ON ONE IMPORTANT PECULIARITY OF THE IMPERATIVE SINGULAR IN THE DIALECT OF ARARAT

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Morphological rules of forming the Imperative in the dialect of Ararat mainly correspond to those applied in the colloquial speech of Literary Modern Eastern Armenian. Nonetheless, some subdialects have an important peculiarity – an *ու* vowel-final rather than *ի* vowel-final form in the Imperative singular of transitive simple verbs of the the *է* (< Old Arm. *ե* and *ի*) conjugation - which, to our knowledge, so far has not been explained properly from either a diachronic or synchronic perspective. It is argued that the form in question has been created through analogy with the Imperative singular of three high-frequency transitive verbs (*namely, ասել*, Imp. sg. *ասա՛, ածել*, Imp. sg. *ածա՛, անել*, Imp. sg. *արա՛*). Therefore, it is no accident that only transitive simple verbs of the the *է* conjugation usually show the ending *ու* in the Imperative singular, whereas intransitive ones in the same conjugation class have regularly preserved the standard ending *ի*, the latter, in its turn, dating back to the Old Arm. ending *իր*, or, possibly, the stem-final diphthong *եա՛* via the intermediate stage of *է* (that is, *եա > է > ի*). Later the ending *ու* of the Imperative singular has also been extended analogically from transitive simple verbs of the *է* conjugation to causative verbs in some subdialects (most regularly in the subdialect of Վաղարշապատ (Էջմիացին), where this has become a productive morphological rule that admits of no exceptions).

Key Words: *morphological rules, the dialect of Ararat, Imperative singular, transitive simple verbs, high-frequency transitive verbs, the* է *conjugation, the subdialect of Վաղարշապատ (Էջմիացin), the ending* ու

H. Ačaṙyan, when illustrating the Imperative singular of the *է* (<*ե* and *ի*) conjugation simple verbs in the dialect of Erevan or Ararat[1], adduces the doublets *սի՛ri/սի՛rու*[2]. He further notes that 'the second form of the Imperative, which has the ending *ու*, is peculiar to the Էjmiacin region, for example, *ուզա՛, վառա՛, լցրա՛, ադանձա. շալակա՛* etc., whereas the dialect of Erevan proper employs *ուզի՛, վառի՛, լցրու*, etc"[3]. However, H. Ačaṙyan doesn't specify whether all simple verbs of the *է* (<*ե* and *ի*) conjugation in the subdia-

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[1] In Armenian dialectology, the terms *the dialect of Erevan* and *the dialect of Ararat* are often used in the same sense (cf., for example, **A. Łaribyan**, Hay barbaṙagitut'yun: hnč'yunabanut'yun ew jewabanut'yun [Armenian dialectology: phonology and morphology], Yer., 1953, p. 218).

[2] See **H. Ačaṙyan**, Hay barbaṙagitut'iwn: uruagic ew dasaworut'iwn hay barbaṙneri, [Armenian dialectology: A sketch and classification of Armenian dialects], Moskua: Nor-Naxiǰewan, (Ēmineаn azgagrakan žołovacu, vol. 8), 1911, p. 43.

[3] Ibid., p. 44.

lect of Eǰmiacin show the ending *u* in the Imperative singular. Moreover, he doesn't touch the question of the origin of the form under consideration. Other dialectologists either have overlooked the issue altogether[4] or have simply stated, following H. Ačaṙyan, that the Imperative singular of simple verbs of the ե̄ (<ե and ի) conjugation, is usually formed with the ending *ի*, and only in some subdialects with the help of the ending *u*[5].

Of course, A. Grigoryan, unlike H. Ačaṙyan, explicitly claims that in the subdialect of Ēǰmiacin, all verbs mark the Imperative singular with the ending *u*[6]. However, it appears to be an incautious statement which is not supported by the relevant linguistic evidence (more on which below). It is also quite surprising and unexpected that R. Markosyan doesn't even mention the form in question in his comprehensive study of the dialect of Ararat. Instead, he notes that the Imperative singular of causatives is made with the ending *nι* in the majority of subdialects, and only some of them show the ending *u*[7]. As to simple verbs of the ե̄ *(<ե* and *ի)* conjugation, R. Markosyan only states that the desinential *ր* of the Imperative singular is often dropped, resulting in new vowel-final forms of the Imperative singular, such as *բրնս́ի՛, բաշի, նրստի, քրնս,* etc.[8] Still, he also cites some forms of the Imperative singular which end in -*իր*, as, for example, *լրսի՛ր, յերրի՛ր*[9]. Note should be taken, however, that the final *ր* in the ending -* իր* of the Imperative singular has been lost regularly not only in simple verbs of the ե̄ *(<ե* and *ի)* conjugation, but also in suffixed-verbs in general, with the result that now it is practically missing in all subdialects within the dialect of Ararat[10]. Therefore, the forms *լրսի՛ր, յերրի՛ր* cited by R. Markosyan, cannot be viewed as

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[4] Cf., for example, **A. Łaribyan**, op. cit., pp. 225-227, **M. Asatryan,** Hay barbaṙagitutʻyan gorcnakan ašxatankʻneri jeṙnark [A Manual of practical works of Armenian dialectology], Yer., 1985, p 128.

[5] See, for example, **A. Grigoryan,** Hay barbaṙagitutʻyan dasəntʻac [A handbook of Armenian dialectology], Yer., 1957, p. 217, 220-221. Cf. also **V. Katvalyan**, Bayazeti barbaṙə yev nra lezvakan aṙnčʻutʻyunnerə šṙjaka barbaṙneri het [The dialect of Bayazet and its linguistic relationships with surrounding dialects], Yer., 2016, p. 140.

[6] See **A. Grigoryan,** op. cit., p. 221.

[7] See **Ṙ. Markosyan**, Araratyan barbaṙ [The dialect of Ararat], Yer., 1989, p. 151. Cf. also p. 173.

[8] Ibid., p. 151.

[9] Ibid., p. 151.

[10] Cf., for example, Ošakan gyuł, Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Village Oshakan, Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr № 20, points 641-642, Aštarak kʻałakʻ, Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Town Aštarak, Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr № 151, points 641-642, Pʻarpi, Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Pʻarpi, Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr № 9, points 641-642, Mułni gyuł, Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Village Mułni, Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr № 44, points 641-642, Ełvard, Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Ełvard, Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr № 86, points 641-642, Kʻanakʻeṙ gyuł, Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Village Kʻanakʻeṙ, Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr № 230, points 641-642, Norkʻ gyuł, Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Village Norkʻ, Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr № 79, points 641-642, Yerevan (Kentron), Hayereni barbaṙagitakan atlasi antip nyutʻer [Yerevan (Centre), Unpublished materials of Armenian dialectological atlas], tetr №, 23, points 641-642, to name just a few.

genuine dialectal forms but rather appear to be due to influence from the literary language.

Before proceeding to discuss the Imperative singular of simple verbs of the *է (< ե* and *ի)* conjugation synchronically and diachronically in the dialect of Ararat, we must first make a clear distinction between these verbs, which have normally retained the *է (< ե)* conjugation type in all verb forms, the only exception being the new Imperative singular with the ending *ու* (cf. *ուզա՛, վառա՛*), and those verbs which have historically been transferred to the *ու* conjugation type in the majority of subdialects and, accordingly, are conjugated in nearly all verb forms (including the Imperative singular) in exactly the same way as simple verbs of the *ու* conjugation, cf. on the one hand, *մընալ* (< Old Arm. մնալ), aor. *մընացի, մընացիր, մընաց….,* Imp. sg. *մընա՛*, and on the other hand, *ծիծաղալ, խոսալ* (< Old Arm. ծիծաղել,-իմ, խոսել, -իմ), aor. *ծիծաղացի, ծիծաղացիր, ծիծաղաց…, խոսացի, խոսացիր, խոսաց…,* Imp. sg. *ծիծաղա՛, խոսա՛*, etc.[11] To our surprise, however, some dialectologists traditionally assign verbs such as *ծիծաղալ, խոսալ*, to the group of simple verbs of the *է (< ե)* conjugation rather than of the *ու* conjugation[12].

The form of the Imperative singular of simple verbs of the *է (< ե and ի)* conjugation also differs in origin from a similar form in some other dialects which, however, has not arisen by analogical extension (as described above) but through a regular sound change *եա՛ > ու* or *եա՛ > է՛ > ու.* For example, in the dialect of Agulis, where the penultimate syllable usually carries the accent, the Old Arm. diphthong *եա՛* has yielded *է՛* in the accented syllable, and *ու* in the unaccented position, cf. գ̈րիլ (< գրել), Imp. sg. գ̈րէ՛, կտրիլ(< կտրել), Imp. sg. կտրէ՛, նստիլ (< նստիլ), Imp. sg. նստէ՛, on the one hand, and խաբիլ (< խաբել), Imp. sg. խաբա՛, թակիլ (< թակել), Imp. sg. թակա՛, etc., on the other hand[13]. This is also the case in the dialect of Karchevan[14], whereas in the dialect of Kakhavaberd, the phonetic change *եա > ու* has regularly taken place in accented as well as in unaccented syllable, cf. *խրմի՛լ* (< խմել), Imp. sg. *խրմա՛* and *դա՛րկիլ* (< ուդարկել), Imp. sg. *դա՛րկա*, etc.[15] In the dialect of Arabkir, however, the Old Arm. diphthong *եա՛* of the Imperative singular appears to have become *ǚ* via the transitional stage *է.* The point is

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[11] Cf., for example, Ošakan gyuł…, points 631-633, 641, 644, Aštarak k'ałak'…, points 632-633, 641, Mułni gyuł…, points 632-633, 641, Ełvard…, points 632-633, 641, K'anak'eṙ gyuł…, points 632-633, 641.

[12] Cf., for example, Ošakan gyuł…, points 632-633, 641, Aštarak k'ałak'…, points 632-633, 641, Mułni gyuł…, points 632-633, 641, Ełvard…, points 632-633, 641, K'anak'eṙ gyuł…, points 632-633, 641.

[13] See **S. Sargseanc'**, Agulec'oc' barbaṙə (zōkeri lezun): lezuabanakan hetazōtut'iwn [The dialect of Agulis: a linguistic study], Vols. 1–2, Moscow, 1883, pp. 119-120, also pp. 34, 49-52, 108-109.

[14] See **H. Muradyan**, Karčewani barbaṙə [The dialect of Karčewan], Yer., 1960, pp. 130-136.

[15] See **H. Muradyan**, Kak'avaberdi barbaṙə [The dialect of Kak'avaberd], Yer., 1967, pp. 62-63, 138-140.

that the diphthong *ēa*´ has normally given *ē*, as evidenced by such forms as կորեակ > կորէ´կ, վառեակ > վառէ´կ, գորեան > գորէ´ն, etc.[16] On the other hand, the vowel *ē* has regularly given *ǖ/u* in final position not only in the 3rd person singular of the Present Indicative, Optative and Subjunctive (all three going back to the Old Armenian Present Indicative), but in some independent words and proper nouns as well, as for, example, *ունել*, 3 person sg. Present Indicative *կուսաՙ որ, իմել*, 3 person sg. Present Indicative *իսմǖ որ, Հեղինե > Հեղնա, Այիշէ > Այիշǖ*, etc.[17] Therefore, considering that the further development of the newly originated vowel *ē* (< Old Arm. *ēa*´) has been precisely identical to that of the inherited Old Arm. *ē* in the dialect of Arabkir, it seems quite reasonable to think that the final *ǖ* in the Imperative singular of simple verbs of the *ē* conjugation (cf. *իմել*, Imp. sg. *իմǖ*)[18] has also arisen through the regular sound change *ēa* > *ē* > *ǖ*.

As to the *u*-final Imperative singular of simple verbs of the *ē* conjugation in the dialect of Ararat, analogical influence from three high-frequency transitive verbs, *namely, ասել,* Imp. sg. *ասա´, աձել,* Imp. sg. *աձա´, անել,* Imp. sg. *արա´,* is quite likely to have been responsible for the appearance of the form in question. An indirect support for this explanation appears to come from the fact that only transitive simple verbs of the the *ē (< ē* and *ի)* conjugation usually show the ending *u* in the Imperative singular, whereas intransitive verbs in the same conjugation class have normally retained the standard ending *ի*, the latter, in its turn, going back either to the Old Arm. ending *իր* or the diphthong *ēa*´ via the transitional stage *ē* (that is, *ի < ē < ēa*´)[19]. Incidentally, this pattern operates not only in the subdialect of Vałaršapat but in some others (in those of Aštarak, Ošakan, Pʻarpi, Ełvard, etc.) as well, cf. on the one hand, *բրնա´, գրրա´, ելիա´, խաշա´, կրդրա´, պրիա´ (պահա´), պատմա´, սիրա´, փացա´, փոխա´, քամա´,* and on the other hand, *արրի´, նրստի´, վազի´,* etc.[20] Although the subdialect of Vałaršapat (Ējmiacin) has not been described and analysed within the framework of *Unpublished Materials of Dialectological Atlas of the Armenian language*, an analysis of the relevant linguistic material available in the book *Hay žołovrdakan hekʻiatʻner, h. 2,* (Yer., 1959) [*Armenian Folk Tales*, vol. 2, Yer., 1959], reveals the operation of the same above

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[16] See **Melikʻ S. Dawitʻ-Bēk**, Arabkiri gawaṙabarbaṙə: jaynabanakan ew kʻerakanakan usumnasiruʻiwn [The dialect of Arabkir: a phonetic and grammatical study], Vienna, 1919, pp. 129-130.

[17] Ibid., pp. 118-119, 259.

[18] Ibid., p. 259.

[19] For a historical account of ի-final forms of the Imperative singular in Armenian dialects, see **S. Avetyan,** Main factors conditioning the absence of the final ն and the origin of the final ի of the Imperative singular in Armenian dialects. // Banber Yerevani hamalsarani. Banasirutʻyun [Bulletin of Yerevan University: Philology], 2023. № 1, pp. 68-78.

[20] Cf., Ošakan gyuł…, points 641, Pʻarpi…, points 641, Aštarak kʻałakʻ…, points 641, Ełvard…, points 641.

morphological rule based on the distinction of transitive vs. intransitive verbs in the subdialect of Vałaršapat as well, cf. մի ամարաթ *շինա՛* (p. 547)[21], չորերդ *հանա՛* (p. 565), մեզ *ազատա՛* (p. 511), *հավաքա՛, թե՛* (p. 551), *պատմա՛* (p. 552), ուրշին դրկա (p. 96) on the one hand, and *պառկի* (p. 421), *կաննի* «կանգնի՛ր» (p. 417), *նստի* (p. 269), *նստի՛* (p. 100), *քնի* (p. 100), etc., on the other. Later the ending *u* of the Imperative singular has also been extended analogically from transitive simple verbs of the *ē* conjugation to causative verbs in some subdialects (most regularly in the subdialect of Vałaršapat, where this has become a productive morphological rule, admitting of no exceptions, cf. *Կարմրացրա՛*, դիր իմ քվոր հետ (p. 274), *անգկացրա՛* ծովի են դրադը (p. 90), Պղինձը չուր *լցրա* (p. 268), արինը *լցրա* մի ամանի մեջ (p. 346), etc.).

However, one should also take account of the fact that in the corresponding volumes of the *Hay žołovrdakan hekʻiatʻner,* [Armenian Folk Tales], alongside genuine dialectal forms, there do infrequently occur some forms of the Imperative singular which are readily explainable due to influence from the colloquial speech of Literary Modern Eastern Armenian. Specifically, this seems to be the case with *h*-final by-forms of the Imperative singular of simple verbs of the *ē* conjugation in the relevant subdialects, as, for example, ...*խփի՛*, չաղացպան, հ'աչկերդ «փակի՛ր.... աչքերդ» (p. 490) beside Գնա h'աչկերդ *խփա* «գնա՛ աչքերդ փակի՛ր» (p. 489), *Պատմի՛, պատմի՛* (p. 408), արի ինձ *պռկի* (p. 492) beside Իմ բրլից մինը *պռկա* (p. 173) (from the subdialect of Ošakan), ինձ *պսակի* (p. 237), *քցի՛* թուրդ (p. 81) beside զուրգդ *քցա* (p. 80) (from the subdialect of Aštarak), Տար էծը *ծախի* (p. 612) beside էծը ստար *ծախա* (p. 608), Ա՛ռ, *ձենրդ կտրի* (p. 481) beside Ա՛ռ, *ձենդ կտրա* (p. 481), *ձէ՛նդ կտրա* (p. 610) (from the subdialect of Pʻarpi).[22]

As stated above, analogical extension seems to have been the most plausible motivation for the remodelling of the Imperative singular of the *ē* conjugation simple verbs in the concerned subdialects of Ararat, with the verb *ասել* having played a pivotal role in this process. As known, this verb, unlike other simple verbs of the *ē* conjugation, featured a deviant form ending in a stem vowel *u* in the Imperative singular, namely, *ասա՛* (< the aorist stem *ասաց* due to the prehistoric loss of the stem-final *g*) already in Old Armenian. Apart from this, the above analogical change may have been facilitated by the fact that the aorist of the verb *ասել*, in its turn, has been reshaped by analogy with the *ē* conjugation simple verbs in the dialect of Ararat and now it is conjugated regularly just as other simple verbs of the *ē*

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[21] Here and below, for the forms cited from the subdialect of Vałaršapat, the corresponding pages of the book *Hay žołovrdakan hekʻiatʻner, h. 2,* (Yer., 1959) [*Armenian Folk Tales*, vol. 2, Yer., 1959], are referred to in brackets.

[22] Here for the forms cited from the subdialects of Ošakan, Aštarak and Pʻarpi, the corresponding pages of the book *Hay žołovrdakan hekʻiatʻner, h. 1* (Yer., 1959) [*Armenian Folk Tales*, vol. 1, Yer., 1959], are referred to in brackets.

conjugation, cf., for example, *ասեցի* - aor. 1 sg., *ասեց* – aor. 3 sg., *ասեցին* – aor. 3 pl. versus Old Arm. *ասացի, ասաց, ասացին,* respectively. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Imperative plural of the verb *ասել* has also been remade on the model of the *ե* conjugation simple verbs in the dialect of Ararat (cf. *ասե՛ք* vs. Old Arm. *ասացէ՛ք*), whereas the form of the Imperative singular has remained intact. The above situation is consistent with typological evidence, according to which the Imperative singular is usually more resistant to analogical change due to higher frequency of use than the Imperative plural, which frequently and more readily undergoes analogical change and morphological restructuring[23].

As far as the verb *ածել* is concerned, it had a root-stem of aorist which also functioned as the Imperative singular in Old Armenian, cf. aor. stem *ած-*, Imp. sg. *ա՛ծ*. However, the verb *ածել* has undergone twofold analogical changes in the further development of the Armenian language: on the one hand, new aorist forms have been created analogically after those of regular simple verbs of the *ե* conjugation, and on the other hand, the form of the Imperative singular has been remade on the model of the verb *ասել*, hence the Imp. sg. *ածա՛* conforming to the form *ասա՛*. Though it is hard to say exactly when the new analogical Imp. sg. *ածա՛* has arisen, it is noteworthy that it has fully displaced the earlier form of the Imperative singular in nearly all dialects of the Armenian language. Therefore, the form *ածա՛*, being itself a relatively earlier analogical formation, is also likely to have favoured or contributed to the analogical remodelling of the Imperative singular of the *ե* conjugation simple verbs in the dialect of Ararat.

And, last but not least, the respective forms of the verb *անել* may also have encouraged the above analogical change. Specifically, the morphological relationship between the Imperative singular and Imperative plural could contribute to the creation of a new analogical form of the Imperative singular based on the Imperative plural by the principle of proportional analogy[24], namely, *արա՛* (Imp. sg.) – *արէ՛ք* (Imp. pl.) : x – *վարէ՛ք*, where x = *վարա՛*. In addition, the morphological relationship between the aorist and the Imperative may have been another facilitating factor, especially in those sub-dialects where the 3rd person singular of the aorist ends in *–եց* (as, for exam-

[23] Cf. **A. Y. Aikhenvald**, Imperatives and Commands, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 339-351, 362-364. Cf. also **S. Avetyan**, Hramayakan yełanakə dasakan hayerenum tipabanakan yev patmakan tesankyunic' [The Imperative in Classical Armenian from a typological and histoeical perspective]. // Banber Yerevani hamalsarani. Banasirut'yunn, [Bulletin of Yerevan University: Philology], 2021, № 3, p. 41ff., and **S. Avetyan**, Ardi hayereni ynt'ac'ik p'op'oxut'yunneric' mekə kiraŕahen lezvabanut'yan luysi nerk'o [One of the Ongoing Changes in Modern Armenian in the Light of Usage-Based Linguistics]. // Banber Yerevani hamalsarani. Banasirut'yunn, [Bulletin of Yerevan University: Philology], 2019, № 2 (29), pp. 48-62.

[24] For proportional analogy, see **R. S. P.Beekes**, Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction, 2nd ed., revised and corrected by **M. de Vaan**, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2011, pp. 75-76.

ple, in the subdialect of Vałaršapat, cf. aor. *արեցի, արեցիր, արեց....* and Imp. *արա´ - արէ´ք*) rather than *–ուց* (as, for example, in the subdialect of Ashtarak, cf. aor. *արեցի, արեցիր, արուց....* and Imp. *արա´ - արէ´ք*).

Perhaps one might assume that the *u*-final form of the Imperative singular of the *ե* conjugation transitive simple verbs in the dialect of Ararat, has resulted from a regular sound change *եա´ > ա*, or *եա´ > է > ա*, whereas both the *ի*-final form of intransitive verbs and the *ի*-final by-form of some transitive verbs, continue the Old Arm. ending *իր*. To put it another way, the ending *իր* (prior to the loss of the final *ր*) may have spread analogically from simple verbs of the former *ի* conjugation to simple verbs of the *ե* (< Old Arm. *ե*) conjugation in some subdialects but has not fully displaced the alleged survival of the Old Arm. stem-final diphthong *եա´*, hence the above doublets *ծախա´/ծախի´, կրտրա´/կրտրի´, պաշա´/պաշի´* and so on. However, the lack of reliable and independent examples of the presumed sound change *եա´ > ա*, or *եա´ > է > ա* in the concerned subdialects, on the one hand, and the obvious restriction of the ending *ա´* to transitive verbs, on the other hand, clearly speak against such an assumption. The point is that articulatorily motivated sound changes, as a rule, take place mechanically and without any regard to the morphological characteristics (including the distinction of transitive vs. intransitive verbs) of the words occurring in the relevant phonetic environments. Therefore, analogy is most likely to have been responsible for the appearance of new *a* vowel-final forms of the Imperative singular in the dialect of Ararat, as laid out above.

To sum up, the *a* vowel-final forms of the Imperative singular of the *ե* (< *ե* and *ի)* conjugation simple verbs occurring in some subdialects within the dialect of Ararat, so far have not received due attention in Armenian dialectology. A detailed analysis of the relevant synchronic as well as diachronic evidence leads to the conclusion that the forms in question are quite likely to have arisen through analogy with the Imperative singular of three high-frequency transitive verbs, *namely, անել,* Imp. sg. *արա´, ածել,* Imp. sg. *ածա´, անել,* Imp. sg. *արա´,* with the verb *անել* having played a pivotal role in this process. An indirect support for this explanation appears to come from the fact that only transitive simple verbs of the the *ե* (< *ե* and *ի)* conjugation usually show the ending *a* in the Imperative singular, whereas intransitive verbs in the same conjugation class have normally retained the standard ending *ի*, which, in its turn, goes back either to the Old Arm. ending *իր* or, possibly, the stem-final diphthong *եա´* via the transitional stage *է* (that is, *եա´ > է > ի)*. Later the ending *a* of the Imperative singular has also been extended analogically from transitive simple verbs of the *ե* conjugation to causative verbs in some subdialects (especially, in the subdialect of Vałaršapat (Ējmiacin), where this has become a productive morphological

rule which admits of no exceptions).

The above analogical change may also have been facilitated by the fact that the aorist of the verb *ասել*, in its turn, has been reshaped by analogy with the *է* conjugation simple verbs in the dialect of Ararat, and now it is conjugated regularly just as other simple verbs of the *է* conjugation. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Imperative plural of the verb *ասել* has also been remade on the model of the *է* conjugation simple verbs (cf. *ասէ՛ք* vs. Old Arm. *ասացէ՛ք*). However, the form of the Imperative singular (*ասա՛*) has remained intact. It is quite expected and normal from the typological viewpoint considering that the Imperative singular is usually more resistant to analogical change due to higher frequency of use, whereas the Imperative plural frequently and more readily undergoes analogical change and morphological restructuring.

ՍԱՐԳԻՍ ԱՎԵՏՅԱՆ – *Արարատյան բարբառում էզակի հրամայականի մեկ կարևոր առանձնահատկության շուրջ* – Արարատյան բարբառում հրամայականի կազմության ձևաբանական կանոնները հիմնականում համապատասխանում են արդի գրական արևելահայերենի խոսակցական տարբերակում գործող ձևերին: Այդուհանդերձ, որոշ խոսվածքներ ունեն մի կարևոր առանձնահատկություն, մասնավորապես՝ *է* (< հ. հայ. *ե* և *հ*) խոնարհման անցողական պարզ բայերի էզակի հրամայականում ոչ թե *հ* հանգով, այլ *ա* հանգով ձև (ինչպես, օրինակ՝ *ուզա՛*, *վառա՛*, *գրրա՛*), որը, որքանով մեզ հայտնի է, մինչ օրս պատշաճ կերպով չի բացատրվել ո՛չ տարաժամանակյա, ո՛չ էլ համաժամանակյա տեսանկյունից: Փաստարկվում է, որ տվյալ ձևը առաջացել է բարձր կիրառահաճախականություն ունեցող երեք անցողական բայերի (այն է՝ *ասել*, էզ. հրամ. *ասա՛*, *աձել*, էզ. հրամ. *աձա՛*, *անել*, էզ. հրամ. *արա՛*) հրամայականի ձևերի համաբանությամբ: Ուստի պատահական չէ, որ սովորաբար միայն *է* խոնարհման անցողական պարզ բայերն են էզակի հրամայականում հանդես բերում *ա* վերջավորությունը, մինչդեռ նույն խոնարհման անանցողականները պահպանել են կանոնիկ *հ* վերջավորությունը, որն էլ, իր հերթին, ծագում է հ. հայ. *իր* վերջավորությունից կամ, հնարավոր է, հիմքավերջյան *եա* ՝երկբարբառից՝ անցնելով *է* միջավկա աստիճանով (այսինքն՝ *եա > է > հ*): Ավելի ուշ էզակի հրամայականի *ա* վերջավորությունը որոշ խոսվածքներում *է* խոնարհման անցողական պարզ բայերից համաբանությամբ տարածվել է նաև պատճառական բայերի վրա (առավել կանոնավոր կերպով Վաղարշապատի (Էջմիածնի) խոսվածքում, որում այն դարձել է բացառություն չճանաչող գործուն ձևաբանական կանոն):

Բանալի բառեր – *ձևաբանական կանոններ, Արարատյան բարբառ, էզակի հրամայական, անցողական պարզ բայեր, բարձր կիրառահաճախականություն ունեցող անցողական բայեր, է խոնարհում, Վաղարշապատի (Էջմիածնի) խոսվածք, ա վերջավորություն*

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САРГИС АВЕТЯН – *К одной важной особенности императива единственного числа в Араратском диалекте.* – Морфологические правила образования императива в Араратском диалекте в основном соответствуют тем, которые применяются в разговорной речи современного восточноармянского литературного языка. Тем не менее, некоторые говоры имеют одну важную особенность – форму, оканчивающуюся на гласный *ш*, а не на гласный *ի* в императиве единственного числа переходных простых глаголов спряжения *է* (< др. арм. *ե* and *ի)*, как, например, *ուզա՛, վառա՛, զրրա՛* - которая, насколько нам известно, до сих пор не была должным образом объяснена ни с диахронической, ни с синхронной точки зрения. Аргументируется, что данная форма была создана по аналогии с императивом единственного числа трёх высокочастотных переходных глаголов (а именно: *шանել,* Imp. sg. *шиш՛, шծел,* Imp. sg. *шծш՛, шնել,* Imp. sg. *шрш՛*). Более того, глагол *шանel* сыграл ключевую роль в этом процессе аналогического преобразования. Поэтому не случайно, что только переходные простые глаголы спряжения *է* обычно показывают окончание *ш* в императиве единственного числа, в то время как непереходные глаголы в том же классе спряжения, регулярно сохранили стандартное окончание *ի*, которое, в свою очередь, восходит к древнеармянскому окончанию *իր*, или, возможно, к конечному дифтонгу *եш՛* глагольной основы через промежуточную стадию *է* (то есть, *եш > է > ի)*. Окончание ш императива единственного числа далее распространилось по аналогии с простыми глаголами спряжения *է* также на каузативные глаголы в некоторых говорах (наиболее регулярно в говоре Вагаршапата (Эчмиадзина), где это стало продуктивным морфологическим правилом, не допускающим никаких исключений).

Ключевые слова: *морфологические правила, Араратский диалект, императив единственного числа, переходные простые глаголы, **высокочастотные** переходные глаголы, спряжение* է*, говор Вагаршапата (Эчмиадзина), окончание* ш