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# **MOODS OF MEHWEB**

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## **MOODS OF MEHWEB**<sup>2</sup>

This paper describes the moods of Mehweb, a lect of the Dargwa branch of East Caucasian languages, Republic of Daghestan. The data for this description was collected during several field trips to the village of Mehweb (Megeb). The forms of non-indicative moods and common constructions where these forms occur are described. Mehweb has inflectional forms for the imperative, optative, irrealis and apprehensive. The hortative and jussive are expressed by means of grammatical constructions.

Key words: Nakh-Daghestanian languages, minor languages, modality, mood, imperative, hortative, jussive, optative, irrealis, conditional, apprehensive

JEL Classification: Z

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## 1. Introduction

This paper is a description of non-indicative moods in Mehweb, a language of Daghestan. Mehweb belongs to the Dargwa group of East Caucasian languages. Mehweb is spoken in one village in Central Daghestan, with a total of about 1,000 speakers (both in the village itself and on the plains). Mehweb is surrounded by the speakers of Avar and Lak. Most speakers are trilingual, speaking Avar and Russian. Recently, knowledge of Lak was also widespread. Mehweb is sometimes referred to as a dialect of Dargwa (Magometov 1982), but is more frequently considered a separate language (Khaidakov 1985), (Koryakov & Sumbatova 2007).

Mehweb moods are briefly discussed in Magometov (1982), Khaidakov (1985) and in a sketch of Mehweb morphology by Nina Sumbatova (manuscript). The data for this paper were collected during the field trips to Mehweb in 2013, 2014 and 2015.

## 2. Second person imperative

2nd person imperative expresses the commands and requests addressed to the hearer. In this section, I analyse the formation of 2nd person imperatives in their relation to the transitivity and controllability of the verbs, the agreement of imperatives with the addressee, and the forms of address in the imperative constructions.

### 2.1. Formation of imperatives

Second person imperative of imperfective verbs is marked by suffix -e.

- (1)      niʔ                      urt'-e  
          milk                    pour.IPFV-IMP  
          Pour the milk!

Second person imperative of perfective verbs is marked by the suffixes -e or -a depending on the transitivity of the verb. Intransitive verbs take suffix -e, transitive verbs take suffix -a:

- (2)      učitel                    uʔ-e  
          teacher                1.become.PFV-IMP  
          Become a teacher!

- (3)      deč'                        b-aq'-a  
          song                    N-do.PFV-IMP.TR  
          Sing a song! (literally - do a song)

Imperatives from verbs that denote events and situations over which the speaker exerts no control are not acknowledged by all speakers as grammatical, but in most cases they are able to invent some special context. For example, one can say *Bemže!* 'Get hot!' as if (s)he were addressing to a stove.

The verb 'to die' forms two imperatives.

Perfective imperatives of some verbs which denote uncontrollable events are presented in the Table 1.

verb	transitive imperative	intransitive imperative
-ac'es (pfv.) 'to melt'	*b-ac'a	b-ac'e (addressing to snow)
-arχes (pfv.) 'to touch' (unintentionally)	*w-arχa	w-arχe
-ebk'es (pfv.) 'to die'	w-ebk'a ?	w-ebk'e
-emžes (pfv.) 'to become hot'	*b-emža	b-emže (addressing to a stove)
-erħes (pfv.) 'to become rotten'	*b-erħa	b-erħe
-ertes (pfv.) 'to curdle'	*d-erta	d-erte (addressing to milk)
-erʔwes (pfv.) 'to become dry'	*b-erwʔa	b-erwʔe
-ikes (pfv.) 'to happen'	*b-ika	b-ike
-uʔes (pfv.) 'to become spoilt'	*b-uʔa	*b-uʔe
-emxes (pfv.) 'to become swollen'	*b-emxa	b-emxe
kalʔes (pfv.) 'to be left'	*kalʔa	kalʔe
-arʔas (pfv.) 'to become cold, freeze'	*d-arʔa	d-arʔe

Table 1. Imperative of intransitive verbs

Most experiencer verbs have two imperatives, with suffix -a and with suffix -e.

- (4)                    ħa-ze                    arκ-e  
                          you-INTER                    understand.PFV-IMP  
[You] understand! (try to understand)

- (5) ħa-ze                    arκ-a  
                          you-INTER(LAT)                    understand.PFV-IMP  
[You] understand! (make attempts to understand)

Imperatives from experiencer verbs are shown in Table 2.

experiencer verb	transitive imperative	intransitive imperative
bahas (pfv.) 'to know'	baha	bahe
-arges (pfv.) 'to find'	b-arga	b-arge
(-)-iges (ipfv.) 'love, want'	ʔʔd(-)iga	d(-)ige
arκes (pfv.) 'to understand, hear'	arκa	arκe
gʷes (pfv.) 'to see'	ʔgwa	*gwe
qumartes (pfv.) 'forget'	qumarta	ʔqumarte
uruχ k'es (ipfv.) 'be afraid'	uruχ k'a	uruχ k'e

Table 2. Imperatives from experiencer verbs

The jussive is a combination of the imperative of the main verb with the imperative of the verb *es* 'say' (see Section 5). Verbs which show semantic restrictions on the

formation of imperatives easily produce the respective morphological forms within the jussive construction:

- (6)            gw-e                            bet'-a  
                  see-IMP                         say-IMP.TR  
 Let him see! (He should make attempts to see.)

Interestingly, many intransitive verbs which only have one form of 2nd person imperative, allow jussive constructions with two forms, in -e and in -a, though the first choice of the speaker is usually the form in -e. Cf. the example (6) and the following:

- (7)            g<sup>w</sup>-a                            bet'-a  
                  see-IMP                         say-IMP.TR  
 Let him see.

Several jussive constructions with intransitive and experiencer verbs are shown in Table 3.

Verb	Jussive construction with imperative in -e	Jussive construction with imperative in -a
g <sup>w</sup> es (pfv.) 'to see'	g <sup>w</sup> e bet'a	g <sup>w</sup> a bet'a
-ac'es (pfv.) 'to melt'	b-ac'e bet'a	b-ac'a bet'a
-emxes (pfv.) 'to become swollen'	b-emxe bet'a	b-emxa bet'a
-ertes (pfv.) 'to curdle'	d-erte bet'a	d-erta beta

Table 3. Examples of jussive construction with uncontrollable verbs

## 2.2. Number and gender of the addressee

A plural addressee is marked by the suffix -na which is added to the imperative form. All verbs in Mehweb obligatorily add a plural marker to convey the plurality of addressee:

- (8)            deč'                                    b-aq'-a-na  
                  song                             N-do-IMP-IMP.PL  
 Sing (you-PL)!

Intransitive verbs which have an agreement slot agree in gender and number with the addressee to whom the imperative is directed:

- (9)            w-ak'-e  
                  M-come-IMP  
 Come to me! (addressing a man)
- d-ak'-e  
                  F-come-IMP  
 Come to me! (addressing a woman)

- (10)            b-ak'-e-na  
                   NPL-come-IMP-IMP.PL  
 Come to me! (addressing women)

### 2.3. Forms of address

The addressee of imperatives is not usually expressed, but it can be overtly marked if it is stressed:

- (11)            ħu                    učitel                    uʔ-e  
                   you.NOM                teacher                    M.become-IMP  
 [You] become a teacher!

- (12)            ħu-ni                    deč'                    b-aq'-a  
                   you.SG-ERG             song                    N-do-IMP  
 [You] sing the song!

An imperative utterance can include a form of address. Case marking is nominative even with transitive verbs:

- (13)            Muħammad,                deč'                    b-aq'-a  
                   Mohammad.NOM            song                    N-do-IMP  
 Mohammad, sing the song.

- (14)            Muħammad,                uč'itel                    uʔ-e  
                   Mohammad.NOM            teacher                    M.become-IMP  
 Mohammad, become a teacher!

Second person pronouns as well as demonstratives (which are used as third person pronouns) cannot be used as forms of address:

- (15)            \*ħu                    deč'                    b-aq'-a  
                   you.NOM                song                    N-do-IMP

- (16)            \*it                    deč'                    b-aq'-a  
                   this.NOM                song                    N-do-IMP

Interestingly, the second person imperative construction can include a third person NP which is not a form of address. It is marked by the ergative with transitive verbs and by the nominative with intransitive verbs. Although the construction includes a formally third person NP, it is addressed to the hearer:

- (17)            Muħammad-i-ni                deč'                    b-aq'-a  
                   Mohammad-OBL-ERG            song                    N-do-IMP  
 [Mohammad] sing the song.

- (18)            it-i-ni                    deč'                    b-aq'-a

this-OBL-ERG                  song                  N-do-IMP  
 [He] sing the song.

(19)          it                  w-ak'-e  
               that              M-come-IMP  
 [He] come [here].

Speakers often elicit this construction with additive particle -ra:

(20)          Muhammad-i-ni-ra                  deč'                  b-aq'-a  
               Mohammad-OBL-ERG-ADD          song                  N-do-IMP  
 [Mohammad] sing the song.

(21)          it-ra                  w-ak'-e  
               that-ADD          M-come-IMP  
 [He] come [here], too.

The construction with a third person NP and the imperative is primarily used when the speaker addresses several people:

(22)          Pat'imat-ra                  d-ak'-e,                  Asijat-ra                  d-ak'-e  
               Patimat-ADD          F-come-IMP          Asijat-ADD          F-come-IMP  
 Patimat and Asijat, come [here].

(23)          Pat'imat-li-ra          deč'          b-aq'-a,          Asijat-li-ra          deč'          b-aq'-a  
               Patimat-ERG-ADD  song          N-do-IMP          Asijat-ERG-ADD  song          N-do-IMP  
 Patimat and Asijat, sing the song.

The imperative can be used with particles -w and/or -ca. Although the particle -w resembles the M class marker, it does not depend on the gender of the addressee:

(24)          deč'                  b-aq'-a-w  
               song                  N-do-IMP-PTCL  
 Sing a song! (addressing a woman or a man)

(25)          Pat'imat                  ħu                  d-ak'-e-w-ca  
               Patimat                  you.NOM          F-come-IMP-PTCL-PTCL  
 Patimat, (you) come [here]!

If several imperatives are combined, the chain of verbal forms can consist either of imperatives or imperative(s) with converb(s):

(26)          b-uc-a                  maza                  aʔ-a                  buħna  
               N-catch-IMP.TR          sheep                  drive-IMP.TR          inside  
 Catch the sheep, [and] drive it inside.

(27) Pat'i kaltuška-ra d-urʔun d-aq'-i-le ħarši d-aq'-a  
 mat patim potato- NPL- NPL-do.PFV-AOR- soup NPL-do.PFV-  
 at ADD clean CVB IMP  
 Patimat, peel the potato and make the soup!

(28) k'amp'it'u-ne as-i-le tukaj-ħe-la ħu-ni-jal mu-d-uk-adi  
 sweet-PL take.PFV-AOR- shop-IN-EL you.SG-ERG PRH-NPL-  
 CVB eat.IPFV-  
 PRH

Buy some sweets, (but) don't eat them.

### 3. Prohibitive

The prohibitive is formed with suffix -adi and prefix mV- with an unspecified vowel, which assimilates to the next vowel (see examples in Moroz 2015). The prohibitive can be derived only from the imperfective stem. Thus, one prohibitive form corresponds to two imperative forms. Suffix -adi is sometimes truncated to -ad. There is no distinction between transitive and intransitive prohibitives.

(29) deč' mi-m-iq'-ad(i)  
 song PRH-N-do.IPFV-PRH  
 Don't sing!

Prohibitive has the same marker of plurality -na as imperative:

(30) deč' mi-m-iq'-adi-na  
 song PRH-N-do.IPFV-PRH-IMP.PL  
 Don't sing! (addressing several speakers)

The prohibitive suffix cannot be truncated before plural marker:

(31) \*mi-m-iq'-ad-na  
 PRH-N-do.IPFV-PRH-IMP.PL

The prohibitive has the same constructions for the forms of address as the imperative:

(32) Pat'imat, deč' mi-m-iq'-adi  
 Patimat song PRH-M-do.IPFV-PRH  
 Patimat, don't sing the song.

Constructions with a third person subject are also available for the prohibitive:

(33) Pat'imat-li deč' mi-m-iq'-adi  
 Patimat-ERG song PRH-M-do.IPFV-PRH  
 [Patimat] don't sing the song.



Prohibitive can take the particle -ca:

- (34) mi-m-iq'-adi-ca                      hel                      deč'  
 PRH-M-do-PRH-PTCL                      this                      song  
 Don't sing this song!

#### 4. Hortative (1st person inclusive imperative)

There is no dedicated hortative morphology in Mehweb. The inducement to the 1st person inclusive is expressed by the construction which consists of the infinitive of the main verb and the form CL-aš-e, where CL is a class marker. The form CL-aš-e is an imperative form of the verb CL-aš-es 'come' (imperfective) used as the 2nd person imperative (35) and as a hortative (36):

- (35) Pat'imat,                      d-aš-e                      di-šu  
 Patimat,                      F-go-IMP                      I-AD  
 Patimat, come to me!

- (36) d-aš-e-ca                      tukaj-ħe  
 F-go-IMP-PCL                      shop-IN  
 Let's go to the shop!

The plural imperative CL-aš-e is used as a second person imperative for several addressees or as an inducement to several addressees to perform an action together. There is an irregular alternation to -i when the plural suffix is added: *waše - bašina*:

- (37) b-aš-ina                      ca                      tukaj-ħe  
 HPL-go.IPFV-IMP.PL                      PTCL                      shop-IN  
 Let's go the shop! (addressing several people)

The form CL-aš-e agrees with the addressee, while the infinitive of the main verb agrees with absolutive:

- (38) d-aš-e                      deč'                      b-aq'-as  
 F-come.IPFV-IMP                      song                      N-do.PFV-INF  
 Let's sing a song! (addressing a girl)

- (39) w-aš-e                      deč'                      b-aq'-as  
 M-come.IPFV-IMP                      song                      N-do.PFV-INF  
 Let's sing a song! (addressing a boy)

- (40) d-aš-e                      urši                      w-it'-es  
 F-go.IPFV-IMP                      boy                      M-draw.PFV-INF  
 Let's draw a boy! (addressing a girl)



In a hortative construction, negation is marked on the main verb:

- (48)                    d-aš-e                    deč'                    ĥa-b-aq'-as  
                           F-come.IPFV-IMP    song                    NEG-N-do.PFV-INF  
 Let's not sing a song. (addressing to a girl)

- (49)                    d-aš-e                    urši                    ĥa-it'-es  
                           F-go.IPFV-IMP    boy                    NEG-1.draw.PFV-INF  
 Let's not draw a boy. (addressing to a girl)

Constructions with negated auxiliaries are not interpreted as hortative:

- (50)                    mi-d-ik'-adi                    deč'                    b-aq'-as  
                           PRH-F-come.IPFV-PRH    song                    N-do.PFV-INF  
 Don't come to sing a song.

### 5. Jussive (3rd person imperative)

The jussive is used to express an inducement to a 3rd person agent. In Mehweb, the jussive is expressed by a periphrastic construction. In the Section 5.1, the jussive construction is described, Section 5.2 discusses the semantics of its construction.

#### 5.1. The jussive construction

The jussive consists of the imperative of the verb 'to say' and the imperative of the main verb. The jussive is understood as a means to transfer the request to the non-locutor via the addressee (Tell him "Go!" → Let him go!):

- ( Mus      uz-e                    bet'-a  
 5 a  
 1  
 )  
 Mus    M.work.IPFV-IMP    say.PFV-IMP  
 a  
 Let Musa work.

Jussive semantics do not demand the verb designate a controllable situation. Verbs which cannot be used in a regular imperative construction form the morphological imperative as a part of the jussive construction (see also Section 2.1):

- (52)    d-aq-a,                    ni?    d-ert-e / d-ert-a                    bet'-a  
           F-let.PFV-IMP.TR    milk    NPL-get.spoilt.PFV-IMP / IMP.TR    say.PFV-IMP  
 Leave the milk, let it spoil.

The imperative of the verb 'to say' does not have an agreement slot. It can take the plural suffix which agrees with the addressee, cf. next two examples:

- (53)            urš-be-jni            deč'            b-aq'-a            bet'-a  
                  boy-PL-ERG            song            N-do.PFV-IMP            say.PFV-IMP  
 Let the boys sing a song. (addressing one person)

- (54)            urš-be-jni            deč'            b-aq'-a            bet'-a-na  
                  boy-PL-ERG            song            N-do.PFV-IMP            say.PFV-IMP-PL  
 Let the boys sing a song. (addressing several people)

The agent of the imperative construction shows S/A marking (ergative with transitive verbs and nominative with intransitive verbs):

- (55)            Muhammad-i-ni            deč'            b-aq'-a            bet'-a  
                  Mohammad-OBL-ERG            song            N-do.PFV-IMP  
    IMP  
 Let Mohammad sing a song.

- (56)            it-i-ni            deč'            b-aq'-a            bet'-a  
                  this-OBL-ERG            song            N-do.PFV-IMP  
    IMP  
 Let him sing a song.

The availability of S/A marking shows that the jussive has developed into a periphrastic form distinct from the complement construction of the verb 'to say', because the subject of the verb 'to say' is usually marked by the interrelative. Another difference between the complement clauses of the verb 'to say' and the jussive construction is that the complement construction can be marked by the complementizer *ile* (converb of the verb "to say"):

- (57)            Musa-ze            bet'-a            uz-e            i-le  
                  Musa-INTER            say.PFV-IMP            M.work.IPFV-IMP            tell.PFV-CVB  
 Tell Musa that he should work.

The complementizer *ile* is not obligatory in the complement clauses of the verb 'to say':

- (58)            Musa-ze            bet'-a            uz-e  
                  Musa-INTER            say.PFV-IMP            M.work.IPFV-IMP  
 Tell Musa that he should work.

In jussive constructions (when the subject is marked by nominative or ergative), the complementizer cannot be used. While sentence (59) is grammatical, sentence (60) is considered incomplete:

- (59)    Musa            uz-e            bet'-a

Musa	M.work.IPFV-IMP	say.PFV-IMP
------	-----------------	-------------

Let Musa work.

(60)	*Musa	uz-e	bet'-a	i-le
	Musa	M.work.IPFV-IMP	say.PFV-IMP	tell.PFV-CVB

In jussive constructions, the verb 'say-IMP' typically follows the main verb. The next sentence is ungrammatical:

(61)	*Musa	bet'-a	uz-e
	Musa	say.PFV-IMP	M.work.IPFV-IMP

Negation is marked on the main verb of the jussive construction:

(62)	Muhammad-i-ni	deč'	mi-m-iq'-adi	bet'-a
	Muhammad-OBL-ERG	song	PRH-N-do.IPFV-PRH	say.PFV-IMP.TR

Let Mohammad not sing a song. (Mohammad should not sing a song)

## 5.2. Semantics of the jussive

Jussive is used in exhortations to actions by a 3rd person agent:

(63)	išbari	Muhammad-i-ni	t'ult'	b-aq'-a	bet'-a
	today	Mohammad-OBL-ERG	bread	N-do.PFV-IMP.TR	say.PFV-IMP.TR

Let Mohammad bake a bread today.

Jussive can also express permission:

(64)	b-uh-es-u	Muhammad-i-ni	k'amp'it'	as-es?
	3-become.PFV-INF-INTRG	Mohammad-OBL-ERG	sweet	take.PFV-INF

May Mohammad take a sweet?

b-uhe-s,	as-a	bet'-a
N-become.PFV-INF	take.PFV-IMP	say.PFV-IMP

Let it be, let him take [it].

The jussive can have inanimate subject. In this case it expresses the speaker's indifference toward the situation (which is close to permission). The implication is that the addressee should not interfere with the realization of the situation; for instance, not to take the boiling soup from the stove:

(65)	ruř-e	bet'-a	ħarši
------	-------	--------	-------



(72) aradeš health g-ab give.PFV-OPT  
 May [Allah] give [you] health!

(73) ?aradeš health ag-a give.PFV-IMP.TR bet'-a tell.IPFV-IMP.TR  
 ?Tell [Allah] to give [you] health

## 6. Optative

The optative is used to express good and bad wishes. The formation of the optative is described in Section 6.1, its semantics in Section 6.2 and typical constructions involving it in Section 6.3.

### 6.1. Formation of optative

For the formation of the optative, suffix -ab is added to the stem:

(74) aradeš health g-ab give.PFV-OPT  
 May [Allah] give [you] health!

The optative can be formed from both perfective and imperfective stems: *g-ab* (give.PFV-OPT), *lug-ab* (give.IPFV-OPT); *d-ic-ab* (NPL-sell.PFV-OPT), *d-ilc-ab* (NPL-sell.IPFV-OPT).

The negative optative is derived with the same prefix *mV* as the prohibitive. As a prohibitive, the negative optative with prefix *mV-* is derived only from the imperfective stem. There is an alternative formation of the negative optative using the regular negative prefix *ħa-*. The negative optative with the prefix *mV-* is usually the first choice of the speaker when *s/he* translates negative wishes, but the forms with the prefix *ħa-* are also usually acknowledged as grammatical. Forms in *ħa-* are more easily acknowledged from perfective verbs, thus filling the gap of the perfective negative optative. Sometimes, however, imperfective negative optatives with the prefix *ħa-* are also acknowledged by the speakers (see Table 4).

	Positive		Negative	
	perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
give	'may he give' g-ab	'may he give' lug-ab	'may he not give' ħa-gab	'may he not give' mu-lug-ab ??ħa-lu-gab
sell	'may he sell' d-ic-ab	'may he sell' d-ilc-ab	'may he not give' ħa-dic-ab	'may he not sell' mi-dilc-ab *ħa-dilc-ab
find	'may he find' barg-ab	'may he find' burg-ab	'may he not find' ħa-barg-ab	'may he not find' mu-murg-ab

				*ħa-burg-ab
eat	'may he eat' berkw-ab	'may he eat' buk-ab	'may he not eat' ħa-berkw-ab	'may he not eat' mu-muk-ab ħa-buk-ab
drink	'may he drink' berž-ab	'may he drink' buž-ab	'may he not drink' ħa-berž-ab	'may he not drink' mu-muž-ab ħa-buž-ab
happen	'may it happen' bik-ab	'may it happen' birk-ab	'may it not happen' ħa-bik-ab	'may it not happen' mi-mirk-ab ħa-birk-ab

Table 4. Formation of the positive and negative optative

Some optatives have a reduced form: *w-ebk'-ab* 'may [he] die!', *w-ebk'* 'may [he] die!'

- (75) kapul-le w-ebk'-ab  
pagan-ADV M-die.PFV-  
OPT

May he die impious!

- (76) kapul-le w-ebk'  
pagan-ADV M-  
die.PFV(OPT)

May he die impious!

- (77) ħa-la abaj r-ebk'  
you-GEN mother F-  
die.PFV(OPT)

May your mother die! [rather than you—a formula used in address to a child]

Apart from the verb 'to die' the reduced form is found for the verbs 'become dry' and 'grow', but not all speakers acknowledge these examples.

- (78) ma<sup>ʕ</sup>q<sup>hw</sup> b-er<sup>ʔw</sup>-ab  
root M-become.dry.PFV-  
OPT

May the root become dry.

- (79) ma<sup>ʕ</sup>q<sup>hw</sup> b-er<sup>ʔw</sup>  
root M-become.dry.PFV(OPT)

May the root become dry.

- (80) ma<sup>ʕ</sup>q<sup>hw</sup> hable če-b-uq-ab  
root upside PV-N-go.PFV-OPT

May it all grow roots up.







(96)	ʔaq' intellect	lug-ab, give.IPFV- OPT	b-alh-ni 3- know.IPFV- NMLZ	g-ab give.PFV- OPT
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May [Allah] give [you] intellect, may [Allah] give [you] knowledge.

Unlike the jussive, the optative does not denote an action which is meant to be fulfilled by the addressee. If the optative is derived from the verb which typically denotes controllable action, the sentence is interpreted as a wish that Allah fulfils the action.

(97)	d-aq'il NPL-a.lot	arc money	g-ab give.PFV-OPT
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May [Allah] give [you] a lot of money.

Optatives are very widely used in everyday life. Below are some traditional optative formulae:

(98)	q'uwat strength	g-ab give.PFV-OPT
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May [Allah] give [you] strength!

(99)	k'wabaq'ala	g-ab give.PFV-OPT
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May you have enough strength [to do your work].

(100)	w-ebk'-ab M-die.PFV- OPT	ħu you.SG
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May he die!

(101)	ja-allah PTCL-Allah	d-alq-aq-ab NPL-grow.IPFV-CAUS-OPT
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May [it] grow! (wish formula addressed to the person who is planting something)

## 7. Irreal forms

Cross-linguistically, irreal forms are usually met in conditional clauses. In Mehweb, the subordinate part of a conditional clause is expressed by a converb, the main clause by a finite form. In this section, both converbs and finite forms will be discussed.

### 7.1. Conditional converbs

There are two markers of conditional clause in Mehweb. They are distributed according to the degree of (ir)reality: the suffix -q'alle designates situations which did not take place and most likely will not (counterfactual marker), the suffix -k'a is used in the conditional clauses which may occur (hypothetical marker).

#### 7.1.1. Counterfactual conditional converb

The counterfactual marker -q'alle can be added to aorist, perfective infinitive, imperfective participle and sometimes to imperfective infinitive. Examples are presented in Table 5:

	perfective past (aorist)	perfective infinitive	imperfective infinitive	imperfective participle
'find'	bargib-q'alle	barges-q'alle	*burgess-q'alle	burgul-q'alle
'read'	belč'un-q'alle	belč'es-q'alle	luč'es-q'alle	luč'ul-q'alle

Table 5. Examples of the forms with counterfactual suffix q'alle

Imperfective and present do not add the suffix -q'alle. Table 6 summarizes the combinations of the verbal stems and the suffix -q'alle: possible combinations are marked as (+), impossible combinations are marked as (-), combinations which were acknowledged only for some verbs were marked as (+/-). The present perfective form does not exist.

	past	present	infinitive	participle
perfective	(+)		(+)	(-)
imperfective	(-)	(-)	(+/-)	(+)

Table 6. Stems which can add counterfactual suffix -q'alle

The conditional clause with -q'alle can be embedded:

- (102) nu-ra [iχ w-ebk'-ib-q'alle] d-ubk'-a-re  
 I-ADD this M-die.PFV-AOR-CTRF F-die.IPFV-POT-PST  
 'If he died, I would also have died'

The conditional constructions with the counterfactual converb derived from the aorist and from the imperfective participle differ semantically:

- (103) iχ dag ašš-w-ašq-ib-q'alle ʔašx-le b-uʔ-a-re  
 this yesterday PV-M-go.PFV-AOR-CTRF good-ATR N-be.PFV-POT-PST  
 If he came yesterday, it would have been good.

- (104) iχ išbari ašš-w-irq-ul-q'alle ʔašx-le b-uʔ-a-re  
 this today PV-M-come.back.IPFV-PTCP-CTRF good N-be.PFV-POT-PST  
 If he comes today, it would be good. (But is very unlikely.)

Conditional clauses marked by -q'alle may refer to a future situation if it is considered highly improbable:





If he had died, I would also have died.

Apart from the optative, counterfactual conditional converb, -q'alle can be used in main clauses as a desiderative construction in order to express the speaker's wish (similar to forms of the conditional protasis in many European languages):

(16) ca di-la qali b-uʔ-ib-q'alle  
 PRTCL I-GEN house N-become.PFV-AOR-CTRF  
 If only I had a house!

(117) di-la adami žaʔwal aʕš-w-irq-ul-q'alle  
 I-GEN husband early PV-M-come.back-PRS.ATR-CTRF  
 If only my husband came back!

(118) ca dila urši-li-ni xunul d-ik-ul-q'alle  
 PTCL I-GEN boy-OBL-ERG wife F-bring.IPFV-PTCP-CTRF  
 If only my son got married!

The speaker's wish may also be expressed through a combination of the infinitive with the counterfactual marker -q'alle:

(119) nu-ni čaj d-erž-es-q'alle  
 I-ERG tea NPL-drink.PFV-INF-CTRF  
 I wish I had some tea!

The combination of the infinitive with the marker -q'alle is not used with reference to the past:

(120) \*nu-ni dag čaj d-erž-es-q'alle  
 I-ERG yesterday tea NPL-drink.PFV-INF-CTRF  
 \*I wish I had some tea yesterday!

The hypothetical conditional converb in -ka seems not to be used in independent constructions.

## 8. Apprehensive

Mehweb has a dedicated form to express apprehension. When used in independent clauses, the apprehensive means that the speaker is afraid that some undesirable situation may come true. The apprehensive is formed with the suffix -ala:





(128)	žanawa-li-ni	maza	ar-b-uk-ala
	wolf-OBL-ERG	sheep	PV-N-lead.PFV-APPR

The wolf can steal the sheep.

Apprehensive has an inherent negative value. If it is used with reference to situations which are commonly evaluated positively, the situation changes its value:

(129)	urši	w-aq'-ala	ħu-ni	d-aq'-a	dursi
	boy	M-do.PFV-APPR	you-ERG	F-do.PFV-IMP.TR	girl

[I am afraid that] you will give birth to a boy, [it would be better to] give birth to a girl!

(130)	ara	d-uh-ala
	health	F-become.PFV-APPR

[I am afraid that] I'll become healthy! [I want to be ill]

An apprehensive is regularly used as a predicate in the complement clauses of the verbs of fear with complementizer *ile*:

(131)	nu	uruχ	k'u-we	le-w-ra	žanawa-li-ni
	I	be.afraid	LV.IPFV-CVB	be-M-1/2	wolf-OBL-ERG
	maza	ar-b-uk-ala	ile		
	sheep	PV-N-lead.PFV-APPR	COMPL		

I am afraid that wolf will steal the sheep.

(132)	nu	uruχ	k'-as	ħu	ize-s	d-a?-ala	ile
	I	be.afraid	LV.IPFV-1SG	you	be.ill.IPFV-INF	F-begin.PFV-APPR	COMPL

I am afraid that you will fall ill.

If the subject of the apprehensive complement clause is co-referent to the subject of the main clause, the logophoric pronoun *sa-CL-i* is used. This is a phenomenon common to other cases of subordination with *ile* which is a converb of the verb 'to say'.

(133)	baba	uruχ	k'-uwe	le-r	x <sup>we</sup>
	granny	be.afraid	LV.IPFV-CVB	COP-F	dog
	q'ac'	b-ik-ala	ile		

bite N-happen.PFV- COMPL  
APPR

Grandmother is afraid that the dog will bite her.

- (134) baba uruχ k'-uwe le-r, sa-r-i ar-d-ik-ala ile  
granny be.afraid LV.IPFV- COP-F self-F.SG PV-F- COMPL  
CVB fall.down.PFV-  
APPR

Grandmother is afraid of falling down.

Apprehensive cannot refer to a situation in the past, cf. (135) and (136):

- (135) \*nu uruχ k'a-s dag anwalli-če  
I be.afraid LV.IPFV-INF yesterday Anwar.OBL-SU  
x<sup>w</sup>e q'ac b-ik-ib / \*b-ik-ala  
dog bite N-happen.PFV- N-happen.PFV-  
AOR APPR

\*I am afraid that the dog bit Anwar yesterday.

- (136) nu uruχ k'a-s dag-ʔ<sup>w</sup>anal anwalli-če  
I be.afraid LV.IPFV-INF yesterday-like Anwar.OBL-SU  
x<sup>w</sup>e q'ac b-ik-ala ile  
dog bite N-happen.PFV- COMPL  
APPR

I am afraid that the dog might bite Anwar as yesterday.

The construction with the apprehensive and a complementizer can be embedded:

- (137) Musa-ni mura d-arʔ-ib duniyal ur-ala ile  
Musa-ERG hay F-gather.PFV- would rain-APPR COMPL  
IMP.TR

Musa collected the hay being afraid that it would start raining.

- (138) Musa-ni [duniyal ur-ala ile] mura d-arʔ-ib  
Musa-ERG would rain-APPR COMPL hay PL-gather.PFV-  
IMP.TR

Musa collected the hay being afraid that it would rain.

Apprehensive is used to express negative purpose:

- (139) w-aʕld-e adaj-ni hu dam w-aq'-ala  
M-hide.PFV- father-ERG you.SG.NOM beat M-do.PFV-AP  
IMP.TR

Hide, so that your father doesn't beat you.

(140)	c'a-li-če fire-OBL-SUP	ħule eye	w-iz-e, M-stand.up.PFV-IMP	b-uš-ala N-die.of.fire.PFV- APPR
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Watch the fire so that it doesn't go out.

The purpose converb -alis is also used to express negative purpose. Unlike apprehensive, negation in the purpose converb is overtly marked by prefix ħa-:

(141)	w-a <sup>h</sup> ld-e M-hide.PFV- IMP	adaj-ni father-ERG	ħu you.SG.NOM	dam beat	ħa-w-aq'-alis NEG-M-do.PFV- PURP
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Hide, so that your father doesn't beat you.

(142)	c'a-li-če fire-OBL-SUP	ħule eye	w-iz-e M-stand.up.PFV- IMP	ħa-b-uš-alis NEG-N-die.of.fire.PFV- PURP
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Watch the fire so that it doesn't go out.

An apprehensive clause with the semantics of purpose does not behave as a subordinate clause; it cannot be embedded:

(143)	sumka bag	b-ux-a N-bring.PFV- IMP.TR	mataħ money	ar-d-uʔ-ala PV-NPL-lose.PFV- APPR
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Take the bag in order not to lose the money.

(144)	*sumka bag	[mataħ money	ar-d-uʔ-ala] NPL-lose.PFV- APPR	b-ux-a N-bring.PFV- IMP.TR
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\*Take the bag in order not to lose the money.

As with many other verbal forms, apprehensive may contain reduplication.

(145)	it this	w-ery <sup>w</sup> M- enter.PFV	ħa-ry <sup>w</sup> -ala NEG-M.enter.PFV-APPR	nu I
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le-l-la COP-F-1/2	uruχ afraid	k'-uwe be.afraid.IPFV-CVB
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I worry whether he will enter [the university].

## 10. Conclusion

The system of non-indicative moods of Mehweb is typical of East Caucasian languages in several aspects. First, it lacks a dedicated form for the hortative, but has a dedicated form for the optative; the inflectional optative is also present in most languages of the family. Second, dedicated marking for the jussive and optative are found in Icari, Lak,

Tsakhur, and Chechen (see Dobrushina 2011; Mehweb data were not available at that time). Third, the pattern when the jussive is expressed by combining the imperative of the verb with the imperative of the verb of speech (lit. 'verb-imp say') is also found in Akhvakh (Creissels, manuscript), Lak and Archi (Dobrushina 2013). Fourth, the situation when a conditional clause is marked by a dedicated converb, while the main clause in a counterfactual conditional construction has a form which contains a combination of future and past morphemes is also attested in various Daghestanian languages (see, for example, Kibrik 1999).

The apprehensive seems to be a rare form. To my knowledge, it occurs only in Archi; Kibrik (1977) considers the Archi apprehensive to be a specialized converb.

### Abbreviations

ADD	Additive
AOR	Aorist
APPR	Apprehensive
ATR	Attributivizer
CAUS	Causative
COMPL	Complementiser
COND	Conditional
CVB	Converb
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
EL	Elicative
ERG	Ergative
F	Feminine
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
H	Human
HPL	Human Plural
IMP	Imperative
IN	'Inside' (localization)
INTER	'Inter' (localisation)
IPFV	Imperfective
ITR	Intransitive
LV	Light verb
M	Masculine
N	Neutral
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
OBL	Oblique stem
OBLG	Obligative
OPT	Optative
PART	Participle

PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POT	Potential
PRH	Prohibitive
PRS	Present
PURP	Purpose
PV	Preverb
SG	Singular
SUP	Super (localization)
TR	Transitive

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