

Imperative Converb in Archi

Archi (Lezgetic, Nakh-Daghestanian) features an Imperative Converb, a form rare or absent from other Daghestanian languages. The Imperative Converb, first described by A. Kibrik, occurs in polypredicative constructions when both predicates convey volitional illocution. The second imperative is a regular (finite) imperative form:

- (1) *xit:a-xir* *š:ə|le-kul* *c'a-lli* *eca*
 then-after be.fat-MSD **melt.IMP- CVB.IMP** pour.IMP
 "Then melt the fat and pour (it in)."

The Imperative Converb is a non-finite form. It may not be the only predicate in a sentence and does not combine with any of the Archi imperative particles. One sentence may have several imperative converbs:

- (2) *mač-u* *b-a-lli* *zaba-lli* *b-ars:a.*
 nettle-AND **3-do.IMP-CVB.IMP** **come.IMP- CVB.IMP** 3-chop.IMP
 "Collect some nettles, come back and chop them."

The use of the Converb for the second imperative is not obligatory; a sentence is grammatical even when it includes several regular imperatives.

- (3) *xit:a-xir* *orx|i* *ača,* *dac'on* *ača.*
 then-after salt **add.IMP** oatmeal **add.IMP**
 "en add some salt, add oatmeal."

In all contexts, the Imperative Converb may be replaced by a regular imperative. On the other hand, there are no visible syntactic constraints on the use of the Imperative Converb, either; it can be used for instance if the addressee of the imperative is not the same for the main imperative and in the Converb; objects of the two imperatives may be different, two:

- (4) *jat:ik* *inx-u* *s:usəba-lli* *eł:a*
 over butter-AND **spread.IMP-CVB.IMP** put.IMP
 "Spread the butter over (them) and put (the loaves of bread)."

The use of the Converb for the second (third and so on) imperative clause is apparently controlled by semantic rather than syntactic factors. The goal of the paper is to explain the conditions and constraints of the use of the Imperative Converb. Thus, according to the speakers, the use of the Imperative Converb indicates that the two actions are closely related; cf. the change from regular imperative to Imperative Converb in the following example:

- (5) *Pati,* *un* *at'a,* *Asijat, un*
 Patimat you.SG **cut.IMP** Asijat you.SG

k'očo-la *eł:a,* *Lajuza,* *un* *čij* *eł:a.*
 dish- **put.IMP** Lajuza you.SG tea **put.IMP**
 "You, Patimat, cut, you, Asijat, put (it) on the dish, you, Lajuza, put the kettle on the fire."

- (6) *Pati,* *un* *at'a-lli,* *Asijat, un*
 Patimat you.SG **cut.IMP- CVB.IMP** Asijat you.SG
- k'očo-la* *eł:a,* *Lajuza,* *un* *čij* *eł:a.*
 dish- put.IMP Lajuza you.SG tea put.IMP
- "You, Patimat, cut, you, Asijat, put (it) on the dish, you, Lajuza, put the kettle on fire."

The latter is different from the former in that in the latter case it is obvious that what Asijat is going to put on the dish is the same thing that Patimat just cut.