



- Auxiliary verb is also the copula.

(2) ašakert-ner-ə urax **en**  
 student- PL-NOM happy COP/3PL.PR  
 ‘The students are happy.’

- Auxiliary verb is a prosodic enclitic
  - It does not carry stress and requires a host to precede it (Tamrazian 1994)
  - Does not undergo morphophonological alternations (contra agreement suffixes where the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular affix changes from ‘e’ to ‘i’ when stressed)
  - Word-level stress in EA is on the last syllable, but auxiliary does not take stress and needs a host (contra agreement suffixes)

(3) a. yer<sup>h</sup>-úm **e** b. yete yer<sup>h</sup>-í  
 sing-PROG AUX/3SG.PR if sing-3SG.PR  
 ‘He is singing / He sings.’ ‘If he sings.’

- In orthographic practice, the auxiliary is written separately from the host while agreement suffixes are written attached
- It does not have to be adjacent to the verb and may optionally undergo ellipsis in coordinated structures (contra agreement suffixes)

(4) seda-n moten-um **e** gərič-ə ver<sup>h</sup>n-um yev  
 Seda-NOM approach-PROG AUX/3SG.PR pen-SP take-PROG and

storagr-um namak-ə  
 sign-PROG letter-SP

‘Seda approaches, takes the pen and signs the letter.’ (from Kozintseva 1995)

### 3 The Auxiliary: Positional distribution

In this section, we look at the positional distribution of the EA auxiliary, with the goal of accounting for its placement in focus-neutral sentences. We will briefly mention the distribution in focused contexts, but will leave its analysis for future work.

- In a SV sentence with an unergative verb, the auxiliary appears on the verb (5) (in focus-neutral contexts), whereas if the verb is unaccusative, the auxiliary follows the subject (6) (Note: In all the following examples, the auxiliary is in bold, and the element with primary sentential stress is in italics.)

(5) šun-ə vaz-um **a**  
 dog-NOM run-PROG AUX/3SG.PR  
 ‘The dog is running.’

(6) a. *mar<sup>h</sup>* **a** gal-i  
 man/human AUX/3SG.PR come-PROG  
 ‘Someone’s coming.’  
 b. esteq *jur* **a** tap-v-el  
 here water AUX/3SG.PR spill-PASS-PERF  
 ‘Water has spilled / been spilled here.’  
 c. *me hat tup<sup>h</sup>* **a** has-el  
 one CL box AUX/3SG.PR arrive-PERF  
 ‘A box has arrived.’

- Auxiliary follows the preverb in compound verbal constructions (in unmarked reading)

(7) a. Ara-n ir nkar-ner-ə mez *c<sup>h</sup>uyc<sup>h</sup>* **a** tal-u  
 Ara-NOM his picture-PL-SP us demonstration AUX/3SG.PR give-FUT  
 ‘Ara will show us his pictures.’

b. \*Ara-n ir nkar-ner-ə mez *c<sup>h</sup>uyc<sup>h</sup>* tal-u **a**  
 Ara-SP his picture-PL-SP us demonstration give-FUT AUX/3SG.PR

(8) ənker-ner-əs p<sup>h</sup>afk<sup>h</sup>-um *man* **en** gal-is  
 friend-PL-POSS.1SG park-LOC (walk) AUX/3PL.PR come-PRES  
 ‘My friends are taking a walk in the park.’

(9) es hivand-ə *c<sup>h</sup>av* **er** kaš-um  
 this patient-NOM pain AUX/3SG.PST pull-PROG  
 ‘This patient was in pain / This patient was hurting.’

- In an SOV sentence with a non-specific direct object, the Auxiliary follows the nonspecific object (in unmarked reading)

auxiliary cannot follow the verb if there is a nonspecific object

- (10) a. Ara-n *girk<sup>h</sup>* **a** af-el  
 Ara-NOM book AUX/3SG.PR buy-PERF  
 ‘Ara has bought a book/books.’  
 b.\*Ara-n *girk<sup>h</sup>* af-el **a**  
 Ara-NOM book buy-PERF AUX/3SG.PR

auxiliary follows bare or quantified nonspecific objects

- (11) Nairi-n *poqoc<sup>h</sup>-um gndak* **er** xaq-um  
 Nairi-NOM street-LOC ball AUX/3SG.PST play-PROG  
 ‘Nairi was playing ball in the street.’  
 (12) yerex-erk-ə *me hat muk* **en** č’ar-el  
 child-PL-NOM one CL mouse AUX/3PL.PR find-PERF  
 ‘The children have found a mouse.’

- If there is a non-specific object and a compound verb, auxiliary cannot follow the preverbal element in the compound verb, but rather follows the non-specific object: see contrast below where it’s on the preverb in (13a) but on the object in (13b). [examples from *The Little Prince*]

- (13) a. višapoc<sup>h</sup>-ə *ir zoh-in kul* **e** talis afanc<sup>h</sup> tzamelu  
 boa-NOM its prey-DAT (throat) AUX/3SG.PR giving without chewing  
 ‘The boa constrictor swallows its prey without chewing it.’  
 b. višapoc<sup>h</sup>-ə *mi gišatič gazan* **er** kul talis  
 boa-NOM one predatory beast AUX/3SG.PST (throat) giving  
 ‘The boa constrictor was swallowing a wild beast.’

- There is a clear contrast between the behavior of nonspecific and specific objects wrt the placement of the auxiliary. In an SOV sentence, the auxiliary appears on the object, if it is nonspecific, whereas it appears on the verb if it is specific

- (14) a. Ara-n *girk<sup>h</sup>* **a** af-el  
 Ara-NOM book AUX/3SG.PR buy-PERF  
 ‘Ara has bought a book/books.’  
 b. Ara-n *girk<sup>h</sup>-ə a’-el* **a**  
 Ara-NOM book-SP buy-PERF AUX/3SG.PR  
 ‘Ara has bought the book.’

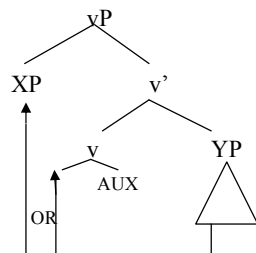
- Auxiliary follows the manner adverb (or other low adverbs) if the latter is present

- (15) a. Ara-n *arag* **a** čaš ut-um  
 Ara-NOM fast AUX/3SG.PR food eat-PROG  
 ‘Ara eats fast.’  
 (16) a. es šun-ə *arag* **a** vaz-um  
 this dog-NOM fast AUX/3SG.PR run-PROG  
 ‘This dog runs fast.’  
 b. Nairi-n *lav* **er** gndak xaq-um  
 Nairi-NOM good AUX/3SG.PST ball play-PROG  
 ‘Nairi was playing ball well.’  
 (17) a. yes *he’u* **em** apr-um  
 I far AUX/1SG.PR live-PROG  
 ‘I live far.’  
 b. Nairi-n *durs* **a** gən-ac<sup>h</sup>-el  
 Nairi-NOM out AUX/3SG.PR go-AOR-PERF  
 ‘Nairi has gone out.’

- The same lexical item can be used as an adverb and have a manner reading or a sentential interpretation. The auxiliary appears on the adverb if it has the manner reading,



- We propose that the auxiliary clitic moves to the v head and the closest element is attracted and acts as its host. If this element is an XP (such as the direct object or the manner adverb), it moves to specvP. If it is an X<sup>0</sup> (such as the verb), it adjoins to v. This analysis shown schematically below is very much in line with other syntactic analyses of 2P in CP (e.g. Cavar and Wilder 1994, Franks and Progovac 1994, Progovac 1996, among others).



- The highest position in vP or the edge of the phase is also the position of main sentential stress (Kahnemuyipour 2004). As a consequence, the auxiliary follows the syntactic constituent containing the element carrying the main stress of the sentence.
  - Straightforward mapping between syntactic and prosodic constituents, taking advantage of the notion of phase or cyclic spell-out
  - Structural height of (leftmost) constituent prior to spell-out determines both prosody (stress assignment) and clitic placement
 ⇒ both are derived from independent mechanisms in syntax based on the syntactic structure at the phase domain
- Auxiliary clitic is sensitive to syntactic structure and does not simply look for the element with main stress to attach to

- Auxiliary appears on the syntactic phrase at the edge of the vP domain, and not on the X<sup>0</sup> element that carries the main stress (20a) or even the XP contained in this constituent when it carries main stress (e.g. the AP in (20b)).

- (20) a. es šun-ə [šat arag] a vaz-um  
 this dog- NOM very fast AUX/3SG.PR run- PROG  
 ‘This dog runs very fast.’

- b. yerex-erk-ə [me hat metz muk] en č ar-el  
 child-PL-NOM one CL big mouse AUX/3PL.PR find-PERF  
 ‘The children have found a big mouse.’

- There is generally no splitting of the syntactic constituent unlike other 2P languages where the splitting has been taken as evidence against a purely syntactic analysis (see, for example, Radanović-Kocić 1996, Franks 2000, Bošković 2001, among others.)

- (21) a.\* es šun-ə šat a arag vaz-um  
 this dog-NOM very AUX/3SG.PR fast run- PROG  
 ‘\*This dog runs very fast.’
- b.\*yerex-erk-ə me hat metz en muk č ar-el  
 child-PL-NOM one CL big AUX/3PL.PR mouse find-PERF  
 ‘\*The children have found a big mouse.’

## 5 On the syntax of objects and manner adverbs in EA

We have suggested that the vP-internal position of manner adverbs and nonspecific objects leads to the placement of the auxiliary after these elements. (These elements also receive main stress as they are at the edge of the vP phase.) In this section, we provide arguments for their vP-internal positions.

### 5.1 Two positions for specific/nonspecific objects in EA (Megerdooian 2002)

- Specific and nonspecific objects occupy different structural positions [~ Turkish (Enç 1991), Persian (Karimi 1996), Hindi (Mahajan 1990), Urdu (Butt 1995), Dutch (de Hoop 1992), etc.]

- (22) a. Ara-n gir<sup>h</sup> a af-el  
 Ara-NOM book AUX/3SG.PR buy-PERF  
 ‘Ara has bought a book/books.’
- b. Ara-n gir<sup>h</sup>-ə a’-el a  
 Ara-NOM book- SP buy-PERF AUX/3SG.PR  
 ‘Ara has bought the book.’

### Arguments for two positions: Adverb Placement

- sentential adverbs are considered to be outside of the verbal domain, generally licensed either by the Complementizer or the Inflectional heads (Potsdam 1999).  
 - sentential adverbs can intervene between the specific object and the verb (23), but not between the nonspecific object and the verbal element (24).

- (23) a. Anuš-ə vstah es girk<sup>h</sup>-ə *kə-kar<sup>h</sup>-a*  
 Anoush-NOM certainly this book-SP COND-read-3SG  
 ‘Anoush will certainly read this book.’  
 b. Anuš-ə es girk<sup>h</sup>-ə vstah *kə-kar<sup>h</sup>-a*  
 Anoush-NOM this book-SP certainly COND-read-3SG  
 ‘Anoush will certainly read this book.’
- (24) a. Anuš-ə vstah *votavor* k-as-i  
 Anoush-NOM certainly poem COND-say-3SG  
 ‘Anoush will certainly recite a poem.’  
 b. ?\*Anuš-ə *votavor* vstah k-as-i  
 Anoush-NOM poem certainly COND-say-3SG

#### Arguments for two positions: Other intervening material

##### *Intervening Instrumentals* (adapted from Tamrazian 1994)

- (25) a. Siran-ə *duf*-ə banali-ov bac<sup>h</sup>-ec<sup>h</sup>  
 Siran-NOM door-SP key-INST open-AOR.3SG  
 ‘Siran opened the door with a key.’  
 b. ?\* Siran-ə *duf* banali-ov bac<sup>h</sup>-ec<sup>h</sup>  
 Siran-NOM door key-INST open-AOR.3SG

##### *Intervening Locatives*

- (26) a. zinvor-ner-ə gər<sup>h</sup>-er-ə poqoc<sup>h</sup>-um er-an  
 soldier-PL-NOM book-PL-SP street-LOC burn-AOR.3PL  
 ‘The soldiers burned the books in the street.’  
 b. ?\* zinvor-ner-ə gər<sup>h</sup>-er poqoc<sup>h</sup>-um er-an  
 soldier-PL-NOM book-PL street-LOC burn-AOR.3PL

##### *Intervening PPs*

- (27) a. Siran-ə tun-ə es ašakert-i het varc<sup>h</sup>-el a  
 Siran-NOM house-SP this student-GEN with rent-PERF AUX/3SG.PR  
 ‘Siran has rented the house with this student.’  
 b. ?\*Siran-ə tun es ašakert-i het varc<sup>h</sup>-el a  
 Siran-NOM house this student-GEN with rent-PERF AUX/3SG.PR
- (28) a. Ara-n [<sub>vP</sub> girk<sup>h</sup> a af-el ]  
 Ara-NOM book AUX/3SG.PR buy-PERF  
 ‘Ara has bought a book/books.’  
 b. Ara-n girk<sup>h</sup>-ə [<sub>vP</sub> ar-el a ]  
 Ara-NOM book-SP buy-PERF AUX/3SG.PR  
 ‘Ara has bought the book.’

#### 5.2 On the vP-internal position of manner adverbs in EA (Kahnemuyipour 2004)

- manner adverbs mark the left edge of the verbal domain (Holmberg 1996, Webelhuth 1992, among others)  
 → low in the structure compared to sentential adverbs

- The fronting of vP does not leave the manner adverb stranded

- (29) a. Ara-n *arag* a čaš ut-um  
 Ara-NOM fast AUX/3SG.PR food eat-PROG  
 ‘Ara eats fast.’  
 b. *arag* a čaš ut-um Ara-n  
 fast AUX/3SG.PR food eat-PROG Ara-NOM  
 c. \* čaš ut-um Ara-n *arag* a  
 food eat-PROG Ara-NOM fast AUX/3SG.PR

➤ manner adverb is inside vP in Eastern Armenian

- In Eastern Armenian, only manner and measure adverbs receive the main stress and host the auxiliary (in unmarked reading).

- (30) a. Anuš-ə *vstah* a votavor artasan-el  
 Anoush-NOM confident AUX/3SG.PR poem recite-PERF

‘Anoush recited a poem / poems with confidence.’  
 b. Anuš-ə vstah votanavor a artasan-el  
 Anoush-NOM confident poem AUX/3SG.PR recite-PERF  
 ‘Anoush has certainly recited a poem / poems.’

## 5 Conclusion

- Analysis for clitic placement in unmarked readings in Eastern Armenian: 2P in vP.
- Brings together previous work on Eastern Armenian syntax and prosody that have independently argued for the vP as a phase boundary.
- Adds novel data to the growing cross-linguistic literature on clitics.
- Analysis draws parallels between the vP and CP phases (Chomsky 2001) and has implications for the syntax-phonology interface, as well as pointing to a parallel between the verbal and nominal domains

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