

# AUTHORITY AS REFLECTED IN A CORPUS STUDY OF COINED AND BORROWED EASTERN ARMENIAN WORDS IN THE SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET ERAS

**Zaruhi Grigoryan**

*European Regional Educational Academy,  
Yerevan, Armenia*

## **KEYWORDS:**

*Armenian language,  
Eastern Armenian  
language, corpus studies,  
Eastern Armenian  
National Corpus, language  
and politics, borrowed  
words, international  
terms, synonyms, 21<sup>st</sup>  
century*

## **ABSTRACT**

*A notable manifestation of the relationship with authority is the lexicon of Eastern Armenian, one of the two standardized forms of Modern Armenian. This paper presents the results of a corpus study on the development of the social-political lexicon of Eastern Armenian between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries. The lexicon of the latter has predominantly developed by the following two means: coining new words and borrowing international ones. Despite extensive work on this theme, scholars have not yet fully explored the interrelation of these opposite tendencies in Eastern Armenian, especially through a corpus study. The research questions that have guided this study are as follows: 1. whether the social-political concepts in Eastern Armenian lexicon were first reflected through terms coined out of Armenian language material and were later replaced by words borrowed from/through Russian; and 2. whether the terms that were coined sooner are also the ones that have been used more frequently.*

During the Soviet era, the lexicon of the Armenian language, including its social-political segment, was studied thoroughly. The dynamics of its development have been shown by such scholars as M. Abelyan,<sup>1</sup> H. Ačar<sup>2</sup>yan,<sup>2</sup> A. Murvalyan,<sup>3</sup> H. Ohanyan<sup>4</sup> and others. However, besides the works of R. Shalunts<sup>5</sup> there are very few studies on the development of the lexicon of the Armenian language in the post-Soviet era. On the whole, in spite of the extensive work conducted, the development of the lexicon of the Armenian language since the 19<sup>th</sup> century has not yet been studied thoroughly. The present paper is a corpus study on Armenian language data. These data reflect changes that took place in the lexicon of the Armenian language as a result of the social-political changes since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, including the pre-Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

In his 1955 monograph, Murvalyan<sup>6</sup> notes that the Armenian lexicon develops “mainly by *borrowing words* from Russian or from other languages through Russian, partly from Classical Armenian (also called *Grabar*); through *calques/loan translations* from Russian (of course, based on the word-building rules in Armenian); and especially by utilising the *inner word-building resources* of the Armenian language, i.e., through *compounding and derivation*, as well as through *semantic change/progression*,

- 1 M. Abelyan, *Theory of Armenian Language / Արևիյան, Մ. Հայոց լեզվի տեսություն / Hayoc' lezvi tesut'yun*, Vol. 4. (Yerevan: Melkonyan Foundation Publishing, 1931).
- 2 H. Ačar<sup>2</sup>yan, *History of Armenian Language, Part 1 / Անադյան Հ. Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն, Մաս I / Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun* (Yerevan: YSU Publishing, 1940); Ačar<sup>2</sup>yan, H. *History of Armenian Language, Part 2 / Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն / Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun* (Yerevan: Haypethrat, 1951).
- 3 A.A. Murvalyan, *The Lexicon of the Armenian Language. A Study / Հայոց լեզվի բառային կազմը. Ուսումնասիրություն / Hayoc' lezvi bar<sup>2</sup>ayin kazm ē. Usumnasirut'yun* (Yerevan: Publication of the NAS of Armenian SSR, 1955).
- 4 H. A. Ohanyan, *The Lexicon of Contemporary Armenian Language and the Ways of Enriching It / Ժամանակակից հայոց լեզվի բառապաշարը և նրա հարստացման միջոցները / Žamanakakic' hayoc' lezvi bar<sup>2</sup>apašarē yev nra harstac<sup>2</sup>man mij<sup>2</sup>oc<sup>2</sup>nerē* (Yerevan, NAS RA Publishing, 1982); H. A. Ohanyan, “The Manifestations of the Development of Contemporary Armenian / Ժամանակակից հայոց լեզվի բառապաշարի զարգացման դրսևորումները / Žamanakakic' hayoc' lezvi bar<sup>2</sup>apašari zargac<sup>2</sup>man drsevorunnerē,” *Traber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri*, 1 (1991): 97-105.
- 5 R<sup>2</sup>. N. Šalunc<sup>2</sup>, “The Social-political Transformations of the Recent Years and the Neologisms in Literary Armenian / Վերջին տարիների հասարակական-քաղաքական վերափոխումները և նորարանությունները գրական հայերենում / Verj<sup>2</sup>in tarineri hasarakakan-kalākakan verapoxunnerē yev norabanut'yunnerē grakan hayerenum,” *Traber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri*, 2 (1993); R<sup>2</sup>. N. Šalunc<sup>2</sup>, “The Newest Social-Political Terms in the Language of the Media / Հասարակական-քաղաքական նորագույն տերմինները զանգվածային լրատվության լեզվում / Hasarakakan-kalākakan noraguyn terminnerē zangvacayin latrut'yan lezvum,” *Traber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri*, 3 (1996).
- 6 Murvalyan, *The Lexicon of the Armenian Language*, 71.

which are closely connected and often occur together” [*italics A.M., transl. Z.G.*]. As for the development of the social-political vocabulary in Armenian, Murvalyan notes that such concepts as *revolution*, *revolutionary*, (*political*) *party*, and *partizan* were first introduced as Armenian coinages e.g., *հեղափոխություն* [*heł hap’oxut’yun*, “*revolution*”], *կուսակցություն* [*kusak’ut’yun*, “*political party*”], etc. which were later replaced by loanwords from Russian. Then in the post-Soviet era these were once again replaced by the former Armenian coinages. However, the previous studies do not show whether this has been the norm in similar cases or whether it was the case only for the above-mentioned terms.

The present article studies the development of Eastern Armenian social-political lexicon since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, focusing on 14 concepts and their double or triple equivalents (e.g., in Eastern Armenian, “a political party” has been called either “պարտիա” [*partia*] or “կուսակցություն” [*kusak’ut’yun*]).

Since any language corpus is representational only to a certain extent, in this case too we are dealing with the dynamics of the phenomenon rather than the absolute number of the word occurrences. Borrowing a word from the language representing authority, in this case Russian, does not always have the same causes or aims. Thus, borrowing a word for a new concept is only natural at the very beginning, when the concept itself is new to the society, e.g., when radio first came to be used in Armenia. In contrast, borrowing a word for a concept that has had its specific designation among the speakers of the language presupposes a reason beyond the lack of a corresponding term in that language. This is the case for the Armenian words denoting “a political party”, namely “կուսակցություն” [*kusak’ut’yun*] and “պարտիա” [*partia*], of which the first variant occurs in the 1870s, whereas the second variant, borrowed through Russian, was introduced only in the 1900s and became prevalent only since the 1950s. Nevertheless, currently it is again the first variant that prevails and is used almost exclusively – a dynamic that can be traced since the 1970s due to social developments in Soviet Armenia and that has continued since the independence of the Republic of Armenia in 1991. Within the framework of the present study, the following research questions were answered: 1.

whether these social-political concepts in the Eastern Armenian lexicon were first reflected through Armenian coinages and were later replaced by words borrowed from/through Russian; and 2. whether the coinages that were introduced earlier are also the ones that have been used more frequently.

## Analysis

In order to answer the above-mentioned questions, I conducted a corpus study, which shows the frequency with which the given word has been used across the whole time-span reflected in the data of the corpus, i.e., during the years 1800 to 2009. I compared the outcomes to data from the existing studies, the majority of which refer only to the period up to 1991, or 1996 at the latest. For the Armenian language, the most important annotated language corpus is the Eastern Armenian National Corpus (EANC),<sup>7</sup> which has been used for this research. This corpus includes data from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to 2009: therefore, the study can reflect only the data from that period, excluding the last 6 years. Nevertheless, it does give an idea of the main trends in this sphere.

In order to verify the above-mentioned research questions, I decided to examine the frequency with which a set of concepts has been expressed in Eastern Armenian – on the one hand, through loanwords and on the other, through Armenian coinages from the 19<sup>th</sup> century up until 2009. Thus, I selected 12 pairs of terms and 2 triples of terms denoting social-political concepts. They are as follows:

1. *կուսակցություն* [kusak'ut'yun] – *պարտիա* [partia] (political party),
2. *հանրապետություն* [hanrapetut'yun] – *ռեսպուբլիկա* [° respublika] (republic),
3. *հեղափոխություն* [heł hap'oxut'yun] – *ռևոլյուցիա* [° revoljuc'ia]

7 Eastern Armenian National Corpus, <http://eanc.net/>, Corpus Technologies, 2007-2009, last modified April 2015.

- (revolution),
4. *խորհրդային* [xorhrdayin] – *սովետական* [sovetakan] (Soviet),
  5. *նստաշրջան* [nstašrjan] – *սեսիա* [sesia](session),
  6. *պատգամավոր* [patgamavor] – *դեպուտատ* [deputat] (member of parliament),
  7. *սահմանադրություն* [sahmanadrut'yun] – *կոնստիտուցիա* [konstituc'ia] (constitution),
  8. *մեծամասնական* [mecamasnakan] – *բոլշևիկ* [bolševik] (Bolshevik),
  9. *փոքրամասնական* [p'ok'ramasnakan] – *մենշևիկ* [menševik] (Menshevik),
  10. *համայնավարական* [hamaynavarakan] – *կոմունիստ* [komunist] (communist),
  11. *նյութապաշտ* [nyut'apašt] – *մատերիալիստ* [materialist] (materialist),
  12. *կաճառ* [kačhar] – *ճեմարան* [čemaran] – *սկսադեմիա* [akademia] (academy),
  13. *կաճառական* [kača°rakan] – *նուստապետ* [usucč'apet] – *սկսադեմիկոս* [akademikos](academician),
  14. *ձայնաստիլոն* [jajnaspyu°r] – *ռադիո* [°radio](radio).

The selection of these words runs parallel with that of the work by Murvalyan who describes earlier stages of their usage (i.e., up to 1955). The results of the analysis are shown in Tables 1-2. It should be mentioned that the data obtained from EANC include also occurrences of those terms that lack a date. In order to avoid confusion, such cases have been left out of the study.

**TABLE 1** The number of occurrences of the above-mentioned word pairs and triples, according to the decades since 1800 until 2009. (For some of the occurrences no date is indicated.)

No. of the word pair or triple	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	Total																
Year	հիսուսականություն (khasak'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)	հիսուսականություն (hamp'ut'yun)																
(1800-1859)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	174,213															
(1860-1869)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	278,905															
(1870-1879)	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	957,414															
(1880-1889)	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,930,440															
(1890-1899)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	800,528															
(1900-1909)	4	1	4	0	20	18	1	0	6	5	0	11	1	12	4	2,028,309															
(1910-1919)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	758,858															
(1920-1929)	2	11	0	27	0	872	111	0	31	1	0	1	29	0	14	2	1,679,797														
(1930-1939)	62	15	24	2	54	5	3,450	624	3	1	179	3	16	1	108	1	3,891,321														
(1940-1949)	33	10	27	7	29	4	777	2,893	0	10	14	72	14	6	0	92	1,993,074														
(1950-1959)	4	59	5	41	18	27	25	5,622	2	12	11	170	2	12	3	55	5,098,903														
(1960-1969)	15	37	34	57	53	5	398	4,981	4	20	50	202	5	1	10	279	7,141,505														
(1970-1979)	361	30	460	8	126	15	456	10,146	24	12	142	536	70	9	0	66	12,358,514														
(1980-1989)	521	26	943	11	226	4	329	12,835	22	3	266	772	111	5	0	101	11,958,717														
(1990-1999)	92	4	134	1	26	0	540	132	8	0	111	47	11	0	57	5	3,438,049														
(2000-2009)	2,817	244	4,331	63	1,169	15	7,303	2,068	220	4	9,833	87	569	34	9	10	70	42,943,041													
No. date available	110	18	84	5	130	5	825	1,967	7	2	89	32	25	4	15	274	3	85	12,852,873												
Sum	4,041	446	6,057	195	1,880	80	15,000	41,397	291	65	10,758	1,228	834	42	1,653	1,087	53	148	72	2,388	73	107	54	291	713	2	54	2,940	7	1,346	110,284,461

## Discussion

The material analysed presents the situation in which in the Armenian language the same social-political concept has been denoted by two or even three terms. This phenomenon has been called “variety of neologisms”, i.e., when “dictionaries prescribe more than one term so that at least one of them gets selected and utilised. ... Thus, there emerge synonyms, having been created simultaneously and being used more or less frequently, out of which one [variant] becomes generalized with time”.<sup>8</sup>

In connection with this phenomenon of multiple neologisms, Ohanyan<sup>9</sup> notably brought the following information for the concepts of *republic*, *revolution*, *party*, *Soviet*, *delegate*, *session* and *constitution*. Although their Armenian equivalents “had become widespread in written and oral communication, in 1940 the Terminological Committee [of Armenia, Z.G.] made a completely unjustified decision to replace the above-mentioned words of the Armenian language with the so-called international ones. It was suggested that all publishers, periodicals, scientific research institutions and universities officially put into use the words *ռեսպուբլիկա* [° *respublika*], *ռևոլյուցիա* [° *revolyuc’ia*], *պարտիա* [*partia*], *սովետ* [*sovet*], *դեղեգաւան* [*delegat*], *սեսիա* [*sesia*], *կոնստիտուցիա* [*konstituc’ia*]. On October 5 of the same year, a clarification was published on the use of those terms. It was required to call state administrative bodies of USSR by the word *սովետ* [*sovet*] (council), whereas for the advisory bodies of educational, scientific and other institutions it was recommended to use the word *խորհուրդ* [*xorhurd*] (council); it was required to retain the word *հեղափոխութիւն* [*heľap’oxut’yun*] (radical change, revolution) in the Armenian language in its everyday sense and to denote social and historical events with the term *ռևոլյուցիա* [° *revolyuc’ia*] (*revolution*).

This decision by the Terminological Committee caused well-deserved dissatisfaction among the intelligentsia. In 1962 [the eminent Armenian poet, Z.G.] Paruyr Sevak published in «Գրական թերթ» [Grakan T’ert’] (“Literary Newspaper”) an article called “Let us preserve and enrich our

8 Alayan, *General and Armenian Lexicology*, 153, transl. Z.G.

9 Ohanyan, *The Lexicon of Contemporary Armenian Language and the Ways of Enriching It*, 340-343.

[Armenian Z.G.] language”, in which “following an investigation of the semantic clarity, word-building flexibility and phonetic harmony of foreign and Armenian words,” he rightly gave preference to the Armenian equivalents and emphasized the wrongful and unjust decision of the Committee. Since the [publication of] this Sevak’s article, the Armenian equivalents started to be used quite actively. Gradually the Armenian equivalents became widespread and frequently used. Words, such as *հանրապետություն* [hanrapetut’yun], *հեղափոխություն* [helap’oxut’yun], *կուսակցություն* [kusak’ut’yun], *սահմանադրություն* [sahmanadrut’yun] gradually gained ground, becoming more and more widespread. On May 22, 1966 the Terminological Committee made a new decision concerning these terms, by which they were restored and their usage became official. It was stated that the rationale was the widespread use of those Armenian words in oral and written communication. Thus the Terminological Committee reviewed its decision of 1940 and corrected its mistake.

In 1940 also, the words *դեղեգատ* [delegat] and *դեղեգացիա* [delegac’ia] (delegate and delegation) were mistakenly introduced to the Armenian language, despite the fact that [in Armenian] their equivalents, i.e., *պատգամավոր* [patgamavor] and *պատգամավորություն* [patgamavorut’yun]/ *պատվիրակություն* [patvirakut’yun] were already being used. On January 20, 1956 that mistake was corrected, and the above-mentioned foreign words were replaced by national equivalents. In 1940, by decision of the Terminological Committee, the word *սեսիա* [sesia] (session) came into official usage in Armenian: it was later replaced by the Armenian words *նստաշրջան* [nstašrjan] and *քննաշրջան* [k’nnasrjan] through the new decision of the Terminological Committee in June 1977.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the analysis reveals that in the case, for example, of the word-pair *կուսակցություն* [kusak’ut’yun] – *պարտիա* [partia] the Armenian coinage *կուսակցություն* [kusak’ut’yun] has come into usage starting in the 1870s. As for the international variant *պարտիա* [partia], it started to be used in the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, and was the more frequently used variant only in the 1950s-1960s (see Figure 1).

10 Ibid., transl. Z.G.

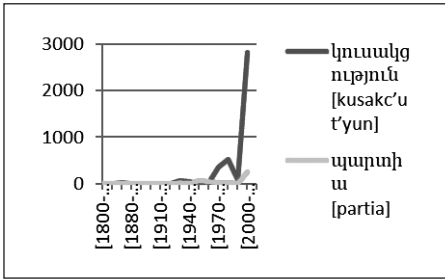


FIGURE 1

In case of the word-pair *հանրապետություն [hanrapetut'yun]* – *ռեսպուբլիկա [°respublika]* we get a similar picture. The variant *հանրապետություն [hanrapetut'yun]*, created with the word-building resources of the Armenian language, entered into usage in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and has been used more frequently than the variant *ռեսպուբլիկա [°respublika]*, which entered into usage in the 1930s, with the exception of the 1950s-1960s (see Figure 2).

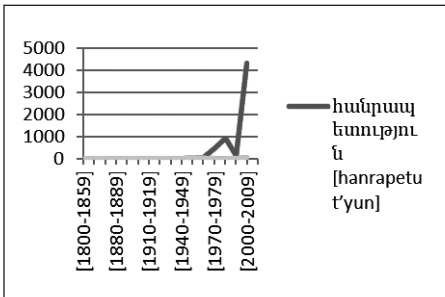


FIGURE 2

In case of the word-pairs *հեղափոխություն [helap'oxut'yun]* – *ռևոլյուցիա [°revolyuc'ia]* and *կուսակցություն [kusak'ut'yun]* – *պարտիա [partia]*, the variant created with the word-building resources of the Armenian language started to be used in the 1870s. Yet, the borrowed variant *ռևոլյուցիա [°revolyuc'ia]* started to be used rather late, in the 1930s, and by the frequency of its usage exceeded the other variant *հեղափոխություն [helap'oxut'yun]* only slightly, and that in the 1950s (see Figure 3).

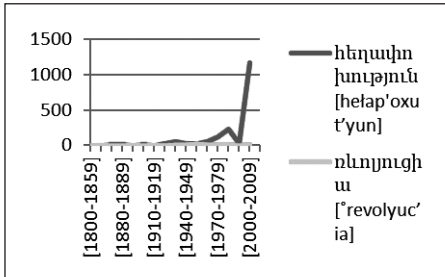


FIGURE 3

The word-pair *խորհրդային* [*xorhrdayin*] – *սովետական* [*sovetakan*] is special since both of these variants entered usage during the same decade (1900-1909). The variant *խորհրդային* [*xorhrdayin*] slightly exceeded the other one at that time, and became completely prevalent between 1920 and the 1930s. The ratio was reversed for the whole duration of 1940 until the 1980s and has been restored for the years 1990 to 2009 (see Figure 4).

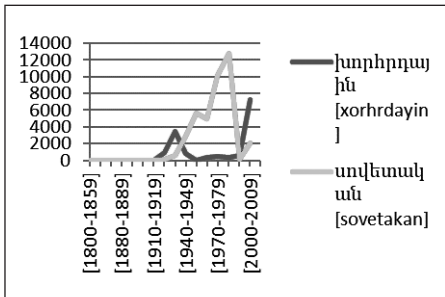


FIGURE 4

In the case of the word-pairs *նստաշրջան* [*nstašrjan*] – *սեսիա* [*sesia*] and *պատգամավոր* [*patgamavor*] – *դեպուտատ* [*deputat*], the borrowed variant was the first to enter usage, but it has been used less frequently than the Armenian coinage up to the 1940s. During 1940 to the 1980s the ratio was reversed in the case of this word-pair too and again was restored in the years 1990 to 2009 (see Figures 5, 6).

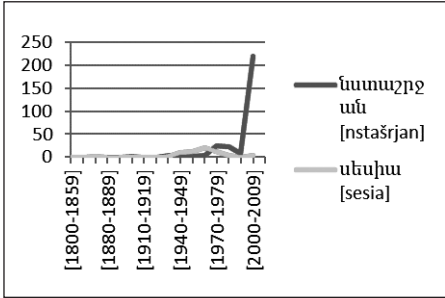


FIGURE 5

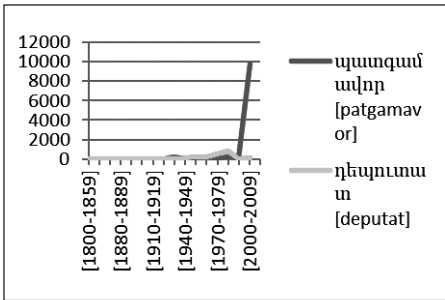


FIGURE 6

In the case of the word-pair *սահմանադրություն* [sahmanadrut'yun] – *կոնստիտուցիա* [konstituc'ia], the former has prevailed except for the 1950s (see Figure 7).

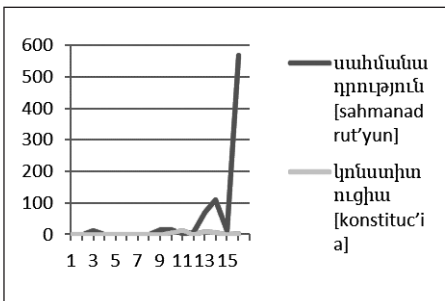


FIGURE 7

The word-pairs *մեծամասնական* [mecamasnakan] – *բոլշևիկ* [bolševik] and *փոքրամասնական* [pòk'ramasnakan] – *մենշևիկ* [menševik] en-

tered usage no sooner than the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and only during that decade did the first members of the word-pairs exceed the second ones in frequency. Since 1990s the word *մեծամասնական* [*mecamasnakan*] has been used more often than the word *բոլշևիկ* [*bolševik*], although in this case one should note the case of homonymy, since the word *մեծամասնական* [*mecamasnakan*] also refers to the type of electoral system (see Figures 8, 9).

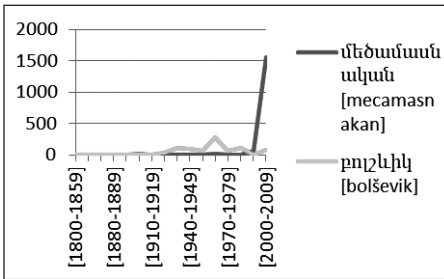


FIGURE 8

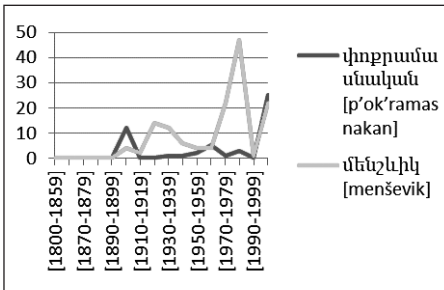


FIGURE 9

In the case of the word-pair *համայնավարական* [*hamaynavarakan*] – *կոմունիստ* [*komunist*], the variant *համայնավարական* [*hamaynavarakan*], which was created using the word-building resources of the Armenian language, entered usage two decades later than the international variant *կոմունիստ* [*komunist*] (i.e., during the years 1920 to 1929) and has always been used less frequently in comparison to it (see Figure 10).

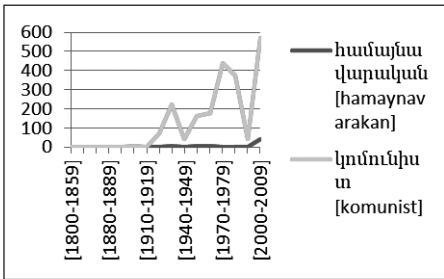


FIGURE 10

The usage of the word-pair *նյութապաշտ [nyut'apašt]* – *մատերիալիստ [materialist]* presents an interesting pattern. First the Armenian variant *նյութապաշտ [nyut'apašt]* entered usage (i.e., in the 1870s), and then, since the 1910s – the variant *մատերիալիստ [materialist]*. With a slight approximation of figures, we get quite a varied picture: between 1870 and the 1900s the variant *նյութապաշտ [nyut'apašt]* prevailed, and between 1950 and the 1980s, the variant *մատերիալիստ [materialist]*. However, the usage of the latter decreased drastically in the 1990s, and the variant *նյութապաշտ [nyut'apašt]* was restored again (see Figure 11).

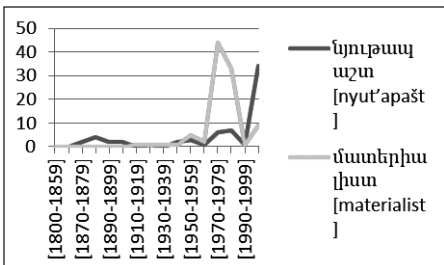


FIGURE 11

In the case of the triads *կաճար [kačhar]* – *ճեմարան [čëmaran]* – *ակադեմիա [akademia]* and *կաճառական [kača' rakan]*– *ուսուցչապետ [usucč'apet]*– *ակադեմիկոս [akademikos]*, although initially the Armenian coinages entered usage, namely *ճեմարան [čëmaran]* (between 1800 and 1810) and *ուսուցչապետ [usucč'apet]* (during the 1880s), however between 1930 and the 1940s the variants *ակադեմիա [akademia]* and *ակադեմիկոս [akademikos]* were prevalent (see Figures 12, 13).

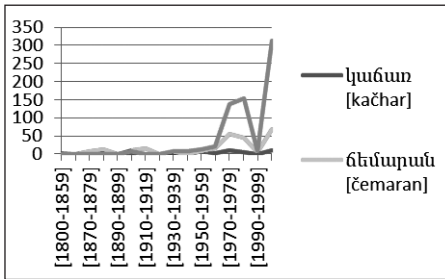


FIGURE 12

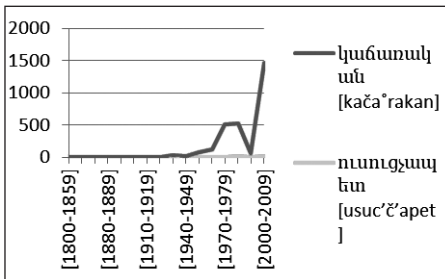


FIGURE 13

And finally, in the case of the word-pair *ձայնասփյուն* [jajnasp˚yur] – *ռադիո* [˚radio], since the 1920s the variant *ռադիո* [˚radio] has been used<sup>11</sup>, and the variant *ձայնասփյուն* [jajnasp˚yur] occurred very seldom during the 1980s and 2000s (see Figure 14).

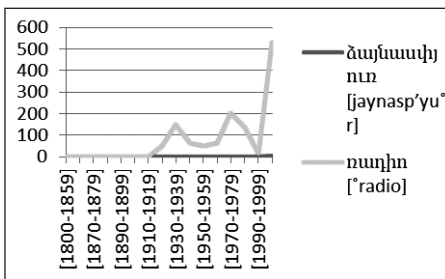


FIGURE 14

11 “Radio entered our republic in 1927. ... it has become widespread and important in various spheres of our life...” (see Ohanyan, *The Lexicon of Contemporary Armenian Language and the Ways of Enriching It*, 303).

On the basis of the statistical data from the EANC we have also determined which of the above-mentioned variants is the first to occur, and which variants out of the above-mentioned 12 word-pairs and 2 word-triads occur most frequently – whether those are the words created with the inner resources of the language or the borrowed words (Table 2).

**TABLE 2.** Determination of which of the above-mentioned variants is the first to occur, and which variants occur most

Number of the word-pair* or triple	The word-pair or triple	a. the Armenian coinage is the first to occur	b. the borrowing is the first to occur	c. the variants occur almost simultaneously	a. the Armenian coinage occurs more often	b. the borrowing occurs more often	c. the variants occur with equal frequency
1.	կուսակցություն [kusak'ut'yun] – պարտիա (partia)	✓			✓		
2.	հանրապետություն (hanrapetut'yun) – ռեսպուբլիկա [*respublika]	✓			✓		
3.	հեղափոխություն [helap'oxut'yun] – ռևոլյուցիա [*revolyuc'ia]	✓			✓		
4.	խորհրդային [xorhridayin] – սովետական [sovetakan]			✓		✓	
5.	նստաշրջան [nstašrjan] – սեսիա [sesia]	✓			✓		
6.	պատգամավոր [patgamavor] – դեպուտատ [deputat]		✓		✓		
7.	սահմանադրություն [sahmanadrut'yun] – կոնստիտուցիա [konstituc'ia]	✓		✓	✓		
8.	մեծամասնական [mecamasnakan] – բոլշևիկ [bolševik]			✓			✓
9.	փոքրամասնական [p'ok'ramasnakan] – մենշևիկ [menševik]			✓		✓	
10.	համայնավարական [hamaynavarakan] – կոմունիստ [komunist]		✓			✓	
11.	նյութապաշտ [nyut'apašt] – մատերիալիստ [materialist]	✓				✓	
12.	կանառ [kachaar] – ճնմարան [čemaran] – ակադեմիա [akademia]	✓				✓	

13.	կանոնական [kača' rakan] – նուսուցասպետ [usuc'č'apet] – ակադեմիկոս [akademikos]	✓				✓	
14.	ձայնսփյուն [jaynasp'yu'r] – ռադիո ['radio]		✓			✓	

## Conclusion

In this article I studied the development of a portion of the Eastern Armenian social-political lexicon since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, specifically the way in which 14 social-political concepts have been expressed in Eastern Armenian during the 19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. Over time, these concepts have been expressed by both Armenian coinages and international borrowings, sometimes in parallel. This phenomenon can be studied from various angles, two of which have been resorted to in this paper: data obtained from a language corpus on the number of occurrences for various terms, and data on the social and historical developments of the period in which these terms have been used. The second set of data has been used in an attempt to understand drastic changes in the usage of these terms, coined vs. borrowed.

Frequently, the corpus data simply reflect social-political changes, showing a prevalence of the coined variant here and that of the borrowed variant there. But sometimes, as can be seen through the corpus data, no matter how consistent it was with the current ideological preferences, the term failed to become prevalent in the decades following its introduction to the language, if it was used at all. The reasons for this may be a combination of purely linguistic ones (e.g., when the new word is too long and hard to pronounce in contrast to the existing one) and sociocultural ones (e.g., when the new term is rather short and easy to pronounce, but is not given preference because the older term has already become an accepted unit for the language community). At the outset of this study I had set the following research questions: 1. whether these social-political concepts in Eastern Armenian lexicon were first reflected through Armenian coinages and were later on replaced by words borrowed from/through Russian?

and 2. whether the variants that were introduced earlier are also the ones that have been used more frequently?

The study revealed that:

1. The Armenian coinages were the first to enter usage in only 8 cases out of 14, i.e., in only roughly half of them (particularly, N. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 13), and:
2. the variant that historically was the first to occur, whether a borrowing or an Armenian coinage, is on the whole the most frequent to occur in 8 cases out of 14 (particularly, N. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14).

Thus, for both of the research questions, the occurrence of the existing variants has been almost equal, suggesting that choice of the corresponding Armenian terms for the above-mentioned 14 concepts has been determined by a combination of purely linguistic factors and extralinguistic social-political ones, reflecting also the degree of relationship with authority through language.

## REFERENCES

- ABELYAN, M. *Theory of Armenian Language / Արևիյան, Մ. Հայոց լեզվի տեսություն / Hayoc' lezvi tesut'yun*, Vol. 4. Yerevan: Melkonyan Foundation Publishing, 1931.
- ԱՇԱՐԿՅԱՆ, Խ. *History of Armenian Language, Part 1 / Անասյան Հ. Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն, Մաս I / Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun*. Yerevan: YSU Publishing, 1940.
- ԱՇԱՐԿՅԱՆ, Խ. *History of Armenian Language, Part 2 / Հայոց լեզվի պատմություն / Hayoc' lezvi patmut'yun*. Yerevan: Haypethrat, 1951.
- ԱԷԱՅԱՆ, Ե.Բ. *General and Armenian Lexicology / Ընդհանուր և հայկական բառագիտություն / Ėndhanur yev haykakan bar°agitut'yun*. Yerevan:

- YSU Publishing, 1984.
- BADIKYAN, X.G. *Let Us Speak Armenian Correctly. Linguistic Norm. A Dictionary of Words Frequently Used in Armenian / Ճիշտ խոսենք հայերեն: Լեզվական նորմա: Հայերենում հաճախ գործածվող օտար բառերի բառարան / Čišt xosenk' hayeren. Lezvakan norma. Hayerenum hačax gorcacvoł bar°eri bar°aran.* Yerevan: Luys, 2012.
- BARSELYAN, H.X. *A Terminological and Orthographic Reference-book / Տերմինաբանական և ուղղագրական տեղեկատու / Terminabanakan yev ułlagrakan telekatu.* Yerevan: 9-rd hrašalik, 2006.
- Eastern Armenian National Corpus*, <http://eanc.net/>, Corpus Technologies, 2007-2009, last modified April 2015.
- GALSTYAN, H.A. *The Right and the Wrong: Mistakes Related to Word Usage, Word Form and Connection in Armenian / Ճիշտը և սխալը: Բառագործածության, բառաձևի և կապակցական սխալների հայերենում / Čištē yev xalē. Bar°agorcacut'yun, bar°ajevi yev kapakčakan xalnerē hayerenum.* Yerevan: Zangak-97, 2007.
- ŁAZARYAN, S. *A Guide of the Decision of the Terminological Committee / Ուղեցույց տերմինաբանական կոմիտեի որոշումների / Utēc'uyc' terminabanakan komitei vorošumneri.* Yerevan: Individual publication, 1945.
- Martirosyan, H. “An Interview with Armenia. Hrač' Martirosyan. The Joy of Science” interviewer: R. Grigoryan / Հարցազրույց Հայաստանի հետ: Հրաչ Մարտիրոսյան. Գիտության բերկրանքը / Hrač'azruyc' Hayastani het. Hrač' Martirosyani het. Hrač'Martirosyan. Gituťyan berkrankē *iLur.am*, February 17, 2014, <http://www.ilur.am/news/view/24947.html>.
- MURVALYAN, A.A. *The Lexicon of the Armenian Language. A Study / Հայոց լեզվի բառային կազմը. Ուսումնասիրություն / Hayoc' lezvi bar°ayin kazm ē. Usumnasirut'yun.* Yerevan: Publication of the NAS of Armenian SSR, 1955.
- OHANYAN, H.A. *The Lexicon of Contemporary Armenian Language and the Ways of Enriching It / Ժամանակակից հայոց լեզվի բառապաշարը և նրա հարստացման միջոցները / Žamanakakic' hayoc' lezvi bar°apašarē yev nra harstac'man mij°oc'nerē.* Yerevan, NAS RA Publishing, 1982.
- OHANYAN, H.A. “The Manifestations of the Development of Contem-

- porary Armenian / Ժամանակակից հայոց լեզվի բառապաշարի զարգացման դրսևորումները / *Žamanakacic' hayoc' lezvi bar°apašari zargac'man drsevorunnerē,* *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri*, 1 (1991): 97-105.
- PETROSYAN, H.Z. *An Armenological Dictionary / Հայերենագիտական բառարան / Hayerenagitakan bar°aran*. Yerevan: Hayastan publishing, 1987.
- SARGSYAN, V. *Political Linguistics and Linguistic Policy / Քաղաքական լեզվաբանություն եւ լեզվական քաղաքականություն / K'alak'akan lezvananut'yun yev lezvakan k'alak'akanut'yun*, Part 1, *Hayoc Ašxarh Daily*, November 20, 2007.
- SUK'IASYAN, A.M. *Contemporary Armenian Language. Phonetics, Lexicon, Word-building / Ժամանակակից հայոց լեզու. Հնչյունաբանություն, բառագիտություն, բառակազմություն / Žamanakacic' hayoc' lezu. Hnčyunabanut'yun, bar°agitutyun, bar°akazmutyun*, 3rd ed. Yerevan: YSU Publishing, 1999.
- ŠAHUMYAN, S. *Select Works / Ընտիր երկեր / Ėntir yerker*. Yerevan: Haypethrat, 1903-1918.
- ŠALUNC', R°. N. "The Newest Social-Political Terms in the Language of the Media / Հասարակական-քաղաքական նորագույն տերմինները գանգվածային լրատվության լեզվում / Hasarakakan-k'alak'akan noraguyn terminnerē zangvacayin lratvut'yan lezvum," *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri*, 3 (1996).
- ŠALUNC', R°. N. "The Social-political Transformations of the Recent Years and the Neologisms in Literary Armenian / Վերջին տարիների հասարակական-քաղաքական վերափոխումները և նորաբանությունները գրական հայերենում / Verj'in tanineri hasarakakan-k'alak'akan verap'oxunnerē yev norabanut'yunnerē grakan hayerenum," *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri*, 2 (1993).

## AUTORITET PREMA STUDIJI KORPUSA NOVIH I POSUĐENIH ISTOČNOARMENSKIH RIJEČI U SOVJETSKOJ ERI I NAKON NJE

### KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

*armenski jezik, istočni armenski jezik, studije korpusa, istočni armenski nacionalni korpus, jezik i politika, posuđene riječi, međunarodni izrazi, sinonimi, 21. stoljeće*

### SAŽETAK

Značajan odraz odnosa s autoritetom je leksik istočnog armenskog, jednog od dva standardizirana oblika modernog armenskog. U ovom radu prikazani su rezultati studije korpusa razvoja društveno-političkog leksika istočnog armenskog između devetnaestog i dvadeset prvog stoljeća. Leksik iz potonjeg uglavnom se razvio na sljedeća dva načina: stvaranje novih riječi i posuđivanje međunarodnih. Unatoč opsežnom radu na ovoj temi, znanstvenici još nisu u potpunosti istražili međusobnu povezanost tih suprotnih tendencija u istočnome armenskom, osobito kroz studiju korpusa. Istraživačka pitanja koja su vodila ovu studiju su sljedeća: 1. jesu li društveno-politički izrazi u istočnom armenskom leksiku prvi put bili reflektirani kroz izraze nastale iz armenskog jezičnog materijala, a kasnije zamijenjeni riječima posuđenim iz/putem ruskog i 2. jesu li izrazi koji su nastali ranije također i češće upotrebljavani.