi, De Amicis, Giacosa, Vittoria Aganoor, Ada Negri, Papini, Homer, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Euripedes, Plato, Virgil, Cicero, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Lamartine, Bossuet, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, Chateaubriand, Fénelon, and so on.

Hence, it is not surprising that there has been no lack of interest in Dante Alighieri's *Commedia*. Indeed, as a result of the efforts of the Mekhitarist Fathers and their students, Armenians were introduced to Dante's work before many Asian peoples and even some European ones thanks to a great literary mind like Fr. Arsēn Bagratuni. He adopted the traditional ancient Armenian language *Grabar*, with the solemn, sophisticated style that distinguishes the Mekhitarist school.

From a chronological point of view, the first scholar who translated Dante into Armenian was Ališan. In 1855 he translated the first verse of *Inferno* Canto III to describe the ruins of Ani. While Bagratuni undertook the translation with the aim of rendering the *Commedia* into an Armenian poem, he was unfortunately unable to finish it. In the *Pazmaveb* review (1968, 190) there is a note by the editor saying that Bagratuni had the intention of translating the whole *Commedia*, but that he regretfully died in 1866. There is reason to believe, therefore, that the translation, which was discovered after his death and published posthumously in 1868, was completed at least one or two years previously.

Knowledge of Dante and his writings in Armenian began to be disseminated at the beginning of the 19th century thanks to the Mekhitarist Congregation, through their works on world geography, short encyclopedias on the lives of illustrious people, and in studies

on Western literature (Agonc' 1802, Małak'-T'ēop'ileanc' 1839, Galfayean 1850, Zarbhanalean 1874). The name of Dante could be encountered not only in the periodicals of the time, but also in school textbooks, especially ones on history and literature. As the patriarch of the Armenian and Armenological press, founded in Venice in 1843, *Bazmavēp* [Polyhistory] became the ideal vehicle for publishing and disseminating translations of Dante's *Commedia*.[59] During the years between 1860-70, studies on Dante and his poem were written and the first Armenian translations began to appear. During the second half of the 19th century, following in the wake of Bagratuni (1868), various scholars tried their hand at translating the *Commedia* into *Grabar*. Different interpretations of the same episode appeared, usually in verse, some of which are rhymed, along with others in prose. This phase has been dubbed the "period of *Grabar* translations" done by the Mekhitarist Fathers Bagratuni (1868), Hiwrmiwz (1866), Hek'imean (1866), Esayean[60] (Pazmaveb 1869), Gant'arean (1871), Nazarēt'ean (1875) and Ališan (1855, 1881).

The most fortunate of these translators was certainly Nazarēt'ean (1875), who published a book of 200 pages, which includes 25 long passages, 1754 verses, and annotations. The complete translation of the *Divine Comedy* was finished around the year 1900, but the version in Grabar by Nazarēt'ean remained unpublished. According to Tēr-Nersēsean (1965, 335) this is because *Ašxarhabar* speakers had already begun to outnumber the people who knew *Grabar* at that time, and Łazikean (1902) had already begun the first attempts in modern Armenian. Teza (1877, 362-366) gave high praise to Nazarēt'ean's translation and to demonstrate how true it was to the original, he translated about 15 verses back into Italian, coming to the conclusion that: "It is always faithful and follows the poet almost verse by verse, with a simplicity that in no way detracts from its

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59 The transcription of the name appeared as *Pazmaveb* until 1970. It has been published without interruption from 1843 up to the present. In the beginning it served for popular education. Later it changed into an Armenological review, and now is the organ of the Mekhitarist Academy of San Lazzaro, Venice.

60 Actually, the translator's name is not mentioned. The authorship is attributed to him by Fr. Nersēs Tēr-Nersēsean in a list that I found in his personal archive. Often, the names of the authors of articles printed in the *Bazmavēp* review are either absent or hidden under an asterisk. In such cases, I have listed these articles in the bibliography by review title.

liveliness…although he was frightened by the rhyme scheme, there is no reason for courageous translators to be intimidated by it."

It is evident that considerable effort was put into presenting Dante by the *Bazmavēp* review and by the Mekhitarist Fathers in general. The same thing cannot be said of Eastern Armenian literature. It is true that Eastern Armenian readers had knowledge of Dante from the *Bazmavēp* review and Russian sources, however, the amount of attention devoted to him was much less, and as the number of translations was also limited.

Interest in Dante and his work grew during the twentieth century. Books and translations in modern Armenian began to make their appearance (Padovan (1920) Hakobian (1936), Ezekʿean-Proyeancʿ (1880), Łazikean (1899), Alatin (1912 n.7-8, n.10), Gasgantilean (1927) Tiroyean (1930), Norencʿ (Hakobian 1936), Tayan (1938), Kʿaĵarencʿ (before 1966), Ghulyan (1985), etc.). [61]

All the partial translations, except the one by Tiroyean, include the cantos of *Inferno*: to be more specific, the inscription on the gate of Hell appears 7 times, while 5 other translations are in entirety, adding up to a total of 12 versions of the most popular lines of the *Divina Commedia*. After these, come 11 versions of the dramatic episode of Count Ugolino.

All the translations are from Italian, except for the one by Norencʿ (Hakobian 1936) done from Russian, a rather common event during this time coinciding with the period of Soviet Armenia.

Four translators realized complete Armenian translations of the *Commedia*. The first is Nazarētʿean whose work in *Grabar* unfortunately remained unpublished, because of the motivations explained above. The other three translators of the *Commedia* are Łazikean, Tayan and Ghulyan, whose verses I choose for my discussion in 3.4.

Łazikean presents the first complete translation in Modern Western Armenian. He presents three translations of the *Inferno* (1902, 1910, 1927), a translation of the *Purgatorio* (1905) and a translation of the *Paradiso* (1924) in Western Armenian. At the beginning, Łazikean translated into *Grabar*. Later, however, he came to the conclusion

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61 Hračʿ Kʿaĵarencʿ supposedly translated several cantos of the Commedia, as he himself documents in his letter of May 2, 1966, addressed to Fr. Nersēs Tēr-Nersēsean. These translations have unfortunately been lost.

that modern Armenian had by then become a language that could be used even for the works of the great classics (Łazikean 1899, 24). During these years, modern Armenian was purified from the influences of the classical language; by means of his translations, Łazikean was one of its main promoters. He had a significant role in definitively affirming modern Armenian's status as a literary language, not without provoking reactions from the remaining purists. Łazikean translated *Inferno* and *Paradiso* into verse, while *Purgatorio* was put into prose. He himself explains why (Łazikean 1902, 408):

> Not only do the results not correspond to the effort put into them, the difficult content will become even more difficult if transposed into poetry. Verse is not essential for poetry, especially in this context where, except for a few episodes, the rest could be written in prose, and even more so as far as the translation is concerned. I therefore trust in my readers' leniency.

His comments and justifications are not convincing. If what he says is true, why did he not translate the entire work into prose? There used to be a widely shared opinion—one that perhaps persists, almost like a stereotype passed on without any proof—that Łazikean paid more attention to the quantity than to the quality of his translations (Tēr-Nersēsean 1965, 365). It is true that over a period of thirty years, from 1899 to 1927, he published 30 volumes of translated poetry, adding up to 7,000 pages chosen from the greatest geniuses of world literature. They include Homer, Sophocles, Virgil, Horace, Dante, Tasso, Milton, Foscolo, Leopardi, Manzoni and a few women writers like Vittoria Aganoor and Ada Negri. This comes to a total of about 50 volumes. Nevertheless, the style of Łazikean's translations is almost always distinguished by its carefulness, faithfulness, harmony, literary value, lexicon, and above all, by the extraordinary intuition that went into the choice of the texts. He had excellent literary taste and considerable linguistic prowess. With his translations of poems by the greatest authors of the world into Armenian, Łazikean was the initiator and artificer of direct communication between Armenian thought and the creative talent of the world's literary geniuses, to the extent that some consider him to be the Bagratuni of modern Armenian (Menaworə 1899, 251). The fact is, however, that Bagratuni was an inimitable genius, considered without equal in the history of Armenian literary translations. In any case, the literary critic Č'opanean (1908, 10) defined the Łazikean version as "absolutely faithful to the original, in excellent Armenian and with a rigorous meter."

Tayan (Tayec'i) presents the second complete Armenian translation of the *Commedia* after Łazikean and the first complete one in Modern Eastern Armenian. The translation appeared in three elegant volumes *Inferno* (1947), *Purgatorio* (1952), *Paradiso* (1959) — with illustrations by Gustave Doré and an introduction by Avetik' Isahakyan for *Purgatory,* while he had Alek'sey Ĵivelegov write the introduction for *Inferno* and *Paradiso*. The translation is in rhyming verses: the first verse rhymes with the third, while the second is in free verse. The translator's explanation for this choice is the following (Tayan 1969, 649):

> Maintaining the complicated system of the "terza rima" of the original in the translation is not as important when there are so many other elements that are more important to preserve, especially because the value of the original Dante does not lie so much in its external beauty as it does in the content. To remain faithful to the content, translators have often given up the meter or the rhymes of the original while others have even given up the verses, translating into prose .

Some years later, in 1969, in Erevan the Academy of Sciences Press published the *Divina Commedia* in Armenian, using Tayan's translation. This single-volume edition is illustrated with color reproductions from 15th-century manuscripts of the *Commedia* held in the Vatican Library, the Marciana Library of Venice, and the British Museum. For this revised translation, Tayan consulted the 5th edition by Scartazzini-Vandelli (1907), the 1870 version by Camerini (1870), and the 13th reprint of the Scartazzini-Vandelli (1946), in addition to that of 1957 version edited by Sapegno (1957). The latter two publications of the *Commedia* in particular became the basis and source for Tayan's revised translation.

A new translation of the *Divina Commedia* into Armenian by Ghulyan appeared at the beginning of the 21st century. After various translations of Russian poetry, Ghulyan devoted himself to Dante, without ever having been in Italy and without ever studying the language at an academic level, a fact which earned him a great deal of criticism. His love for the poem grew out of his reading of Armenian poets like Č'arenc' and Širaz, who were influenced by Dante, and of Tayan's translation, prompting him to start learning Italian on his own. His goal was to surpass Tayan and succeed in translating the *Divina Commedia* into "terza rima", a choice that often forced him to stray from the original content and one that distinguished him from his predecessors. Following on the translation experiences of Łazikean, Tayan and Losinski (Losinsky 1982), in Russian,

Ghulyan managed to realize his dream after about 30 years of work. In 1996 he had already published a first Armenian translation of the *Vita nuova* (1996) which is now ready for its second, completely revised edition. In 2004 his version of *Inferno* (2004) came out, in 2005 that of *Purgatorio* (2005), and in 2007 *Paradiso* (2007), although he continues to work on perfecting the text.

3.4 Dante's tenses in Armenian

In this section I discuss the Armenian translations of Dante's verbal forms discussed above in section 3.2.

3.4.1 PRESENT

Sentence (60) expresses a simultaneous relationship between the time of the utterance and the time of the event:

60. Per piacermi a lo specchio, qui *m'addorno* (Purg XXVII 103)

a. I   hačuys inj pčn   -um   em   inj całkunkʻov

   Per piacere mio adornare-PRES PTCP AUX+1SG me con fiori

   'Per il mio piacere mi adorno con i fiori'

b. Hayelun   dur galu hamar inj pčn   -um   em

   Allo specchio   per piacersi   mi adornare-PRES PTCP   AUX+1SG

   'Per piacermi allo specchio mi adorno'

c. Hayliin   hačeli   əllalu hamar kə zardar   -em   zis hos

   Allo specchio piacevole essere per   *kə* adornare-1SG me qui

   'Per essere piacevole allo specchio m'adorno qui '

The three translations are in complete correspondence to the original from both lexical and temporal points of view. In MEA translations – see examples (60a) and (60b) – the translators use the verb *pčnel* for Dante's *m'addorno*, while in MWA, in (60c), a synonym for *pčnel, zardarel*. Both words mean 'to adorn'.[62] Dante's verb *m'addorno* is rendered in present tense in all three translations. In MEA the verb is *pčnum em* formed by the Present participle and the auxiliary verb, and in MWA it is formed by means of the particle *kə* and the inflected verb: *kə zardarem* – see 2.4 for more details.

The following example in (61) illustrates the relative simultaneity expressed in the poem in relation to S,R,E understanding that the precise moment of *ora* 'now' is located in the time interval in which the event takes place:

61. or ci *attristiam* ne la belletta negra (Inf VII 124)

 a. Ard txr   -um   enkʻ,   xrvac   tłmum   ays   mŕayl.

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[62] Suk'iasyan (2009).

Ora   rattristarsi-PRES PTCP AUX+1PL, immersi nel fango questo oscuro

'Ora ci rattristiamo immersi in questo fango oscuro.'

b. Ayžm tiłmum   č'arč'ar   -v   -um   enkʻ   hewaspaṙ

Ora   nel fango   tormentarsi-pass-PRES PTCP AUX+1PL senza fiato

'Ora ci tormentiamo nel fango senza fiato.'

c. Ard sew cʻexin meĵ kə tanĵ   -u   -inkʻ čʻaračʻar

Ora nero fango   in   kə tormentarsi-pass-1PL insopportabilmente

'Ora ci tormentiamo insopportabilmente nel fango.'

Both Tayan in (61a) and Łazikean in (61c) have a nuanced understanding of Italian as we can see in their use of the Armenian adverb *ard* that besides meaning *ora* 'now' also means *dunque* 'so'. Ghulyan uses the adverb *hima* 'now' which does not connotate 'so'. Tayan preserves the meaning of Dante's verb *rattristarsi* 'to be sad' by using *txrel* while Łazikean and Ghulyan change the verb *rattristarsi* by using *tanĵvel* 'to be tortured' in MEA, or *tanĵuil* in MWA. The sadness (*or ci attristiam*) is a typical connotation of the slothful. They were so on earth, in the sweet air and under the bright sun, and now they are condemned to be so forever: *Now we are sullen in black mire* (trans. by Hollander and Hollander 2001). These lexical differences aside, the temporal realization corresponds to Dante's verbal form.

The present tense in (62) is descriptive:

62. Le cappe rance/ son di piombo sì grosse, che li pesi/ *fan* così *cigolar* le lor bilance. (Inf XXIII 100-102)

a. Mer   pʻilonnern osketes/ Kapare en   ew aynpes canr   u stvar/
   Nostre cappe   dorate piombo AUX3PL e   così   pasanti e spesse

   Or nrancʻ tak menkʻ tnkʻ -um   enkʻ   mštapes.
   che di essi sotto noi   gemere-PRES PTCP AUX1PL sempre

   'Le nostre cappe sono così pesanti e spesse che sotto di essi noi gemiamo
    sempre.'

b. Tʻiknocʻnerə mer   dełin/ Kaparicʻ en   aynkʻan canr ew čnšoł/
   mantelle   nostre gialle di piombo AUX3PL così   pesanti e opprimenti

   Or čoč   -v -el en   anverĵ   tal -is   krołin.
   che dondolare-pass-INF AUX3PL senza fine fare-PRES PTCP al portatore

   'Le nostre mantelle gialle sono di piombo così pesanti e opprimenti che fanno
    dondolare senza fine chi le porta.'

c. Narnĵagoyn p'ilonnern/ Kaparē en,　　aynč'ap' əstuar or canroc'k'/
color arancio cappe　　di piombo AUX3PL così　　spesse che dal peso

Ayspēs čoč　　-el　ku ta -n　　irenc' kšiŕnerun.
così　　dondolare-INF ku fare-3PL loro　　bilance

'Le cappe arancioni sono di piombo, così pesanti che dal peso fanno
dondolare le loro bilance in questo modo.'

Dante uses the causative construction *far fare* 'to make to do'. Since *fare* is a transitive verb, this construction always has a direct object. In example given above, *bilance* 'balances' is the direct object. Usually in Armenian this form is expressed by means of analytic causative construction: 'infinitive + *tal'* 'to make to do' – see example (16) in section 1.2. In (62a) Tayan changes the expression from the grammatical point of view - he doesn't adopt the causative construction and uses *tnk'-um enk'* 'we groan' in the 1st person plural instead of Dante's *fan cigolar* 'they make creak' in the 3rd person plural. From a lexical point of view this choice is acceptable as both *cigolar* in Italian and *tnk'al* in Armenian are reminiscent in their phonetic form of the sound produced by the souls. Ghulyan in (62b) and Łazikean in (62c) preserve the construction and use the corresponding forms in MEA (VerbINF AUX *tal*-PRES PTCP O) and MWA (VerbINF *ku ta*AGR O) (see sections 1.2 and 2.4), however, they do not preserve the lexical meaning of *cigolar*, using instead the verb *čočel* 'to oscillate'. Ghulyan changes the direct object and uses *krołin* 'bearer' while Łazikean preserves the same direct object *kšiŕnerun* 'balances'. With respect to the verbal forms adopted Dante's descriptive present tense is preserved.

63. e come 'l pan per fame *si manduca*

così l sovran li denti a l'altro pose

là 've 'l cervel s'aggiugne con la nuca. (Inf XXXII 127-129)

a. Ew inč'pes or sovacə　　hac'　ē　　　　kc　-um
e come　che l'affamato pane　AUX+3SG　mordere-PRES PTCP

Ayspes mekə myusin krcu -um　　　　ēr　　　　　ayntel
così　　uno　l'altro rodere-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG là

Ur　ułełə　　cocrakin ē　　　　　　harakc'　-um
dove il cervello　alla nuca　AUX+3SG　　connettere-PRES PTCP

'e come l'affamato morde il pane
così uno l'altro rodeva là
dove il cervello si connette alla nuca.'

b. Inč'pes k'ałc'acn   ē   hac' ut   -um,   mi hogin
    come l'affamato AUX+3SG pane mangiare-PRES PTCP una anima

    Kc   -ec'   taki hogu   tełn ayn,   orteł or
    Mordere-AOR+3SG sotto dello spirito posto quello, dove che

    Gangułełə mian -um   ē   cocrakin.
    il cervello unirsi-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG alla nuca

    'come l'affamato mangia il pane
    morse quel posto dello spirito di sotto, dove
    il cervello si unisce alla nuca.'

c. Ew anōt'i   mēkn hac'n inč'pes kə xacn   -ē,
    e   affamato uno   il pane come kə mordere-3SG

    aynpēs miwsin məx-ec'   verinn   akŕanern
    così   all'altro ficcare-AOR+3SG quello di sopra i denti

    hon ur   ułełə   cocrakin kə kəc'   -u-i.
    là dove il cervello alla nuca kə connettere-pass-3SG

    'e un affamato come morde il pane
    così quello di sopra ficcò i denti all'altro
    là dove il cervello si connette alla nuca.'

In (63) the temporal relation is E,R,S in the first and the third verses, while it is E,R_S in the second verse. Dante's verb *manducare*, from Latin meaning 'to eat' is used in impersonal form *si manduca*. In (63a) Tayan rendered it as *kcum ē* 'he bites', in (63b) Ghulyan as *utum ē* 'he eats' and in (63c) Łazikean as *kə xacnē* 'he bites'. As apparent, Tayan and Łazikean use *kcel* and *xacnel,* which are synonyms correspondingly characteristic of the vocabularies of the MEA and MWA. Instead, Ghulyan chooses the verb *utel* 'to eat', a more accurate translation. For Dante's *s'aggiugne* 'is joined' in the last verse of example (63) the translators use *ē harakc'um* 'it connects' – see (63a) – *mianum ē* 'it unites' – see (63b) – and *kə kəc'ui* 'it is joined/united' – see (63c). All choices have almost the same meaning in Armenian. In all the translations of the first and third verses of (63) the translators expressed a E,R,S relationship, just as in Italian. In the second verse, where Dante's verb *pose* 'put+PAST+3SG' is realized in E,R_S, a difference can be noticed in the translations. Tayan uses the verb in imperfect, i.e., *krc-um ēr* 'gnaw-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG' while Ghulyan in (63b) and Łazikean in (63c) use the verbs *kc-ec'* and *məx-ec',* both realized in aorist form. With respect to Tayan's choice, I think that Dante's verb *pose* cannot be translated in the imperfect, as in the poem it denotes a completed event. Perhaps Tayan made this choice because of his

use of hendecasyllable and the corresponding aorist form of *krc-um ēr* is *krc-ec'*, hence, two syllables instead of three. However, the translators in (63b) and (63c) preserve the temporal realization of the original.

64. ch'assolver non si può chi *non si pente…* (Inf XXVII 118)

a. Ov č -i   złĵ   -um,
    chi neg-AUX3SG pentirsi-PRES PTCP

    na arjak-v-el   č -i   karoł
    egli assolvere-pass-INF neg-AUX3SG può

    'chi non si pente non può assolversi'

b. Ov č -i   złĵ   -um,
    chi neg-AUX3SG pentirsi-PRES PTCP

    na arjak-v-el   č -i   karoł
    egli assolvere-pass-INF neg-AUX3SG può

    'chi non si pente non può assolversi'

c. anapašxar mēkn arjak   -el č' -ē   hənar
    impenitente uno assolvere-INF neg-AUX3SG possibile

    'non è possibile assolvere un'impenitente'

The present tense in example (64) expresses a timeless "timeless" value – see also (18) in 2.4. Tayan's and Ghulyan's translations are identical. Coming to Łazikean's translation in (64c), while he changes Dante's expression *chi non si pente* 'who is not repented' using *anapašxar* 'impenitent' instead, he preserves the impersonal form of *non si può* 'one cannot'. Nonetheless, in all translations, both in the MEA and MWA, the temporal realization corresponds to the original.

The verse in (65) illustrates the historical present – see also (13) in 2.4. Ageno (1978, 223) points out that the historical present is mostly used in matrix clauses as can be seen in example (65):

65. com'io fui dentro, l'occhio intorno *invio…* (Inf IX 109)

a. Mtn -el -u -s   pes im ačkerə šrĵ -ec' -i
    Entrare-INF-DAT-det1   come mio occhi   girare-AOR-1SG

    'Come entrato girai i miei occhi.'

b. Luŕ nay   -ec' -i   šurĵs
    zitto guardare-AOR-1SG intorno

    'Guardai attorno in silenzio'

c. Haziw mət -ac ačkerəs šurĵ kə darjn-em
appena entrare-RES PTCP miei occhi intorno *kə* girare-1SG
'appena entrato giro i miei occhi intorno'

In all three versions of the *Commedia*, the translators do not translate the expression *io fui dentro* 'I was inside' as a predicate. Ghulyan omits it completely. Even if the reader understands that the Poet is inside (Dante speaks about it in verse 107: *Dentro li 'ntrammo sanz'alcuna guerra…* 'We made our way inside without a struggle' (trans. by Mandelbaum 1980, 1982), a complete expression is still missing in Armenian. Tayan and Łazikean translate *com'io fui dentro* with participles *mtnelus pes* and *haziw mətac* both meaning *appena entrato* 'as soon as I enter'. Ghulyan also simplifies the imagery expressed by *l'occhio intorno invio* 'cast round the eye,' translating it as *nayec'i šurĵs* 'I looked around.' Tayan in (65a) and Ghulyan in (65b) use the aorist for Dante's historical present while Łazikean preserves the original form by using the present.

66. vidi 'l maestro di color che sanno

   seder tra filosofica famiglia.

   Tutti lo *miran*, tutti *onor* li *fanno*: (Inf IV 131-133)

a. Tes -a amen imac'ut'yan varpetin,
Vedere-AOR+1SG ogni sapienzaGEN maestro

   šrĵapatvac əntanik'ov imastun.
   circondato famigliaINST saggio

   Nran ēin nay-um bolorn hargank'ov.
   A lui AUX+IMP+3PL guardare-PRES PTCP tutti rispettoSTR

   'Vidi il maestro di ogni sapienza
   Circondato dalla famiglia saggia
   Tutti li guardavano con rispetto.'

b. Tes -a amen imac'ut'yan varpetin,
Vedere-AOR+1SG ogni sapienzaGEN maestro

   Šrĵapatvac gitunnerov perčaxos.
   circondato saggiINST eloquente

   'Vidi il maestro di ogni sapienza,
   Circondato dai saggi eloquenti.'

c. Tes -ay varpetə mec anonc' or git -en
Vedere-AOR+1SG maestro grande di quelli che sapere-3PL

   Imastasēr əntanik'in mēĵ nəst -il.
   Filosofico famiglia in sedere -INF

Amēnkʻn anor nay-in   u zinkʻə patu   -en.

Tutti   lo   guardare-3PL e lo   onorare-3PL

'Vidi il grande maestro di quelli che sanno
sedere tra la famiglia filosofica

Tutti lo guardano e lo onorano.'

It would seem that Tayan understood the imperfective meaning of Dante's verb *miran* 'they are looking at' and used the imperfect tense. However, he deleted the second verb *onor fanno* 'they are honoring' trying somehow to paraphrase its meaning with the noun *hargankʻ* 'respect' in the instrumental case. Ghulyan deleted the line completely, creating a lack of numeric correspondence between his and Dante's text. Łazikean preserved the original verbal forms that in Armenian as well can have an imperfective reading.[63]

67. ciascun rivederà la trista tomba,

   ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura,

  udirà quel ch'in etterno *rimbomba*". (Inf VI 97-99)

a.   Bolorn irencʻ širimnerə k   -gtn   -en
      Tutti   loro   tombe   FUT-trovare-3PL

      Ew aŕnelov   marminn u demkʻə irencʻ
      E prendendo corpo   e volto   loro

      Haverž-a-goŕ orotumə k   -unkndr -en
      Eterno-*a*-urlo tuono   FUT-ascoltare-3PL

      'Tutti troveranno le loro tombe
      E prendendo il loro corpo e il volto
      Ascolteranno il tuono urlante in eterno.'

b.   Amen mekə petkʻ ē   hasn -i   ir   širimin
      Ogni uno   dovere AUX+3SG arrivare-3SG proprio tomba

      Ew ir   marminn u naxkin   teskʻn aŕnelov
      E   suo corpo   e precedente aspetto prendendo

      Ls-i   aheł   datavčiŕə verĵin."
      Ascoltare-3SG terribile giudizio   ultimo

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63 Noticeably, the forms *nay-in* [look-3PL]*, patu-en* [honor-3PL] do not correspond to the present tense of MWA, which is formed by the particle *kə* and the conjugated verb. Instead, it corresponds to the present tense of the subjunctive mood, but here, according to a MWA native speaker's judgment, both verbs are in the present tense of the indicative (in Old Armenian present tense form).

'Ognuno deve arrivare alla propria tomba
E prendendo il suo corpo e l'aspetto precedente
Ascoltare il terribile ultimo giudizio.'

   c.   Piti gətn -ē   txur tapann amēn okʻ
           FUT trovare-3SG triste tomba ogni   uno

           Piti aŕn   -ē   iren marminn u ir dēmkʻ
           FUT prendere-3SG proprio corpo e proprio volto

           U ləs   -ē   zayn or   yawitean k'orot-ay."
           e ascoltare-3SG quello che in eterno k'tuona-3SG

           'Ognuno troverà la triste tomba
           Prenderà il proprio corpo e il volto
           E ascolterà quello che in eterno tuona.'

The present tense verb *rimbomba* 'it resounds' in (67) is indeterminate and can be temporally located in the future by means of an adverbial phrase such as in *in eterno* 'forever'. In (67a) Tayan paraphrases the expression *in eterno rimbomba*, coining the complex adjective *haveržagoŕ*. From the lexical point of view this is an acceptable change as it wholly expresses the meaning of the original by means of its two roots: *haverž* 'eternal' and *goŕ* 'shout'. In (67b) Ghulyan changes the verse completely using *petkʻ ē* […] *lsi aheł datavčiŕə verĵin* '(s)he will hear the terrible ultimate justice'. In (67c) Łazikean preserves the original verbal form using the expression *yawitean k'orotay* 'eternally thunders'. Łazikean's translation shows that the Armenian present tense can have a future reading with the adverb *yawitean* 'eternally'.

   68. Rodolfo imperador fu, che potea

      sanar le piaghe c' hanno Italia morta,

      sì che tardi per altri *si ricrea*. (Purg VII 94-96)

   a.   Ŕodolf kaysrn   ē,   or karoł ēr   buž -el
           Rodolfo imperatore AUX3+SG che potere AUX+IMP+3SG curare-INF

           Verkʻern ayn,   or   span -ecʻ -in Italian,
           ferite   quelle, che ucidere-AOR-3SG l'Italia

           Isk ard nran veracn   -eln uš ē   ēl
           Ma ora lo   l'eliminare-INF tardi AUX+3SG anche.

           'È l'imperatore Rodolfo che poteva curare
           Quelle ferite che ammazzarono l'Italia
           Ma ora è già tardi per eliminarlo.'

   b.   Ŕodolfon ē.   Na   verkʻerə čʻ -buž -ecʻ,
           Rodolfo AUX+3SG. Egli ferire   NEG- curare-AOR+3SG

Verkʻer, oronkʻ Italian en korcan -um.
Ferite, che l'Italia AUX+3PL distruggere-PRES PTCP

Mard ēl čar -v -i, arden uš ē, šat tuž -ecʻ.
Uomo anche trovare-pass-3SG già tardi AUX+3SG molto soffrire-AOR+3SG

È Rodolfo. Egli non curò le ferire,
Ferite che distruggono l'Italia
Anche se si trova un uomo, è già tardi, ha sofferto molto.

   c.   Ŕotolf kaysrn ē, or krn-ar
Rodolfo imperatore AUX+3SG, che potere-IMP+3SG

Italian spannoł vērkʻerə buž -el,
L'Italia ammazzante ferite curare-IMP

aynpēs or etʻē uriš mə isk uz -ē darman-el, al uš ē.
quindi che se altro un anche volere-3SG sanare-INF, già tardi AUX+3SG

È l'imperatore Rodolfo, che poteva curare le ferite ammazzanti l'Italia, quindi che se un altro volesse sanare, è già tardi.

In (68) the adverb *tardi* 'later' moves the occurrence of the event in the future. In Armenian *tardi si ricrea* has been translated as *è tardi, uš ē* 'it is late'. Both lexical and temporal forms of the original are preserved.

69. apri li orecchi al mio annunzio, e odi.

   Pistoia in pria d'i Neri *si dimagra*;

   poi Fiorenza *rinova* gente e modi. (Inf XXIV 142-144)

   a.   Apa ls -ir im canucʻmanə gužark:
Dunque ascoltare-imp+2SG mio annuncio triste

Nax Pistoyan k -vtar -i Sewerin,
Prima Pistoia COND-espellere-3SG neri

Husk Florencʻian k -pʻopʻox -i kargusarkʻ.
Alla fine Firenze COND-cambiare-3SG ordine

'Dunque, ascolta il mio annuncio triste:
Innanzi tutto Pistoia espellerà i Neri,
alla fine Firenze cambierà l'ordine.'

   b.   Akanĵd bacʻ ew lav ls -ir:
Orecchio aprire+imp+2SG e bene ascoltare-imp+2SG:

orer ancʻ / Nax Pistoyan k -vtar -i Sewerin,
giorni dopo / prima Pistoia COND-espellere-3SG neri

Ew k -pʻox -i Florencʻian ir mardkancʻ.
E COND-cambiare-3SG Firenze suoi uomini

'Apri il tuo orecchio e ascolta bene:
Dopo giorni innanzi tutto Pistoia espellerà i Neri,
E cambierà Firenze i suoi uomini.'

    c.   Akanĵəd   bacʻ   gušakutʻeans   ew ləsē.
        Orecchio tuo aprire+imp+2SG alla mia profezia e   ascolta

        Bistoyan nax   piti parp -u   -i   Sewerēn,
        Pistoia   prima FUT svotare-pass-3SG dai Neri

        Mardikn u barkʻn yetoy Pʻlorent ʻti   pʻox-ē.
        Uomini e modo dopo Firenze   FUT cambiare-3SG

        'Apri il tuo orecchio alla mia profezia e ascolta.
        Innanzi tutto Pistoia si svoterà dai Neri

        Poi Firenze cambierà gli uomini e modo.'

The present in (69) stands for the future tense in a prophecy. In examples (69a) and (69b) the translators use the conditional mood for Dante's *si dimagra* 'strip herself' and *rinova* 'renew'. From a lexical point of view they both use *kvtari* 'will expel' for Dante's *si dimagra*, thus losing the imagery of 'stripping herself' and producing a direct translation. As far as the verb is concerned in verse 144, there is a subtle difference between the verb *kpʻopʻoxi* used by Tayan and the verb *kpʻoxi* used by Ghulyan. The root is the same (*pʻox*) and means 'change', but the first verb is realized by the repetition of the root, which in Armenian indicates the repetition of the event, i.e., it would mean 'more changes'. Hence, Tayan better expresses the meaning of Dante's *rinova*. The conditional instead of Dante's present expresses a future meaning as in Armenian the future is more often expressed by the conditional rather than by means of the periphrastic construction *future participle + AUX*, discussed in section 2.9. Even if the conditional mood can refer to a hypothetical state of affairs or an uncertain event, contingent on another set of circumstances, in MEA it is also used to express simple events in the future. Łazikean makes a different choice. He uses *piti parpui* 'will be emptied' and *ʻti pʻoxē* 'will change'. The verbal form is a future tense and *ʻti* is the shortened variant of the future particle *piti*. Note that MWA's conditional doesn't substitute for the future.

3.4.2 Imperfect

The imperfect is an anaphoric verbal form – see 2.5 – the event appearing with the imperfect morphology needs a temporal reference somewhere in its context.

In (70) the imperfect *dicea* 'he said(IMP)' denotes simultaneity with another event expressed by means of *rivolsesi* 'he came back' in the simple past.

70. e rivolsesi a me con passi rari. /…e *dicea* ne' sospiri: (Inf VIII 117-119)

a. Veradarj-av   dandałakʻayl, …
    Ritornare-AOR+3SG   passi lenti

    Na haŕačʻov ays xoskʻern ēr   mrmnĵ -um.
    Egli con sospiro questo paroleDET AUX+IMP+3SG bisbigliare-PRES PTCP

    'Ritornò con i passi lenti…/ Egli bisbigliava queste parole con sospiro.'

b. Ew et darj -av   mtamolor   u xŕov/…
    E   ritornare-AOR+3SG distratto   e turbato

    Hogocʻ han-ecʻ   u mrmnj -acʻ   inkʻn iren.
    Sospiro fare-AOR+3SG   e bisbigliare-AOR+3SG tra se e se.

    'E ritornò distratto e turbato/… Fece sospiro e bisbigliò tra se' e se'.'

c. Inci darj   -aw   tartam, dandał kʻaylelov/…
    Mi volgere-AOR+3SG incerto, lento   passi

    haŕačneru mēĵ ays   xōskʻerə   kʼəs -ēr
    sospiri   in   questo paroleDET   kʼdire-IMP+3SG

    'Mi volse incerto, con i passi lenti/…nei sospiri diceva queste parole'

In example (70a) the verbs are *veradarj-av* 'he returned' and *ēr mrmnĵ-um* 'he whispered(IMP)'. The temporal realization is aorist vs. imperfect. In (70b) all three verbs are in aorist form: *et darjav* 'he returned', *hogocʻ hanecʻ* 'sighed', *mrmnĵacʻ* 'whispered.' In (70c) the temporal realizations of the verbs are the same as in (70a), and are expressed by means of the verbs *darjav* 'he returned' and *kʼəsēr* 'he said(IMP)'. Tayan in example (70a) and Łazikean in example (70c) preserved the quantity and the tenses of the original verbs, while Ghulyan in (70b) expressed Dante's noun *ne' sospiri* 'with sighs' with the analytic predicate *hogocʻ hanecʻ* 'fece sospiro', 'sighed', thus adding another verb. This choice does not disturb the lexical meaning. Sentences (70a) and (70c) express simultaneity between the two events while in (70b) the simultaneous reading is not available because the verbs are in the aorist form. Hence, the reader understands that Virgil (he) first *returned* (bounded event), then *sighed* (another bounded event) and then

(finally) *said*. Perhaps the translator makes this kind of choice because of *terza rima* constraints; in the case of the imperfect there should be one more syllable: *mr-mn-ĵac'* vs. *mr-mn-ĵum ēr*. Yet, giving preference to the form of the tercet Ghulyan lacks temporal correspondence with Dante in his renderance.

In example (72) the verb *ebbe* 'he had' in the first member of coordination is in the past tense, denoting a state of limited duration. The imperfect *era* 'it was(IMP)' appearing in the second member of coordination, expresses a state of equal duration with respect to the verb *ebbe* 'he had' of the first member. This reading is also possible in Armenian, as illustrated in example (71).

71. Na apr -ec' ayd tanə hing tari ev šat erĵanik ēr.

He live-AOR quello casa cinque anni e molto felice AUX+IMP+3SG.

He lived in that house for five years and he was(IMP) very happy.

72. ebbe tra ' bianchi marmi la spelonca

per sua dimora; onde a guardar le stelle

e 'l mar non li *era* la veduta *tronca*. (Inf XX 49-51)

a. Bnak -v -um   ēr   mi k'arayrum marmarya,
   abitare-pass-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG un spelonca marmorea

   Ev aydtełic' ditark -um   ēr   anargel
   E da lí   osservare-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG senza ostacoli

   Covə   anhun   ev astłerə   heŕaka.
   mareDET immenso e   stelleDET lontane

   'Viveva in una spelonca marmorea/ e da lí osservava senza ostacoli/ il mare immenso e le stelle.'

b. Un -er   čermak marmarneri meĵ k'arayr
   avere-IMP+3SG bianco marmi   in   spelonca

   Orpes tnak, ortełic' covn   ēr   hsk   -um
   come casetta, da dove mareDET AUX+IMP+3SG vegliare-PRES PTCP

   Ev gišerə   dit-um   astłern   anhamar.
   E notteDET guardare-PRES PTCP stelleDET infinito

c. Marmarnerun mēĵ əspitak un -ēr   an
   marmi   in bianco avere-IMP+3SG egli

   K'arayr m'iren bənakaran. ew ankē
   spelonca una sua dimora   e   da lí

   Astłern   u covə   kə dit   -ēr   anargel.
   stelleDET e mareDET kə guardare-IMP+3SG senza ostacoli.

'Tra i marmi bianchi egli aveva come sua dimora una spelonca: da lí
guardava senza ostacoli le stelle e il mare.'

In all three translations of (72) the verbs are in the imperfect. In (72a) the verbs are
bnakvum ēr 'he lived(IMP)', *ditarkum ēr* 'he observed(IMP)'; in (72b) *uner* 'he
had(IMP)', *ēr hskum ev ditum* 'he overlooked(IMP) and watched(IMP)'; in (72c) *unēr*
'he had(IMP)', *kə ditēr* 'he watched(IMP)'.[64] Instead of Dante's *ebbe [...] la spelonca
per sua dimora*, Tayan uses *bnakvum ēr mi kʻarayrum 'he lived in a cave'* and for *non li
era la veduta tronca* the translator uses *ditarkum ēr anargel* 'he observed without
obstacles.' The latter choice is also characteristic of Ghulyan's and Łazikean's
translations in examples (72b) and (72c).

73. Misesi lì nel canto e ne la rota;

e la mia donna in lor *tenea* l'aspetto,

pur come sposa tacita e immota. (Par XXV 109-111)

  a.   Na nrancʻ het mekteł erg -ecʻ   u par -ecʻ,
          Egli loro   con insieme cantare-AOR+3SG e ballare-AOR+3SG

          Isk   tiruhis   luŕ   u anšarž   harsi pes
          Invece mia signora tacita e immobile sposa come

          Ir   hayacʻkʻə nrancʻ vra   beweŕ -ecʻ.
          Suo sguardo   loro   sopra inchiodare-AOR+3SG

          'Egli cantò e ballò insieme a loro
          Invece mia signora tacita e immobile come sposa
          Inchiodò il suo sguardo su di loro.'

  b.   Na mia -cʻav   erg u parin xandavaŕ,
          egli unirsi-AOR+3SG canto e ballo entusiasta

          Ew luŕ,   anšarž,   harsi nman gełani,
          E   tacito, immobile, sopsa come bello

          Donnas   nrancʻ ułł -ecʻ   ačkʻern ir   paycaŕ.
          Mia donna loro   dirigere-AOR+3SG occhi   suoi lucidi

          'Egli si unì al canto e ballo entusiasta
          E tacito, immobile come sposa bella
          Mia donna diresse loro i suoi occhi lucidi.'

  c.   Ënker   -acʻaw   anoncʻ ergin u xałin.
          Amico diventare-AOR+3SG loro   canto e gioco

          Ew im tikins   seweŕ   -ecʻ   ačʻkʻn anor vray,

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64 For the particular conjugation of the verb *unenal* 'to have' see example (11) and (f.35) in section 2.4.

e mia signora inchiodare-AOR+3SG occhio lui sopra

Čišd inčpēs hars mə luŕ u munĵ ew anšarž.
Giusto come sposa una tacita e muto e immobile

'Fece compagnia a loro canto e gioco
E mia signora inchiodò l'occhio su di lui,

Giusto come una sposa tacita e muta e immobile.'

For Dante's *tenea l'aspetto* 'keep(IMP) glance' Tayan uses beweŕ-ec' 'he focused'
and Łazikean uses seweŕ-ec' 'he stared at'. Ghulyan prefers *ułłec' ačk'ern* 'fixed the
eyes'. The translators use the aorist tense for Dante's imperfect that can be interpreted as
simultaneous with *misesi* 'it joined'. In Armenian, on the contrary, the verbs appear with
aorist morphology, hence the simultaneous interpretation is lost.

In (74) the imperfect denotes an event that extends beyond the temporal limits of the
one expressed by the simple past.

74. sì lasciò trapassar la santa greggia

    Forese, e dietro meco sen *veniva*/ dicendo (Purg XXIV 73-75)

a.   Ayspes aysteł anĵatvelov surb hotic',
      Così qui staccandosi santa greggaABL

    Dandałoren inj hetew -ec' Foresen, / as-el-ov…
    Lentamente mi seguire-AOR+3SG ForeseDET/ dire-INF-INST

    'Così qui staccandosi dalla santa greggia
    Forese mi seguì lentamente, dicendo.'

b.   Im Foresen aydpes t'oł -ec', or ułin
      Mio ForeseDET così lasciare-AOR+3SG che strada

    Xumbn ənt'n -a, heto harc'r -ec' žptadem…
    gruppoDET trascorrere-CONJ+3SG poi chiedere-AOR+3SG sorridente

    'Mio Forese lasciò così che il gruppo trascorra la strada, poi chiese
    sorridente.'

c.   ayspēs t'oł -uc' Forēsē or surb hōtə
      cosi' lasciare-AOR+3SG Forese che santa greggiaDET

    anc'n -i, u hets et kə daŕn -ar əs -el -ov
    passare-CONJ+3SG e con me indietro kə tornare-IMP+3SG dire-INF-INST

    'così lasciò Forese che la santa greggia passi e con me ritornava
    dicendo...'

Tayan translates *sì lasciò trapassar…* 'let […] pass by' with the participle *anĵat-v-el-ov* [separate-pass-INF-STR] 'separating' and *veniva* 'he cameIMP' with the verb

hetew-ecʻ [follow-AOR+3SG] 'he followed', thus changing Dante's temporal realization. Ghulyan translates *sì lasciò trapassar* with *tʻoł-ecʻ or ənt'n-a* [leave-AOR+3SG that pass-CONJ+3SG 'left it pass' contributing to more accurate translation, at the expense of missing the imagery of *dietro meco sen veniva*. Łazikean translates *sì lasciò trapassar* with of *tʻoł-ucʻ or ancʻn-i* [leave-AOR+3SG pass-CONJ+3SG] 'left it pass' and *veniva* with *et kə daŕn-ar* [back kə come-IMP+3SG] 'came(IMP) back'.

In the *Commedia*, the verb of the first member of the coordination expressed with the past tense indicates the event of the protagonist as an observer (often Dante or his guide), while the verb of the second member of the coordination expressed with the imperfect tense expresses the content of the observation. The state or the event described by the imperfect tense temporally may extend before and/or after the event expressed by the verb of the first member of the coordination as illustrated in example (75):

75. vidi quattro grand'ombre a noi venire:

    sembianz'*avevan* né trista né lieta. (Inf IV 83-84)

a.   Ev es tes   -a…,
     e io vedere-AOR+1SG

     Or čʻors hogi gal-is   ēin   depi mez:
     che quattro anime venire-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3PL verso di noi

     Nrancʻ demkʻə očʻ urax ēr,   očʻ txur.
     loro volto né lieto AUX+IMP+3SG, né triste.

     'E io vidi … che quattro anime venivano verso di noi: il loro volto non era né lieto, né triste.'

b.   Tes   -a,…   or očʻ urax, očʻ txur
     vedere-AOR+1SG che né lieto né triste

     Čʻors stverner moten   -um   en   varpetin.
     quattro ombre avvicinarsi-PRES PTCP AUX+3PL maestro

     'Vidi […] che quattro anime né liete né tristi s'avvicinano al maestro'

c.   Tes -ay   čʻors mec   əstuerneru mezi galn,
     vedere-AOR+1SG quattro grandi ombre   a noi il venire

     Demkʻernin čʻ -ēr   očʻ təxur, očʻ al zəwartʻ.
     i volti   neg-AUX+IMP+3SG né triste né lieto.

     'Vidi il venire di quattro ombre verso di noi, i volti non erano né tristi né lieti.'

Both the lexical and the temporal realizations of the verb *vidi* 'I saw' are preserved in the Armenian translations. Tayan and Ghulyan prefer a temporalized verb instead of the

infinitive *venire* 'to come'. In (75a) the verb is *galis ēin* 'they came(IMP)' and in (75b) *moten-um en* [approach-PRES PTCP AUX+3PL] 'they approach'. This choice, even if not corresponding to Dante's tense, is acceptable in MEA grammar as both the present and the imperfect are realized by means of the same imperfective participle. The latter together with the corresponding forms of the auxiliary denotes the action in progress – see section 1.3. Łazikean tries to preserve the original form by using *galn*, i.e. the nominalized indefinite of the verb *gal* 'to come.' The position of the negative copula *č'-ēr* – neg-AUX+IMP+3SG 'it was not' – in the expression *č'ēr oč' təxur, oč' zəwart'* 'it was neither sad nor happy' is not characteristic to the the Armenian word order: while the negative form of the auxiliary always precedes the verb, the copula cannot – see also the example (2) in section 2.2.[65] However, taking into consideration that Łazikean's translation is from 1902, and it's a verse translation, it can be conjectured. The temporal realizations of the verse (75) in the translations correspond to the original even if expressed by means of a different tense, as in (75b).

76. mi venne in sogno una femmina balba, …/ Io la *mirava*; …lo sguardo mio le *facea scorta*/ la lingua, e poscia tutta la *drizzava*/ in poco d'ora, e lo smarrito volto…così le *colorava*./ Poi ch'ell'avea 'l parlar così disciolto, *cominciava* a

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65 The following table illustrates examples of the negative form of the *em* both as auxiliary – see (a) – and copula – see (b).

Modern Eastern Armenian		Modern Western Armenian	
	negative		negative
a) *gal -is* ē come-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG '(s)he comes'	*č' -i gal -is* neg-AUX+3SG come-PRES PTCP '(s)he doesn't come'	a) *ku ga -y* *ku* come-3SG '(s)he comes'	*č' -i gar* neg-AUX+3SG comeNEG PTCP '(s)he doesn't come'.
b) *txur ē* sad AUX+3SG '(s)he is sad'	*txur č' -ē* sad neg-AUX+3SG '(s)he is not sad'	b) *txur ē* sad AUX+3SG '(s)he is sad'	*txur č' -ē* sad neg-AUX+3SG '(s)he is not sad'

Table 1

cantar. (Purg XIX 7-17)

The imperfect is also used in clauses subordinate to fictional verbs, to express the content of dream and visions.[66] Dante's Italian is no exception to this generalization as illustrated in example (76):

The example, being too large I prefer to consider its verses in examples (77)-(82) as separate sentences.

77. mi venne in sogno una femmina balba, (Purg XIX 7)

a.   Erazis   meĵ erev -ac'   kin mi t'lvat.

Sogno mio in   apparire-AOR+3SG donna uno balbo

'Nel mio sogno apparve una donna balba.'

b.   Erazis   meĵ es tes -a   mi kakaz kin.

Sogno mio in   io vedere-AOR+1SG uno balbo donna

'Nel mio sogno vidi una donna balba.'

c.   Erazis   meĵ erew -c'aw   inci t'ot'ov ēg   mə

Sogno mio in   apparire-AOR+3SG me balbo femmina uno

'Nel mio sogno mi apparve una femmina balba.'

Both in (77) and in its translations, the temporal realization of the verb is in the simple past.

78. Io la *mirava* (Purg XIX 10)

a.   Nay   -um   ēi

guardare-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+1SG

'Guardavo'

b.   Naye   -c'i

guardare-AOR+1SG

'Guardai'

c.   Iren kə nay   -ēi

A lei kə guardare-IMP+1SG

'guardavo lei'

For Dante's *mirava* Tayan and Łazikean use the same verb and the same temporal

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[66] See also Giorgi and Pianesi (2001), for an analysis of this phenomenon. Note that the use of the imperfect in dream contexts is very common crosslinguistically.

realization, i.e., the imperfect of the verb *nayel* 'look at' while Ghulyan translates it in the aorist form. Ghulyan's verb has a different location on the temporal axis with respect to Dante's verb. The verb *nayecʻi* 'I looked at' in (78b) expresses a closed event while Dante's *mirava* does not.

79. lo sguardo mio le *facea* scorta la lingua (Purg XIX 12)

 a. hayacʻkʻs arjak -um   ēr   lezun
    sguardo mio sciogliere-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG la lingua
    'il mio sguardo scioglieva la lingua .'

 b. im hayacʻkʻə bacʻ -ecʻ   knoĵ lezun
    sguardo mio aprire-AOR+3SG di donna la lingua
    'il mio sguardo aprì la lingua della donna.'

 c. nayvacʻkʻs anor lezun kə kʻak -ēr
    mio sguardo suo lingua *kə* sciogliere-IMP+3SG
    'il mio sguardo scioglieva la sua lingua.'

Tayan's and Łazikean's choices are identical both from temporal and lexical points of view. Apparently they seem to use two different verbs, but these verbs are synonyms, both meaning 'untie': *arjakel* is more characteristic to Modern Eastern Armenian and *kʻakel* to Western Armenian. Ghulyan uses the verb *bacʻel* 'to open', which is also acceptable in the phrases 'to untie the language' and 'to open the language', both meaning to 'dissolve the language'. Concerning the temporal realization, Ghulyan uses the aorist for Dante's imperfect. Dante's form does not correspond to an instantaneous and closed event, as it may be perceived in (79b); it is instead a process and thus expressed by means of a verb in the imperfect.

80. e poscia tutta la drizzava in poco d'ora (Purg XIX 13)

 a. Ułł   -um   nra šełutʻyunnerə kargav
    drizzare-PRES PTCP suo difetti   a turno
    'drizzava a turno i suoi difetti

 b. U šat arag   marmni masen ałčatvac lriv ułł -ecʻ
    E molto velocemente del corpo parti strapazzato tutto drizzare-AOR+3SG
    'E molto velocemente drizzò del tutto le membra strapazzate.'

 c. ew yetoy kʻič ateni mēĵ kʼułł -ēr   zanika bolor
    e poi poco tempo in *kʼ*raddrizzare-INF+3SG quello tutto

'E poi in poco tempo la drizzava del tutto.'

In (80a) the form corresponding to Dante's '*drizzava*' is *ułłum ēr*, but there is no auxiliary *ēr* in Tayan's verse, as the auxiliary *ēr* of the previous verse (79a) also refers to the next one. Here again Tayan and Łazikean make the same choice both from temporal and lexical points of view, choosing the verb *ułłel* 'straighten, correct' and its temporal realization in the imperfect. Like Tayan and Łazikean, Ghulyan uses the verb *ułłel* but prefers the aorist form *ułłecʻ*.

81. e lo smarrito volto così le *colorava*. (Purg XIX 15)

    a.   Ev tal -is   ēr   nra daluk   eresin ayn guynə…

        e   dare-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG suo pallido volto quel colore

        'E dava al suo pallido volto il colore...'

    b.   ev, luys, kyankʻ tv   -ecʻ   nra demkʻin gunatvac

        e   luce vita   dare-AOR+3SG suo al volto pallido

        'E diede luce, vita al suo volto pallido.'

    c.   ew anor tžgoyn dēmkʻə kə gunawor-ēr

        E suo pallido il volto   kə colorare-IMP+3SG

        'E il suo pallido viso colorava'

In (81) the translators make different choices. In (81a) Tayan paraphrases the verb *colorava* 'colored(INF)' with *talis ēr guynə* 'gave(IMP) the color'. Ghulyan doesn't preserve the imagery: instead of *colorava* he uses *kyankʻ tvecʻ* 'gave life'. Łazikean uses the verb *kə gunaworēr*, the Armenian equivalent of the verb *colorava*. Tayan and Łazikean preserve the original temporal realization while Ghulyan uses the verb in the aorist, which does not express the same temporal meaning as Dante's form.

82. Poi ch'ell'avea 'l parlar così disciolto, cominciava a cantar (Purg XIX 17)

    a.   Hencʻ   or ayspes lezvi   kapn
        Quando che così   della lingua ostacolo

        ēr   arjak   -v -el,
        AUX+IMP+3SG sciogliersi-pass-PERF PTCP

        na sks   -ecʻ   ergel
        ella cominciare-AOR+3SG cantare…

        'Quando era disciolto così l'ostacolo della lingua, ella cominciò a cantare.

    b.   Orovhetev bacʻ -v -ecʻ   lezun gełgełun,
        Perché   aprire-pass-AOR+3SG lingua gorgheggiante

       na   sks   -ecʻ   ergel
       ella cominciare-AOR+3SG cantare

       'Poiché si sciolse la lingua gorgheggiante, ella cominciò a cantare'

  c.   Orovhetew bacʻu-ac   ēr   anor lezun ays   kerpov,
       Perche'   aprire-RES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG suo lingua questo modo

       kə sks   -ēr   ergel
       kə cominciare-IMP+3SG cantare

       'Poiché in questo modo si era sciolta la sua lingua, ella cominciava a cantare.'

I discuss *avea disciolto* as well even if it is realized in past perfect – see section 3.4.4 – as it is the predicate of the subordinate clause whose matrix clause contains a verb in the imperfect. Tayan (82a) uses *ēr arjakvel* 'was(IMP) dissolved' for Dante's *avea disciolto*, which is used in this order due to the SOV form. Tayan's second verb is *sksecʻ ergel* 'began to sing' for Dante's *cominciava cantare*. There is a discordance of the temporal realization, as Tayan uses the aorist instead of Dante's imperfect. Ghulyan uses *bacʻvecʻ* 'was opened' and *sksecʻ ergel,* 'began to sing', using both verbs in the aorist. Łazikean also translates Dante's *avea disciolto* by means of the verb *bacʻuac ēr*, 'it was open', expressing the past perfect with the resultative participle *bacʻuac ēr*.

3.4.3 Present perfect

Dante's present perfect refers to a state resulting from a bounded event as is the case in Modern Italian. This is exemplified in (83):

83. Vedi quanta virtù l' *ha fatto* degno / di reverenza; (Par VI 34-35)

 a. Inčʻ sxrankʻner nran *darjr*   *-in*   hargaržan.

   che imprese   la   fare diventare-AOR+3PL rispettabile

   'Che imprese la fecero diventare rispettabile.'

 b. Tes   tʻe inčʻ už   arcvin   *darjr*   *-ecʻ*   aržani /Mecarankʻi.

   guarda che   forza aquilaDAT fare diventare-AOR+3SG degno /riverenza

   'guarda che forza fece diventare l'aquila degna di riverenza.'

 c. Inčʻ korov tes   *ər -aw*   zani aržani / Mecarankʻi

   che vigore guarda fare-AOR+3SG lo   degno / riverenza

   'Guarda che vigore la fece degna di riverenza.'

For Dante's *ha fatto degno di reverenza* 'has made worthy of reverence' Tayan uses *darjrin hargaržan* 'made rispectable' and Ghulyan uses *darjrecʻ aržani mecarankʻi*

'made worthy of reverence'. Łazikean uses *əraw aržani mecarankʻi* 'did worthy of reverence.' Tayan and Ghulyan use the same verb *darjnel* 'to make' while Łazikean uses *ənel* 'to do'. From a lexical point of view, both verbs are correct, as the expression 'make worthy' can be rendered in Armenian both by *aržani darjnel, aržani anel* in Modern Eastern Armenian and *aržani ənel*, a form characteristic of the Modern Western Armenian. However, the translators could have also used another verb deriving from the stem *aržan* with the addition of the causative morpheme '*acʻn*', obtaining *aržan-acʻn-el* [worthy-suf-INF, 'to make worthy']. The three translators prefer the aorist for Dante's present perfect form. While discussing the aorist in section 2.8, I pointed out that this tense is frequently used in Armenian, even in cases where other languages use the present perfect form. I discussed this issue in section 3.4.2 as well while commenting on the Armenian translations of Dante's imperfect forms. The aorist is a verbal form expressing bounded sequence in contrast to the imperfect, which is used for non-bounded continuous sequences.

Usually, in the above-mentioned sense non-durative verbs appear, as the verb *son tornato* 'I have returned' in example (84):

84. Tu m' hai con disiderio il cor disposto

     sì al venir con le parole tue

   ch'i' *son tornato* nel primo proposto. (Inf II 136-138)

   a. Kʻo xoskʻerov   es aynkʻan em   togor   -v -el,
      Tue paroleINSTR io talmente AUX+1SG impregnare-pass-PERF PTCP

      Ev aynkʻan em   kʻez hetewel cʻankan-um
      E talmente AUX+1SG te   seguire volere -PRES PTCP

      Or es očʻ mi   aŕarkutʻyun čʻ -un -em   ēl.
      Che io nessuna proposta   neg-avere-PRES PTCP più.

      'Sono talmente impregnato dalle tue parole e talmente voglio seguirti che non ho più nessuna proposta.'

   b. Du im   sirtə kʻo   xoskʻerov ĵermeŕand
      Tu mio cuore tue   paroleINST fervide

      Hamak -ecʻ -ir   mi aynpisi baĺjankʻov,
      riempire-AOR-2SG uno tale   desiderioINST

      Or es naxkin   mtkʻin   darj -a   pʻutʻeŕand.
      che io precedente parereDAT tornare-AOR premuroso.

'Tu riempisti il mio cuore con le tue parole fervide con un tale desiderio che io tornai premurosamente al precedente parere.'

c. Du xōskʻerovd aynpēs   im   sirts   yank -ucʻ -ir
   tu paroleINST talmente mio cuore attrarre-AOR-2SG

   Or   es imin aŕji   mətkʻis   daŕnalov
   Che io mio precedente parereDAT tornareINST

   Pʻapʻakʻanōkʻ piti kʻezi hetew-im.
   volontàINST FUT te   seguire-1SG

'Tu con le tue parole attraesti talmente il mio cuore, che io tornando al mio precedente parere ti seguirò con la volontà .'

Dante's present perfect verbs are *hai disposto* 'you have disposed' and *son tornato* 'I have returned'. The verb of the matrix clause is realized in the present perfect by *togorvel em*, 'I have impregnated' for *hai disposto* 'you have disposed'. Even if he uses the verb in the passive voice and in 1SG instead of 2SG, the meaning is not disturbed. The second verb of the matrix clause is *hetewel em cʻankan-um* 'I wish to follow' in present tense. This is an addition by Tayan, as Dante lacks this form. Tayan realizes the verb of the subordinate clause in the present tense through the verb *čʻunem* 'I don't have'. Note that Tayan does not render the same meaning of verse 138 into Armenian. Hence, the present tense realization bymeans of the verb *čʻunem* 'I don't have' has nothing to do with the original verb *son tornato* 'I have returned' in the present perfect. Instead of obtaining 'I've returned to my first intent' (trans. by Hollander and Hollander 2001) the translator renders 'I don't have any objection.' Ghulyan uses two verbs: *hamakecʻir* 'you affected' for Dante's *hai disposto* 'you have disposed' and *darja* 'I returned' for Dante's *son tornato* 'I have returned'. Both of the verbs are realized in the aorist, instead of the original's present perfect. Just as in (83), this choice expresses both the meaning and the temporal realization of the original. Łazikean translates Dante's *hai disposto* 'you have disposed' by means of the aorist *yankucʻir* 'you attracted', and *son tornato* 'I have returned' by means of the gerund *daŕnalov* 'returning'. Furthermore, he changes the places of the last two verses as well. Łazikean's third verb is *piti hetewim* 'I'll follow'. Note that the translator uses the aorist, the gerund and the future in the same sentence, a grammatical option in Armenian.

85. *tratto* m' *hanno* del mar de l'amor torto,

    e del diritto m' *han posto* a la riva. (Par XXVI 62-63)

a. Inj durs *ber-in*[67]　　　　　molar siro　　　　ovkianicʿ
　Mi fuori portare-AOR+3PL　torto　amoreGEN　ocenoABL

　Ew čšmarit siro　　　　apʿə *han*　*-ecʿ*　*-in*.
　E　vero　amoreGEN riva　tirare　-AOR-3PL

　'Mi portarono fuori dall'oceno torto dell'amore e tirarono alla riva dell'amore vero.'

b. Siro　　　　covicʿ　　durs *han*　*-ecʿ*　*-in*　pʿučʿ marzum
　amoreGEN　mareABL fuori tirare　-AOR-3PL vuoto parte

　Ev *dr*　*-ecʿ*　*-in* čšmariti　apʿin　　layn.
　E　mettere-AOR-3PL veritaGEN rivaDAT largo

　'Tirarono fuori dal mare dell'amore in parte vuoto e misero sulla riva larga della verita'.'

c. Zis erkrakʿarš siroy　　　covēn　*šop*　*-ecʿ*　*-in*
　Mi mondano amoreGEN　mareABL strappare-AOR-3PL

　Ew čšmarit siro　　　　apʿunkʿə *dər-in*.
　E　vero　amoreGEN rive　　mettere-AOR+3PL

　'Mi strapparono dal mare dell'amore mondano (torto) e misero sulle rive dell'amore vero.'

The original verbs are *tratto hanno* 'have drawn' and *han posto* 'have set'. Tayan uses *durs berin* 'they brought out' and *hanecʿin* 'they took out'. Ghulyan uses *hanecʿin* 'they took out' and drecʿin 'they set(PAST)'. Łazikean uses the verb *šopecʿin* 'they draw' and *dərin* 'they set(PAST)'. The translations are lexically successful, but I think the best variant is Łazikean's translation. He uses the verb *šopel* which is not used any longer, but perfectly expresses the meaning of the original. These translations are in the aorist form. In Armenian the frequent use of the aorist form is not a new phenomenon. It dates back to *grabar* period.

86. E quando noi a lei *venuti semo*,

　　poco più oltre veggio in su la rena

　　gente seder propinqua al loco scemo. (Inf XVII 34-36)

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67 Many verbs can have two aorist forms, with and without the special aorist morpheme: *ber-in* vs: *ber-ecʿ-in*, or *d(ə)r-in* (85c) vs: *dr-ecʿ-in* (85b). Nowadays, the form with the aorist morpheme is considered more literary and the one without the morpheme more colloquial.

a. Erb   *mot   -ec' -ank'* ayn   nengavor gazanin,
Quando avvicinare-AOR-1PL   quello fraudolento bestia

Mi k'ič' andin   *tes   -a*   mardkanc' mi zangvac,
Un po'   piu' in la' vedere-AOR+1SG gente   un massa

Or *nst   -ac*   *ēr*   avazi vra, vihezrin.
Che sedere-RES PTCP   AUX+IMP+3SG sabbia sopra orlo dell'abisso

'Quando avvicinammo a quella bestia fraudolenta, un po piu in la' vidi una massa di gente che era seduta sopra la sabbia sull'orlo dell'abisso.

b. Henc'or nran menk' *mot   -ec' -ank'* us   usi,
appena lo   noi   avvicinare-AOR-1PL spalla per spalla

Vihi   ezrin   inč' or mardik *tes-a*   es,
abissoGEN orloDAT qualche persone vedere-AOR+1SG io

Or avazin   *nst   -ac*   *ēin*   mekusi.
che sabbiaDAT sedere-RES PTCP AUX+IMP+3PL in disparte

'Appena avvicinammo spalla per spalla a lui, vidi certa gente sull'orlo dell'abisso che era seduta in disparte.'

c. Ew erbor menk' *ek -ank'   has -ank'*   anor k'ov,
E   quando noi   venire-AOR+1PL   arrivare-AOR+1PL lui   presso

K'ič' m'aweli andin *tes   -ay*   es mardik,
Un po'   piu' in la' vedere-AOR+1SG io gente

Awazin vray *nəst -ac*   unayn vəhin mōt.
Sabbia sopra sedere-RES PTCP vuoto abisso presso

'E quando noi venimmo arrivammo presso di lui, un po' in la' vidi io gente seduta sopra la sabbia presso il vuoto abisso.'

In example (86) Dante's present perfect tense verb *venuti semo* 'we have reached' relates to a historic present realized by the verb *veggio* (*seder*) 'I see (sitting)'. The translations don't express the same temporal realization and relation. Tayan uses *motec'ank'* 'we approached'*, tesa* 'I saw', *nstac ēr* 'he was(IMP) sitting'. Ghulyan uses *motec'ank'* 'we approached', *tesa* 'I saw', *nstac ēin* 'they were(IMP) sitting'. They both use *motec'ank'* 'we approach' in the aorist, instead of Dante's present perfect; *tesa* 'I saw' in the aorist instead of Dante's *veggio* in the present tense and nstac *ēr/ēin* in the imperfect tense instead of Dante's [*veggio*] *seder*. In section 2.4 I showed that Armenian uses the present tense as a so-called 'historic present'. In this case the present tense would be ungrammatical because of the presence of the present perfect (or aorist) in the

subordinate clause. In the colloquial form we can use and we do use such sequence of tenses, but not in the written language.

Łazikean renders the meaning of Dante's *venuti semo* 'we have reached' by means of two verbs: *ekankʻ* 'we came' *hasankʻ* 'we arrived'. These two verbs emphasize the meaning of 'to arrive'. Note that this form is frequently used nowadays as well. Łazikean uses *tesay nəstac* 'I saw sitting', preserving the original lexical form of *veggio seder* but rendering them in the aorist, like the other translators.

87. Quante volte, del tempo che rimembre,

    legge, moneta, officio e costume

    hai tu *mutato*, e *rinovate* membre! (Purg VI 145-147)

a. Karč šrĵanum   kʻani -kʻani   angam du
   corto periodoLOC quanto-quanto volta   tu

   Pʻopʻox -el   *es*   ōrenkʻ, dram,   karg u barkʻ
   cambiare-PERF PTCP AUX+2SG legge   moneta ordine e costume

   Ew *norog   -el*   gorcičʻnerəd ačʻkʻaŕu.
   E   rinnovare-PERF PTCP figure   vistoso

   'In corto periodo quante-quante volte tu hai cambiato legge, moneta, ordine e costume e rinnavato le tue figure vistose.'

b. Kʻani   angam hencʻ   verĵers   *pʻox   -ecʻ -ir*
   Quanto volta   appena recentemente cambiare-AOR-2SG

   Ōrenkʻ, dram,   pašton u barkʻ   mezanum
   legge   moneta ufficio e costume noiLOC

   Ev kʻanicʻs   andamnerid *nor-ecʻ-ir*.
   e   molte volte   membri   rinnovare-AOR-2SG

   'Quante volte proprio recentemente cambiasti legge, moneta, ufficio e costume tra di noi e quante volte rinnovasti i membri.'

c. Kʻani   angam verĵin tariners *pʻox-ecʻ-ir*   dun ōrēnkʻ u dram,
   quanto volta   ultimo anni   cambiare-AOR-2SG tu   legge e moneta

   paštōn u barkʻ   ew andamnerd   *nor   -ecʻ -ir*.
   Ufficio e costume e   i tuoi membri rinnovare-AOR-2SG

   'Quante volte gli ultimi anni tu cambiasti legge e moneta, ufficio e costume e rinnovasti i tuoi membri.'

In example (87), Dante's verbs *hai mutato* 'you have changed' and *rinovate* 'you have renewed' in the present perfect tense denote an iterated fact – a sequence of events that are iterated until now. Tayan uses *p'op'oxel es* 'you have changed' and *norogel* 'you have renewed'. *P'op'oxel* is formed by the repetition of the verb stem and means 'to change repeteadly', thus rendering the iteration meaning. The temporal realization corresponds to the original. Ghulyan uses *p'oxec'ir* 'you changed' and *norec'ir* 'you renewed'. He uses almost the same verbs as Tayan, with a variation – Ghulyan uses *poxel*, meaning 'to change' and not Tayan's *p'op'oxel* meaning 'to change more times.' As usual, Ghulyan prefers to the aorist tense. Łazikean, like Ghulyan, uses *p'oxec'ir* 'you changed' and *norec'ir* 'you renewed'.

88. Ravenna sta come stata è molt'anni: (Inf XXVII 40)

    a. Aṙaĵva pes *nuynn ē*   ayžəm Ṙavennan…

       prima come stesso AUX+3+SG ora   Ravenna

       'Ora Ravenna è la stessa come prima…'

    b. Ṙavennayum inč'pes aṙaĵ…

       RavennaLOC come   prima

       'A Ravenna come prima…'

    c. Hṙawennan *noynn ē*   inč' or *ēr*   šat   tari…

       Ravenna   stesso AUX+3SG come che AUX+IMP+3SG molto anno

       'Ravenna e la stessa come era per tanti anni…'

Here, Dante uses two verbs *sta* 'it is' and *stata è* 'it has been'. The present perfect is realized by a durative verb expressing a condition, which existed in the past and is prolonged in the present. The adverb *molt'anni* emphasizes this persistent condition. Among the Armenian translations only Łazikean's version can be considered faithful to Dante, as he preserved the contrast between present and past even if he realizes the past tense by means of the imperfect and not by means of the present perfect. Coming to Tayan's and Ghulyan's versions, even if they revise the verse and are not faithful to the temporal realizations, they don't betray Dante's meaning.

89. quando la colpa pentuta *è rimossa*" (Inf XIV 138)

    a. ev złĵumov   ir mełk'eric' *azat   -v -um*."

       e   pentimentoINST suo colpeABL assolvere-pass-PRES PTCP

       'e con pentimento si assolve dai suoi peccati.'

b. erb   złǰumov   mełk'n *en*   *k'av*   *-um…"*
   quando pentimentoINST colpa AUX+3PL scontare-PRES PTCP

   'quando scontano la colpa con pentimento.'

c. Erbor yanc'ank'ə zəłǰumov   *k'aw*   *-u*   *-ac*   *ē.*
   quando colpa   pentimentoINST scontare-pass-RES PTCP AUX+3SG

   'quando la colpa è scontata con pentimento.'

Dante's verb is *è rimossa* 'has been removed'. It is realized in the passive voice of the present perfect and expresses a bounded event and the state achieved from it in the present. As Ageno (Ageno 1978) points out, the passive form with *stato* was not fully developed yet. Tayan uses the verb *azatvum ē* 'is absolved'. Actually, the auxiliary *ē* is not present in verse 138, but it is present in the verse 137 and refers also to the verse 138. The auxiliary *ē* together with the present participle *azatvum* forms the present tense. Tayan maintains the passive voice but not the temporal realization. Ghulyan uses *en k'avum* 'they atone', again in the present tense. Łazikean uses *k'awuac ē* 'has been atoned'*,* the form of the present perfect characteristic to Modern Western Armenian, discussed in detail in sections 1.6 and 2.6. Tayan and Ghulyan do not use the temporal forms corresponding to the original, as their verbs in the present tense do not express a bounded event. Their present tense is nearer to the timeless present – see examples (18) in 2.4 and (5) in 3.2.1 – hence the reader doesn't perceive that the verb refers to a past bounded event.):[68]

90. La gente che per li sepolcri giace

   potrebbesi veder? già *son levati*

   tutt'i coperchi, e nessun guardia face".[69] (Inf X 7-9)

a. Kareli   ē   širimneri meĵ paŕk-ac
   possible AUX+3SG tombeGEN in   sdraiare-RES PTCP

   mardkanc' tesn -el? Xup'ern aha *bac' –v* *-ac*   *en*,
   persone   vedere-INF coperchi ecco aprire-pass-RES PTCP AUX+3PL

   ev nranc' mot   pahapan ēl   č'-i   kangn-ac."

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[68] *Erku angam erku havasar ē čorsi.* 'Two times two is four.'

69 In Armenian the question mark (°) is put directly on the last syllable of the constituent in question, like *o °v* 'who?'.

e loro   presso guardia   anche non-AUX+3SG alzare-RES PTCP

'E' possibile vedere le persone sdraiate nelle tombe? Ecco i coperchi sono aperti e presso di loro non c'e' neanche una guardia.'

b. Kareli ē   nay   -el   mardkanc' anaržan,
    possible AUX+3SG guardare-INF persone   indegno

    Or tanĵ   -v -um   en   širimneri boc'erum?
    che tormentare- pass-PRES PTCP AUX+3PL tombeGEN fiammeLOC

    Drank' bac' en,   č' -un -en angam pahapan."
    Quelli   aperto AUX+3PL neg-avere-3PL neanche guardia

    'E' possibile guardare le persone indegne che si tormentano nelle fiamme delle tombe: quelle sono aperte e non hanno neanche guardia.'

c. Širimnerun mēĵ paŕk   -oł -ner-ə   ardeōk'
    tombeGEN in   sdraiarsi-SUB-PL-DET forse

    Kareli ē   tesnel? Ardēn *verc' -u -ac   en*
    possible AUX+3SG vedere già   levare-pass-RES PTCP AUX+3SG

    Kap'arič'nern u pahapan al   č'ə-kay."
    coperchi   e guardia anche neg-c'e'

    'Forse si puo vedere gli sdraiati nelle tombe? I coperchi sono già levati e non c'e' neanche guardia.'

In (90) we see that the participle takes an adjectival value, expressing the present state that derives from a closed event of raising. Dante uses *son levati* 'have been raised'. Tayan gives an accurate intrepretation by using *bac'vac en* 'they are raised', realized by means of the resultative participle, which in Armenian denotes a resulting state. Ghulyan doesn't use a participial form and uses *bac' en* 'are open'. In this way, the reader doesn't perceive that the tombs were close and now are open, and so the interpretation of *aperto* 'open' as a result of an event of opening is lacking. On the contrary, besides the resultative participle – which in this case can have an ambiguous meaning – Łazikean also uses the adverb *ardēn* 'already', thus emphasizing the expression of a state resulting from an event.[70]

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70 The ambiguity of the meaning derives from the fact that the Modern Western Armenian uses the resultative participle also to form the present perfect tence. See section 1.6 for more detailed discussion.

3.4.4 Past perfect

The past perfect denotes an event or a state located in the past prior to another one itself located in the past as well.

91. Breve pertugio dentro da la Muda…

m'*avea mostrato* per lo suo forame

più lune già, quand'io feci 'l mal sonno… (Inf XXXIII 22-26)

a. Neł   bacʻvackʻi   miĵov   berdi   xavarčʻtin …
Stretto aperturaGEN dentroINST carcereGEN oscuro

*Tes -el   ēi   šat   lusinner arden vař,
vedere-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+1SG molto lune   già acceso

Erb   yes tes -a   čʻaragušak mi eraz…
Quando io   vedere-AOR+1SG funesto   un sogno

'Attraverso la stretta appertura del carcere oscuro avevo visto già molte lune accese, quando vidi un funesto sogno '

b. Šat   angam *ēr*   neł   čełkʻə žant   zndani…
molte volte   AUX+IMP+3SG stretto foro   crudele cella

Lusni   nor   -el-n   inj *cʻuycʻ tv-el*,   erb   mtʻin
lunaGEN rinnovarsi-INF-DET me mostrare-PERF PTCP quando buio

Bantum   tes   -a   mi vat eraz…
carcereLOC vedere-AOR+1SG un brutto sogno

'Molte volte lo stretto foro della cella crudele mi aveva mostrato il rinnovarsi della luna quando nel carcere buio vidi un brutto sogno.'

c. Čełkʻuackʻ mə neł   nersi   kołmēn   zəndanin…
Spaccatura un stretto dentroGEN parteABL cellaGEN

Ir   bacʻuackʻēn inj *cʻucʻucʻ -ac*   *ēr*   ardēn
suo aperturaABL me mostrare-RES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG già

Šat lusinner, erb   gēš   eraz   mə tes -ay…
Molto lune   quando brutto sogno un vedere-AOR+1SG

'Una spaccatura dall'interno della cella mi aveva già mostrato dalla sua apertura molte lune, quando vidi un bruto sogno.'

In (91) Dante's past perfect tense verb *m'avea mostrato* 'it had shown me' is related to the temporal clause in the simple past introduced by *quando* 'when'. This construction is preserved in the Armenian translations by means of the adverb *erb* 'when'. Tayan uses

the verb *tesel ēi* 'I had seen' and changes Dante's imagery. In Dante the subject is the *pertugio*, 'a little slit' (Singleton 1970), which had shown Ugolino several moons through its opening, while Tayan's subject is *es* 'I'. Instead, the other two translators preserve the imagery. Ghulyan translates Dante's *m'avea mostrato* 'it had shown me' by *ēr c'uyc' tv-el* 'it had shown' and Łazikean by *c'uc'uc'ac ēr* 'it had shown'. Ghulyan and Łazikean apparently use different verbs. Those are two variants of the same one in MEA and MWA, respectively). The tenses in the Armenian translations correspond to the original.[71]

    92. *Fatto avea* di là mane e di qua sera

        tal foce, e quasi tutto era là bianco

        quello emisperio, e l'altra parte nera,

        quando Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco

        vidi rivolta e riguardar nel sole: (Par I 43-47)

    a. Ast aŕavot, and ereko *ēr*   *darj-el*,
       qui mattina là sera AUX+IMP+3SG diventare-PERF PTCP

       Ew k'ič aŕ k'ič ays   kisagundə hamak

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71 Both ScartazziniAndrea Scartazzini, Giuseppe Vandelli and Luigi (ed.) Polacco, *Dante Alighieri, Divina Commedia*, V (Milano: Hoepli, 1907). and SapegnoNatalino (ed.) Sapegno, *Dante Alighieri, Divina Commedia* (Milano-Napoli: Ricciardi, 1957).comment *più lune* to mean *più mesi* 'several months'. According to Tayan and Łazikean translations, this meaning is ambiguous. The ambiguity derives from the fact that in their translations *šat lusinner* 'many moons' can also mean 'many days'. Ghulyan, instead, managed to render perfectly the original through the nominalized verb *norel* 'to renew' which in combination with 'moon' means 'the birth of the new moon' Step'an Malxaseanc', *Hayerēn bac'atrakan baŕaran*, Vol. 3, 4 vols. (Erevan: Haykakan SSŔ Petakan hratarakč'ut'iwn, 1944).Gabriēl Awetik'ean, Xač'atur Siwrmēlean and Mkrtič' Awgerean, *Nor baŕgirk' haykazean lezui*, Vol. 2, 2 vols. (Venice: I tparani Srboyn Łazaru [Mekhitarist Press], 1836). Hence, when Ghulyan says *Lusni noreln inj c'uyc'[ēr] tv-el* 'it had shown me the renewal of the moon' he correctly expresses Dante's meaning. Ghulyan managed to do this thanks to a verb which is now out of use. Malxaseanc' (1944), in his dictionary, already presents this entry under asterisque. Ghulyan (2004) has often declared that his intent to translate Dante is to present the Armenian reader with a completely renewed word stock, criticizing often Tayan for having used words common for *Grabar* (OA) or Western Armenian. The presence of the entry *norel* in his translation is a contradiction to his theory. This means that some archaic words can surely be reused if the context needs them. Why shouldn't we? Armenian is one of the few languages in the world, which preserved its vocabulary almost unchanged since the 5th century.

e   poco per poco questo emisfero   interamente

Paycaŕ   -el   ēr,
Risplendere-PERF PTCP   AUX+IMP+3SG

isk   ayn   myusə *xavar   -el*,
invece quello altro   oscurare-PERF PTCP

Erb   es tes   -a   im tiruhun,   or   darj -ac
quando io vedere-AOR+1SG mia padronaDAT che voltarsi-RES PTCP

Depi jax   kołm, piš   nay   -um   ēr   arewin.
verso sinistra parte fissato guardare-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG soleDAT

'Di qua aveva fatto (diventato) mattina, di là sera, e pian-piano questo intero

emisfero risplendeva(PERF) invece l'altro   aveva oscurato quando vidi la mia

padrona che voltatosi verso sinistra guardava fissa il sole.'

b. Da   aŕavotn *ar -el   ēr*   ayn   erknk'um,
quello mattina fare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG quello cieloLOC

Čermak   -el   ēr   kisagundə ew anjayn
imbiancare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG emisfero   e   tacito

Erekon ēl   aysteł mern ēr   sew nerk   -um,
sera   anche qui   nostro AUX+IMP+3SG nero colorare-PRES PTCP

Erb   jax   darj -ac,   Beatrič'en lŕelyayn
quando sinistra voltarsi-RES PTCP Beatrice   silenziosa

Arewin ēr,   tes-a,   nay   -um   seweŕun.
soleDAT AUX+IMP+3SG vedere-AOR+1SG guardare-PRES PTCP fisso

'quello aveva fatto la mattina in quel cielo, aveva imbiancato l'emisfero e la sera

tacita colorava di nero qui il nostro, quando vidi Beatrice silenziosa voltatosi a

sinistra guardava fissa il sole.'

c. Ayn kētn *ər -er   ēr*   hon aŕtu, hos irikun,
quel punto fare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG là   mattina qui sera

Ew hon gret'ē bolorovin   čermak ēr
e   là   quasi completamente bianco   AUX+IMP+3SG

Ayn kisaguntn, ew miwsə sew ēr   hamak:
quel emisfero e   l'altro nero AUX+IMP+3SG interamente

Erb   es tes   -ay   Eranuhin, or darj-ac
quando io vedere-AOR+1SG Beatrice   che voltarsi-RES PTCP

Depi i jax   kołmn arewun   mēj kə nay   -ēr.
verso sinistra parte   soleLOC in   *kə* guardare-IMP+3SG

'Quel punto aveva fatto di là mattina e di qua sera, e di là quel emisfero era quasi del tutto bianco, e l'altro era inetramente nero: quando io vidi Beatrice che voltatosi verso sinistra guardava all'interno del sole.'

In (92) Dante indicates with the past perfect of the verb *fare*, i.e., *avea fatto*, '(the sun) had done', the circumstances that form the antecedent and the background of the event expressed by the clause in the past tense – Beatrice […] vidi rivolta. According to Sapegno (1957) with *avea fatto* Dante means that the sun, rising almost from the cardinal point of the east (*tal foce*), brought the morning to the horizon of Purgatory (*di là*) and the evening to Jerusalem (*di qua*). In the process all the southern hemisphere had lit (*era là bianco*), while the northern hemisphere was covered by the darkness of night. Dante distinguishes two successive stages, passing from the past perfect (*avea fatto*) to the imperfect (*era*).

Tayan uses thrice the past perfect in this passage. The verbs are: *ēr darjel* 'it had become', *paycaŕel ēr* 'it had become bright', that stands for *era bianco* 'it was white' and *xavarel ēr* 'it had become dark', that stands for Dante's *era nera* 'it was black.' There is a lack of temporal correspondence with the original. Hence the Armenian reader doesn't perceive the two cause-effect stages described by Dante.

The first verb used by Ghulyan is *arel ēr* 'had done'. This corresponds to the original both temporally and lexically. He then used *čermakel ēr* 'it had whitened' for *era bianco*. Here we have the same problem as in Tayan, because of the lack of the cause-effect relationship, expressed in the original through the past perfect – imperfect tense.

Łazikean uses only one past perfect – *ərer ēr* 'it had done' – as is in the original text. Moreover, he preserves not only the meaning, but also the temporal relationship of Dante's other verbs: *čermak ēr* 'it was white' for *era bianco* and *tesay* 'I saw' for *vidi*. He also preserves the participial form of *rivolta*, by means of the Armenian resultative participle *darjac* 'turned'. The only change he makes in the temporal realization is that instead of Dante's *vidi ...riguardar* 'I saw … looking at' he uses a subordinate clause *tesay or kə nayēr* 'I saw that she was looking at'.

93. Noi *eravam partiti* già da ello
   ch'io vidi due ghiacciati in una buca. (Inf XXXII 124-125)

a. Arden nran *t'oł* -el   *ēink'*   u *anc'* -el
   già   lui lasciare-PERF PTCP AUX +IMP+1PL e passare -PERF PTCP

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Erb        yes tes    -a                erku hogi  sarc'asuyz
quando     io  vedere –AOR+1SG          due  anime immerse in ghiaccio
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'L'avevamo già lasciato e passato
Quando vidi due anime immerse nel ghiaccio.'

b. Aynuhetew im dem   tes-a   pilc, datark
   dopo   mio dinanzi vedere-AOR+1SG impuro vuoto

   Erku stver aynpes kpac…
   due ombre così   appiccicate

   'Dopo dinanzi a me vidi due ombre impure e vuote così appiccicate…'

c. Menk' *bažn -v   -ac   ēink'*   arden isk[72] ankē
   noi   separare-pass-RES PTCP AUX+IMP+1PL già   Ø   quelloABL

   Caki mə mēĵ erku sarac   erb   tes   -ay…
   buco uno in   due ghiaccciati quando vedere-AOR+1SG

'Eravamo già separati da quello quando vidi due ghiacciati in una buca…'

Ageno (1978, 228) proposes that in example (93) the peculiar sequence of tenses – a past perfect followed by a past – is an artifice to give movement and variety to the narration. The event expressed as a past perfect can be taken to be the background for the other one.

In example (93a), the verbal forms *t'ołel ēink' u anc'el* 'we had left and past' and *tesa* 'I saw' used by Tayan are located on the temporal axis in the same sequence as the Italian ones. The translator introduces the embedded clause by means of *erb* 'when'. However, this is acceptable as this kind of sentences can be introduced also by *quando* 'when', as in the following verse: *Gia' eravam da la selva rimossi…/ quando incontrammo d'anime una schiera…* (Inf XV 13). For Dante's form *eravam partiti* 'we had left' Tayan uses two verbs: *t'ołnel* 'to leave' and *anc'nel* 'to pass'. Through the English translation of the verb *t'ołnel* 'to leave', it seems that the Armenian verb is the same as Dante's *partire*, both meaning 'to leave'. However, the translator uses *t'ołnel* 'to leave' with the sense of Italian *lasciare* and not partire, while the second verb *meknel* means *partire.* This kind of choice is perhaps due to the rhyme but it doesn't disturb the meaning as *partire* implies the existence of a point that one leaves. Coming to *anc'nel* 'to pass', it is strictly related to the concept of leaving as one of the meanings of *partire* is *lasciare, andare via* 'to leave to go away'. For this verse, the Armenian verb *meknel* 'to

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72 In this context it is used to emphasize the meaning of *arden* 'già' and it cannot be translated.

depart' might be the best but it could not give rise to a hendecasyllabic verse, as *anc'nel* 'to pass' could not be combined with it, while it could with *tołnel* 'to leave'.

In (93b) Ghulyan doesn't preserve the original form; Łazikean, instead, in (93c) interprets both the meaning and the temporal correspondence. He uses the verb *bažnvil* 'to be separated'.

Comparing (93a) and (93c) we see that, besides the lexical choices, they are realized by means of two different participles. The difference has nothing to do with the passive voice of (93c). In (93a) we see the MEA perfect participle in *–el*, while in (93c) we see the resultative participle in *–ac* – see section 1.6 for differences between these participles.

94. Allor fu la paura un poco queta,

      che nel lago del cor m'*era durata*

      la notte ch'i' passai con tanta pieta. (Inf I 19-21)

a.   Aynžam mi k'ič' anc'   -av   soskumn im xorin,
      Allora   un po'   passare-AOR+3SG paura   mio profondo

      Orov   aynpes *hamak -v -el*   *ēr*   sirtə im
      cheINST cosi   riempire-pass-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG cuore mio

      Ayn   tanĵali,   andohali gišerin.
      quella tormentosa terribile notteLOC

      'Allora passò un po' la mia paura profonda con la quale era cosi pervaso il mio cuore in quella notte tormentosa, terribile.'

b. Aynžam k'ič'-k'ič' anc'av vaxə, or t'švaŕ
      Allora   poco-poco passo' paura che misero

      Srtis   xork'um *lč   - ac'el*   *ēr*   mštasew,
      Cuore mio fondoLOC stagnare- PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG sempre nero

      Tažaneli   gišerva   meĵ mut' u maŕ.
      Tormentosa notteGEN in   buio e oscuro

      'Allora pian-piano passò la paura, che era stagnata nel fondo del cuore misero sempre nero, nella notte buia e oscura.'

c. Handart   -ec' -aw   ayn aten k'ič' mə erkiwłs,
      Tranquilizzarsi-AOR-3SG quell tempo un po' paura mia

      Or *ēr*   sərtis   xoŕoč'in   mēĵ *ləč   -ac'ac* ,
      che AUX+IMP+3SG cuore mio cavita'GEN in   stagnare-PERF PTCP

      Tagnapalic' ayn   gišeruan mēĵ aheł.
      Angoscioso quel notteGEN in   terribile

'Allora si tranquilizzò   un po' la mia paura, che era stagnata in quella notte terribile, angosciosa.'

In example (94) the verb *era durata* 'had endured' – a past perfect – refers to a condition of the narrator, which lasts in time. In Armenian the temporal form is preserved, even if the translators realized it by means of different verbs. Tayan uses the verb *hamakvel ēr* 'had been affected' while Ghulyan and Łazikean use *lčac'el ēr* 'had stagnated.' This verb has *lič* in its stem meaning 'lake'. Boccaccio, as many other modern commentators, suggests that this 'lake' or 'concavity' is the location to which emotions flow in us; he goes on to mention fear as the example. Hence Ghulyan and Łazikean used a verb somehow implying the cavity of 'lake.'

95. Già *era* l'angel dietro a noi *rimaso*,

l'angel che n'*avea vòlti* al sesto giro

avendomi dal viso un colpo raso;… (Purg XXII 1-3)

a. Hreštakn arden mer   etewn *ēr*   *mn*   *-ac'el*,
    Angelo   già   nostro dietro AUX+IMP+3SG rimanere-PERF PTCP

    Na   or mi ayl niš   ĵnĵ   -el -ov   im čaktic'
    quello che un altro segno cancellare-INF-INST mio fronteABL

    Dep   vec'erord bolorakn *ēr*   mez *čamp'* *-el*…
    Verso sesto   giro   AUX+IMP+3SG noi mandare-PERF PTCP

    'L'angelo era già rimasto dietro a noi, quello che cancellando un altro segno dalla mia fronte ci aveva mandato al sesto giro.'

b. Mer   etewum   *mn-ac'*   hreštakn anbasir,
    nostro dietroLOC rimanere-AOR+3SG angelo   irreprensibile

    Or vec'erord bolorak mez *ułark-ec'*
    che sesto   giro   noi mandare-AOR+3SG

    Nax   mak'r-el -ov   im nor   gir…
    prima pulire-INF-INST mio fronte   un nuovo scrittura

    'Dietro a noi rimase l'angelo irreprensibile che ci mando' al sesto giro prima pulendo dalla mia fronte un anuova scrittura.'

c. Hreštakn ardēn mer   etewə *mn   -ac'ac   ēr*,
    angelo   già   nostro dietro rimanere-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

    ayn or yet ĵnĵelu   čaktēs   haruacnerēn min,
    quello che dopo cancellareGEN fronteABL colpiABL

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> mez dēp i vecʻerord parunakə *darj* *-ucʻac* *ēr*…
> noi verso sesto   giro   volgere-RES PTCP AUX+INF+3SG

> 'L' angelo era rimasto già dietro a noi, quello che dopo aver cancellato uno dei colpi dalla mia fronte, ci aveva volto verso il sesto giro.'

In (95) in Dante's original there are two verbs realized in the past perfect tense, *era rimaso* '(the angel) had remained' and *avea vòlti* '(the angel) had directed' , one of which is the predicate of the relative clause and the other is the predicate of the proposition containing the antecedent of the relative. These two past perfects are simultaneous.

Tayan translates these forms as *ēr mnacʻel* 'had remained' and *ēr čampʻel* 'had sent away'. Ghulyan uses *mn-acʻ* 'remained' and *uɫark-ecʻ* 'sent' and Łazikean *mnacʻac ēr* 'had remained' and *darjucʻac ēr* 'had turned'. Dante's *era rimaso* is translated in all Armenian versions with the verb *mnal* 'to remain, to stay', while *avea vòlti* with three different verbs: *čampʻel*, which has the noun *čampʻa* 'road, way' in its stem and means 'to send away', *uɫarkel* 'to send' and *darjnel* 'to turn (smbd or smth)'. The first two verbs can be acceptable, but they don't express the Dantean nuance. Łazikean's translation better expresses the meaning of the original. Tayan and Łazikean preserve Dante's past perfect tense while Ghulyan uses the aorist.

In this tercet there is also the gerundial form *avendomi raso* 'having erased' lacking in Armenian. Tayan translates *ĵnĵelov* 'erasing' and Ghulyan *makʻrelov* 'cleaning', both using the instrumental case of the infinitive participle. See section 1.7 for a discussion of the Armenian equivalents of the English –ing or Italian *stare+gerund* forms.

96. Cinque volte *racceso* e tante *casso*

>   lo lume *era* di sotto da la luna,

>   poi che *'ntrati eravam* ne l'alto passo,

>   quando *n'apparve* una montagna, bruna… (Inf XXVI 130-133)

a. Arden *vaŕ* *-vel*   u *hangel*   *ēr*
   già   accendere-pass-PERF PTCP e spegnere-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG

   hing angam / Erkrin   nay-oɫ   lusni   luysə ayn pahicʻ,
   cinque volte   terraDAT guardare-SUB PTCP moonGEN luce quel momento

   Inčʻ menkʻ *mt-ankʻ*   džvar uɫin inkʻnakam,
   che noi   entrare-AOR+1PL difficile cammino volontariamente

   Erb   mez heŕvicʻ   aɫot kerpov *erew* *-acʻ*   / mi barjr leŕ…
   quando a noi lontanoABL vago modo apparire-AOR+3SG un alto   montagna

'Era già accesa e spenta per cinque volte la luce della luna che guarda la terra da quel momento che noi entrammo volontario nel cammino difficile, quando da lontano ci apparve vagamente una montagna alta.'

b. Erkrin   darjoł   lusni   luysə hing angam
   terraDAT voltare-SUB PTCP lunaGEN luce   cinque volte

   *Vaŕ   -v -el,   p'ayl -el   u
   accendere-pass-PERF PTCP brillare-PERF PTCP and

   *mar   -el   ēr,   inč' džvar,
   spegnere-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG che difficile

   Bayc' mec   ułin   menk' *bŕn-ec'-ink'   ink'nakam,
   ma   grande cammino noi   prendere-AOR-1PL volontariamente

   Erb   mut' heŕvum   *tes -a   mi sew, hska sar…
   quando buio lontanoLOC vedere-AOR uno nero gigantesco montagna

   'La luce della luna che volta verso la terra era accesa, aveva brillato e era spenta per cinque volte, che difficile ma grande camino noi prendemmo volontariamente, quando nel lontano buio vidi una nera, grande montagna.'

c. *Vaŕ   -u -ac   ēr   hing   angam,
   accendere-pass-RES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG cinque volte

   ew hingn al   *mar   -ac
   e   cinque anche spegnere-PERF PTCP

   Lusnin   taki loysə yormē hetē   menk'
   lunaGEN sotto luce cheABL dopoABL noi

   *Mət   -ac   ēink'   vətangavor čambun mēĵ,
   Entrare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+1SG pericoloso cammino in

   Erb   *erew-c'av   mez   mət'in leŕ   mə heŕun…
   Quando apparire-AOR+3SG a noi scuro   montagna un lontano

   'Era accesa per cinque volte e tutte le cinque volte spenta la luce sotto la luna, dopo di che noi eravamo entrati nella strada, quando ci apparve una montagna scura.'

In (96) with the two verbs *era racceso* e *casso* Dante means that the light on the underside − the earthward side − of the moon had five times been lighted and five times extinguished (the moon had waxed and waned that many times): five months had passed. The three past perfect verbs *era racceso*, (*era*) *casso* and *'ntrati eravam*, independently of the relationship they are 'anterior' with respect to an event explicitly stated by the verb *apparve*.

Tayan uses *vaŕvel* (*ēr*) '(the moon) had been lit' for Dante's *era racceso*; *hangel ēr* 'had spent' for (*era*) *casso* and *mtankʻ* 'we entered' for *'ntrati eravam*.

Gulyan uses *vaŕvel* (*ēr*) '(the moon) had been lit' for Dante's *era racceso*; *pʻaylel* (*ēr*) 'had shone'; *marel ēr*, 'had put out' for (*era*) *casso* and *bŕnecʻinkʻ* 'we took (the way)' for *'ntrati eravam*.

Łazikean uses *vaŕuac ēr* '(the moon) had been lit' for Dante's *era racceso*; *marac ēr* 'had put out' for (*era*) *casso* and *mətac ēinkʻ* 'we had entered' for *'ntrati eravam*.

For Dante's *era racceso*, the three translators use the same verb *vaŕvel*, which corresponds to the original both lexically and temporally. For (*era*) *casso* Tayan uses *hangel* while Ghulyan and Łazikean use the verb *marel*. Both the verbs are correct being synonyms and the temporal realization corresponds to Dante. Noticeably, Ghulyan adds the verb *pʻaylel* (*ēr*) 'had shone', absent in the original. The only explanation of this choice is that this way, he gains two more syllables for a correct rhyme. It is evident that terza rima often forces the translator to pay more attention to the form than to the word of the translated text. Dante's *'ntrati eravam* is rendered into Armenian by *mtnel* (Tayan and Łazikean) and *bŕnel,* meaning 'to take (the way)'. The first verb renders perfectly the meaning of the original. The second, instead, is less precise, but the meaning, though metaphoric, is still perceivable. As far as the temporal realization is concerned, Tayan and Ghulyan use the aorist while Łazikean preserves Dante's past perfect.

97. Non *era* ancor di là Nesso *arrivato*,

quando noi ci mettemmo per un bosco… (Inf XIII 1-2)

a. Deŕ   Nesosə geticʻ   ayn kołm *čʻ -ēr*   *anc' -el*,
ancora Nesso fiumeABL la'parte neg-AUX+IMP+3SG passare-PERF PTCP

Erb   menkʻ *mt   -ankʻ*   artasovor mi antar'…
quando noi   entrare-AOR+1PL strano   un bosco

'Nesso non aveva ancora attraversato il fiume quando noi entrammo in un bosco strano.'

b. Deŕ   Nesosə ancʻ *čʻ -ēr*   *kac'   -el*   getn
ancora Nesso   neg-AUX+IMP+3SG attraversare-PERF PTCP fiume

Aryan/   Erb   menkʻ *mt   -ankʻ*   anarahet   mi antaŕ…
sangueGEN quando noi   entrare-AOR+1PL senza sentiero   un bosco

'Nesso non aveva ancora attraversato il fiume del sangue quando noi entrammo in un bosco senza sentiero.'

c. Takawin *č'* *-ēr* *has-ac* Nesos miws ezerkʻn,
ancora   neg-AUX+IMP+3SG arrived-PERF PTCP Nesso altro   riva

Erbor   *mət-ankʻ* antaŕ mə menkʻ…
quando entrare-AOR+1PL bosco un noi

'Nesso non era ancora arrivato all'altra riva quando noi entrammo nel bosco.'

In (97) Dante's past perfect verb is *non era arrivato* '(he) hadn't arrived.' Tayan translates it with *č'ēr ancʻel* '(he) hadn't crossed', Ghulyan uses the periphrastic form of Tayan's same verb *ancʻ č'ēr kacʻel* '(he) hadn't crossed'. Only Łazikean preserves Dante's verb by using the Armenian equivalent *č'ēr hasac* '(he) hadn't arrived'. In all Armenian translations, the temporal realization corresponds to the original. Once again Łazikean's translation is faithful to the original both lexically and temporally.

3.4.5 Past

98. Io *fui* uom d'arme, e poi *fui* cordigliero, (Inf XXVII 67)

a. *Eła* *ŕazmik*, apa *darj* *-a* kapavor…
   AUX+AOR+1SG guerriero poi diventare-AOR+1SG cinto di cordiglio
   'Fui guerriero, poi diventai cinto di cordiglio…'

b. *Ŕazmik* *ēi*, verĵum *darj* *-a* vanakan…
   guerriero AUX+IMP+1SG fineLOC diventare-AOR+1SG monaco
   'Ero guerriero, in fine diventai monaco'

c. *Ełay* zenkʻi mard ew heto č'uanawor…
   AUX+AOR+1SG armaGEN uomo e   poi cordigliero
   'Fui uomo d'arme e poi cordigliero.'

In (98) Guido sums up his life in a single line and uses the verb in the past tense. In the *Commedia* the souls remember the events of their earthly lives with this tense. Tayan as well as Ghulyan introduce the verb *daŕnal* 'to become' while Dante uses only the copula *fui* 'I was'. This is preserved only in Łazikean's translation, even if he doesn't repeat the second copula. Łazikean's copula *ełay* 'I was' besides referring to *zenkʻi mard* 'man of arms', also refers to the *č'uanawor* 'a corded friar' (trans. by Hollander and Hollander 2001). Tayan and Łazikean use their verbs in the aorist form, while Ghulyan puts his first verb in the imperfect , and the second in the aorist. In (98), (98a) and (98c) the two verbs realized in the aorist express two independent events, while in example

(98b), the event appearing with the imperfect morphology needs a temporal reference in the context given that the imperfect is an anaphoric verbal form – see section 2.5. Hence, the verb *darj-a* 'I became' in the aorist becomes a reference for the verb *ŕazmik ēi* 'I was(IMP) a fighter' in the imperfect and the verse means that '(first) I was(IMP) a fighter, then I became a monk'.

According to the proposal mentioned in 3.2.4 in certain circumstances in Old Italian, the past tense has values similar to those of the present perfect of Modern Italian, as proposed by Molani (1996). It is interesting to see how the translators interpreted the temporal values of the verbs in these cases.

In Modern Italian the adverb *ora* 'now' in its temporal meaning occurs only when the temporal value of the verb expresses the S,R relation. This means that this adverb cannot be used with the simple past, which lacks the R,S value (it is instead the bearer of the R_S value). However in Dante, *ora* occurs with the simple past, as shown in examples (99) and (100).

99. E io a lui: "Poeta, io ti richeggio

    per quello Dio che tu non *conoscesti*,

    acciò ch'io fugga questo male e peggio,

    che tu mi meni là dov'*or dicesti*,

    sì ch'io veggia la porta di san Pietro

    e color cui tu fai cotanto mesti". (Inf I 130-135)

    a. Ev es nran: "Xndr   -um   em   kʻez, ov poet,
       e   io a lui chiedere-PRES PTCP AUX+1SG a te   o   poeta

       Hanun   Astcu,   orin du čʻ -es   čanačʻ -el,
       nel nome DioGEN che   tu neg-AUX+2SG conoscere-PERF PTCP

       Azat   -ir   inj ays   vičakicʻ…
       Liberare-imp+2SG me questo stato

       Ta   -r   inj aynteł, ori masin *xos   -ecʻ -ir,*
       portare-imp+2SG me là   di cui   parlare-AOR-2SG

       Or es tesn -em   darpasə surb Petrosi
       che io vedere-SUBJ+1SG cancello san Pietro

       Ew nrancʻ, or   … tanĵ   -v -um   en,   as -acʻ -ir."
       E   loro   che … torturare-pass-PRES PTCP AUX+3PL dire-AOR-2SG

       'E io a lui: "Chiedo a te, o poeta,

       Nel nome del Dio che tu non hai conosciuto

Liberami da questo stato…

Portami là di cui paslasti,

Che io veda il cancello di san Pietro

E loro che … si torturano, dicesti.'

b. Xndr -um   em   k'ez hanun Astcu,   mec poet,
   chiedere-PRES PTCP AUX+1SG a et nel nome DioGEN grande poeta

Um du, avał, č' -es   čanač' -el, _   as -ac' -i, _
chi tu ahimè neg- AUX+2SG conoscere-PERF PTCP dire-AOR-1SG

Šut p'rk -ir   inj korcanumic'…
presto salvare-imp+2SG me rovinaABL

Ta-r   du inj ayd čanaparhov mekusi,
portare-imp+2SG tu me quel stradaINST lontana

Tesn -em   nranc', or tanĵ -v -um   en
 vedere-SUBJ+1SG loro   che torturare-pass-PRES PTCP AUX+3PL

žant c'avic'   ,   / Tesn-em   naew darpasə surb Petrosi."
atroce doloreINST/ vedere-SUBJ+1SG anche cancello san Pietro

'Ti prego nel nome del Dio, grande poeta,

chi tu, ahimè, non hai conosciuto, dissi,

presto salvami dalla rovina.

Portami per quella strada lontana

Che io veda coloro che si torturano dal dolore atroce

Che io veda anche il cancello di san Pietro.'

c. Ew es iren : K'- ałač'   -em   k'ez, ov k'ert'oł,
   e io a lui: k' – supplicare-1SG te   o cantore

Ayn Astcoyn anuamb zor dun č'ə-čanč'   -c'   -ar
quel DioGEN nome   che tu neg-conoscere-AOR-2SG

P'rk -ē   vtangēs ew aweli mecēn   zis,
salva-imp+2SG pericolo e piu' grandeABL me

Ew ta   -r   zis hon orun vrayok' xōs   -ec' -ar.
e   portare-imp+2SG me la' di cui sopra   parlare-AOR-3SG

Aynpēs or surb Petrosi duŕə tesn -em,
così   che san Pietro   porta vedere-SUBJ+1SG

Ew zanonk' or aynk'an t'əšuaŕ   k'-ən -es dun."
e   quelli che cosi'   miserabile k'- fare-2SG tu

'E io a lui: Ti supplico, o cantore,

nel nome di quel Dio che tu non conoscesti

Salvami dal pericolo e da peggio.

E portami la' di cui mi parlasti

Che io veda l aparta di san Pietro

E quelli che tu fai cosi miserabili.'

In Dante the past tense verbs are: (non) *conoscesti, dicesti.* Tayan uses *č'es čanač'el* (present perfect) 'you haven't known, *xosec'ir* (aorist) 'you spoke'; Ghulyan uses *č'es čanač'el* (present perfect) 'you haven't known; Łazikean uses *č'əčanč'c'ar* (aorist) 'you didn't known, *xōsec'ar* (aorist) 'you spoke'. From the lexical point of view the choice of the Armenian verb *čanač'el* (or *čanč'nal* in MWA) for Dante's *conoscere* is appropriate. Coming to the temporal realization, the Eastern Armenian translators prefer to render Dante's past tense with the present perfect. Of course the translators were not aware of the phenomenon that in certain circumstances in Old Italian, the past tense holds values similar to those of the present perfect of Modern Italian, however they have the correct intuition. Łazikean preserves Dante's past tense form. In Western Armenian the aorist form *č'ə-čanč'-c'-ar* [neg-know-AOR-2SG] 'you don't know' denotes an event about which the speaker has a direct, personal, decisive information. Dante has a precise understanding of the fact that Virgil was born and lived as a pagan, therefore he is said not to have known the Christian God. Hence Łazikean's temporal realization expresses the correct location of the event.

Coming to Dante's *dicesti* 'you said' Ghulyan misses it at all, Tayan and Łazikean use the verb *xosel* (MWA *xōsil*) 'to speak'. This lexical choice is correct as *xosel/xōsil* in Armenian means also *asel* 'to say'.

In Modern Italian the adverb *or* 'now' cannot co-occur with the past-tense verb *dicesti* 'you said'. The Armenian translators don't translate the adverb *ora*. According to my judgements and the EANC data in Armenian the adverb *hima* 'now', besides the present and imperfect tenses, is compatible also with the present perfect and the aorist. Perhaps the reason that the translators omit it, is to avoid having two more syllables.

100. "Va via", *rispuose*, "e ciò che tu vuoi conta;

   ma non tacer, se tu di qua entro eschi,

   di quel ch'*ebbe or* così la lingua pronta. (Inf XXXII 112-114)

  a. "Gn -a   patm -ir,_ *as* -*ac'*,_
   andare-imp+2SG raccontare-imp+2SG dire-AOR+3SG

inč' or uz -um es.
quello che volere-PRES PTCP AUX+2SG

Bayc' patm -ir ew meławori masin ayn,
ma raccontare-imp+2SG e peccatoreGEN di quello

Or *štap* *-ec'* im anunə *haytn* *-el* k'ez.
che precipitare-AOR+3SG mio nome rivelare-PERF PTCP te

'Vada, racconta, *disse*, quello che vuoi.

Ma racconta anche di quel peccatore

Che *precipitò* a rivelarti il mio nome.'

b. Inč' uz -um es, patm -ir,
che volere-PRES PTCP AUX+2SG raccontare-imp+2SG

har *-ec'* piłc hogin,_
aggiungere-AOR+3SG impuro anima

Bayc' erb durs ga -s, č' -mořana-s ew nran
ma quando fuori venire-SUBJ+2SG neg-dimenticare e lui

Im anunə *haytn* *-oł* hogun…
mio nome rivelare-SUB PTCP animaDAT

'Racconta quello che vuoi, aggiunse l'anima impure,

Ma quando tu esci fuori non dimenticare anche di quello,

L'anima che rivelò (lit. l'anima rivelante) il mio nome.'

c. *Yar* *-ec'*. "Gən -a ew əs-ē
aggiungere-AOR+3SG andare-imp+2SG e dire-imp+2SG

inč' or k'-uz -es.
Quello che *k'*-volere-2SG

Bayc' mi ləř -er et'ē ell -es ays tełēn
ma non tacere-NEG PTCP se uscire-SUBJ+2SG qusto postoABL

Anor vəray or im anunəs *təw-aw*…
Lui sopra che mio nome dare-AOR+3SG

'Aggiunse: 'Vada e dici quello che vuoi.

Ma non tacere, se tu uscissi da questo posto,

Su colui che diede il mio nome.''

For Dante's *rispuose* 'he answered' Tayan uses *asac'* 'he said' that in Armenian

can mean also *patasxanel* 'to answer'.[73] Hence this lexical choice is correct. With *patasxanel* the verse would become too long. Ghulyan and Łazikean use *harecʿ* (*yarecʿ*) 'he added' that doesn't mean 'to answer'. Nevertheless, there is another important piece of evidence to take into consideration. The above-described episode is the final part of the conversation between Dante and the shade of the traitor Bocca degli Abati. The conversation begins in the verse 79 of the XXXII canto of *Inferno*, and the verb *rispuose* of the verse 112 besides meaning 'he answers' means also 'he added', as is an addition to what Bocca said in the previous 79-111 verses. The Armenian verb *harel* might mean 'to tell something in addition to what has been already said'.[74] From the temporal point of view, in the translations the realization is in the aorist as in Dante.

Coming to Dante's 'ch'*ebbe or*' in the verse 114 of (100), it is grammatical if the past simple is again interpreted as (S,R)(E_R). However, if the verb in verse 114 were in the present perfect tense, there could have been a metric problem to obtain a hendecasyllabic verse. Tayan uses *štapecʿ haytnel* 'he harried to reveal', Ghulyan *haytnoł* 'one who reveals', Łazikean *təw-aw* 'he gave'. The Dantean verse *ch'ebbe or così la lingua pronta* means 'quick to speak'. While Tayan and Łazikean use a verbal structure, Ghulyan uses the subject participle.

101. D'i Serafin colui che più s'india,

    Moïsè, Samuel, e quel Giovanni

    che prender vuoli, io dico, non Maria,

    non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni

    che questi spirti che *mo t'appariro*…(Par IV 28-32)

a. Astvacutʿyan amenamot   Serovben,
divinita'GEN il piu' vicino Serafino

Movsesn, Samveln, Hovhannesnerə erku,
Mosè   Samuel Giovanni   due

Minčʿew angam Mariamn irencʿ gahn un   -en
perfino   Maria   loro trono avere-3PL

Nuyn erknayin lusapaycaṙ olortum,

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[73] Both the Haykazean (1836) and the Malxasyancʿ (1944) dictionaries confirm that *asel* 'to say' means also 'to answer'.

[74] Malxasyancʿ (1944).

stesso celeste   risplendente sfera

Inč'   or Lusni   hoginerə k'o tes-ac…
quello che lunaGEN spiriti   tuoi vedere-RES PTCP

'Il Serafino piu' vicino alla divinita',

Mosè, Samuel, i due Giovanni,

Perfino Maria hanno il loro trono

Nella stessa sfera celeste risplendente

Che gli spiriti della Luna che tu hai visto…

b. Astvacut'yann amenic' mot   serovben,
    divinita'GEN   il piu'   vicino serafino

Samvelə, Movsesə ew k'o uz-ac
Samuel, Mosè   e tu volere-RES PTCP

Hovhannesə, angam Mariamə č' -un-en
Giovanni   perfino Maria   non-avere-3PL

Hogineric', henc'   nor k'o dem   haytnv -ac,
animeABL proprio ora tuo di fronte apparire-RES PTCP

barjr at'oŕ uriš   oč' mi erknk'um…
alta   sedia altra non un cieloLOC

'I serafini più vicini alla divinità

Samuel, Mosè e il tuo voluto

Giovanni, perfino Maria non hanno

Dagli spiriti, proprio ora di fronte a te apparsi,

Una sedia più alta in nessun cielo…'

c. Srobēnerēn amenamerjn Astucoy,
    serafiniABL il più vicino Dio

Movsēs, Samuēl, ew or Yovhanə   uz-es,
Mosè   Samuel e quale Giovanni volere-SUBJ+2SG

Ew noyn isk ink'ə Mariamə č' -un   -in
E   perfino stessa Mariam   neg-avere-3PL

Irenc' at'oŕn uriš erkni   mēĵ k'a -n   ayn
loro   sedia altra cieloGEN in   esistere-2SG quello

Zor uni-n   k'u ard isk tesac hoginerd…
che avere-3SG tuo ora appena visto spiriti

'Dai serafini il piu' vicino a Dio

 Mosè, Samuel e quale Giovanni vuoi

E perfino Maria stessa non hanno

La loro sedia in un altro cielo

Che hanno gli spiriti che tu hai appena visto.'

(101) is an example where the adverb *mo* 'now' appears with a verb in the simple past. In verse 32 the adverb *mo*, even if it belongs to the S,R type like *ora*, appears with the verb *appariro*, which apparently lacks the S,R relationship. As proposed by Molani (1996), in order to accept the occurrence of *mo* with a verb in the past simple, an (E_R,S) relationship must be attributed to the latter. Tayan doesn't translate the adverb *mo* 'now' and, instead of *t'appariro* 'appeared to you', he uses a non-finite verbal form, i.e. a resultative participle *tesac* 'seen, that you saw' that in Italian can be translated by means of a relative clause *che tu hai visto*. Ghulyan, like Tayan, doesn't maintan the 'adverb *now*+verbPAST' co-occurrence, but in contrast to Tayan, he translates the adverb *mo by* using *nor* that in Armenian can both mean 'new' and 'now'. The past-tense verb *appariro* is rendered by the resultative participle *haytnvac* 'appeared'. Łazikean translates the adverb *mo* by using *ard* 'now'. The verb *appariro* is again rendered by means of the resultative participle *tesac*. All the three translators render the past-tense verb *appariro* by means of the resultative participle (*tesac* 'seen' and *haytnvac* 'appeared'). Hence the 'adverb *now*+verbPAST' co-occurrence is not preserved.

102. Ed una lupa, che di tutte brame

    sembiava carca ne la sua magrezza,

    e molte genti *fé già* viver grame,

    questa mi porse tanto di gravezza

    con la paura ch'uscia di sua vista,

    ch'io perdei la speranza de l'altezza. (Inf I 49-54)

a. Ayd nuyn pahin   tes-a   ēg   gayl mi vtit,
    quel stesso momento vedere-AOR femmina lupa una magra

    Or sovahar u anhag   ēr   erew -um
    che affamata e insaziabile AUX+IMP+3SG vedere-PRES PTCP

    Ew šat   mardkancʻ *patčaŕ -el*   ēr   cʻav u višt.
    e molti uominiDAT causare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG dolore e pena

    Sa   inj aynkʻan aŕitʻ   darj-av   xŕovkʻi
    questo mi talmente occasione diventare-AOR+3SG inquietudineGEN

    Kʻstmneli   ew ahŕeli ir tesk'ov,

raccapricciante e   orribile suo aspetto

Or es arden korcʻr-i   huysəs   verelkʻi.
che io già   perdere-AOR+1SG speranza salitaGEN

'In quello stesso momento vidi una lupa magra

che sembrava affamata e insaziabile

E *aveva causato* dolore e pena a tanti uomini.

Questo con il suo aspetto raccapricciante e orribile

divenne talmente una causa di inquietudine

che io già persi la speranza della salita.'

b. Tes-a …   teskʻə…/ Ew ēg   gayli,   ori   marminə nihar
vedere-AOR+1SG aspetto e   femmina lupaGEN di cui corpo   magro

Buyn ēr   ases agahutʻyan   u krkʻi,
nido AUX+IMP+3SG come avariziaGEN   e passioneGEN

Or šaterin   *ēr*   *darjr*   *-el*   vštahar.
che moltiDAT AUX+IMP+3SG far diventare-PERF PTCP addolorato

Sa   inj matn-ecʻ   mi aynpisi xŕovkʻi
questo mi mettere-AOR+3SG un tale   inquietudineGEN

Ahasarsuŕ teskʻov   džni ayn vayrum,
spaventoso aspettoLOC crudele quel posto

or es ispaŕ   korcʻr-i   huysə   verelkʻi.
che io completamente perdere-AOR+1SG speranza salitaGEN

'Vidi l'aspetto /anche della lupa di cui corpo

Era come nido di avarizia e di passione

Che a tanti aveva fatto diventare addolorato.

Questo con il suo aspetto crudele

mi mise a un tale inquietudineGEN in quell posto

che io completamente persi la speranza della salita.'

c. Dēmkʻn… erewcʻ-aw…   / Ew ēg   gaylu   mə or amēn axoržov
volto   apparire-AOR+3SG   e   femmina lupaGEN un che tutto appetito

Kə tʻəw-ēr   li   niharutʻean   mēĵ iren,
kə sembrare-IMP+3SG pieno magrezzaGEN in   suo

ew or *ardēn tʻəšuaŕa-c*ʻucʻ šat mardik.
e che già desolare-AOR+3SG molti uomini.

Asika   inj aynčʻapʻ tagnap patčaŕ-ecʻ
questo mi tale   allarme causare-AOR+3SG

Ayn sarsap'-ov or kə mekn-ēr ir demk'ēn
quel terroreINST che kə partire-IMP+3SG suo voltoABL

Or verelk'in yoysə kətrel təw-aw inj.
che salitaGEN speranza tagliare dare-AOR+3SG me

'Apparve… il volto… anche della lupa

che sembrava pien di appetito nella sua magrezza

e che *già desolò* molti uomini.

Questo mi causò un tale allarme

con quel terrore che partiva dal suo volto

Che mi fece perdere la speranza.'

In (102) there is the co-occurrence of simple past *fé* 'he did', characterized in Reichenbachian terms as (R_S)(R, E), with the adverb *già*, which in Italian cannot accompany a verb lacking a T2 realization. The presence of this co-occurrence is in favour of the hypothesis that Old Italian can assign a different temporal value to the simple past, as in the cases where co-occurrs with the adverbs *ora* 'now' and *mo* 'now'. Even though in Armenian the mentioned co-occurrence is grammatical also with the verbs realizing the (R_S)(R, E) relations, it is preserved only in Łazikean's translation by means of the adverb *ardēn* 'already' and the past-tense verb t'*əšuaŕa-c*'rec' 'it desolated, it made miserable'. Both Tayan and Ghulyan miss the adverb *già* and translate Dante's *fé* by means of the verbs *darjrel ēr* 'it had made' and *patčaŕel ēr* 'it had caused' both realized in (R_S)(E_R) relationship.

3.4.6 Piuccheperfetto II

The so-called piuccheperfetto II is a verbal form constituted by the past form of the auxiliary plus the past participle. Squartini (2010, 534) proposes that in Modern Italian the piuccheperfetto II has an exclusively anaphoric value as in (103). In Old Italian, by contrast, its purely deictic use is also permitted and can be seen in example (104).

103. Dopo che *ebbe vinto* il concorso, partì per l'America.

   After having won the competition, he left for America.

104. Poi che la fiamma *fu venuta* quivi

   dove parve al mio duca tempo e loco,

   in questa forma lui parlare audivi… (Inf XXVI 76-78)

a. Erb bavakan mez *mot* *-ec'* *-av* boc'ə ayn

quando abbastanza ci avvicinarsi-AOR-3SG fiamma quella

Tełn u pahə varpets harmar hamar -ec'
luogo e momento maestro comodo considerare-AOR+3SG

Ev ays kerpov sks -ec' xosel nuynhetayn…
e questo modo cominciare-AOR+3SG parlare immediatamente

'Quando ci avvicinò abbastanza quella fiamma

mio maestro considerò il luogo e il momento comodo
e in questo modo cominciò a parlare immediatamente.'

b. Erb ayn boc'ə mez *mot -ec' -av* bavakan,
quando quella fiamma ci avvicinarsi-AOR-3SG abbastanza

tełn u pahə t'v -ac' harmar, orošič',
luogo e momento sembrare-AOR+3SG comodo decisivo

Ayspes xos -ec' aṙaĵnords govakan…
così parlare-AOR+3SG guida lodevole

'Quando quella fiamma ci avvicinò abbastanza

il luogo e il momento sembrò comodo, decisivo

Così parlò il mio guida lodevole.'

c. Erb bavakan boc'ə mezi *mōt -ec' -aw*,
quando abbastanza fiamma ci avvacinarsi-AOR-3SG

Ew aṙaĵnords yarmar dat -ec' žamn u tełn,
e guida comodo considerare-AOR+3SG ora e luogo,

Es ləs -ec' -i or ays kerpov xōs-ec'-aw…
io sentire-AOR-1SG che questo modo parlare-AOR-3SG

'Quando la fiamma ci avvicinò abbastanza

E il mio guida considerò comodo l'ora e il luogo,

Io sentii che in questo modo parlò.'

In Armenian Dante's *fu venuta* is translated by means of the verb *motec'av* '(the flame) approached'. The Armenian translation of *venire* is *gal* 'to come' but *gal* 'to come' is usually used with the animate nouns.[75] Hence, it cannot be used in this case, at least in literary Armenian. In literary Armenian the verb *motenal* 'to approach' can be used.

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[75] However, this is not a generalization. There are some expressions in Armenian where the verb *gal* 'to come' appears with inanimate nouns: 'There *came* an *odour* of rotten eggs.' *Nexac jvi hot ekav.*

Squartini (2010, 534) proposes that Old Italian uses the piuccheperfetto II in main clauses, where it doesn't imply anteriority but expresses an idea of immediate fulfillment in its strongest manifestation, as illustrated in the following example:

105.　　Allor li *fu* l'orgoglio sì *caduto*,

　　　　ch'e' si lasciò cascar l'uncino a' piedi…(Inf XXI 85-86)

a.　　Aynžam *iĵ*　　-*av*　　hoxortut'yunə dewi,
　　　allora　scendere-AOR+3SG arroganza　　diavolo

　　　ew na net　-ec'　　　keŕajołə otnerin…
　　　e egli　buttare-AOR+3SG uncino　piediDAT

　　　'Allora passò l'arroganza del diavolo

　　　ed egli buttò l'uncino ai piedi.'

b.　　Aynžam *iĵ*　　-*av*　　　goŕozut'yunə dewi,
　　　Allora　scendere-AOR+3SG orgoglio　　　diavoloGEN

　　　otk'eri　mot　iskuyn net　-ec'　　　keŕə　sur.
　　　piediGEN presso subito　buttare-AOR+3SG uncino aguzzo

　　　'Allora passò l'orgoglio del diavolo

　　　buttò subito ai piedi l'uncino aguzzo.'

c.　　Goŕozut'iwnn anor *iĵ*　　-*aw*　　　ayn　aten,
　　　orgoglio　　　suo　scendere-AOR+3SG quel tempo

　　　ew otk'erun　aŕĵewn ink　-aw　　　erkžanin…
　　　e　piediGEN davanti cadere-AOR+3SG　bidente

　　　'Allora passò il suo orgoglio

　　　e il bidente gli scese ai piedi.'

For Dante's *fu* (l'orgoglio) *caduto* '(the pride) fell' the translators use *iĵaw* '(the pride) went down,' meaning 'it passed.'

As discussed in chapter 2 of the thesis, Armenian lacks this tense. The translators used the aorist, instead.

3.4.7 Future

According to the Reichenbachian model followed here, the future tense is represented as S_R,E.

106. né *potrà* tanta luce affaticarne… (Par XIV 58)

　　　a.　Ayd vaŕ　luysic'　menk' č' -enk'　　karoł vat　zg　-al…
　　　　　quel accesa luceABL noi　　neg-AUX+1PL potere　male sentire-INF

'Da quella luce accesa noi non possiamo sentire male…'

b. Mez č' -i   karoł hognec'n-el   ayd luysn ařat…

   ci   neg-AUX+3SG potere stancare -INF quella luce abbondante

   'Non ci può stancare quella luce abbondante.'

c. Ew mez piti č'ə-vnasē   loysn yordazeł…

   e ci   FUT neg-nuocere+3SG luce   sovrabbondante

   'e non ci nuocerà la luce sovrabbondante'

Tayan translates Dante's 'né *potrà* (affaticarne)' with *č'enk' karoł (vat) zgal* 'we cannot feel (bad).' He changed the temporal realization of the original by using the verb in the present tense. Besides he changes also the AGR from the 3SG to 1PL. The AGR change is due to the construction change as instead of Dante's *la luce non potrà affaticarne* 'the light cannot tire us' in Armenian Tayan translates *we cannot feel bad from that light*. Hence he expresses Dante's verse by means of a cause-consequential logical change of the original. Łazikean translates *piti č'əvnasē* 'it will not harm' by means of a future-tensed verb.

According to Ageno (1978, 232), in the first person the future can be intentional:

107. voi dite, e io *farò* …(Purg V 61)

a. As-ac'ek' ew *an -em*…

dire-2PL e fare-COND+1SG

'Dite e io farò .'

b. *K   -katar-em*…

*k   * -eseguire-COND+1SG

'Eseguirò'

c. əs -ek'   inci   ew es *k'-erduənn-am ənel* …

dire-imp+2PL perche' e   io k-giurare -1SG fare

'Dite il perche' e io giuro di fare quello per la pace…'

Tayan uses *anem* 'I'll do', Ghulyan uses *kkatarem* 'I'll accomplish' and Łazikean uses *k'-erduənn-am ənel* 'I swear to do.' None of the verbs in the translations is realized as a future as the original. The Eastern Armenian translators Tayan and Ghulyan use the conditional instead of Dante's present indicative. In Armenian the future tense is more often expressed by the conditional rather than by means of the construction *future*

particle AUX – see section 2.9. Łazikean uses the present tense with a futurate meaning.

The Perfect Future is a relative tense. It expresses the Reichenbachian (S_R)(E_R) relationships. This tense often appears in temporal clauses:

108. e se rimane, dite come, poi

> che *sarete* visibili *rifatti*,

> esser porà ch'al veder non vi nòi". (Par XIV 16-18)

  a. Apa   as -ek',   erb   harut'yun aŕn -ek'   duk',
     allora dire-imp+2PL quando risurezione fare-SUBJ+2PL voi

  Ardyok' luysn ayd   čačanč'avaŕ u paycaŕ
  forse   luce quello irradiante e splendido

  Jer   ač'k'erin č' -i   t -a   kttank' u tałtuk."
  vostri occhiDAT neg-AUX+3SG dare-COND+3SG tortura e noia

  'Allora dite, quando voi risusciterete,

  quella luce irradiante e splendente

  Non darà noia e tortura agli vostri occhi.'

  b. Ew et'e ayn   petk' ē   mn -a   aŕhavet,
      e se   quello dovere AUX+3SG rimanere-SUBJ+3SG per sempre

  Erb   harut'yamb   krkin daŕn -ak'   kendani,
  quando risurezioneINST ancora diventare-SUBJ+2PL vivo

  Ač'k'i   hamar č' -i   lin -i   c'av kam ałet."
  occhioDAT per neg-AUX+3SG essere-SUBJ+3SG dolore o catastrofe

  'E se quello deve restare per sempre,

  quando con la resurezione diventiate ancora vivi,

  Non sarà dolore o catastrofe per l'occhio.'

  c. Ew, kə mən   -ay et'ē, əs -ēk'   t'ē inč'pēs
     e   kə rimanere-3SG se   dire-SUBJ+2SG che come

  Erb   yarut'eamb   tesaneli 'll -ak'   yetoy
  quando risurezioneABL   visibile essere-SUBJ+2SG dopo

  Vənasakar piti č' -əllay   ač'k'ernud?"
  nocivo   FUT neg-essere occhiGEN

  'E rimane se, diciate come -

  Quando dopo sarete visibili con la risurrezione

  Non sarà nocivo per i vostri occhi?'

Dante's perfect future verb is *sarete* (visibili) *rifatti* 'you are once again made

visible'. Tayan translates Dante's *sarete* (visibili) *rifatti* by means of *(erb) harutʻyun aṙnekʻ dukʻ* 'when you riseSUBJ from the dead'. *Visibili* is here used in the sense of 'seeing with one's bodily eyes' (Singleton 1970).[76] Ghulyan translates it with *erb krkin daṙnakʻ kendani* 'when you once again become alive.' Łazikean uses *(erb) tesaneli 'llakʻ* '(when) you areSUBJ alive.' All the mentioned Armenian verbs in the temporal clauses are realized in the subjunctive mood.

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[76] After the Last Judgment these souls will be reunited with their glorified bodies, and each will be again the "form" of its body forever.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This dissertation investigated how the verbal system of one language, Dante's Italian, was translated into another, Armenian, taking into consideration the historical and linguistic milieu of Dante's *Commedia*. To achieve this goal I discussed the Armenian participle and verbal system comparing it with Dante's Italian, adopting, as far as possible, a revised Reichenbachian system.

In this section I present an overview of the Armenian translations of Dante's verbs discussed in sections 3.4.1-3.4.7. I preserve the same numbering to help the reader to find the correct reference in the text.

I analyzed the verbal forms of the indicative mood of Dante's Italian and Modern Armenian. In some cases, when relevant to the discussion, I considered the conditional, debitative and subjunctive moods as well – see section 2.9 – as they are directly connected to the MEA future tense. For instance Dante's present *si dimagra* 'strip herself' and *rinova* 'renew' in example (69) – see the examples in the footnotes – stands for the future tense in a prophecy.[77] In examples (69a) and (69b) the translators use the conditional mood for Dante's present tense verbs *si dimagra* and *rinova* .[78]

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[77]

    i.   si apri li orecchi al mio annunzio, e odi.

        Pistoia in pria d'i Neri *si dimagra*;

        poi Fiorenza *rinova* gente e modi. (Inf XXIV 143-144)   (=ex 69)

[78]

    ii. Nax Pistoyan *k   -vtar   -i*   Sewerin,
        Prima Pistoia COND-espellere-3SG neri

        Husk   Florenc'ian *k   -p'op'ox -i*   kargusark'.   (=ex 69a)
        Alla fine Firenze   COND-cambiare-3SG ordine

        'Innanzi tutto Pistoia espellerà i Neri,
        alla fine Firenze cambierà l'ordine.'

    iii. orer anc' / Nax Pistoyan *k   -vtar   -i*   Sewerin,
        giorni dopo / prima Pistoia COND-espellere-3SG neri

        Ew *k   -p'ox -i*   Florenc'ian ir   mardkanc'.   (=ex 69b)
        E COND-cambiare-3SG Firenze   suoi uomini

        'Dopo giorni innanzi tutto Pistoia espellerà i Neri,
        E cambierà Firenze i suoi uomini.'

This work emphasizes the fact that the temporal value is important in the translation process and therefore it cannot be enough to consider the correspondences between the lexical values. For instance, in example (70) the imperfect *dicea* 'he said(IMP)' denotes simultaneity with another event expressed by means of *rivolsesi* 'he came back' in the simple past.[79] In Armenian in (70a) and (70c) the firs verb is realized as an aorist, and the second as an imperfect. This choice expresses simultaneity between the two events. In (70b) the three verbs are in the aorist form – *et darjav* 'he returned', *hogoc' hanec'* 'sighed', *mrmnĵac'* 'whispered' – and the simultaneous reading is not available.[80] Given the presence of the aorist, the sequence is that Virgil (he) first *returned* (bounded event), then *sighed* (another bounded event) and then (finally) *said*. In this case, the translator privileges the form of the tercet with respect to its syllabic structure – in the case of the imperfect there should be one more syllable: *mr-mn-ĵac'* vs. *mr-mn-ĵum ēr* – and lacks temporal correspondence with Dante.[81]

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[79]

    i.   e rivolsesi a me con passi rari. /…e *dicea* ne' sospiri: (Inf VIII 117-119)   (=ex 70)

[80]

    ii. Veradarj-av   dandałak'ayl, …
        Ritornare-AOR+3SG   passi lenti
        Na haŕač'ov ays xosk'ern   ēr   mrmnĵ -um.   (=ex 70a)
        Egli con sospiro questo paroleDET AUX+IMP+3SG bisbigliare-PRES PTCP
        'Ritornò con i passi lenti…/ Egli bisbigliava queste parole con sospiro.'

    iii. Ew et darj -av   mtamolor u xŕov/…
        E   ritornare-AOR+3SG distratto   e turbato
        Hogoc' han-ec'   u mrmnj   -ac'   ink'n iren.
        Sospiro fare-AOR+3SG e bisbigliare-AOR+3SG tra se e se.   (=ex 70b)
        'E ritornò distratto e turbato/… Fece sospiro e bisbigliò tra se' e se'.'

    iv. Inci darj   -aw   tartam, dandał k'aylelov/…   (=ex 70c)
        Mi volgere-AOR+3SG incerto, lento passi
        haŕačneru mēĵ ays   xōsk'erə   k'əs -ēr
        sospiri   in   questo paroleDET   k'dire-IMP+3SG
        'Mi volse incerto, con i passi lenti/…nei sospiri diceva queste parole'

[81] Armenian, rich in morphemes, becomes problematic for a rhyme translation. The imperfect, being an analytical form, is longer that the aorist, especially in the case of the third person singular, whereas the

The first tense I consider is the present tense. The following verbs are taken from the examples (60)-(69), discussed in section 3.4.1.

Dante	Tayan (a)	Ghulyan (b)	Łazikean (c)
(60) addorno (Purg XXVII 103)	pčn-um em [addornare- PRES PTCP AUX1SG] 'adorno'	pčn-um em [addornare-PRES PTCP AUX1SG] 'adorno'	kə zardarem [*kə* addornare- PRES PTCP AUX1SG] 'adorno'
(61)ci attristiam (Inf VII 124)	txr-um enk' [rattristarsi PRES PTCP AUX+1PL] 'ci attristiamo'	č'arč'ar-v-um enk' [tormentarsi- pass-PRES PTCP AUX+1PL] 'ci tormentiamo'	kə tanĵ-u-ink' [*kə* tormentarsi-pass-1PL] 'ci tormentiamo'
(62) son di piombo... fan cigolar (Inf XXIII 100-102)	kapare en... piombo AUX+1PL 'sono di piombo' tnk'-um enk' [gemere- PRES PTCP AUX1PL] 'gemiamo'	kaparic' en... piombo AUX+1PL 'sono di piombo' čoč-v-el en tal-is [dondolare- pass-INF AUX+3PL fare-PRES PTCP] 'fanno dondolare'	kaparē en... piombo AUX+1PL 'sono di piombo' čoč -el ku ta -n dondolare-INF *ku* fare-3PL 'fanno dondolare'
(63)si manduca… s'aggiugne (Inf XXXII 127-129)	ē kc-um [AUX+3SG mordere-PRES PTCP] 'morde' ē harakc'um [AUX+3SG connettere-PRES PTCP] 'si connette'	ē ut-um [AUX+3SG mangiare- PRES PTCP] 'mangia' mian-um ē [unirsi-PRES PTCP AUX+3SG] 'si unisce'	kə xacn -ē kə mordere-3SG 'morde' kə kəc' -u -i kə connettere-pass-3SG 'si connette'
(64) non si può … non si pente… (Inf XXVII 118)	č-i karoł [neg-AUX+ 3SG può] 'non può' č-i złĵ-um [neg-AUX+ 3SG [pentirsi-PRES PTCP] 'non si pente'	č-i karoł [neg-AUX+ 3SG può] 'non può' č-i złĵ-um [neg-AUX+3SG pentirsi-PRES PTCP] 'non si pente'	č' -ē hənar [neg-AUX3SG possible] 'non è possibile' — (uses impenitent)

aorist lacks the AGR morpheme. By means of the aorist, the translator is able to save syllables and produce
a hendecasyllabic verse.

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(65) (occhio) invio (Inf IX 109)	šrĵ -ecʻ -i [girare-AOR-1SG] 'girai'	nay -ecʻ -i [guardare-AOR-1SG] 'guardai'	kə darjn-em [kə girare-1SG] 'giro'
(66) sanno…	— (uses wisdom)	— (uses wisdom)	git-en [sapere-3PL] 'sanno'
miran…	ēin nay-um [AUX+IMP+3PL guardare-PRES PTCP] 'guardavano '	—	nay-in [guardare-3PL] 'guardano'
onor fanno… (Inf IV 131-133)	—	—	patu -en. [onorare-3PL] 'onorano'
(67) rimbomba (Inf VI 99)	—	—	k'orot -ay [k'tuona-3SG] 'tuona'
(68) tardi si ricrea (Purg VII 94-96)	uš ē [tardi AUX+3SG] è tardi	uš ē [tardi AUX+3SG] è tardi	uš ē [tardi AUX+3SG] è tardi
(69) si dimagra;	k-vtar-i [COND-espellere-3SG] 'espellerà'	k-vtar-i [COND-espellere-3SG neri] 'espellerà'	piti parp-u-i [FUT svotare-pass-3SG] 'si svoterà'
rinova (Inf XXIV 142144)	k -p'op'ox -i [COND-cambiare-3SG] 'cambierà'	k -p'ox -i [COND-cambiare-3SG] 'cambierà'	'ti p'ox -ē [FUT cambiare-3SG] 'cambierà'

Table 1 present

Dante's present tense is mostly translated as a present in Armenian.

As can be seen from the table, out of sixteen verbs – that may or may not be lexically faithful to Dante – we find some interesting differences in examples (65), (66) and (69). The verb in (65) is a present tense interpreted as an "historical present". Even though in

Armenian the present tense can have this value, as can be seen in example (13) in section 2.4, the aorist can also be used.[82] This is due to the presence of the participle. Tayan translates *com'io fui dentro* with the dative case of the infinitive participle *mtnel* 'to enter': *mtn-el-u-s pes* [...] *šrĵ-ecʻ-i* [entrare-INF-DAT-det1 come [...] girare-AOR-1SG] '*come entrato … girai*'. This participle doesn't express any temporal relation with S since it is a nominal form and inherits its temporal value from the verb. The sentence, with the verb *šrĵel* 'to cast around' in the present tense would not express the peculiar nuance expressed by the historical present. Łazikean, by contrast, uses a present tense *kə darjn-em* [kə girare-1SG] 'giro,' with the historical interpretation. The participle translating *com'io fui dentro* is realized as the resultative participle *haziv mət-ac* [appena entrare-RES PTCP] 'appena entrato', which denotes a general idea of fulfilled, finished activity – see section 1.6. In example (66) the translator presumably perceives that the present tense stands for an imperfect, and realizes the Armenian verb as an imperfect. In (69), the Eastern Armenian translators use the conditional, instead of Dante's present indicative. The original verbs describe a prophecy and express a future meaning. In MEA the future tense is often expressed by means of a conditional, rather than by means of the periphrastic construction *future participle + auxiliary* – see section 2.9. Thus, the conditional is directly connected to the MEA future tense. Łazikean makes a different choice using the future tense. He couldn't have used the same temporal realization of Tayan and Ghulyan as the conditional of MWA cannot have a future interpretation as in MEA.

The next tense to take into consideration is the imperfect. The following verbal forms are discussed in detail in section 3.4.2.

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[82]

i. Napoleon-n   ancʻn-um   ē   Alp-er-ə.   (= ex 13)
    Napoleon-DET cross -PRES PTCP AUX+3SG Alp-PL-DET
    'Napoleon crosses the Alps.'

Dante	Tayan (a)	Ghulyan (b)	Łazikean (c)
(70) dicea (Inf VII 117-119)	ēr mrmnĵ-um [AUX+IMP+3SG bisbigliare-PRES PTCP] 'bisbigliava'	mrmnj-acʻ [bisbigliare+AOR+3SG] 'bisbigliò'	kʻəs -ēr [kʻdire-IMP+3SG] 'diceva'
(72) non li era la veduta tronca (Inf XX 49-51)	ditark-um ēr anargel [osservare-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG senza ostacoli] 'osservava senza ostacoli'	ēr hsk-um ev dit-um [AUX+IMP+3SG vegliare-PRES PTCP e guardare-PRES PTCP 'vegliava e guardava'	kə dit-ēr anargel [kə guardare-IMP+3SG senza ostacoli] 'guardava senza ostacoli'
(73) tenea l'aspetto (Par XXV 109-111)	hayacʻkʻə […]beweŕ-ecʻ [sguardo […] fissare-AOR +3SG 'Fissò lo sguardo'	ułł-ecʻ ačkʻern [dirigere-AOR+3SG occhi] 'diresse loro gli occhi'	seweŕ-ecʻ ačʻkʻn [fissare- AOR+3SG occhio] 'Fissò l'occhio'
(74) veniva (Purg XXIV 73-75)	hetew-ecʻ [mi seguire- AOR+3SG] 'mi seguì dicendo'	___	et kə daŕn-ar [indietro kə tornare-IMP+3SG] 'ritornava'
(75) sembianz'avevan né trista né lieta (Inf IV 83-84)	___	demkʻə očʻ urax ēr, očʻ txur. [volto né lieto AUX+ IMP+3SG né triste] 'il volto non era né lieto, né triste.'	demkʻernin čʻ-ēr očʻ təxur, očʻ zəwartʻ. [i loro volti neg-AUX+ IMP+3SG né triste né lieto] 'i volti non erano né tristi né lieti.'
(78) io mirava (Purg XIX 10)	nay-um ēi [guardare-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+1SG] 'guardava'	nay-ecʻi [guardare-AOR+1SG] 'guardai'	kə nay-ēi [kə guardare-IMP+1SG] 'guardavo'
(79) facea scrota (Purg XIX 12)	arjak-um ēr [sciogliere-PRES PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG] 'scioglieva'	bacʻ-ecʻ [aprire-AOR+3SG] 'aprì'	kə kʻak-ēr [kə sciogliere-IMP+3SG] 'scioglieva'
(80) drizzava (Purg XIX 13)	(80a) ułł-um (ēr) [drizzare-PRES PTCP (AUX+IMP+3SG)] 'drizzava'	(80b) ułł-ecʻ [drizzare-AOR+3SG] 'drizzò'	(80c) kʻułł-ēr [drizzare-IMP+3SG] 'drizzava'
(81) colorava (Purg XIX 15)	tal-is ēr guynə [dare-PRES PTCP AUX +IMP+3SG il colore] 'dava il colore'	kyankʻ tv -ecʻ [vita dare-AOR+3SG] 'diede vita'	kə gunawor-ēr [kə colorare-IMP+3SG] 'colorava'
(82)	sks-ecʻ erg-el	sks-ecʻ erg-el	kə sks-ēr ergel

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cominciava a cantar (Purg XIX 17)	[cominciare-AOR+3SG cantare-INF] 'cominciò a cantare'	[cominciare-AOR+3SG cantare-INF] 'cominciò a cantare'	[kə cominciare-IMP+3SG cantare-INF] 'cominciava a cantare'

Table 2 Imperfect

The table 2 shows that the Old Italian imperfect is translated in Armenian either as an the imperfect or as an aorist.

In examples (70a) and (70c) the verbs *ēr mrmnĵ-um* 'he whispered(IMP)' and *k'əsēr* 'he said(IMP)', are both realized by means of the imperfect, while in example (70b) the verb is in the aorist *mrmnĵac'* 'whispered.' Sentences (70a) and (70c) express simultaneity between the two events – *rivolsesi* 'turned back' and *dicea* 'he said(IMP)' – while in (70b) the simultaneity reading is not available, given that aorist is perfective.

In example (72) the imperfect *era* 'it was(IMP)' appears in the second member of coordination and denotes a state of equal duration with respect to the past tense *ebbe* 'he had' of the first member.[83] This reading is also available in Armenian. However, in examples (72a), (72b) and (72c) both the verbs of the first member of the coordination – *bnakvum ēr* 'he lived(IMP)', *uner* 'he had(IMP)' – and those of the second – *ditarkum ēr* 'he observed(IMP)', *ēr hskum ev ditum* 'he overlooked(IMP) and watched(IMP)', *kə ditēr* 'he watched(IMP)' – are realized by means of the imperfect. In this case the state is not interpreted as a limited duration.

In examples (73a), (73b) and (73c) the Armenian verbs – *hayac'k'ə* […] *beweŕ-ec'* 'fixed the glance', *ułłec' ačk'ern* 'fixed the eyes', *seweŕ-ec' ač'k'n* 'fixed the eye(s)' – are realized in the aorist, whereas the Italian form – *tenea l'aspetto* 'keep(IMP) glance' – is an imperfect. Therefore, in Italian the imperfect tense can be interpreted as simultaneous with *misesi* 'it joined'. In Armenian, on the contrary, both verbs appear with aorist morphology, hence the simultaneous interpretation is lost.

In (74) the verb *veniva* 'he was coming', being realized by means of the imperfect, denotes an event that extends beyond the temporal boundings of the one expressed by the simple past– *sì lasciò trapassar* 'let pass by'. In (74a) the temporal realization of the Armenian verb *hetewec'* 'he followed' is in the aorist and in example (74c) the temporal

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83

i. *ebbe* […] spelonca […] onde […] non li *era* la veduta tronca. (Inf XX 49-51)   (= ex 72)

realization of the verb *et kə daŕnar* 'he came(IMP) back' is in the imperfect. In the latter case the event of 'coming back' extends beyond the temporal limits of the verb *t'ołuc'* 'he left', while in example (74a) this reading is not possible due to presence of aorist.

The verb *sembianz'avevan* 'they seemed(IMP)' in example (75) is realized by means of the imperfect and refers to the souls observed by Dante and his guide. In Armenian we find imperfect. Hence, the state might extend after the event expressed by the verb of the first member of the coordination – *vidi* 'I saw'. In example (75c) the position of the negative copula *č'-ēr* [neg-AUX+IMP+3SG] 'it was not' in the expression *č'ēr oč' təxur, oč' zəwart'* 'it was neither sad nor happy' is ungrammatical in Armenian word order – see (f.65). The negative form of the auxiliary always precedes the verb, but in this case it does not. Since (75c) is a verse, this word order might be due to poetry. The imperfect is also the tense used in clauses subordinate to fictional verbs, to express the content of dreams and visions – as discussed Giorgi and Pianesi by (2001). Dante's Italian is no exception to this generalization, as can be seen in examples (78)-(82).

In examples (78a) and (78c) the Armenian verbs – *nayum ēi* and *kə nayēi* 'I was looking at' – are realized by means of the imperfect. In example (78b) the verb *nayec'i* 'I looked at' is in the aorist and therefore refers to closed event, while Dante's *mirava* does not.

In (79b) the verb *bac'ec'* 'it opened' is in the aorist, instead of Dante's imperfect. The sentence is in principle grammatical. However, Dante's form – *facea scorta* 'was giving fluency'– does not express an instantaneous, closed event, as it is the case in (79b): it is instead a process, hence, it should be expressed by means of an imperfect.

In (80a) the form corresponding to Dante's '*drizzava*' is *ułłum ēr*, but there is no auxiliary *ēr* in Tayan's verse as the auxiliary *ēr* of the previous verse – see (79a) – also refers to the next one. In (80a) and (80c) there is an imperfect, whereas in example (80b), there is an aorist.

In (81a) the verb *colorava* 'colored(IMP)' is paraphrased by means of *talis ēr guynə* 'gave(IMP) the color' and in (81b) by means of *kyank' tvec'* 'gave life'. In example (81c) the verb *kə gunaworēr* is realized by means of the imperfect, as the one in (81a). The verb in (81b), being realized by means of the aorist, does not express the same temporal meaning as Dante's form.

In examples (82a) and (82b) aorist form *sksec' ergel* 'began to sing' is used instead of

Dante's *cominciava a cantar* 'she began(IMP) to sing', realized by means of the imperfect. In example (82c) the verb *kə sksēr ergel* 'began(IMP) to sing' is realized by means of the imperfect, hence it expresses the same temporal meaning as Dante.

Consider now the present perfect. The corresponding verbal forms are discussed in section 3.4.3.

Dante	Tayan (a)	Ghulyan (b)	Łazikean (c)
(83) *ha fatto* (Par VI 34-35)	*darjr* -*in* far diventare -AOR+3PL 'fecero diventare .'	*darjr* -*ec'* far diventare-AOR+3SG 'fece diventare'	*ər* -*aw* fare-AOR+3SG 'fece'
(84) *hai* [...] *disposto*	*em togor* -*v* -*el* [AUX+1SG impregnare-pass-PERF PTCP] 'sono impregnato'	*Hamak* -*ec'* -*ir* riempire-AOR-2SG 'riempisti'	*yank* -*uc'* -*ir* attrarre-AOR-2SG 'attrasti'
son tornato (Inf II 136-138)	___	*darj* -*a* tornare-AOR+1SG 'tornai'	*darńal-ov* tornare-INST tornando
(85) *tratto hanno*	durs *ber* -*in* fuori portare-AOR+3PL 'portarono fuori	durs *han* -*ec'-in* fuori tirare-AOR-3PL 'tirarono fuori'	*šop* -*ec'* -*in* strappare-AOR-3PL 'strapparono'
han posto (Par XXVI 62-63)	*han* -*ec'* -*in* tirare-AOR-3PL 'tirarono'	*dr* -*ec'* -*in* mettere-AOR-3PL 'misero'	*dər* -*in* mettere-AOR+3PL 'misero'
(86) *venuti semo* (Inf XVII 34)	*mot* -*ec'* -*ank'* avvicinare-AOR-1PL 'avvicinammo'	*mot* -*ec'* -*ank'* avvicinare-AOR-1PL 'avvicinammo'	*ek-ank' has-ank'* [venire-AOR+1PL arrivare-AOR+1PL] 'venimmo arrivammo'
(87) *hai mutato,*	*p'op'ox* -*el* *es,* cambiare-PERF PTCP AUX+ 2SG 'hai cambiato'	*p'ox* -*ec'* -*ir* cambiare-AOR-2SG 'cambiasti'	*p'ox* -*ec'* -*ir* cambiare-AOR-2SG 'cambiasti'
(hai) *rinovate* (Purg VI 145 -147)	*norog* -*el* rinnovare-PERF PTCP 'hai rinnovato'	*nor* -*ec'* -*ir* rinnovare-AOR-2SG 'rinnovasti'	*nor* -*ec'* -*ir* rinnovare-AOR-2SG 'rinnovasti'
(89) *è rimossa* (Inf XIV 138)	*azat* -*v* -*um* assolvere-pass-PRES PTCP 'si assolve'	*en k'av* -*um* [AUX+3PL scontare-PRES PTCP]	*k'aw* -*u* -*ac ē.* [scontare-pass-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG]

		'scontano'	' è scontato'
(90) *son levati*	*bac' -v -ac en,* aprire-pass-RES PTCP AUX+ 3PL 'sono aperti'	*bac' en* aperto AUX+3PL 'sono aperti'	*verc'-u-ac en* [levare-pass-PERF PTCP AUX + 3SG] 'sono levati'

Table 3 Present perfect

The verbs in examples (83a) (83b) and (83c) are realized by means of the aorist – *darjrin* 'they made,' *darjrec'* 'he made' and *'əraw* 'he did' – instead of Dante's *ha fatto*, i. e. a present perfect.

In (84a) the verb *em togorvel* 'I am impregnated' is in the present tense, while the verbs in (84b) and (84c) - *hamakec'ir* 'you affected' and *yancuc'ir* 'you attracted' – are again realized in the aorist where Dante's choice was the present perfect. The second verb in (84b) is *darja* 'I returned', realized in the aorist. In example (84c) instead of a temporalized verb a participlial form is used – *dar'nalov* 'returning' – namely the instrumental case of the infinitive, which can be translated into English by means of the – *ing* form. In (84c) there is a third verb in the future tense *piti hetewim* 'I'll follow'. Note that the aorist, the gerund and the future are used in the same sentence, a grammatical option in Armenian.

In (85) Dante's verbs are *tratto hanno* 'have drawn' and *han posto* 'have set'. The verbs in example (85a) – *durs berin* 'they brought out', *hanec'in* 'they took out' – in example (85b) *hanec'in* 'they took out', *drec'in* 'they set(PAST) – and in example (85c) – *šopec'in* 'they draw', *dərin* 'they set(PAST)' – are all realized by means of the aorist.

In examples (86a), (86b), (86c) the verbs – *motec'ank', motec'ank',* 'we approached' *ekank' hasank'* 'we came, arrived' – are realized by means of the aorist instead of Dante's present perfect verb *venuti semo* 'we have reached'.

In example (87) Dante's present perfect verbs are: *hai mutato,* and [hai] *rinovate*. In (87a) the Armenian verbs – *p'op'oxel es* 'you have changed' and *norogel* 'you have renewed' – are realized in the present perfect. In examples (87b) and (87c) the verbs – *p'oxec'ir* 'you changed' and *nor-ec'-ir 'you renewed'* – are realized by means of the aorist. In (87) Dante's verbs *hai mutato* 'you have changed' and *rinovate* 'you have renewed' in the present perfect tense denote an iterated fact – a sequence of events that are iterated until now. The verb *p'op'oxel* in (87a) is formed by the repetition of the verb stem and means 'to change repeteadly'.

In example (89) Dante's present perfect verb is *è rimossa* 'has been removed'. It is realized in the passive voice of the present perfect and refers to a bounded event and its consequent state. As Ageno (1978) points out, the passive form with *stato* was not fully developed yet. In example (89a) the verb is *azatvum* [*ē*] 'is absolved'. Actually, the auxiliary *ē* is not present in verse 138, but it is present in verse 137. The auxiliary *ē* together with the present participle *azatvum* forms the present tense. In example (89b) the verb is *en k'avum* 'they atone', again in the present tense. In (89c) the verb is *k'awuac ē* 'has been atoned', the form of the present perfect characteristic of Modern Western Armenian, discussed in detail in sections 1.6 and 2.6. The temporal forms in examples (89a) and (89b) do not correspond to the original, as the form – a present tense – is not perfective. This present tense is closer to a timeless present – see examples (18) in 2.4 and (5) in 3.2.1 – hence, the verb does not refer to a past bounded event.

In example (90) Dante uses *son levati* 'are raised'. In example (90a) the verb is *bac'vac en* 'are opened', realized by means of the resultative participle, which in Armenian denotes a resulting state. In example (90b) the verb is *bac' en* 'are open' and is realized in the present tense. In this way, the interpretation is not that the tombs were close and now are opene. Hence, the interpretation of *aperto* 'open' as a result of an event of opening is lacking. In example (90c) the verb is *vercuac en* 'have been taken', realized in the present perfect.[84]

Consider now is the past perfect. The corresponding verbs are discussed in section 3.4.4.

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84 The ambiguity of the meaning derives from the fact that the Modern Western Armenian uses the *–ac* (resultative participle) also to form the present perfect. While Modern Eastern Armenian traditional grammar treats *–ac* as an adjective, with a transitive verb, MWA does not distinguish between "He has broken the plate" and "the plate is broken": *pnak-ə kotr-ac ē* [plate-DET brake-PERF PTCP AUX+3SG] – see Donabédian (1996).

Dante	Tayan (a)	Ghulyan (b)	Łazikean (c)
(91) m'avea mostrato (Inf XXXIII 22-26)	tes-el ēi [vedere-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP +1SG] 'avevo visto'	c'uyc' tv-el ēr [mostrare-PERF PTCP AUX+ IMP+3SG] 'aveva mostrato'	c'uc'uc'-ac ēr [mostrare-PERF PTCP AUX+ IMP +3SG] 'aveva mostrato'
(92) Fatto avea (Par I 43-47)	ēr darj-el [AUX+IMP+3SG diventare- PERF PTCP] 'era diventato'	ar-el ēr [fare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+ 3SG] 'aveva fatto'	ǝr-er ēr [fare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG] 'aveva fatto'
(93) eravam partiti (Inf XXXII 124-125)	t'oł-el ēink' [u] anc'-el [lasciare-PERF PTCP AUX+ IMP+1PL [e] passare-PERF PTCP] 'avevamo lasciato e passato'	___	bažn-v-ac ēink' [separare-pass-RES PTCP AUX+IMP+1PL] 'eravamo separati'
(94) era durata (Inf I 19-21)	hamak-v-el ēr [riempire-pass-PERF PTCP AUX +IMP+3SG] 'era pervaso'	lč - ac'el ēr [stagnare-PERF PTCP AUX+ IMP +3SG] 'era stagnata'	ēr lǝč-ac'ac [AUX+IMP+3SG stagnare-PERF PTCP] 'era stagnata'
(95) era rimaso n'avea vòlti (Purg XXII 1-2)	ēr mn -ac'el [AUX+IMP+3SG rimanere- PERF PTCP] 'era rimasto' ēr čamp'-el… [AUX+IMP+3SG mandare- PERF PTCP] 'aveva mandato'	mn-ac' AOR+3SG 'rimase ' ułark -ec' mandare-AOR+3SG mandò	mn-ac'ac ēr [rimanere– PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG] 'era rimasto ' darj-uc'ac ēr… [volgere-RES PTCP AUX+INF+3SG] 'aveva volto'

(96) racceso […] casso era	vaŕ-vel hangel ēr [accendere-pass-PERF PTCP spegnere-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG] 'era acceso e spento '	vaŕ-v-el, p'ayl-el mar-el ēr, [accendere-pass-PERF PTCP brillare-PERF PTCP spegnere-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG] 'era acceso, brillato e spento'	vaŕ-u-ac ēr mar-ac accendere-pass-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG spegnere-PERF PTCP 'era acceso spento'
'ntrati eravam (Inf XXVI 130-133)	mt-ank' entrare-AOR+1PL 'entrammo'	bŕn-ec'-ink' prendere-AOR-1PL 'prendemmo'	mət-ac ēink' entrare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+1SG 'eravamo entrati'
(97) era arrivato (Inf XIII 1-2)	č'-ēr anc'-el [neg-AUX+IMP+3SG passare-PERF PTCP] 'non aveva attraversato'	anc' č'-ēr kac'-el [neg-AUX+IMP+3SG attraversare-PERF PTCP] 'non aveva attraversato'	č'-ēr has-ac [neg-AUX+IMP+3SG arrived-PERF PTCP] 'non era arrivato'

Table 4 Past perfect

In example (91) Dante's past perfect verb *m'avea mostrato* 'it had shown me' is related to the temporal clause in the simple past introduced by *quando* 'when': […]*m'avea mostrato per lo suo forame più lune già, quand'io feci 'l mal sonno* (Inf XXXIII 22-26). This construction is preserved in the Armenian translations by means of the adverb *erb* 'when'. The Armenian verbs – *tesel ēi* 'I had seen', *ēr c'uyc' tv-el* 'it had shown' and *c'uc'uc'ac ēr* 'it had shown' – are all realized in the past perfect by means of the perfect participle and the auxiliary in the imperfect. Note that in (91c) the verb is in Western Armenian, where the past perfect is realized by means of the –*ac* participle. As discussed in sections 1.5 and 1.6, MWA uses two different participle – in –*er* and in –*ac* – to express perfectivity. According to Donabédian (1996), while on one hand in MEA we have a binary system – perfect vs. aorist – on the other hand, in MWA a ternary system – perfect vs. aorist vs. mediative – is realized, which allows the speaker to mark his/her specific relation to what he/she is saying. In this case, the perfect form realized in –*ac* participle denotes a result of a confirmed even: the *pertugio*, 'a little slit', had shown Ugolino several moons through its opening.

In (92) Dante's verb is *avea fatto*, '(the sun) had done'. The Armenian verbs – *ēr darjel* 'it had become', *arel ēr* 'had done' and *ərer ēr* 'it had done' – are realized in the past perfect. Note that in example (92c) the verb is realized as a past perfect with the perfect participle in *–er*. As pointed out above, MWA is based on a ternary system, distinguishing aorist, perfect and mediative aspects. In this case, the use of the *–er* participle means that "(Dante) said that the sun brought the morning to the horizon of Purgatory (*di là*), but he had only indirect evidence for it." According to Sapegno (1957) with *avea fatto* Dante means that the sun, rising almost from the cardinal point of the east (*tal foce*), brought the morning to the horizon of Purgatory (*di là*) and the evening to Jerusalem (*di qua*). In the process, all the southern hemisphere had lit (*era là bianco*), while the northern hemisphere was covered by the darkness of night. Since Dante was in the northern hemisphere, this means that he had an indirect evidence of *fatto avea di là mane* '(sun) brought the morning there.' Hence, the use of the *–er* participle in MWA.

Ageno (1978, 228) proposes that in example (93) the peculiar sequence of tenses – a past perfect *eravamo partiti* 'we had left', followed by a past *vidi* 'I saw' – is an artifice to give movement and variety to the narration. The event expressed as a past perfect can be taken as the background for the other one.

In examples (93a) and (93c) the verbal forms – *t'ołel ēink'* […] *anc'el* 'we had left and past', *bažnvac ēink* 'we had been separated' – are realized in the past perfect. Comparing (93a) and (93c) we note that they are realized by means of two different participles. The difference has nothing to do with the passive voice of example in (93c). The latter is in MWA and – similarly to the example (91) – it is realized by means of the perfect participle in *–ac*, rather than that in *–el*, which expresses a mediative aspect.

In example (94) the verb *era durata* 'had endured' – a past perfect – refers to a condition of the narrator, which lasts in time. In Armenian the temporal realization is a past perfect realized by means of the verbs *hamakvel ēr* 'had been affected', *lčac'el ēr* 'had stagnated' and the MWA form *lčac'el ēr*. Similarly to the examples in (91c) and (93c), the MWA perfect form is realized by means of the participle in *–ac*, as the verb, being in the 1st person, in this case cannot have a mediative interpretation.

In example (95) Dante's original two verbs are realized in the past perfect, *era rimaso* '(the angel) had remained' and *avea vòlti* '(the angel) had directed', one of which is the predicate of the relative clause and the other is the predicate of the proposition containing

the antecedent of the relative.[85] These two past perfects are simultaneous.

The verbs in (95a) *ēr mnac'el* 'had remained', *ēr čamp'el* 'had sent away' are realized in the past perfect, while the verbs *mn-ac'* 'remained' and *uɫark-ec'* 'sent' in example (95b) are realized in the aorist. The verbs *mnac'ac ēr* 'had remained' and *darjuc'ac ēr* 'had turned'in (95c) are realized in the past perfect, both realized by means of the perfect participle.

In (96) the three past perfect verbs – *era racceso*, (*era*) *casso* and *'ntrati eravam* – independently of the relationship, they are 'anterior' with respect to an event explicitly stated by the verb *apparve*.[86] In example (96a) the verbs *vaŕvel* (*ēr*) '(the moon) had been lit', *hangel ēr* 'had spent' are realized in the past perfect while *mtank'* 'we entered' in the aorist. In (96b) the verbs *vaŕvel* (*ēr*) '(the moon) had been lit', *p'aylel* (*ēr*) 'had shone' and *marel ēr* 'had put out' are realized in the past perfect while the verb *bŕnec'ink'* 'we took (the way)' in the aorist. In (96c) the verbs *vaŕuac ēr* '(the moon) had been lit', *marac ēr* 'had put out' and *mətac ēink'* 'we had entered' are all realized in the past perfect as in Dante.

In (97) Dante's past perfect verb is *non era arrivato* '(he) hadn't arrived.' In all Armenian translations, the temporal realization corresponds to the original realized by means of the verbs *č'ēr anc'el* '(he) hadn't crossed' and *č'ēr hasac* '(he) hadn't arrived', as illustrated in examples (97a) and (97c) and the periphrastic form *anc' č'ēr kac'el* '(he) hadn't crossed'.

Consider now the past. The corresponding verbs are discussed in section 3.4.5.

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[85]

    i.   Già *era* l'angel dietro a noi *rimaso*, / l'angel che n'*avea vòlti* al sesto giro… (Purg XXII 1-2)

[86]

    ii.   Cinque volte *racceso* e tante *casso* / lo lume *era* di sotto da la luna, / poi che *'ntrati eravam* ne l'alto passo / quando n'*apparve* una montagna, bruna… (Inf XXVI 130-133)

Dante	Tayan (a)	Ghulyan (b)	Łazikean (c)
(98) fui (uom d'arme) fui (cordigliero) (Inf XXVII 67)	*Eł-a ŕazmik* [AUX+AOR+1SG guieriero] 'fui guerriero' *darj-a kapavor* diventare-AOR+1SG cinto di cordiglio 'diventai cinto di cordiglio'	*Ŕazmik ēi* [guerriero AUX+IMP+1SG] 'ero guerriero' *darj-a vanakan* [diventare-AOR+1SG monaco] 'diventai monaco'	*Ełay* zenk'i mard AUX+AOR+1SG armaGEN uomo 'fui uomo d'arme' (*Ełay*) č'uanawor '(fui)cordigliero'
(99) (non) conoscesti or dicesti (Inf I 130-135)	*č'es čanač'el* neg-AUX+2SG know-PERF PTCP 'you haven't known *xos-ec'-ir* parlare-AOR-2SG 'paslasti'	*č'-es čanač'el* neg-AUX+2SG know 'you haven't known'	*č'ə-čanč'-c'ar* neg-know-AOR+3SG 'you didn't known *xōs-ec'-ar* parlare-AOR-3SG 'parlasti'
(100) rispuose ebbe or (la lingua pronta) (Inf XXXII 112-114)	*as-ac'* dire-AOR+3SG 'disse' *štap-ec' haytn -el* precipitare-AOR+3SG rivelare-PERF PTCP '*precipitò* a rivelarti'	*har-ec'* aggiungere-AOR+3SG 'aggiunse' *haytn -oł* rivelare-SUB PTCP 'rivelante'	*Yar-ec'* aggiungere-AOR+3SG 'aggiunse' *təw-aw* dare-AOR+3SG 'diede'
(102) fé già (Inf I 49-54)	*patčaŕ -el ēr* causare-PERF PTCP AUX+IMP+3SG '*aveva causato*'	*ēr darjr-el* AUX+IMP+3SG diventare-PERF PTCP 'aveva fatto diventare addolorato.'	*ardēn t'əšuaŕa-c'uc'* già desolare AOR+3SG *già desolò*

Table 5 Past

In example (98) the past tense verbs are *fui* (uom d'arme) 'I was (a fighter)' *fui* (cordigliero) 'I was (a corded friar)'. In examples (98a) and (98c) the verb *daŕnal* 'to become' is introduced, while Dante uses only the copula *fui* 'I was'. The latter form is preserved only in example (98c), even if it doesn't repeat the second copula. The copula *ełay* 'I was' besides referring to *zenk'i mard* 'man of arms', also refers to the *č'uanawor* 'a corded friar'. In examples (98a) and (98c) the verbs are in the aorist form, while in example (98b) the first verb is in the imperfect, and the second one is in the aorist. In (98), (98a) and (98c) the two verbs realized in the past tense express two independent events. In example (98b), the event appearing with the imperfect morphology needs a temporal reference in the context, given that the imperfect is an anaphoric verbal form – see section 2.5. Hence, in example (98b) the verb *darj-a* 'I became' in the aorist becomes

a reference for the verb *ŕazmik ēi* 'I was(IMP) a fighter' in the imperfect and the verse means that '(first) I was(IMP) a fighter, then I became a monk'.

In examples (99a) and (99b) Dante's past tense verbs – (non) *conoscesti* and *dicesti* – are realized by means of the present perfect. In (99c) Dante's past tense is preserved by means of the Western Armenian aorist form *č'ə-čanč'-c'-ar* [neg-know-AOR-2SG] 'you don't know' denotes an event about which the speaker has a direct, personal, decisive information. In example (100a), (100b) and (100c) the verbs – *asac'* 'he said', *štapec' haytnel* 'he hurried to reveal', *har-ec'* 'he adds', *yar-ec'* 'he adds', *təw-aw* 'he gave' – are realized in the aorist form.

In example (102c) the co-occurrence of Dante's simple past *fé* 'he did' with the adverb *già* 'already' is preserved only in example (102c) by means of the adverb *ardēn* 'already' and the past-tense verb t*'əšuaŕa-c'rec'* 'it desolated, it made miserable'.

Consider now the piuccheperfetto II. The following verbs are discussed in 3.4.6.

Dante	Tayan (a)	Ghulyan (b)	Łazikean (c)
(104) fu venuta (Inf XXVI 76-78)	*mot-ec'-av* avvicinarsi-AOR-3SG 'avvicinò '	*mot-ec'-av* avvicinarsi-AOR-3SG 'avvicinò '	*mōt-ec'-aw* avvicinarsi-AOR-3SG 'avvicinò '
(105) fu caduto Inf XXI 85-86)	*iĵ-av* scendere-AOR+3SG 'cadde'	*iĵ-av* scendere-AOR+3SG 'cadde'	*iĵ-aw* scendere-AOR+3SG 'cadde'

Table 6 Piuccheperfetto II

In Armenian Dante's *fu venuta* – as ilustrated in example (104) - is translated by means of the verb *motec'av* '(the flame) approached'.

For Dante's *fu* (l'orgoglio) *caduto* '(the pride) fell' the translators use *iĵaw* '(the pride) went down,' meaning 'it passed.'

As discussed in chapter 2, Armenian lacks this tense. The aorist is used, instead.

The following table considers future and perfect future verbs, discussed in section 3.4.7:

Dante	Tayan (a)	Ghulyan (b)	Łazikean (c)
(106) né potrà (Par XIV 58)	*č' -enk' karoł* neg-AUX+1PL potere 'non possiamo'	*č' -i karoł* neg-AUX+3SG potere 'non può'	*piti č'ə-vnasē* FUT neg-nuocere+3SG non nuocerà

(107)	*an -em*	*K -katar-em*	*k'-erduənn-am*
farò	fare-COND+1SG	COND-eseguire+1SG	k-giurare -1SG
(Purg V 61)	farò	'Eseguirò'	'giuro'
(108)	*harut'yun ańn -ek'*	*dańn-ak' kendani*	*tesaneli 'll-ak'*
sarete rifatti	risurezione fare-SUBJ+	diventare-SUBJ+2PL	visibile essere-SUBJ+
(Par XIV 16-18)	2PL		2SG dopo
	'risusciterete'	'diventiate vivi'	sarete visibili

Table 6

In example (106a) Dante's future tense verb né *potrà* 'he cannot' becomes *č'enk' karoł* 'we cannot feel (bad).' The temporal realization of the original is changed by using the verb in the present tense. Besides the AGR is also changed. The original form is realized in the 3SG while in Armenian it is in the 1PL. The AGR change is due to the construction change as instead of Dante's *la luce non potrà affaticarne* 'the light cannot tire us' in Armenian we have 'we cannot feel bad from that light.' In (106b) the Armenian verb is again realized in the present tense but the AGR is the same as in Dante – 3SG. In (106c) Dante's future né *potrà* 'he cannot' is translated as *piti č'əvnasē* 'it will not harm' by means of a future-tensed verb.

According to Ageno (1978, 232), in the first person, the future can be intentional. This can be the case of example (107).[87] In Armenian, the verbs *anem* (kanem) 'I'll do(COND)', *kkatarem* 'I'll accomplish(COND)' and *k'-erduənn-am ənel* 'I swear to do' are not realized as a future as the original. In Eastern Armenian the conditional is used instead of Dante's present indicative. In MEA the future tense is more often expressed by the conditional rather than by means of the periphrastic construction *future participle AUX* – see section 2.9. In example (107c) the present tense is used with a futurate meaning.

In example (108) Dante's perfect future verb is *sarete* (visibili) *rifatti* 'you are once again made visible' (trans. by Mandelbaum 1980, 1982). In (108a) Dante's verb is realized by *harut'yun ańnek' duk'* 'when you riseSUBJ from the dead'. *Visibili* is here

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[87]

i. voi dite, e io farò …(Purg V 61)   (=ex 107)

used in the sense of 'seeing with one's bodily eyes' (Singleton 1970).[88] In example (108b) the Armenian predicate is *daŕnak' kendani* 'when you become(SUBJ) alive.' In example (108c) the Armenian verb *tesaneli 'llak'* '(when) you areSUBJ alive' is in the subjunctive mood.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the present study:

Table 1 shows that there is no much difference between Dante's and Armenian present tense. This is expected, due to the fact that Armenian's present tense functions are more or less the same in Modern Italian, a fact already discussed in section 2.4. For instance, the present tense in (62) – *Le cappe rance/ son di piombo sì grosse, che li pesi/ fan così cigolar le lor bilance.* (Inf XXIII 100-102) 'Our golden cloaks are made of lead, and they're so dense, like scales we creak beneath their weight'– is a descriptive one, as the example (19) in section 2.4 – *Katun č'ork'otani ē.* 'The feline is a quadruped'; example in (64) – ch'assolver non si può chi non si pente… (Inf XXVII 118) 'one can't absolve a man who's not repented'– is a gnomic present as (18) in 2.4 – *Erku angam erku havasar ē čorsi.* 'Two times two is four'; the example (67) is a futurate present – ciascun rivederà la trista tomba, ripiglierà sua carne e sua figura, udirà quel ch'in etterno rimbomba". (Inf VI 97-99) 'Then each shall find again his miserable tomb, shall take again his flesh and form, and hear the judgment that eternally resounds."– as the example (12) in 2.4 – *Hakobə žamanum ē vaɫə.* 'Hakob is arriving tomorrow.' – etc.[89]

As a result, it seems quite natural that there are no evident differences between the use of the Armenian and the Old Italian present tenses.

The imperfect in Armenian is a form of the indicative characterized as an anaphoric past, as in Italian. The imperfect on the one hand must be interpreted as a past with respect to S, and on the other, it requires that the temporal argument of the predicate be overtly specified. The present, simple past and future tenses are fully acceptable, even when the temporal argument of the predicate is not overtly specified and they are interpreted relative by S. The imperfect, on the contrary, needs a temporal reference

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[88] After the Last Judgment these souls will be reunited with their glorified bodies, and each will be again the "form" of its body forever.

[89] The English translations of Dante's verses in examples (62) and (67) are by Hollander and Hollander (2001), and the one in (64) is by Mandelbaum (1980, 1982).

somewhere in the context. The temporal reference can be provided by the extra-linguistic context, by an explicit temporal argument, or by the superordinate event. The imperfect gives rise to a non-bounded sequence. In table 2 I pointed out that the aorist is often used instead of the imperfect. In poetry this choice might be due to the fact that the aorist, being a synthetic form, has less syllables in comparison to the imperfect, which is an analytical form – *participle + AUX*. Moreover, the aorist is easier to use in a hendecasyllabic verse. However, the aorist is a verbal form denoting a bounded perfective event, contrasting with the imperfect, used to refer non-bounded continuous sequences. Hence, the two forms differ as far as their aspectual value is concerned.

Modern Eastern Armenian and Modern Western Armenian differ in the way they express perfectivity – see 1.5, 1.6 and 2.6. In table 3 I showed that Dante's ten present perfect verbs are translated in Armenian by means of different tenses, namely 5 present perfect verbs – as illustrated in examples (84a), (87a: 2 verbs), (89c) and (90c) – 18 aorist forms – as can be seen in examples (83a, b, c), (84b: two verbs), (84c), (85a, b, c: 6 verbs), (86a, b, c), (87b: 2 verbs), (87c) – and 4 present verbs – see examples (89a,b) and (90a,b). The aorist form prevails in the translation for Dante's present perfect form. The aorist, denoting bounded sequence, is frequently used in Armenian, even in cases where other languages use the present perfect. The aorist is a verbal form expressing a bounded sequence. According to Donabédian (1996) the aorist contrasts with the perfect by virtue of its discontinuous character. For this reason, it might be appropriate to express a process in narration. The perfect, while retaining its verbal character, associates a property with the subject, whereas the aorist expresses a process.

The past perfect denotes an event or a state located in the past prior to another one located in the past as well. This tense has its corresponding form in Armenian – see section 2.7 – *Anc'yal vałakatar*. Table 4 shows that Dante's past perfect verbs are almost always translated in Armenian by means of the same form. There are only few cases, as illustrated in examples (95b), (96a), (96b) where aorist is used instead. The main difference can be found between the MEA and MWA perfect participles, as the MEA doesn't distinguish between the perfect and mediative aspect contrasting with MWA, which has the both forms – see Donabédian(1996).

The aorist is frequently used in Armenian, even in cases where Italian uses the imperfect or the present perfect – see above tables 2-3. The aorist contrasts with the

imperfect usually denoting a bounded event, whereas the imperfect usually denotes an unbounded one. The aorist can be considered a sort of a 'perfective present.'[90]

The table 5 evidences that Dante's past tense verbs are realized in Armenian both in the aorist and in the present perfect forms. Note that Dante's *dicesti* 'you said' in example (99) is used with the adverb *or* 'now'. In Modern Italian the adverb *ora* 'now' in its temporal meaning occurs only when the temporal value of the verb expresses the S,R relation. This means that this adverb cannot be used with the simple past, which lacks the R,S value (it is instead the bearer of the R_S value). However in Dante, *ora* occurs with the simple past. Coming to Dante's 'ch'*ebbe or*' in example (100), it is grammatical if the past simple is again interpreted as (S,R)(E_R). In (102) there is the co-occurrence of simple past *fé* 'he did', characterized in Reichenbachian terms as (R_S)(R, E), with the adverb *già* 'already', which in Italian cannot accompany a verb lacking a T2 realization.

According to the proposal mentioned in 3.2.4, in certain circumstances in Old Italian, the past tense acquires values similar to those of the present perfect in Modern Italian, as proposed by Molani (1996). The presence of the mentioned co-occurrences is an argument in favour of the hypothesis that Old Italian can assign a different temporal value to the simple past. Hence, the use of the present perfect in Armenian instead of Dante's past is proper.

The so-called piuccheperfetto II is a verbal form constituted by the past form of the auxiliary plus the past participle. Squartini (2010, 534) proposes that in Modern Italian the piuccheperfetto II has an exclusively anaphoric value as in (103).[91] In Old Italian, by contrast, its purely deictic use is also permitted and can be seen in example (104).[92] In its

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[90] This seems a promising line of future investigation, which however requires further study.

[91]

    i.   Dopo che *ebbe vinto* il concorso, parti' per l'America.

        After having won the competition, he left for America.   (=ex 103)

[92]

    i.   Poi che la fiamma *fu venuta* quivi

        dove parve al mio duca tempo e loco,

        in questa forma lui parlare audivi… (Inf XXVI 76-78)   (=ex 104)

anaphoric function this tense expresses immediate anteriority with respect to a reference time in the past (103), while in the deictic one it identifies a temporal location in the past.

As already mentioned, among its many usages, the aorist in Armenian is also adopted to designate bounded sequences located in the past. The Italian piuccheperfetto II is certainly a past and a perfect verbal form, hence it is not surprising that aorist is used to translate it. The issue is presumably more complex than that, but in order to propose a more detailed explanation, further study is required.

In MEA the future is more often expressed by means of a conditional, rather than by means of the periphrastic construction *future participle + auxiliary*, as discussed in section 2.9. Even if the conditional mood can refer to a hypothetical state of affairs or an uncertain event, contingent on another set of circumstances, in MEA it is also used to express a future location of events.

Concluding, we can say that the translators adapted the temporal values of the source language (i.e., 13th century Italian rhymed poetry) to Armenian, when the temporal values could not be literally transposed. The translators often changed Dante's temporal realizations to fit their various needs, but grammatical constraints, however are never violated. In other words, even if the form they adopted doesn't correctly express the temporal realization of the original, they always produced grammatical sentences. Hence, independent of prose (Łazikean 1905), verse (Tayan 1969) or *terza rima* (Ghulyan 2004, 2005, 2007) translation, grammar is never violated.

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Estratto per riassunto della tesi di dottorato

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Dottorato: Scienze del Linguaggio

Ciclo: 22°

Titolo della tesi : AN ANALYSIS OF DANTE'S TENSES IN THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA

(UN'ANALISI DEI TEMPI VERBALI DI DANTE NELLE TRADUZIONI ARMENE DELLA DIVINA COMMEDIA)

Abstract

Questa tesi è uno studio monografico delle traduzioni del sistema verbale di Dante nei sistemi verbali dell' armeno orientale e dell'armeno occidentale. Le traduzioni analizzate sono quelle di Tayan e Ghulyan per l'armeno orientale e quella di Łazikean per l'armeno occidentale.

Questo lavoro prende in considerazione gli aspetti linguistici relativi alla trasposizione delle forme verbali: un particolare sistema, quello dell'italiano di Dante, è paragonato con quello della lingua armena, che presenta con quest'ultimo molte differenze importanti. Questa tesi si occupa dei problemi riguardanti l'interazione fra sintassi e morfologia per ciò che concerne l'interpretazione temporale della frase.

I capitoli 1 e 2 discutono la particolare strutturazione morfologica dei tempi armeni. I tempi verbali infatti sono per lo più formati analiticamente per mezzo di un participio, di cui l'armeno possiede un'ampia varietà, e di un ausiliare. Il loro valore interpretativo è anche considerato in dettaglio.

Il capitolo 3 analizza sistematicamente le corrispondenze proposte dai traduttori della *Commedia* e investiga le ragioni linguistiche di tali scelte.

This dissertation is a monographic study of the Tayan and Ghulyan Modern Eastern Armenian and Łazikean Western Armenian translations of Dante's verbal system in the *Divina Commedia.*

This thesis deals with the linguistic aspects related to this topic. A particular grammatical

system, Dante's Italian, is compared with a very different one, i.e. Armenian. Particular attention is paid to the problems concerning the interaction between syntax and morphology with respect to the temporal interpretation of the sentence.

Chapters 1 and 2 concentrate on the peculiar morphological form of the Armenian tense system, which is formed mostly analytically, combining a variety of participles with auxiliaries. Their interpretive value is also considered. Chapter 3 follows, which systematically analyses the correspondences proposed by the translators of the *Commedia*. The reasons for their choices are then investigated and evaluated from a linguistic point of view.

Firma dello studente

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