

## NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

#### Nina Dobrushina

## **MOODS OF MEHWEB**

# BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM WORKING PAPERS

**SERIES: LINGUISTICS** 

WP BRP 25/LNG/2015

#### Nina Dobrushina<sup>1</sup>

### 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> National Research University Higher School of Economics, School of Linguistics, ndobrushina@hse.ru

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This study (research grant No 15-05-002) was supported by The National Research University–Higher School of Economics' Academic Fund Program in 2015.

#### 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) ni? 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 u*?-*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-arγa	w-arge
-ebk'es (pfv.) 'to die'	w-ebk'a ?	w-ebk'e
-emžes (pfv.) 'to become hot'	*b-emža	b-emže
		(addressing to a stove)
-erhes (pfv.) 'to become rotten'	*b-erħa	b-erħe
-ertes (pfv.) 'to curdle'	*d-erta	d-erte
		(addressing to milk)
-er?wes (pfv.) 'to become dry'	*b-erw?a	b-erw?e
-ikes (pfv.) 'to happen'	*b-ika	b-ike
-u?es (pfv.) 'to become spoilt'	*b-u?a	*b-u?e
-emxes (pfv.) 'to become swollen'	*b-emxa	b-emxe
kal?es (pfv.) 'to be left'	*kal?a	kal?e
-ar?as (pfv.) 'to become cold, freeze'	*d-arʔa	d-ar?e

Table 1. Imperative of intransitive verbs

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

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

(5) ha-ze ark-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'	??d(-)iga	d(-)ige
arkes (pfv.) 'to understand, hear'	arka	arke
gwes (pfv.) 'to see'	?gwa	*gwe
qumartes (pfv.) 'forget'	qumarta	?qumarte
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:

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:

Let him see.

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

Verb	Jussive	Jussive
	construction with	construction with
	imperative in -e	imperative in -a
gwes (pfv.) 'to see'	gwe 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:

Sing (you-PL)!

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

or (waaressing a main)

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 u?-e

you.NOM teacher M.become-IMP

[You] become a teacher!

(12) hu-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 u?-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) \*hu 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) Muħammad-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 a?-a buħna

N-catch-IMP.TR sheep drive-IMP.TR inside

Catch the sheep, [and] drive it inside.

( Pat'i kaltuška-ra d-ur?un d-aq'-i-le ħarši d-aq'-a

27) 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- 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:

\*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-ig'-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:

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)

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

The plural suffix -na is added to the verb CL-aše when the speaker addresses several

people and the action is going to be performed by more than two participants (including

the speaker):

(42) b-aš-ina deč' b-aq'-as
HPL-come.IPFV-IMP.PL song N-do.PFV-INF
Let's sing a song! (addressing several people)

Hortative constructions can contain the 1st person plural pronoun as a subject:

b-u<sup>9</sup>q'-as d-aš-e-ca nuša tukaj-4 ħе 3 ) F-go.IPFV-IMPwe shop-HPL-go.PFV-**PTCL** IN **INF** Let's go to the shop! (addressing a girl)

(44) adaj, w-aš-e nuša-i-ni ħarši d-aq'-as father M-come.IPFV-IMP we-OBL-ERG soup NPL-do.PFV-INF

Dad, let's make soup!

An infinitive in a hortative construction cannot take the suffix -i, the marker of the obligative mood, which is added to the infinitive / future marker -es:

Compare the sentence with the future indicative, where forms with and without -i can both be used:

(47) išbari nu-ni ule abaj-šu b-uk-es(i) today I-ERG children mother-AD HPL-lead-INF(OBLG)

Today I will take the children to my mother.

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

(48) d-aš-e deč' ħa-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 ħa-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!"  $\rightarrow$  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) Muħammad-i-ni deč' b-aq'-a bet'-a Mohammad-OBL-ERG song N-do.PFV- say.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- say.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 interelative. 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- M.work.IPFV- tell.PFV-CVB IMP IMP

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

**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- M.work.IPFV-

IMP IMP

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

(62) Muħammad-i-ni deč' mi-m-iq'-adi bet'-a

Muħammad-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 Muħammad-i-ni t'ult' b-aq'-a bet'-a today Mohammad-OBL-ERG bread N-do.PFV- say.PFV-

IMP.TR IMP.TR

Let Mohammad bake a bread today.

Jussive can also express permission:

(64) b-uh-es-u Muħammad-i-ni k'amp'it' as-es?

3-become.PFV-INF- Mohammad-OBL- sweet take.PFV-INF

INTRG ERG

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) rurž-e bet'-a ħarši

boil.IPFV-IMP say.PFV-IMP soup

Let the soup boil.

(66) d-uh-e bet'-a dig-uj-s

F-become.PFV- say.PFV- love-PART-DAT

IMP IMP

Let her marry anyone (lit. become to whoever she wants).

The jussive is only available in the 3rd person. 1st and 2nd person pronouns cannot occur in jussive constructions:

(67) it-i-ni as-a bet'-a k'ampit'

that-OBL-ERG take.PFV-IMP say.PFV-IMP sweet

Let him take your sweet.

(68) \*nu-ni as-a bet'-a k'ampit'

I-ERG take.PFV-IMP say.PFV-IMP sweet

\*Let me take a sweet.

(69) \*hu-ni as-a bet'-a k'ampit'

you.SG-ERG take.PFV-IMP say.PFV-IMP sweet

\*Let you take a sweet.

The semantics of indifference is a source for constructions with concessive meaning:

( uz-e bet'-a, sarwalla miskije u?-es-i it

0

M.work.IPFV- say.PFV- anyway poor 1.be.IPFV- that

IMP IMP.TR INF-OBL

Let him work, he will still be poor.

(71) d-u?-e bet'-a x<sup>w</sup>aldili amma quli-b F-be.IPFV-IMP say.PFV- beautiful but at.home-IMP.TR N(ESS)

ħan-či ħa-b-iq'-an

NEG-N-do.IPFV-

PRS

Let her be beautiful, but she does not do her house work. (Though she is beautiful, she does not do any work at home.)

Unlike the optative (see section 6), the jussive is not used to express wishes. Example (73) is interpreted as a complement clause of the verb 'to tell' and is not easily accepted by the speakers.

(72) aradeš g-ab

health give.PFV-OPT

May [Allah] give [you] health!

(73) ?aradeš ag-a bet'-a health give.PFV- tell.IPFV-

IMP.TR 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 g-ab

health 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 ha-. 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 ha- are also usually acknowledged as grammatical. Forms in ha- are more easily acknowledged from perfective verbs, thus filling the gap of the perfective negative optative. Sometimes, however, imperfective negative optatives with the prefix ha- are also acknowledged by the speakers (see Table 4).

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

				*ħa-burg-ab
eat	'may he eat'	'may he eat'	'may he not eat'	'may he not eat'
	berkw-ab	buk-ab	ħa-berkw-ab	mu-muk-ab
				ħa-buk-ab
drink	'may he drink'	'may he drink'	'may he not drink'	'may he not drink'
	berž-ab	buž-ab	ħa-berž-ab	mu-muž-ab
				ħa-buž-ab
happen	'may it happen' bik-ab	'may it happen' birk-ab	'may it not happen' ha-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) ha-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)  $ma^{\varsigma}q'^{w}$  b-er? $^{w}$ -ab

root M-become.dry.PFV-

OPT

May the root become dry.

(79)  $ma^{\varsigma}q^{\prime w}$  b-er?<sup>w</sup>

root M-become.dry.PFV(OPT)

May the root become dry.

 $(80) \hspace{1cm} ma^{\varsigma}q'^{w} \hspace{1cm} hable \hspace{1cm} \check{c}e-b-uq-ab$ 

root upside PV-N-go.PFV-OPT

May it all grow roots up.

(81) ma<sup>s</sup>q'w hable če-b-uq

root upside PV-N-go.PFV(OPT)

May it all grow roots up.

Some optative forms have a causative suffix which is not motivated semantically:

(82) qu b-alq-aq-ab

field N-grow.IPFV-CAUS-OPT

May the field grow!

(83) qu b-alq-ab

field N-grow.IPFV-OPT

May the field grow!

(84)  $hu^{\varsigma}m$ -be  $a^{\varsigma}x$  d-uh-aq-ab

way-PL good F-become.PFV-CAUS-OPT

Have a good trip!

#### 6.2. Optative constructions

In optative constructions, their main participants are typically omitted, including the beneficiary (maleficiary) and the participant on whom the realization of the situation depends (Allah). Cf. (73) where neither the addressee nor the actor are overtly expressed.

Although the beneficiary (maleficiary) is usually omitted, it is not grammatically forbidden:

(85) Muħammad-i-s hu<sup>c</sup>m-be <sup>2</sup>a<sup>c</sup>x d-uh-aq-ab

Mohammad-OBL-DAT way-PL good F-become.PFV-CAUS-

OPT

May Mohammad have a good trip!

(86) Muħammad-i-ni каč-ne agra-le d-ic-ab

Mohammad-OBL-ERG calf-PL good NPL-sell.IPFV-OPT

May Mohammad sell calves with a profit.

Another participant of the optative situation is Allah. When explicit in optative sentences, it is most often as a form of address:

(87) ja-allah huša-b taleh g-ab

PTCL- you.PL-N luck give.PFV-OPT

Allah.NOM

May [Allah] give [you] luck!

The word 'Allah' can also be used in the ergative case:

(88)allah-li aradeš g-ab Allah-ERG health give.PFV-OPT May [Allah] give [you] health! (89)allah-li d-arš-i-le kal?-ab ħu Allah-ERG F-be.beautiful-PTCPstay.PFV-OPT you **CVB** May you stay beautiful. The ergative of the word Allah cannot co-occur with the ergative of the agent: (90)\*allah-li t'ult' ħu-ni b-izil b-aq'-ab Allah-ERG you.SG-ERG bread N-do.PFV-3-tasty OPT \*May you make a good bread with the help of Allah. The optative is available in all persons, but the 1st person construction is pragmatically less felicitous. (91) dursi d-arš-i-le kal?-ab ħa-la F-be.beautifulstay.PFV-OPT girl you.sg.OBL-PTCP-CVB **GEN** May your daughter become beautiful. (92)urši q'uwat le-b-le kal?-ab ħa-la boy strong be-3-CVB stay.PFV-OPT you.sg.OBL-GEN May your son become strong.

(93) d-arš-ib-i kal?-ab ħu 3-be.beautiful.PFV- stay-OPT you

PTCP-?

May you become beautiful.

(94) q'uwat le-w-i kal?-ab ħu strong be-1-PTCP stay.PFV-OPT you May you become strong.

(95) ha-la nu r-ebk' you.sg.OBL- I F-die.PFV(OPT) GEN

May I die [but not you—addressing a child]!

6.3. The semantics of the optative

The optative is used to express good or bad wishes.

(96) ?aq' lug-ab, b-alh-ni g-ab intellect give.IPFV- 3- give.PFV- OPT know.IPFV- OPT NMLZ

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 arc g-ab NPL-a.lot money give.PFV-OPT 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 g-ab

strength give.PFV-OPT

May [Allah] give [you] strength!

(99) k'wabaq'ala g-ab

give.PFV-OPT

May you have enough strength [to do your work].

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

May he die!

(101) ja-allah d-alq-aq-ab

PTCL-Allah NPL-grow.IPFV-CAUS-OPT

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	perfective	imperfective	imperfective
	past (aorist)	infinitive	infinitive	participle
'find'	bargib-q'alle	barges-q'alle	*burges-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:

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

```
a<sup>s</sup>š-w-a<sup>s</sup>q-ib-q'alle
(1
      iχ
                                                                           <sup>2</sup>a<sup>ς</sup>x-le
                                                                                         b-u?-a-re
                 dag
03
)
      this
                                  PV-M-go.PFV-AOR-CTRF
                                                                                         N-be.PFV-
                 yesterday
                                                                           good-
                                                                                         POT-PST
                                                                           ATR
    If he came yesterday, it would have been good.
                                                                            ⊋a<sup>ς</sup>x- le
(104 i\chi)
                  išbari
                               a<sup>s</sup>š-w-irq-ul-q'alle
                                                                                        b-u?-a-re
                               PV-M-come.back.IPFV-PTCP-
       this
                  today
                                                                                        N-be.PFV-
                                                                            good
                                                                                        POT-PST
                               CTRF
    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:

(105) c'able w-ebk'-ib-q'alle, nu-ra d-ubk'-a-re tomorrow M-die.PFV-AOR-CTRF I-ADD F-die.IPFV-POT-

**PST** 

a?-as

drive

If you died tomorrow, I would also die.

#### 7.1.2. Hypothetical conditional converb

Hypothetical protasis is expressed by the suffix -k'a which can be added to the potential stem of both imperfective and perfective forms: *belč'ak'a*; *luč'ak'a* 'if he reads'.

(106) ix-i-ni b-arx-le b-urh-a-k'a, ix w-atur

that-OBL-ERG 3-right- N-tell-POT-COND that.NOM M-free

ADV

If he tells the truth, they will let him go.

(107) Anwar w-ak'-i-le w-arg-a-k'a abaj-šu u<sup>s</sup>q'-es-(i)

anwar M- M-find.PFV- mother-AD 1.go-INF-(OBL)

come.PFV- POT-COND

PTCP-CVB

If Anwar comes, he will go to his mother.

(108) di-la urši-li-ni xunul k-a-k'a, nu I-GEN boy-OBL- wife bring.PFV- I

ERG POT-COND

iχdi-li-šu-r d-u?-es-i that.PL-OBL-AD-HPL 2-be.PFV-

**INF-OBL** 

If my son gets married, I will live at their place.

The hypothetical converb with the suffix -k'a can be embedded:

(109) nu [di-la urši-li-ni xunul k-a-k'a] I I-GEN boy-OBL-ERG wife bring,PFV-

I-GEN boy-OBL-ERG wife bring.PFV-POT-COND

iχdi-li-šu-rthat.PL-OBL-AD-HPLd-u?-es-i2-be.PFV-INF-OBL

If my son gets married, I will live at their place

Perfective and imperfective hypothetical conditional converbs with -k'a show aspectual contrast:

(110) het kung b-elč'-a-k'a nu-ni ħa-ze

that book N-read.PFV-POT-HYP I-ERG you-DAT

b-urh-iša hel-lija χabar N-tell- this story

FUT.1/2

If you read this book, I will tell you this story

(111) d-aqil kung-ane luč'-a-k'a d-aqil NPL-a.lot book-PL read.IPFV-POT-HYP NPL-a.lot

si-k'al nuša-ze d-alh-ul

what-UNIV we-DAT NPL-know.IPFV-PTCP

If we read many books, we know many things

#### 7.2. Irrealis

There is no dedicated suffix for irrealis in Mehweb. The meaning of irrealis in the main clause of conditional construction is regularly conveyed by the form with suffixal cluster -a-re: *dubk'are* 'would die'. The cluster includes the marker of potential stem -a-and the marker of the past tense -re (-a-re POT-PST). The past suffix *-re* was attested in two lexemes: in the past copula *le-CL-re* and in the form *digibre* 'would want'.

(112) na-b d-ig-ib-re čaj I-DAT NPL-want-IPFV-PST tea

I would like some tea.

The cluster -a-re is a combination of the future and the past morphemes, which is a way to express counterfactual meaning in many languages. In Mehweb, the form in -a-re is used in the main clause of the counterfactual conditional clause:

(113) urši-li-ni xunul k-ib-q'alle, nu boy-OBL-ERG wife take.PFV-AOR- I CTRF

> ixdi-li-šu-r d-u?-a-re that.PL-OBL-AD-HPL F-become.PFV-POT-PST

If my son had got married, I would have lived at their place.

iχ-i-ni b-arx-le b-urh-ib-q'alle, iχ w-atur i?-a-re that-OBL-ERG 3-right- N-tell-AOR-CTRF that.NOM 1-free let.go.PFV CVB

If he had told the truth, they would have let him go.

iχ w-ebk'-ib-q'alle, nu-ra d-ubk'-a-re this M-die.PFV-AOR-CTRF I-ADD F-die.IPFV-POT-PST

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):

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:

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

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:

<sup>\*</sup>I wish I had some tea yesterday!

d-a<sup>s</sup>q'-ala (121)d-ar?-a zab mura,

F-gather.PFVhay rain NPL-go.PFV-APPR

IMP.TR

Collect the hay, it might rain.

Apprehensives are also formed in the negative:

(122)zab ħa-d-a<sup>s</sup>q'-ala hab, d-a<sup>s</sup>q-a šin NPL-hit.PFV-NEG-NPL-go.PFVrain ahead water

APPR IMP.TR

agarod-le-ħe

vegetable.garden-OBL-

IN(LAT)

Water the garden, [because] it might not rain.

The apprehensive is commonly used to express warnings about something that may happen to the addressee:

w-igw-ala (123)q'eju,

> slow M-burn.PFV-APPR

Be careful, not to get burnt.

(124)ar-d-ik-ala q'eju,

> slow down-F-happen.PFV-APPR

Be careful, not to fall down.

The apprehensive is often accompanied by the particle ?ai:

(125)ħu kanq' uh-ala ?aj drown

1.become.PFV-**PTCL** 

APPR

Beware of drowning.

you

1st and 3rd person subjects are also available in the apprehensive:

(126)nu kanq' uh-ala

> drown 1.become.PFV-APPR

May I not drown.

(127)hara nu ar-d-uk-ala

**PART** I.NOM PV-Flead.PFV-

**APPR** 

Be careful, someone may abduct me!

(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- you-ERG F-do.PFV- girl APPR IMP.TR

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

(13 ara d-uh-ala 0)

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 be.afraid LV.IPFV- be-M-1/2 wolf-OBL-ERG CVB

maza ar-b-uk-ala ile sheep PV-N-lead.PFV- COMPL APPR

I am afraid that wolf will steal the sheep.

(1 k'-as ħu d-a?-ala ile nu uruχ ize-s 32 ) Ι be.afraid LV.IPFV be.ill.IPFV COMPL you begin.PFV -INF -1SG -APPR

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'.

table baba uruχ k'-uwe le-r xwe 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 k'-uwe ar-d-ik-ala ile uruχ le-r, sa-r-i 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
	$x^{w}e$	q'ac	b-ik-ib/	*b-ik-ala	
	dog	bite	N-happen.PFV- AOR	N-happen.PFV- APPR	
*I am af	fraid that the dog	bit Anwar yesterday.			
(136)	nu	uruχ	k'a-s	dag-?wanal	anwalli-če
	I	be.afraid	LV.IPFV-INF	yesterday-like	Anwar.OBL-SU
	$x^w e$	q'ac	b-ik-ala	ile	
	dog	bite	N-happen.PFV- APPR	COMPL	

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

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

Musa-ni mura d-ar?-ib dunijal 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 [dunijal ur-ala ile] mura d-ar?-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-a<sup>s</sup>ld-e adaj-ni ħu 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 hule w-iz-e, b-uš-ala fire-OBL-SUP eye M-stand.up.PFV-IMP N-die.of.fire.PFV-

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-:

APPR

(141) w-a<sup>c</sup>ld-e adaj-ni hu dam ha-w-aq'-alis M-hide.PFV- father-ERG you.SG.NOM beat NEG-M-do.PFV-IMP PURP

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

(142) c'a-li-če hule w-iz-e ha-b-uš-alis fire-OBL-SUP eye M-stand.up.PFV- NEG-N-die.of.fire.PFV-IMP PURP

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 b-ux-a mataħ ar-d-u?-ala bag N-bring.PFV- money PV-NPL-lose.PFV- IMP.TR APPR

Take the bag in order not to lose the money.

(144) \*sumka [mataħ ar-d-u?-ala] b-ux-a bag money NPL-lose.PFV- N-bring.PFV-APPR IMP.TR

\*Take the bag in order not to lose the money.

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

le-l-la uruy k'-uwe

COP-F-1/2 afraid be.afraid.IPFV-CVB

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 Appropriate A

APPR Apprehensive ATR Attributivizer CAUS Causative

**COMPL** Complementiser **COND** Conditional **CVB** Converb **COP** Copula DAT Dative EL Elative **ERG** Ergative F Feminine **FUT Future GEN** Genitive Η Human

HPL Human Plural IMP Imperative

IN 'Inside' (localization)
INTER 'Inter' (localisation)
IPFV Imperfective

Intransitive ITR LV Light verb Masculine M N Neutral NEG Negative Nominative **NOM OBL** Oblique stem **OBLG** Obligative Optative **OPT PART** Participle

**PFV** Perfective PL Plural POT Potential **PRH** Prohibitive **PRS** Present **PURP** Purpose PVPreverb SG Singular

SUP Super (localization)

TR Transitive

#### References

Khajdakov S. M. Darginskij i megebskij yazyki (printsipy slovoizmeneniya). M., 1985 Koryakov Yu.B., Sumbatova N.R. Darginskie yazyki // BREH, tom 8. — Moskva: Nauchnoe izd-vo "Bol'shaya rossijskaya ehntsiklopediya", 2007. S. 328–329.

Koryakov, Y.B. Convergence and divergence in the classification of Dargwa languages // 46th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (SLE 2013). 18–21 September 2013. Book of abstracts. Part 1. Split: University of Split, 2013.

Kozhukhar', A., Baryl'nikova, D. (2013) Multilingualism in Dagestan. Higher School of Economics Research Paper No. WP BRP, 4.

Magometov A. A. Megebskij dialekt darginskogo yazyka (Issledovanie i teksty). — Tbilisi: «Metsniereba», 1982

Sumbatova N.R., Lander Yu.A. 2014. Darginskij govor seleniya Tanty: grammaticheskij ocherk, voprosy sintaksisa. Moskva, Yazyki slavyanskoj kul'tury.

Sumbatova, Nina. (2011). Person hierarchies and the problem of person marker origin in Dargwa: facts and diachronic problems. Tense, Aspect, Modality and Finiteness in East Caucasian Languages, 30, 131.

Uslar P.K. Etnografiya Kavkaza. Yazykoznanie. V. Khyurkilinskij yazyk, Tiflis, 1892.

#### Nina Dobrushina

National Research University Higher School of Economics, School of Linguistics, <a href="mailto:ndobrushina@hse.ru">ndobrushina@hse.ru</a>

Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.

© Dobrushina, 2015