

## Chapter 5

# Moods of Mehweb

Nina Dobrushina

National Research University Higher School of Economics, Linguistic Convergence Laboratory, ndobrushina@hse.ru

The paper is a description of moods in Mehweb, a lect of the Dargwa branch of East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages, Republic of Daghestan. The data were collected in the course of several field trips to the village of Mehweb. The forms of non-indicative moods and common constructions where these forms occur are described. Mehweb has inflectional forms for the imperative, prohibitive, optative, irrealis and apprehensive. Hortative and jussive are expressed periphrastically.

*Keywords:* Nakh-Daghestanian, East Caucasian, modality, mood, imperative, hortative, jussive, optative, irrealis, conditional, apprehensive, volitional.

## 1 Introduction

This paper is a description of non-indicative moods in Mehweb. Mehweb moods are briefly discussed in Magometov (1982); Khajdakov (1985) and in a sketch of Mehweb morphology by Nina Sumbatova (manuscript). The data for this paper were collected in the course of field trips to Mehweb in 2013, 2014 and 2015.

I describe morphological forms of non-indicative moods as well as periphrastic constructions used for the expression of some categories which are rendered by non-indicative moods in many languages of the world.

There are five forms which can be considered as inflectional forms of mood in Mehweb: second person imperative, prohibitive, optative, irrealis, and apprehensive. I also briefly describe the converbs which are used in the subordinate part of conditional clauses, because these forms are functionally close to the non-indicative moods, and in many languages, non-indicative forms are used in these clauses. The hypothetical conditional converb is derived from the same irrealis stem in *-a* as optative, irrealis, and apprehensive, thus manifesting similarity with non-indicative moods.



I also consider two periphrastic constructions: one is used for the hortative (=first person plural imperative, or inclusive imperative), and the second for the jussive (third person imperative).

The paper is structured in accordance with the semantics of non-indicative forms and constructions. It starts with volitional categories. In §2, the formation of second person imperative is considered, and typical constructions with second person imperative are described. §3 describes the prohibitive – the negative imperative which is expressed in Mehweb, as in most East Caucasian languages, by a dedicated morphological marker. Several interjections with imperative meaning are considered in §4. §5 and §6 describe the form and semantics of periphrastic constructions which are used for hortative and jussive. In §7, the semantics of the optative is discussed, as well as some typical constructions involving the optative. After volitionals, the forms with the irrealis meaning are considered in §8; as in most East Caucasian languages, they occur almost exclusively in conditional clauses. Last, I consider the apprehensive form, used to introduce a situation the speaker is afraid of (§9). In §10 (Discussion), I compare the system of Mehweb non-indicative moods with that of five other Dargwa languages and dialects.

## 2 Second person imperative

Second person imperative expresses commands and requests addressed to the hearer. In this section, I analyze the formation of second person imperatives in their relation to 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

The second person imperative of imperfective verbs is always marked by the suffix *-e* (1, 2), unlike the imperative of perfective verbs. The second person imperative of perfective verbs is marked either by *-e* or *-a* depending on the transitivity of the verb. Intransitive verbs take the suffix *-e*, transitive verbs take the suffix *-a* (see Table 1):

- (1) *ni? urt'-e!*  
milk pour:IPFV-IMP  
'Pour the milk!'

- (2) *ħu w-aqnal duc' ulq-e!*  
 you.sg(NOM) M-often run M.LV:IPFV-IMP  
 'Run more often!'
- (3) *ni? art'-a!*  
 milk pour:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Pour the milk!'
- (4) *qa-d-i? -e heše-r.*  
 down-F1-sit:PFV-IMP here-F(ESS)  
 'Sit down here.'

Table 1: Formation of second person imperatives

	transitive	intransitive
Perfective	-a	-e
Imperfective	-e	-e

As *-e* as an imperative marker is an unmarked choice, it is glossed simply as IMP.

Labile perfective verbs can form two imperatives, one that follows the transitive pattern, the other that follows the intransitive one. Cf. *abxes* 'open, PFV', (*b*)*a'ldes* 'hide, PFV', (*b*)*erq<sup>w</sup>es* 'become worn, PFV':

- (5) *rasul, qali abx-a!*  
 Rasul house open:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Rasul, open the house!'
- (6) *qali, abx-e!*  
 house open:PFV-IMP  
 'House, open up!'
- (7) *ħali, b-a'ld-a varva!*  
 Ali N-hide:PFV-IMP.TR stone  
 'Ali, hide the stone!'
- (8) *ħali, w-a'ld-e varva-la ħa<w>ad!*  
 Ali M-hide:PFV-IMP stone-GEN <M>behind  
 'Ali, hide behind the stone!'

- (9) *ʒali, b-erq<sup>w</sup>-a*                      *ħawa!*  
 Ali, N-tear:PFV-IMP.TR dress  
 ‘Ali, tear the dress!’
- (10) *ħawa, b-erq<sup>w</sup>-e!*  
 dress N-tear:PFV-IMP  
 ‘Dress, get torn!’

Some verbs have irregular and/or suppletive imperative forms. For example the verb *es* ‘say’ has the imperative *bet’a*; other cases are considered in Daniel (2019) [this volume].

Imperatives from verbs that denote events and situations over which the speaker exerts no control are acknowledged as grammatical by some speakers only. In most cases speakers are able to come up with a special context. For example, one can say *Bemže!* ‘Get hot!’ as if one was addressing a stove.

Imperatives of some perfective verbs which denote uncontrollable events are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Imperative of intransitive uncontrollable verbs

Verb	intransitive imperative
<i>-ac’es</i> (PFV) ‘melt’	<i>b-ac’e</i> (addressing snow)
<i>-arχes</i> (PFV) ‘touch’ (unintentionally)	<i>w-arχe</i>
<i>-ebk’es</i> (PFV) ‘die’	<i>w-ebk’e</i>
<i>-emžes</i> (PFV) ‘become hot’	<i>b-emže</i> (addressing a stove)
<i>-erħes</i> (PFV) ‘become rotten’	<i>b-erħe</i>
<i>-ertes</i> (PFV) ‘curdle’	<i>d-erte</i> (addressing milk)
<i>-erʔ<sup>w</sup>es</i> (PFV) ‘become dry’	<i>b-erʔ<sup>w</sup>e</i>
<i>-ikes</i> (PFV) ‘happen’	<i>b-ike</i>
<i>-uʔes</i> (PFV) ‘become spoiled’	<i>b-uʔe</i>
<i>-emχes</i> (PFV) ‘swell’	<i>b-emχe</i>
<i>kalʔes</i> (PFV) ‘be left, remain’	<i>kalʔe</i>
<i>-arʔa<sup>s</sup></i> (PFV) ‘become cold, freeze’	<i>d-a<sup>s</sup>rʔe</i>

Most two-place experiencer verbs have two imperatives, with suffix *-a* and with suffix *-e*. There is no clear difference in meaning between these two forms.

- (11) *ħa-ze*                                      *arB-e!*  
 you.sg.OBL-INTER(LAT) understand:PFV-IMP  
 ‘[You] understand!’

- (12) *ħa-ze*                      *arβ-a!*  
 you.sg.OBL-INTER(LAT) understand:PFV-IMP.TR  
 ‘[You] understand!’

Imperatives from experiencer verbs are shown in Table 3. Not all speakers acknowledge both imperative forms of these verbs; the less accepted forms are marked by a question mark.

Table 3: Imperative from experiencer verbs

	transitive imperative	intransitive imperative
<i>-ahas</i> (PFV) ‘know’	<i>b-ah-a</i>	<i>b-ah-e</i>
<i>-arges</i> (PFV) ‘find’	<i>b-arg-a</i>	<i>b-arg-e</i>
(-) <i>iges</i> (IPFV) ‘love, want’	?? <i>dig-a</i>	<i>dig-e</i>
<i>arβes</i> (PFV) ‘understand, hear’	<i>arβ-a</i>	<i>arβ-e</i>
<i>g<sup>w</sup>es</i> (PFV) ‘see’	? <i>g<sup>w</sup>-a</i>	* <i>g<sup>w</sup>-e</i>
<i>qumartes</i> ‘forget’	<i>qumart-a</i>	? <i>qumart-e</i>
<i>uruχ k’es</i> (IPFV) ‘be afraid’	* <i>uruχ k’-a</i>	<i>uruχ k’-e</i>

Notably, verbs that show semantic restrictions on the formation of imperatives easily produce imperatives within the jussive construction. The jussive is built as a combination of an imperative of the main verb with the imperative of the verb *es* ‘say’ (see §6):

- (13) *g<sup>w</sup>-e*                      *bet’-a!*  
 see:PFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 ‘Let him see!’ (he should make attempts to see)

Some intransitive verbs that allow just one form of second person imperative have the jussive construction with two imperative forms, the one in *-e* and the one in *-a*. Speakers’ first choice is usually the form in *-e*. They do not see any semantic difference between the jussive based on the imperative in *-e* and the jussive based on the imperative in *-a*. Cf. examples (13) and (14):

- (14) *g<sup>w</sup>-a*                      *bet’-a!*  
 see:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 ‘Let him see!’ (he should make attempts to see)

Examples of the jussive constructions with intransitive and experiencer verbs are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Examples of jussive construction with uncontrollable verbs

	jussive construction with imperative in <i>-e</i>	jussive construction with imperative in <i>-a</i>
<i>g<sup>w</sup>es</i> (PFV) ‘see’	<i>g<sup>w</sup>e bet’a</i>	<i>g<sup>w</sup>a bet’a</i>
<i>-ac’es</i> (PFV) ‘melt’	<i>b-ac’e bet’a</i>	<i>b-ac’a bet’a</i>
<i>-emχes</i> (PFV) ‘become swollen’	<i>b-emχe bet’a</i>	<i>b-emχa bet’a</i>
<i>-ertes</i> (PFV) ‘curdle’	<i>d-erte bet’a</i>	<i>d-erta bet’a</i>
<i>-emžes</i> (PFV) ‘become hot’	<i>b-emže bet’a</i>	<i>b-emža bet’a</i>

## 2.2 Number and gender of the addressee

All verbs in the imperative obligatorily add a dedicated imperative plural suffix *-na* to convey the plurality of the addressee.

Intransitive verbs which have a prefixal agreement slot agree in gender and number with the nominative argument. Since this nominative argument and the addressee coincide in intransitive verbs, the plural imperative suffix *-na* agrees with the same argument as the prefix (17).

- (15) *w-ak’-e!*  
M-COME:PFV-IMP  
‘Come to me (addressing a men)!’
- (16) *d-ak’-e!*  
F1-COME:PFV-IMP  
‘Come to me (addressing a girl)!’
- (17) *b-ak’-e-na!*  
HPL-COME:PFV-IMP-IMP.PL  
‘Come to me (addressing several people)!’

Transitive verbs with a prefixal agreement slot also agree with their nominative argument. Here, however, the addressee is the agent in the ergative case. The prefixal agreement and the plural imperative suffix are triggered by different arguments (19).

- (18) *b-a<sup>3</sup>bʔ-a*                      *urš-be!*  
HPL-kill:PFV-IMP.TR    boy-PL  
‘Kill these boys (addressing one person)!’

- (19) *w-aʔbʔ-a-na*                      *rasul!*  
 M-kill:PFV-IMP.TR-IMP.PL Rasul  
 ‘Kill Rasul (addressing several people)!’

The suffix *-na* as a plurality of addressee marker is also used on prohibitive forms (see §3).

In some Dargwa dialects (e.g. in Tanti – Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 146) the imperative form is not used if the P of the transitive construction is a first person argument. The optative is used instead. This is not true for Mehweb – there is no restriction on the usage of the imperative with the first person:

- (20) *nu dub aʔʔ-aq-a!*  
 I eat LV-CAUS-IMP.TR  
 ‘Feed me!’

### 2.3 Subject and forms of address

The agent of the imperative is not usually expressed, but it can be indicated by an overt second person pronoun if it is stressed:

- (21) *ħu učitel uʔ-e!*  
 you.sg(NOM) teacher M.be:PFV-IMP  
 ‘[You] become a teacher!’
- (22) *ħu-ni dečʔ b-aqʔ-a!*  
 you.sg-ERG song N-do:PFV-IMP.TR  
 ‘[You] sing the song!’

Imperative utterances may contain forms of address expressed by a noun phrase in the nominative. The form of address is in the nominative even when referring to the agent of transitive verbs:

- (23) *muħammad, dečʔ b-aqʔ-a.*  
 Muhammad(NOM) song N-do:PFV-IMP.TR  
 ‘Muhammad, sing the song.’
- (24) *muħammad, učitel uʔ-e!*  
 Muhammad(NOM) teacher M.be:PFV-IMP  
 ‘Muhammad, become a teacher!’

Second person pronouns and demonstratives (used as third person pronouns) cannot be used as forms of address:

(25) \*ħu deč' b-aq'-a  
 you.sg(NOM) song N-**do**:PFV-IMP.TR

(26) \*it deč' b-aq'-a  
 this(NOM) song N-**do**:PFV-IMP.TR

The second person imperative construction can however 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 formally includes a third person NP, it is addressed to the hearer whose name is Muhammad:

(27) muhammad-*ini* deč' b-aq'-a.  
 Muhammad-ERG song N-**do**:PFV-IMP.TR  
 '[Muhammad] sing the song.'

(28) *it-*ini** deč' b-aq'-a.  
 this-ERG song N-**do**:PFV-IMP.TR  
 '[He] sing the song.'

(29) *it* w-ak'-e.  
 that(NOM) M-**come**:PFV-IMP  
 '[He] come.'

Speakers often build this construction with the additive particle *-ra*:

(30) muhammad-*ini=ra* deč' b-aq'-a.  
 Muhammad-ERG=ADD song N-**do**:PFV-IMP.TR  
 '[Muhammad] sing the song.'

(31) *it=ra* w-ak'-e!  
 that(NOM)=ADD M-**come**:PFV-IMP  
 '[He] come!'

The construction with a third person NP and the imperative is primarily used when the speaker addresses several people. The following sentences can be uttered by the teacher who is addressing the whole class and chooses the pupils to perform certain actions:

(32) *pat'imat=ra* d-ak'-e, *asijat=ra*  
 Patimat(NOM)=ADD F1-**come**:PFV-IMP Asijat(NOM)=ADD  
 d-ak'-e.  
 F1-**come**:PFV-IMP  
 'Patimat come, and Asijat come.'



- (33) *pat'imat-li deč' b-aq'-a, asijat-li deč'*  
 Patimat-ERG song N-do:PFV-IMP.TR Asijat-ERG song  
*bel'č'-a.*  
 read:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Patimat sing the song, and Asijat read the rhyme.'

The following example with the word *ca* as third person imperative subject comes from the corpus:

- (34) *mallasbadij-ni ib iš-di-li-ze : ca*  
 Molla Nasreddin.OBL-ERG say:PFV.AOR that-PL-OBL-INTER(LAT) one  
*udi-di w-iz-e-na, ca aqu-di*  
 below-TRANS M-stand:IPFV-IMP-IMP.PL one up-TRANS  
*w-iz-e-na, urga-w nu w-iz-iša,*  
 M-stand:IPFV-IMP-IMP.PL between-M I(NOM) M-stand:IPFV-FUT.EGO  
*nu-ni ħuša k'wi-jal-la χ<sup>w</sup>asar b-aq'-iša ca-ca*  
 I-ERG you.pl two-ORD-ADD rescue HPL-do:PFV-FUT.EGO one-one  
*buruši-ze.*  
 rouble-INTER(LAT)  
 'Molla Nasreddin told them: one of you stand higher, the other stand lower, I will stand between you two, I will rescue the two of you for one rouble each.'

A similar phenomenon – the possibility to use 2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative with 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject with reference to the addressee - is found in other East Caucasian languages (cf. Dobrushina 2001: 323).

## 2.4 Imperative with particles

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

- (35) *deč' b-aq'-a-w!*  
 song N-do:PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL  
 'Sing a song! (addressing women or men)'

The particle *-w* is identical to the question particle *-w/-u*. The particle *ca* is formally identical to the word *ca* 'one' and probably originates from it.

- (36) *ɦa<sup>h</sup>ramir-ti-la buša-ne elʔ-a-ca.*  
 Haramirt-PL-GEN house-PL count:PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL  
 ‘List the families of the Haramirt (clan).’ (Text 19. Clans, 1.6)

Neither of the particles can be used if the imperative utterance expresses permission:

- (37) *abaj, b-uh-es=u nu-ni g-es rasuj-s k’amp’it’?*  
 mother N-become:PFV-INF=Q I-ERG give:PFV-INF Rasul-DAT sweet  
 ‘– Mother, can I give a sweet to Rasul?’  
*b-uh-es b-eg-a / ??b-eg-a-w /*  
 N-become:PFV-INF N-give:PFV-IMP.TR / N-give:PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL /  
 ??*b-eg-a-ca.*  
 N-give:PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL  
 ‘– You can, give it to him.’

The particle *-w* expresses a more categorical demand than that expressed by the particle *-ca*. Therefore, it is not used in situations when the speaker has a status lower than the addressee, or when the speaker has no right to demand. In the following example, the child asks her mother to give her the sweet; with the particle *-w* she is rather too direct, as if her mother must give it to her; with the particle *-ca* the utterance sounds as a mild request.

- (38) *Abaj ag-a / ag-a-ca /*  
 Mother give:PFV-IMP.TR / give:PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL /  
 ?*ag-a-w nab k’amp’it’.*  
 give:PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL I.DAT sweet  
 ‘Mother, give me a sweet.’

In example (39), the imperative with the particle *-w* would have been completely inappropriate, since the pupil addresses his request to the teacher. The imperative with the particle *-ca* is better, although it is not the typical way to address the teacher.

- (39) *?Maisarat Magomedovna ag-a-ca di-ze*  
 Maisarat Magomedovna give:PFV-IMP.TR-PTCL I.OBL-INTER(LAT)  
*kung.*  
 book  
 ‘Maisarat Magomedovna, give me the book please.’

The particles *-w-* and *-ca* can occur together:

- (40) *pat'imat ħu d-ak'-e-w-ca!*  
 Patimat you.sg(NOM) F1-come:PFV-IMP-PTCL-PTCL  
 'Patimat, [you] come!'

According to the corpus, the particle *-ca* is used very frequently; the particle *-w* was not found in the corpus.

## 2.5 Coordinated constructions with imperatives

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

- (41) *b-uc-a maza a?-a b-uħna.*  
 N-catch:PFV-IMP.TR sheep drive:PFV-IMP.TR N-inside(LAT)  
 'Catch the sheep, let it inside.'
- (42) *pat'imat kaltuška=ra d-ur?un d-aq'-i-le ħarši*  
 Patimat potato=ADD NPL-clean NPL-do:PFV-AOR-CVB soup  
*d-aq'-a!*  
 NPL-do:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Patimat, peel the potato and make the soup!'
- (43) *k'amp'it'-une as-i-le tukaj-ħe-la ħu-ni=jal*  
 sweet-PL take:PFV-AOR-CVB shop-IN-EL you.sg-ERG=EMPH  
*mu-d-uk-adi.*  
 NEGVOL-NPL-eat:IPFV-PROH  
 'Buy some sweets, (but) don't eat them.'

Further examples and some discussion of the contrast between the chains with imperatives and the chains with converbs can be found in Kustova (2019) (this volume).

## 3 Prohibitive

The prohibitive is a negative imperative which is expressed by a dedicated affix. It is formed with the prefix *mV-* with an unspecified vowel which assimilates to the next vowel (see discussion in Moroz 2019 [this volume] and Daniel 2019 [this volume]), and the suffix *-adi*, sometimes truncated to *-ad*. In §10, I give

some information on the origin of this marker. The gender agreement marker *b-* (N or HPL) assimilates to the NEGVOL marker *mV-* (see Moroz 2019 [this volume]). Sometimes, prohibitive formation involves reduplication, as in (46) – see the discussion in Daniel (2019) [this volume].

- (44) *deč' mi-m-iq'-ad(i)!*  
 song NEGVOL-N-do:IPFV-PROH  
 'Don't sing!'

The prohibitive can be derived only from imperfective stems. Therefore, each verb has two imperatives but only one prohibitive. There is no formal distinction between transitive and intransitive prohibitives.

- (45) *mu-lug-adi d-uk'-a-k'a-ra, maja*  
 NEGVOL-give:IPFV-PROH F1-say:IPFV-IRR-COND-ADD Maja  
*g-i-le le-l-le hub-li-s.*  
 give:PFV-AOR-CVB AUX-F-CVB husband-OBL-DAT  
 'Although she said: 'Don't give', they still married Maja off'. (Text 14. Laces, 1.3)

- (46) *gurda b-ik'-uwe le-b sinka-li-ze*  
 fox N-say:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-N bear-OBL-INTER(LAT)  
*b-is-mi-m-is-adi ħu.*  
 N-cry-NEGVOL-N-cry-PROH you.sg(NOM)  
 'The fox said [to the bear]: "Don't cry"'. (Text M. A bear, a wolf and a fox, 1.11)

The prohibitive has the same marker of plurality *-na* as the imperative. The prohibitive suffix cannot be truncated before the plural marker.

- (47) *deč' mi-m-iq'-adi-na!*  
 song NEGVOL-N-do:IPFV-PROH-IMP.PL  
 'Don't sing!' (addressing several speakers)

- (48) *\*deč' mi-m-iq'-ad-na!*  
 song NEGVOL-N-do:IPFV-PROH-IMP.PL  
 Intended: 'Don't sing!' (addressing several speakers)

The prohibitive can be used with forms of address in the same way as the imperative (§2.3):

- (49) *pat'imat, deč' mi-m-iq'-adi.*  
 Patimat song NEGVOL-M-**do**:IPFV-PROH  
 'Patimat, don't sing the song.'

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

- (50) *pat'imat-li deč' mi-m-iq'-adi.*  
 Patimat-ERG song NEGVOL-M-**do**:IPFV-PROH  
 '[Patimat] don't sing the song.'

The prohibitive can take the particle *-ca*:

- (51) *mi-m-iq'-adi-ca hel deč'!*  
 NEGVOL-M-**do**:IPFV-PROH-PTCL this song  
 'Don't sing this song!'

#### 4 Imperative interjections

There are several words which function as imperatives although they are not related to any verb. They are used to urge the addressee to perform an action, and some of them can attach the imperative plural marker *-na*.

The interjection *ma* 'take, hold' is known in various languages of Daghestan (e.g. Archi, Agul). In Mehweb, it may attach the plural marker *-na*:

- (52) *ma!*  
 INTJ  
 'Take!'
- (53) *ma-na!*  
 INTJ-IMP.PL  
 'Take (addressed to several people)!'

The interjection *ma* can be combined with other imperative forms:

- (54) *ma as-a!*  
 INTJ take:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Take!'
- (55) *ma-na as-a-na!*  
 INTJ-IMP.PL take:PFV-IMP.TR-IMP.PL  
 'Take (addressed to several people)!'

The imperative interjection *hara* is used to attract the visual attention of the addressee. It also can attach the plural marker *-na*:

(56) *hara!*

INTJ

‘Look!’

(57) *hara-na!*

INTJ-IMP.PL

‘Look! (addressing several people)’

Two imperative interjections are used to urge the addressees to be quiet and keep silence. For example, the teacher can use them in order to make children silent: *q’ah!* ‘Shhh!’ and *c’it’!* ‘Shhh!’. These interjections cannot combine with the plural marker *-na*.

## 5 Hortative (first person inclusive imperative)

The term *hortative* is used here for the constructions which express the inducement to perform an action together with the speaker, cf. English *Let’s go*. There is no dedicated hortative morphology in Mehweb, but the periphrastic construction is widely used to express invitation to common action.

The hortative construction consists of the infinitive of the main verb and the form *CL-aš-e*, where *CL* is a gender marker.

(58) *w-aš-e*            *χal*    *w-aq’-as*            *ħa-la*            *urtaq’.*

M-go:IPFV-IMP seek M-do:PFV-INF you.sg.OBL-GEN friend

‘Let’s look together for your friend’ (Aspectual test 1, 1.121)

The form *CL-aš-e* is an imperative of the verb *CL-aš-es* ‘go/come (ipfv)’. Alone, this form can be used as a second person imperative and as a hortative. There are no other words in Mehweb which combine these two meanings in one form; there are also no other hortatives which are expressed lexically, in one word.

(59) *pat’imat, d-aš-e*            *di-šu!*

Patimat, F1-go:IPFV-IMP I.OBL-AD(LAT)

‘Patimat, come to me!’

(60) *d-aš-e*            *tukaj-ħe!*

F1-go:IPFV-IMP shop-IN(LAT)

‘Let’s go to the shop!’ (addressing a women)

- (61) *ʒali, w-aš-e di-šu!*  
 Ali, M-go:IPFV-IMP I.OBL-AD(LAT)  
 ‘Ali, come to me!’
- (62) *w-aš-e tukaj-ħe!*  
 M-go:IPFV-IMP shop-IN(LAT)  
 ‘Let’s go to the shop!’ (addressing a man)

This pattern of hortative construction – with an infinitive and a particle originating from an imperative or hortative form of a motion verb – is attested in some other East Caucasian languages (Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009), Lak and Rutul (personal fieldnotes)).

The imperative CL-*aš-e* followed by the plural marker *-na* is used as a second person plural imperative or as an inducement to several addressees to perform an action together. There is an irregular change of *-e* to *-i* when the plural suffix is added: *w-aše – b-ašina*:

- (63) *b-aš-ina tukaj-ħe!*  
 HPL-go:IPFV-IMP.PL shop.OBL-IN(LAT)  
 ‘Go to the shop!’ / ‘Let’s go to the shop!’ (addressing several people)

In the hortative construction, the form CL-*aš-e* agrees with the addressee, while the infinitive of the main verb agrees with the nominative. In the constructions with intransitive imperatives, the addressee and the nominative participant coincide (64, 65). In the constructions with transitive imperatives, the addressee coincides with the ergative participant; therefore, the main verb and the auxiliary form CL-*aš-e* agree with different arguments (66–69).

- (64) *w-aš-e uz-es!*  
 M-come:IPFV-IMP M.work:IPFV-INF  
 ‘Let us work! (addressing a boy)’
- (65) *d-aš-e d-uz-es!*  
 F1-come:IPFV-IMP F1-work:IPFV-INF  
 ‘Let us work! (addressing a girl)’
- (66) *d-aš-e deč’ b-aq’-as!*  
 F1-come:IPFV-IMP song N-do:PFV-INF  
 ‘Let’s sing a song! (addressing a girl)’
- (67) *w-aš-e deč’ b-aq’-as!*  
 M-come:IPFV-IMP song N-do:PFV-INF  
 ‘Let’s sing a song! (addressing a boy)’

- (68) *d-aš-e*                    *urši w-it'-es!*  
 F1-go:IPFV-IMP boy M-draw:PFV-INF  
 'Let's draw a boy! (addressing a girl)'
- (69) *w-aš-e*                    *dursi d-it'-es.*  
 M-go:IPFV-IMP girl F1-draw:PFV-INF  
 'Let's draw a girl (addressing a boy)'

The plural suffix *-na* is added to the verb *CL-aše* when the hortative construction is addressed to several people and the action is thus meant to be performed by more than two participants, including the speaker:

- (70) *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)'

The hortative construction can contain the first person plural pronoun as a subject:

- (71) *d-aš-e*                    *nuša tukaj-ħe*                    *b-u'q'-as.*  
 F1-go:IPFV-IMP we shop.OBL-IN(LAT) HPL-go:PFV-INF  
 'Let's go to the shop (addressing a girl)'
- (72) *b-aš-e*                    *sinka b-erk<sup>w</sup>-es*                    *nuša-jni!*  
 N-go:IPFV-IMP bear N-eat:PFV-INF we-ERG  
 'Let's eat the bear!' (fox addressing wolf) (Text M. A bear, a wolf and a fox)

In the hortative construction, negation is marked on the main verb, since the illocution is not under the scope of negation:

- (73) *d-aš-e*                    *deč' ħa-b-aq'-as.*  
 F1-come:IPFV-IMP song NEG-N-do:PFV-INF  
 'Let's not sing a song (addressing a girl)'
- (74) *d-aš-e*                    *urši ħa-jt'-es.*  
 F1-go:IPFV-IMP boy NEG-M.draw:PFV-INF  
 'Let's not draw a boy (addressing a girl)'

Constructions with the negated verb of motion are not interpreted as hortatives:



- (75) *mi-d-ik'-adi*                      *deč' b-aq'-as.*  
 NEGVOL-F1-COME:IPFV-PROH song N-do:PFV-INF  
 'Don't come to sing a song.'

If a hortative occurs in the coordinative construction, one of the predicates can be expressed by a perfective converb (76), or both predicates are expressed by infinitives (77); in the latter case, one hortative auxiliary can belong to both infinitives:

- (76) *b-aš-ina*                      *qali=ra*      *b-aq'-i-le,*                      *q'<sup>w</sup>a<sup>l</sup> as-es.*  
 HPL-go:IPFV-IMP.PL house=ADD N-do:PFV-AOR-CVB cow take-INF  
 (77) *b-aš-ina*                      *qali=ra*      *b-aq'-as,*                      *q'<sup>w</sup>a<sup>l</sup>=ra as-es.*  
 HPL-go:IPFV-IMP.PL house=ADD N-do:PFV-INF COW=ADD take-INF  
 'Let's build the house and buy the cow.'

The motion verb almost always takes the first place in hortative constructions (78), but its final position is not completely ungrammatical (79).

- (78) *b-aš-ina*                      *qali*      *b-aq'-as.*  
 HPL-go:IPFV-IMP.PL house N-do:PFV-CVB  
 'Let's build the house.'  
 (79) <sup>?</sup>*qali b-aq'-as*                      *b-aš-ina.*  
 house N-do:PFV-CVB HPL-go:IPFV-IMP.PL  
 'Let's build the house.'

The particle of mild request *-ca* can be used with the hortative:

- (80) *w-aš-e-ca*                      *heč'*                      *xunul*      *ʔa<sup>l</sup>χ*      *r-aq'-as.*  
 M-go:IPFV-IMP-PTCL that.higher woman good F-do:PFV-INF  
 'Let's help that women.' (Text 06. Mahmud Omar who was friends with devils, 1.11)

## 6 Jussive (third person imperative)

Jussive is a form or construction which is used to express an inducement to a third person, most often transferred via the addressee. Some East Caucasian languages have a dedicated form for this meaning; often, the meaning of jussive is covered by the optative (Dobrushina 2012). In Mehweb, the meanings of the jussive and optative are expressed separately, by a periphrastic construction and

by an inflectional form respectively. In §6.1, the structure of the jussive construction is described. §6.2 discusses the semantics of the jussive construction. The optative is considered in §7.

## 6.1 Jussive construction

The Mehweb jussive consists of the imperative of the verb ‘say’ *bet’a* (irregular form; see Daniel 2019 [this volume]) and the imperative of the main verb. The jussive is conceived as a transfer of a command or request to the non-locutor via the addressee (Tell him “Work!” → Let him work!):

- (81) *musa uz-e bet’a.*

Musa M.WORK:IPFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR

‘Let Musa work.’

- (82) *sa<w>i-jal u<sup>s</sup>q’-e bet’a heʔ<sup>w</sup>an-i*

<1>self-EMPH M.GO:PFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR similar-ATR

*biz-be-ču.*

hair-PL-COMIT

‘With this kind of hair, let him drive on his own.’ (Aspectual test 1, 1.141)

Jussive semantics does not require the verb to designate a controllable action (see §6.2). Therefore, verbs which denote uncontrollable actions can occur in the jussive construction in the form which is morphologically imperative, while normally the second person imperative of these verbs is not used (see also §2.1):

- (83) *d-aq-a, ni? d-ert-e / d-ert-a*

NPL-let:PFV-IMP.TR milk NPL-spoil:PFV-IMP / NPL-spoil:PFV-IMP.TR

*bet’a.*

say:PFV-IMP.TR

‘Leave it, let the milk spoil.’

The imperative of the verb ‘say’ does not have an agreement slot. It can only agree with the addressee in number, as all imperatives:

- (84) *urš-be-jni deč’ b-aq’-a bet’a.*

boy-PL-ERG song N-do:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR

‘Let the boys sing a song (addressing one person).’

- (85) *urš-be-jni deč’ b-aq’-a bet’a-na.*

boy-PL-ERG song N-do:PFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR-IMP.PL

‘Let the boys sing a song (addressing several people).’

The jussive construction shows some evidence of grammaticalization. The agent of the jussive construction usually bears A or S marking (ergative with transitive verbs and nominative with intransitive verbs):

- (86) *muhammad-ini deč' b-aq'-a bet'-a.*  
 Muhammad-ERG song N-do:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Let Muhammad sing a song.'
- (87) *musa uz-e bet'a.*  
 Musa M.work:IPFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Let Musa work.'

Although, as was shown above (§2.3), second person imperative in Mehweb can be used with 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject and A/S marking, such constructions are clearly peripheral. They do not occur in the texts; they are used in a special pragmatic type of context (addressing several people in distributional meaning); and they cannot apply to non-animate subject. Examples (82–86) hence cannot be interpreted as cases of reported speech.

The addressee of the verb 'say' is normally marked by the inter-lative. The availability of S or A marking in the jussive construction shows that the jussive has developed into a periphrastic form distinct from the complement construction of the verb 'say'. Cf. example (87) with a complement clause-like structure with addressee marking in (88):

- (88) *musa-ze uz-e bet'a.*  
 Musa-INTER(LAT) M.work:IPFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Tell Musa to work.'

In jussive constructions, the verb 'say-IMP' follows the imperative of the main verb. The following sentence is ungrammatical:

- (89) \**musa bet'-a uz-e.*  
 Musa say:PFV-IMP.TR M.work:IPFV-IMP

As with the hortative, negation is marked on the lexical verb of the jussive construction:

- (90) *muhammad-ini deč' mi-m-iq'-adi bet'-a.*  
 Muhammad-ERG song NEGVOL-N-do:IPFV-PROH say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Let Muhammad not sing a song.'

## 6.2 Semantics of the jussive

The jussive is used in exhortations to actions by third person agents:

- (91) *išbari muhammad-ini t'ult' b-aq'-a bet'-a.*  
 today Muhammad-ERG bread N-do:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 'Let Muhammad bake bread today.'

The jussive can also express permission:

- (92) *b-uh-es-u muhammad-ini k'amp'it' as-es?*  
 N-become:PFV-INF=Q Muhammad-ERG sweet take:PFV-INF  
 '– May Muhammad take a sweet?'  
*b-uh-es, as-a bet'-a.*  
 N-become:PFV-INF take:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR  
 '– (He) may, let him take one.'

Jussives can have inanimate subjects. The jussive construction with an inanimate subject expresses the speaker's indifference towards the situation (indifference is semantically close to permission). The implication is that the addressee should not interfere with the realization of the situation; for instance, s/he should not take the boiling soup from the stove:

- (93) *rurž-e bet'-a harši.*  
 boil:IPFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR soup  
 'Let the soup boil.'
- (94) *d-uh-e bet'-a dig-uj-s.*  
 F1-become:PFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR love-PTCP.OBL-DAT  
 'Let her get married with anyone (lit. become to whoever she wants).'

Constructions with inanimate subjects show again that the jussive construction is highly grammaticalized, because the imperative *bet'a* has lost its original meaning 'say!'.

The jussive is available only in the third person. First and second person pronouns cannot occur in jussive constructions:

- (95) *it-ini as-a bet'-a k'amp'it'.*  
 that-ERG take:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR sweet  
 'Let him take your sweet.'

- (96) \**nu-ni as-a bet'-a k'amp'it'*.  
 I-ERG take:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR sweet  
 Intended: 'Let me take a sweet.'
- (97) \**ħu-ni as-a bet'-a k'amp'it'*.  
 you.sg-ERG take:PFV-IMP.TR say:PFV-IMP.TR sweet  
 Intended: 'Let you take a sweet.'

The semantics of indifference is the source for the constructions where the jussive has a concessive meaning:

- (98) *uz-e bet'-a, saβ<sup>w</sup>a-l-la miski-je*  
 M.WORK:IPFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR how-ATR=ADD poor-ADVZ  
*uʔ-es-i it.*  
 1.be:IPFV-INF-ATR that  
 'Let him work, he will still be poor (=Even if he works, he will still be poor)'
- (99) *d-uʔ-e bet'-a x<sup>w</sup>aldili amma quli-b*  
 F1-be:IPFV-IMP say:PFV-IMP.TR beautiful but home.IN-N(ESS)  
*ħa<sup>h</sup>nči ħa-b-iq'-an.*  
 work NEG-N-do:IPFV-HAB  
 'Let her be beautiful, but she does not do her work at home (Though she is beautiful, she does not work at home).'

Unlike the optative, the jussive is not used to express wishes. Accordingly, example (100) is acknowledged to be grammatical, but semantically inappropriate; one of the speakers suggested that this sentence can be uttered by an atheist who thinks that God can be forced to perform an action. The correct choice would be to use the optative (101).

- (100) *ʔaradeš ag-a bet'-a.*  
 health give:PFV-IMP.TR tell:IPFV-IMP.TR  
 'ʔLet [Allah] make [you] healthy.'
- (101) *aradeš g-a-b!*  
 health give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
 'May [Allah] make [you] healthy!'

When the jussive is used to denote uncontrollable situations, it is interpreted as expression of indifference or allowance but not as wish. The following ut-

terance can be pronounced when the speaker does not care about the rain, e.g. because he has already done his work in the field:

- (102) *d-aq'-a*                      *bet'-a*                      *zab.*  
NPL-do:PFV-IMP.TR    say:PFV-IMP.TR    rain  
'Let it rain (I don't care).'

If the speaker wants the rain to fall, she would rather use the form of optative:

- (103) *d-aq'-a-b*                      *zab!*  
NPL-do:PFV-IRR-OPT    rain  
'May it rain!'

## 7 Optative

The optative is used to convey good and bad wishes. In Mehweb, as in many other East Caucasian languages, the optative is expressed by a dedicated inflectional form (for a discussion of optatives in languages of the Caucasus see Dobrushina 2011). The formation of the optative is described in §7.1, its semantics in §7.2, and typical constructions involving the optative form – in §7.3.

### 7.1 Morphology of the optative

The optative is marked by the suffix *-b* added to the irrealis stem in *-a-*:

- (104) *aradeš g-a-b!*  
health    give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
'May [Allah] make [you] healthy!'

The optative can be derived from both the perfective and imperfective stems: *g-a-b* (give:PFV-IRR-OPT) – *lug-a-b* (give:IPFV-IRR-OPT); *d-ic-a-b* (NPL-sell:PFV-IRR-OPT) – *d-ilc-a-b* (NPL-sell:IPFV-IRR-OPT).

The negative optative is derived from the imperfective stem with the prefix *mV-* (the same negative volitional marker which is used in the prohibitive). The negative optative may also be formed with the regular negative prefix *ħa-*. The negative optative with the prefix *mV-* usually comes as a first choice of the speaker when s/he translates wishes with negation, but the forms with the prefix *ħa-* are also often considered grammatical. Forms in *ħa-* are more easily accepted from perfective verbs, thus filling the gap of the perfective negative optative. Sometimes, however, an imperfective negative optative with the prefix *ħa-* is also accepted by the speakers (see Table 5). Negative optative is not a frequent form, it

does not occur in the corpus. I was unable to compare the actual frequency of these two negative forms.

Table 5: Forms of the positive and negative optative

	positive		negative	
	perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
‘give’	<i>g-a-b</i>	<i>lug-a-b</i>	<i>ħa-g-a-b</i>	<i>mu-lug-a-b</i> ?? <i>ħa-lu-ga-b</i>
‘sell’	<i>d-ic-a-b</i>	<i>d-ilc-a-b</i>	<i>ħa-dic-a-b</i>	<i>mi-d-ilc-a-b</i> * <i>ħa-d-ilc-a-b</i>
‘find’	<i>b-arg-a-b</i>	<i>b-urg-a-b</i>	<i>ħa-b-arg-a-b</i>	<i>mu-m-urg-a-b</i> * <i>ħa-b-urg-a-b</i>
‘eat’	<i>b-erk<sup>w</sup>-a-b</i>	<i>b-uk-a-b</i>	<i>ħa-b-erk<sup>w</sup>-a-b</i>	<i>mu-m-uk-a-b</i> <i>ħa-b-uk-a-b</i>
‘drink’	<i>b-erž-a-b</i>	<i>b-už-a-b</i>	<i>ħa-b-erž-a-b</i>	<i>mu-m-už-a-b</i> <i>ħa-b-už-a-b</i>
‘happen’	<i>b-ik-a-b</i>	<i>b-irk-a-b</i>	<i>ħa-b-ik-a-b</i>	<i>mi-m-irk-a-b</i> <i>ħa-b-irk-a-b</i>

Some optatives have a reduced form without any suffixes: *w-ebk’-a-b* ‘may [he] die!’ – *w-ebk’* ‘may [he] die!’

(105) *kapul-le w-ebk’-a-b!*  
pagan-ADVZ M-die:PFV-IRR-OPT  
‘May he die impious!’

(106) *kapul-le w-ebk’!*  
pagan-ADVZ M-die:PFV(OPT)  
‘May he die impious!’

(107) *ħa-la abaj r-ebk’!*  
you.sg.OBL-GEN mother F-die:PFV(OPT)  
‘May your mother die!’ (...can be uttered by a mother of a child, and addressed to the child if something bad is going to happen to her/him – i.e. may I die in your stead!)

Apart from the verb ‘die’, the reduced form was attested for the verbs CL-*er<sup>w</sup>es* ‘become dry’, *če-CL-uqes* ‘grow’, and CL-*alqaqas* ‘grow (causative)’. However, not all speakers accept all these examples (unlike *w-ebk’* which is frequent).

- (108) *ma<sup>ɕ</sup>q<sup>ʷ</sup> b-erʔ<sup>w</sup>-a-b.*  
root N-become.dry:PFV-IRR-OPT  
'May the roots dry out.' (a bad wish, suggesting that the clan of the person against whom the bad wish is directed should disappear)
- (109) *ma<sup>ɕ</sup>q<sup>ʷ</sup> b-erʔ<sup>w</sup>.*  
root N-become.dry:PFV(OPT)  
'May the roots dry out.' (same as (108))
- (110) *ma<sup>ɕ</sup>q<sup>ʷ</sup> ha-b-le če-b-uq-a-b.*  
root front-N-ADVZ PV-N-grow:PFV-IRR-OPT  
'May it all grow roots up.'
- (111) *ma<sup>ɕ</sup>q<sup>ʷ</sup> ha-b-le če-b-uq.*  
root front-N-ADVZ PV-N-grow:PFV(OPT)  
'May it all grow roots up.'
- (112) *qu b-alq-aq-ab!*  
field N-grow:IPFV-CAUS-OPT  
'May the field grow!'
- (113) *qu b-alq-aq!*  
field N-grow:IPFV-CAUS(OPT)  
'May the field grow!'

Truncated forms of the optative are also attested in Akusha (van den Berg 2001: 34), Ashty (Belyaev (a), manuscript), Shiri (Belyaev (b), manuscript), Tanti (Sumbatova & Lander 2014), and Sanzhi (Forker, in preparation) lects of Dargwa.

Some optative forms have a causative suffix which is not motivated semantically. Cf. examples (111), (112), (114), (115), (116) and (117). When the speakers discuss the difference between the optative with and without the causative suffix, they usually say that the sentences with causative suffix *-aq-* imply an appeal to God:

- (114) *qu b-alq-a-b!*  
field N-grow:IPFV-IRR-OPT  
'May the field grow!'
- (115) *qu b-alq-aq-a-b!*  
field N-grow:IPFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT  
'May the field grow [with the help of Allah]!'



- (116) *hum-be*  $\text{ʔa}^{\text{c}}\chi$  *d-uh-a-b!*  
road-PL good NPL-become:PFV-IRR-OPT  
‘May you have a good trip!’
- (117) *hum-be*  $\text{ʔa}^{\text{c}}\chi$  *d-uh-aq-a-b!*  
way-PL good NPL-become:PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT  
‘May Allah give you a good trip!’

This semantic difference between the ordinary and the causative optative is due to the fact that the causative derivation adds a new participant to the situation. The sentences with the causative suffix may include the ergative of Allah (118, 119). If the participant is not overtly expressed in the sentence, this new participant in the causativized optative construction is by default understood as Allah. In another Daghestanian language, Archi (Lezgi), the ergative of Allah can be included even in intransitive optative constructions meaning ‘with the help of Allah’, where the ergative may be interpreted as the ergative of the cause, one of the known functions of the ergative case (Dobrushina 2011). In Mehweb, most speakers reject intransitive optative sentences with Allah in the ergative (120, 121).

- (118) *allah-li-ni* *hum-be*  $\text{ʔa}^{\text{c}}\chi$  *d-uh-aq-ab!*  
Allah-OBL-ERG way-PL good NPL-become:PFV-CAUS-OPT  
‘May Allah give you a good trip!’
- (119) *allah-li-ni* *qu* *b-alq-aq-ab!*  
Allah-OBL-ERG field N-grow:IPFV-CAUS-OPT  
‘May the field grow with the help of Allah!’
- (120) *\*allah-li-ni* *hum-be*  $\text{ʔa}^{\text{c}}\chi$  *d-uh-a-b!*  
Allah-OBL-ERG way-PL good NPL-become:PFV-IRR-OPT  
Intended: ‘May Allah give you a good trip!’
- (121) *\*allah-li-ni* *qu* *b-alq-ab!*  
Allah-OBL-ERG field N-grow:IPFV-OPT  
Intended: ‘May the field grow with the help of Allah!’

If there is another overt ergative participant in the sentence, the clause is interpreted as an ordinary causative construction; cf. (124):

- (122) *rasul* *w-ebk’-a-b!*  
Rasul M-die:PFV-IRR-OPT  
‘May Rasul die!’

- (123) *rasul w-ebk'-aq-a-b!*  
 Rasul M-die:PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT  
 'May Allah make Rasul die!'
- (124) *pat'imat-ini rasul w-ebk'-aq-ab!*  
 Patimat-ERG Rasul M-die:PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT  
 'May Patimat make Rasul die!'

## 7.2 Optative constructions

The optative form is available for all persons, but with the first person the construction is pragmatically less felicitous.

Third person optative construction

- (125) *dursi d-arš-i-le kalʔ-a-b ħa-la.*  
 girl F1-be.beautiful:PFV-AOR-CVB stay:PFV-IRR-OPT you.sg.OBL-GEN  
 'May your daughter be beautiful.'
- (126) *urši q'uwat le-b-le kalʔ-a-b ħa-la.*  
 boy strength be-N-CVB stay:PFV-IRR-OPT you.sg.OBL-GEN  
 'May your son be strong.' (lit. May your boy stay having strength)

Second person optative construction

- (127) *d-arš-ib-i kalʔ-a-b ħu.*  
 F1-be.beautiful:PFV-AOR-PTCP stay-IRR-OPT you.sg  
 'May you be beautiful.'
- (128) *q'uwat le-w-i kalʔ-a-b ħu.*  
 strong be-M-PTCP stay:PFV-IRR-OPT you.sg  
 'May you be strong.'

First person optative construction

- (129) *nu r-ebk' / r-ebk'-ab!*  
 I F-die:PFV(OPT) / F-die:PFV-OPT  
 'May I die [but not you – addressing the child]!'

In optative constructions, frozen formulaic expressions are typical, and central participants are often left implicit. Cf. examples (108), (114), (116) where the person affected by the wish is overtly expressed. However, mentioning this person is not ungrammatical, as in the following examples:

- (130) *muḥammadi-s hum-be ʔaʕχ d-uh-aq-a-b!*  
 Muhammad-DAT way-PL good NPL-become:PFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT  
 ‘May Muhammad have a good trip!’
- (131) *muḥammad-ini vačne ʔaʕχ-le d-ic-a-b.*  
 Muhammad-ERG calf.PL good-ADVZ NPL-sell:PFV-IRR-OPT  
 ‘May Muhammad sell calves with a profit.’

Another possible participant of the optative situation is Allah. Most often it occurs in optative sentences as a form of address:

- (132) *ja-allah ḥušab taliḥ g-a-b!*  
 PTCL-Allah(NOM) you.pl.DAT luck give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
 ‘May [Allah] give [you] luck!’

In transitive constructions, Allah can also be expressed as an Agent, assuming ergative marking:

- (133) *allah-li<sup>1</sup> ara-deš g-a-b!*  
 Allah-OBL(ERG) healthy-NMLZ give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
 ‘May [Allah] give [you] health!’
- (134) *m-irq-ab ḥu allah-li.*  
 NEGVOL-M.let.go:IPFV-OPT you.sg(NOM) Allah-OBL(ERG)  
 ‘May Allah stay with you.’ (= may Allah not let something bad happen to you) (Aspectual test 1, 1.156)

The Ergative form of the word *Allah* cannot co-occur with another agent in the ergative case:

- (135) *\*allah-li ḥu-ni b-iz-il t’ult’ b-aq’-a-b.*  
 Allah-ERG you.sg-ERG N-tasty-ATR bread N-do:PFV-IRR-OPT  
 Intended: ‘May you make good bread with the help of Allah.’

### 7.3 Semantics of the Optative

Optative forms are dedicated to the expression of good or bad wishes.

- (136) *ʔaq’ lug-a-b, balhni g-a-b.*  
 intellect give:IPFV-IRR-OPT knowledge give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
 ‘May [Allah] give [you] intellect, may [Allah] give [you] knowledge.’

<sup>1</sup>The ergative forms *Allahlini* ~ *Allahli* are morphological variants.

Unlike the jussive, the optative does not denote an action which is meant to be fulfilled by the addressee or by a third person. If the optative is derived from a verb which typically denotes controllable actions, the sentence is interpreted as a wish that Allah fulfills the action. The following example can be interpreted as a wish which can be made real by Allah, but not as an indirect command to the third person to give money:

- (137) *d-aq-il*            *arc*    *g-a-b*.  
NPL-much-ATR money give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
'May you be given [by Allah] a lot of money.'

The optative cannot refer to the past, cf. examples (138) and (139):

- (138) *w-ebk'-a-b*    *nu!*  
M-die-IRR-OPT I  
'May I die!'
- (139) *\*dag*        *w-ebk'-a-b*    *nu!*  
yesterday M-die-IRR-OPT I  
Intended: 'I wish I had died yesterday!'

Optative forms are widely used in everyday life. Below are some traditional optative formulae:

- (140) *q'uwat*    *g-a-b!*  
strength give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
'May [Allah] give [you] strength!'
- (141) *k'wabaq'ala*    *g-a-b*.  
god.help<sup>2</sup>    give:PFV-IRR-OPT  
'May you have enough strength [to do your work].'
- (142) *w-ebk'-a-b*            *ħu!*  
M-die:PFV-IRR-OPT you.sg  
'May you die!'
- (143) *ja-allah*        *d-alq-aq-a-b!*  
PTCL-Allah NPL-grow:IPFV-CAUS-IRR-OPT  
'May [it] grow! (wish formula addressed to the person who is planting something)'

---

<sup>2</sup>This word occurs only in this formula and so far seems to be unanalyzable.

#### 7.4 Expression of wish by means of forms in *-q'alle*

The wish of the speaker can also be expressed by forms ending in *-q'alle*. The derivation of these forms is described in §8. Forms in *-q'alle* show some properties of converbs (see §8 and Sheyanova 2019 [this volume]); the wish-constructions with forms in *-q'alle* must be considered as cases of insubordination (in terms of Evans 2007).

The counterfactual conditional converb in *-q'alle* can be used in a main clause in order to express the speaker's wish (similar to the forms of the conditional protasis in many European languages, as well as other languages of the East Caucasian family, cf. Belyaev 2012). Independent converbs in *-q'alle* differ semantically from the optative. While the optative form expresses blessings and curses, constructions with conditional converbs denote dreams and desires of speaker about some uncontrollable events. In Dobrushina (2011), these two types of optative were referred to as performative optative and desiderative optative. East Caucasian languages often have a dedicated inflectional form for the former, but the latter is usually expressed by conditional forms, as in Mehweb.

- (144) *ca di-la qali b-uʔ-ib-q'alle!*  
 PTCL I.OBL-GEN house N-become:PFV-AOR-CTRF  
 'If only I had a house!'
- (145) *di-la adami žaʷwal ʔaʷš-w-irq-ul-q'alle!*  
 I.OBL-GEN husband early PV-M-come.back:IPFV-ATR-CTRF  
 'If only my husband came back soon!'

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

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

Unlike other converbs in *-q'alle*, the converb derived from the infinitive is not used in reference to the past:

- (147) *dag w-ebk'-ib-q'alle nu!*  
 yesterday M-die:PFV-AOR-CTRF I  
 'If only I had died yesterday!'
- (148) *\*nu-ni dag čaj d-erž-es-q'alle!*  
 I-ERG yesterday tea NPL-drink:PFV-INF-CTRF  
 Intended: 'I wish I had some tea yesterday!'

The hypothetical conditional converb in *-k'a* (see §8) cannot be used in independent constructions.

- (149) \**nu-ni čaj d-erž-a-k'a!*  
 I-ERG tea NPL-**drink**-IRR-COND  
 Intended: 'I wish I had some tea yesterday!'
- (150) *nu-ni čaj d-erž-a-k'a,            ʔa<sup>ʕ</sup>-le        b-uʔ-a-re.*  
 I-ERG tea NPL-**drink**-IRR-COND good-ADVZ N-become-IRR-PST  
 'If I had some tea, it would be good.'

## 8 Irreal forms

Cross-linguistically, forms with irreal meaning are most often found in conditional constructions and in complement clauses (Mauri & Sansò 2016). In Mehweb, as in many other languages of Daghestan, complement clauses do not employ irreal forms. Mehweb conditional constructions have non-finite forms in the subordinate clause (conditional converbs), and a finite form in the main clause (irrealis). In this section, the derivation of conditional converbs (§8.1) and irrealis (§8.2) will be discussed. In §8.3, §8.4, and §8.5, conditional constructions of different types will be considered.

### 8.1 Conditional converbs

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

The suffix *-k'a* presumably originates from the particle *k'a*. The particle *k'a* is used for topicalization of words of different classes. In example (151), it attaches to the noun *sinkala*, in example (152) – to the perfective stem of the verb. In the latter example, the particle is used together with reduplication, typical for predicate topicalization (Maisak 2010): *dargk'a dargira*.

- (151) *sinka-la k'a abzul-le   b<sup>w</sup>a<sup>ʕ</sup>n-ne d-elʔ-un-na*  
 bear-GEN PTCL all-ADVZ lie-PL   NPL-tell:PFV-AOR-EGO  
*wahaj-le-l        b<sup>w</sup>a<sup>ʕ</sup>n-ne luʔ-es        w-aʔ-i-ra.*  
 very-ADVZ=EMPH lie-PL   tell:IPFV-INF M-begin:PFV-AOR-EGO  
 'As for the bear, I did actually tell fibs.' (Aspectual test 1, 1.89)

- (152) *d-arg-k'a*            *il-di*    *qulle*    *di-ze*  
 NPL-find:PFV-PTCL this-PL house.PL I.OBL-INTER(LAT)  
*d-arg-i-ra*                    *huni-ra*    *b-arg-i-ra*.  
 NPL-find:PFV-AOR-EGO road=ADD N-find:PFV-AOR-EGO  
 'As for getting there, I did reach those houses and found the street.'  
 (Aspectual test 1, 1.164)

Elicitation gave examples with predicate topicalization marked by the particle *k'a* alone, without reduplication:

- (153) *luč'-ib-k'a*            *il*    *ʔa<sup>h</sup>χ-le*.  
 learn:IPFV-IPFT-PTCL this good-ADVZ  
 'As for studies, he did study well.'
- (154) *luč'-an-k'a*            *il*    *ʔa<sup>h</sup>χ-le*    *amma abaj-s*  
 learn:IPFV-HAB-PTCL this good-ADVZ but mother.OBL-DAT  
*zahmat d-urh-an*            *il*    *d-aχ-as*.  
 difficult F1-be:IPFV-HAB this F1-support-INF  
 'As for studies, she makes good progress. But it is difficult for her mother to support her.'

That the suffix of conditional clause originates from the topicalization particle is in conformity with the close relation between topic and condition as described in Haiman (1978). It is likely that the suffix of counterfactual condition *-q'alle* also originates from the marker of topicalization. In Mehweb, the only function of *-q'alle* is to mark counterfactual conditional converbs, but in some other Dargwa languages there is a particle *q'al* (*q'alli*) with a wide range of meanings including topicalization (Maisak 2010; Mutalov & Sumbatova 2003; Forker in preparation). The following examples come from two Dargwa dialects:

Dargwa (Khuduts village) (Maisak 2010; example elicited by D. Ganenkov)

- (155) *buč'=q'al*            *buč'unni*    *cab cik'al*  
 read:IPFV=PTCL read:IPFV.CVB COP nothing  
*hankalgunnek:u*.  
 remember:IPFV.CVB+COP.NEG  
 'As for reading, he reads (the book), but does not remember anything.'

Dargwa (Icari village) (Maisak 2010; example suggested by R. Mutalov)

- (156) *buč'-ni-la*                    *q'alli* *buč'at:a*    *cacajnaq:illa behelra...*  
 read:IPFV-NMLZ-GEN PTCL read.PRS.1SG sometimes however  
 'As for reading, I read (books), but...'

Forms in *-q'alle* and in *-k'a* can be embedded. This is an argument in favor of their converbial status.

- (157) *nu [di-la urši-li-ni xunul k-a-k'a]*  
 I I.OBL-GEN boy-OBL-ERG wife bring:PFV-IRR-COND  
*iχ-di-li-šu-r d-uʔ-es-i.*  
 that-PL-OBL-AD-F(ESS) F1-be:PFV-INF-ATR

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

- (158) *nu=ra [iχ w-ebk'-ib-q'alle] d-ubk'-a-re.*  
 I=ADD this M-die:PFV-AOR-CTRF F1-die:IPFV-IRR-PST

‘If he died, I would have also died.’

In §8.1.1 and §8.1.2, the derivation of conditional converbs in *-k'a* and *-q'alle* will be considered in more detail.

### 8.1.1 Hypothetical conditional converb

In the Hypothetical conditional converb, the suffix *-k'a* can be added to the Ir-real stem of imperfective and perfective verbs. Therefore, every verb has two conditional converbs in *-k'a*: CL-*elč'es* ‘read, PFV’ – CL-*elč'ak'a*; *luč'es* ‘read, IPFV’ – *luč'ak'a*.

Conditional clauses with converbs in *-k'a* denote that the situation can come true in the future:

- (159) *hel deħ b-aq'-a-k'a sinka-li nuša k'wi-jal-la*  
 this smell N-do:PFV-IRR-COND bear-OBL(ERG) we two-CARD-ADD  
*b-erg-es.*  
 HPL-eat:PFV-INF

‘If the bear smells this, he will eat us both.’ (Text M. A bear, a wolf and a fox, 1.6)

Followed by the additive particle *-ra*, hypothetical conditional converbs are used in concessive clauses (160). This pattern of marking concessive clauses – by a combination of conditional converb and emphatic or additive particle, also well known in Latin and Romance languages – is attested in the majority of East Caucasian languages (cf. Tanti (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 138), Agul (Dobrushina & Merdanova 2012); Forker 2016 for generalizations).



- (160) *iti-s rasul hune-će w-ik-a-k'a-ra,*  
 this.OBL-DAT Rasul way-SUPER(LAT) M-happen:PFV-IRR-COND-ADD  
*it-ini beši-će wa<sup>s</sup>b-Ha<sup>r</sup>-ba<sup>t</sup>t-ur.*  
 this-ERG wedding.OBL-SUPER(LAT) call-NEG-LV:PFV-AOR  
 ‘Although she met Rasul, she did not call him to the wedding.’
- (161) *mu-lug-adi d-uk'-a-k'a-ra, maja*  
 NEGVOL-give:IPFV-PROH F1-say:IPFV-IRR-COND-ADD Maja  
*g-i-le le-l-le hub-li-s.*  
 give:PFV-AOR-CVB AUX-F-CVB husband-OBL-DAT  
 ‘Although she said: ‘Don’t give’, they still married Maja’. (Text 14.  
 Laces, 1.3)

### 8.1.2 Counterfactual conditional converb

The counterfactual marker *-q'alle* can be added to the past and infinitive forms, but not to the present. The speakers of Mehweb sometimes consider *-q'alle* as a separate word, but it cannot be separated from the verb. In this description, we consider *-q'alle* as a suffix. Table 6 summarizes the combinations of the verbal stems and the suffix *-q'alle*: possible combinations are marked as (+), impossible combinations are marked as (-); the perfective present form does not exist in Mehweb. Examples are presented in Table 7.

Table 6: Stems which can add the counterfactual suffix *q'alle*

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

Table 7: Examples of the forms with the counterfactual suffix *-q'alle*

		past	infinitive	participle
‘find’	imperfective	<i>b-urg-ib-q'alle</i>	<i>b-urg-es-q'alle</i>	<i>b-urg-ul-q'alle</i>
	perfective	<i>b-arg-ib-q'alle</i>	<i>b-arg-es-q'alle</i>	<i>b-arg-ib-i-q'alle</i>
‘read’	imperfective	<i>luč'-ib-q'alle</i>	<i>luč'es-q'alle</i>	<i>luč'-ul-q'alle</i>
	perfective	<i>b-elč'-un-q'alle</i>	<i>b-elč'-es-q'alle</i>	<i>b-elč'-un-i-q'alle</i>

Counterfactual converbs in *q'alle* are used in subordinate clauses of conditional constructions (example (162), more details in §8.3), and in independent clauses with the meaning of wish (example (163), more details in §7.4). This latter usage may be considered a case of insubordination, typical for the forms used in conditional clause.

- (162) *hete-r hed-di malʔun-t-ini r-uc-es*  
 there-F(ESS) that.far.away-PL devil-PL-ERG F-catch:PFV-INF  
*q'oʃwe le-l-le kʷan, nu ca-bida ajbaj*  
 go:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-NPL-CVB QUOT I(NOM) one-few tarry  
***r-uh-ub-q'alle.***  
**F-become:PFV-AOR-CTRF**

'If I would tarry there for just a minute, these devils would get to me for sure.' (Text 03, Story told by Aminat, 1.29)

- (163) *ca di-la urši-li-ni xunul d-ik-ul-q'alle!*  
 PTCL I.OBL-GEN boy-OBL-ERG wife F1-bring:IPFV-PTCP-CTRF  
 'If only my son got married!'

## 8.2 Irrealis

The predicate of the main clause of conditional constructions is expressed by the form with the suffixal cluster *-a-re*: CL-*ubk'are* 'would die'. The cluster consists of the suffix of the Irreal stem *-a-* and the suffix of the Past *-re* (*-a-re* – IRR-PST). The marker *-are* is used only for the expression of irrealis, so the form must be considered as a dedicated irrealis. The past suffix *-re* is not productive. Apart from irrealis, the suffix *-re* occurs regularly only in several lexemes: in the past copula *le-CL-re*, negative copula *agʷire*, in the lexeme *burgare* 'likely, probably' (originally irrealis), and the form *digibre* 'would like':

- (164) *k'ala-li-ze-b le-b-re doʃHi.*  
 Kala-OBL-INTER-N(ESS) be-N-PST snow  
 'There was snow in Kala.' (Text 15, Lost Donkeys)
- (165) *nab d-ig-ib-re čaj.*  
 I.DAT NPL-want:IPFV-IPFT-PST tea  
 'I would like some tea.'

Some speakers acknowledge other forms in *-re* derived from the past stem of imperfective verbs as grammatical, such as *luč'ibre* (*luč'es* 'read, study, IPFV'),

*isibre* (*ises*, ‘take, buy, IPFV’), *urcibre* (*urces* ‘fly, IPFV’). These forms are also interpreted as irrealis:

- (166) *ʔtukaj-ħe-la si-kʼal is-ib-re nu-ni-ra, arc*  
 shop-IN-EL what-INDEF **take:IPFV-IPFT-PST** I-ERG=ADD money  
*d-uʔ-ib-qʼalle.*  
 NPL-be:IPFV-AOR-CTRF  
 ‘I would have bought something in the shop, if (I) had some money.’

These forms however are never used spontaneously, do not occur in texts, and many speakers do not recognize them at all. Even the speakers who can come up with an example using one of these forms, tend to replace it by the regular irrealis in *-are*.

The irrealis form in *-are* is used in the main clause of conditional clauses (most often counterfactual) (167) as well as for the expression of irreal situations in independent clauses beyond conditional constructions (168):

- (167) *iχ w-ebkʼ-ib-qʼalle, nu-ra d-ubkʼ-are.*  
 this M-die:PFV-AOR-CTRF I=ADD F1-die:IPFV-IRR-PST  
 ‘If he had died, I would have also died.’

- (168) *rasuj-ni qu išq-aʳ-re dag, amma*  
 Rasul-ERG field **mow:IPFV-IRR-PST** yesterday but  
*Haʳ-qʼ-un.*  
 NEG-M.GO:PFV-AOR  
 ‘Rasul could have mowed the field yesterday, but he didn’t go.’

### 8.3 Counterfactual conditional clauses

Counterfactual conditional clauses contain a converb in *-qʼalle* in the protasis, and the irrealis in the apodosis. The constructions with the converb in *-qʼalle* and irrealis in *-are* denote situations which did not take place in the past (169), and most likely will not take place in the future (170).

- (169) *urši-li-ni xunul k-ib-qʼalle, nu iχ-di-li-šu-r*  
 boy-OBL-ERG wife **take:PFV-AOR-CTRF** I that-PL-OBL-AD-HPL(ESS)  
*d-uʔ-a-re.*  
 F1-become:PFV-IRR-PST  
 ‘If my son had got married, I would have lived at their place.’

- (170) *c'able w-ebk'-ib-q'alle, nu-ra d-ubk'-a-re.*  
 tomorrow M-die:PFV-AOR-CTRF I=ADD F1-die:IPFV-IRR-PST  
 'If you should die tomorrow, I would also die.'

A conditional clause with a counterfactual converb derived from an aorist refers to the past; if the converb is derived from an imperfective participle, it refers to the present:

- (171) *iχ dag ?a's-w-aq'-ib-q'alle ?a'χ-le*  
 this yesterday PV-M-come.back:PFV-AOR-CTRF good-ADVZ  
*b-u?'-a-re.*  
 N-be:PFV-IRR-PST  
 'If he had come yesterday, it would have been good.'
- (172) *iχ išbəri ?a's-w-irq-ul-q'alle ?a'χ-le*  
 this today PV-M-come.back:IPFV-PTCP-CTRF good-ADVZ  
*b-u?'-a-re.*  
 N-be:PFV-IRR-PST  
 'If he came today, it would be good.'

Converbs in *-q'alle* based on infinitives refer to the future, but there is an additional meaning of wish. They are also used in independent clauses (§7.4) to express wish. In conditional protasis, they denote desirable situations (173). Therefore, the converb “infinitive + *-q'alle*” is not appropriate if the conditional construction denotes non-desirable situations (175):

- (173) *nu-ni čaj d-erž-es-q'alle nu wana urh-a-re.*  
 I-ERG tea NPL-drink:PFV-INF-CTRF I warm 1.become:IPFV-IRR-PST  
 'If I had tea, I would get warm.'
- (174) *abaj d-ebk'-ib-q'alle, il eh-il urh-a-re.*  
 mother F1-die:PFV-AOR-CTRF this bad-ATR 1.become:IPFV-IRR-PST  
 'If his mother had died, he would have become a bad person.'
- (175) *\*abaj d-ebk'-es-q'alle, il eh-il urh-a-re.*  
 mother F1-die:PFV-INF-CTRF this bad-ATR 1.become:IPFV-IRR-PST  
 Intended: 'If his mother had died, he would have become a bad person.'

#### 8.4 Hypothetical conditional constructions

Hypothetical conditional constructions denote situations which can either be true in the present, or can be realized in the future, or are habitual. The protasis

of a hypothetical construction is expressed by the converb in *-k'a*. The apodosis can have different forms depending on the semantics of the clause.

- (176) *iχ-ini b-arx-le b-urh-a-k'a, iχ w-atur*  
 that-ERG N-be.right-CVB N-tell:IPFV-IRR-COND that(NOM) M-free  
*aʔ-as-i.*  
 drive:PFV-INF-ATR  
 'If he tells the truth, they will let him go.'

Clauses with perfective and imperfective hypothetical conditional converbs in *-k'a* contrast as denoting single vs. multiple actions:

- (177) *het kung b-elč'-a-k'a nu-ni ĥa-ze*  
 that book N-read:PFV-IRR-COND I-ERG you.sg.OBL-INTER(LAT)  
*b-urh-iša hel-li-ja χabar.*  
 N-tell:IPFV-FUT.EGO this-OBL-GEN story  
 'If you read this book, I will tell you his story.'
- (178) *d-aq-il kung-ane luč'-a-k'a d-aq-il*  
 NPL-much-ATR book-PL read:IPFV-IRR-COND NPL-much-ATR  
*si-k'al nuša-ze d-alh-ul.*  
 what-INDEF we-INTER(LAT) NPL-know:IPFV-PTCP  
 'If we read many books, we know many things.'

## 8.5 Real conditional constructions

Real conditional clauses presuppose that the state of affairs in the subordinate clause is true. Real conditionals are sometimes treated as reason clauses, since they lack the main feature of conditionals – the lack of knowledge about the state of affairs denoted in the subordinate clause. In Mehweb, this type of conditionals has a special mode of marking, using an analytic construction with the verb *CL-arges* 'find, PFV'. This verb is found in many languages of Daghestan in semi-grammaticalised constructions designating direct (visual) evidence (cf. Maisak & Daniel 2018).

Conditional clauses of real conditional constructions have an auxiliary verb *CL-arges* marked by the conditional suffix *-k'a*, and the lexical verb.

The main clause of real conditional constructions can have different indicative forms depending on the semantics of the situation. In example (179), the situation of the matrix clause belongs to the past, in examples (180) and (181) it belongs to the future:

- (179) *ili-s hune-će w-ik-i-le w-arg-a-k'a*  
 this-DAT way-SUPER(LAT) M-happen:PFV-AOR-CVB M-find:PFV-IRR-COND  
*rasul, il-ini bebi-će wa<sup>ʔ</sup>b-a<sup>ʔ</sup>t-ur-i il.*  
 Rasul this-ERG wedding-SUPER(LAT) call-LV:PFV-AOR-PTCP this  
 ‘If she met Rasul [according to what you know about it], she called him  
 to the wedding.’
- (180) *anwar w-ak'-i-le w-arg-a-k'a, abaj-šu*  
 Anwar M-come:PFV-CVB M-find:PFV-IRR-COND mother-AD(LAT)  
*u<sup>ʔ</sup>q'-es.*  
 M.go:PFV-FUT  
 ‘As [it turned out that] Anwar came, he will go to his mother.’
- (181) *rasuj-ze arc k<sup>w</sup>e*  
 Rasul.OBL-INTER(LAT) money in.hands(LAT)  
*d-ik-i-le d-arg-a-k'a, il-ini*  
 NPL-happen:PFV-AOR-CVB NPL-find:PFV-IRR-COND this-ERG  
*abaj-s sajbat as-es.*  
 mother-DAT gift take:PFV-INF  
 ‘As Rasul [as it turned out] has got the money, he will buy the gift to his  
 mother.’

## 9 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 *-la* attached to the irrealis stem: *-a-la*.

- (182) *d-arʔ-a mura, zab d-aq'-a-la.*  
 NPL-gather:PFV-IMP.TR hay rain NPL-do:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 ‘Collect the hay, it might rain.’

The apprehensive has a negative counterpart:

- (183) *zab ha-d-aq'-a-la hab, d-a<sup>ʔ</sup>q-a šin*  
 rain NEG-NPL-do:PFV-IRR-APPR ahead NPL-hit:PFV-IMP.TR water  
*agarod-le-ħe.*  
 vegetable.garden-OBL-IN(LAT)  
 ‘Turn on the water in the garden, [because/in case] it might not rain.’

Apprehensive forms are commonly used to express warnings about something that may happen to the addressee:

- (184) *q'ēju, w-ig<sup>w</sup>-a-la.*  
 slow M-burn:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 'Be careful, beware not to get burnt.'
- (185) *q'ēju, ar-d-ik-a-la.*  
 slow down-F1-fall:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 'Be careful, beware not to fall down.'

Apprehensives are often accompanied by the particle *ʔaj*:

- (186) *ħu ʔanq' uh-a-la ʔaj.*  
 you.sg drown M.become:PFV-IRR-APPR PTCL  
 'Beware not to drown.'

First and third person subjects are also available in the apprehensive constructions:

- (187) *nu ʔanq' uh-a-la.*  
 I drown M.become:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 'May I not drown.'
- (188) *hara nu ar-d-uk-a-la!*  
 PTCL I(NOM) away-F1-lead:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 'Be careful, someone may abduct me!'
- (189) *žanawal-li-ni maza ar-b-uk-a-la.*  
 wolf-OBL-ERG sheep away-N-lead:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 'The wolf can steal the sheep.'

The apprehensive has an inherent negative value. If it is used with reference to situations which are usually viewed as positive, the situation changes its value from positive to negative. Example (190) is grammatical only if the speaker wants to have a daughter more than a son (which is unusual for Daghestan). Example (191) is only grammatical if the speaker does not want to recover from his illness.

- (190) *urši w-aq'-a-la ħu-ni d-aq'-a dursi!*  
 boy M-do:PFV-IRR-APPR you.sg-ERG F1-do:PFV-IMP.TR girl  
 '[I am afraid that] you give birth to a boy, [better] give birth to a girl!'

- (191) *ara d-uh-a-la!*  
 healthy F1-become:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 ‘[I am afraid that] I become healthy!’

Apprehensive predicates are regularly used in the complement clauses of verbs of fear followed by the complementizer *ile* (which is the perfective converb of the verb ‘say’):

- (192) *nu uruχ k'-uwe le-w-ra žanawal-li-ni maza*  
 I be.afraid LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV be-M-EGO wolf-OBL-ERG sheep  
*ar-b-uk-a-la ile.*  
 away-N-lead:PFV-IRR-APPR COMP  
 ‘I am afraid that the wolf steals a sheep.’

- (193) *nu uruχ k'-as ħu iz-es*  
 I be.afraid LV:IPFV-HAB.EGO you.sg be.ill:IPFV-INF  
*d-a?-a-la ile.*  
 F1-begin:PFV-IRR-APPR COMP  
 ‘I am afraid that you might fall ill.’

If the subject of the apprehensive complement clause is coreferent to the subject of the main clause, the logophoric pronoun *sa<CL>i* is used (see Kozhukhar 2019 [this volume]). This is a phenomenon common to other cases of subordination with the complementizer *ile*.

- (194) *baba uruχ k'-uwe le-r χ<sup>w</sup>e q'ac'*  
 granny be.afraid LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-F dog bite  
*b-ik-a-la ile.*  
 N-LV:PFV-IRR-APPR COMP  
 ‘My grandmother is afraid that the dog bites her.’
- (195) *baba uruχ k'-uwe le-r, sa<r>i*  
 granny be.afraid LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV AUX-F self<F>  
*ar-d-ik-a-la ile.*  
 PV-F1-fall:PFV-IRR-APPR COMP  
 ‘The grandmother is afraid of falling down.’

Apprehensives cannot refer to a situation in the past. The next example is ungrammatical (196), and has to be modified as in (197).



- (196) \**nu uruχ k'-as dag anwal-li-čē*  
 I be.afraid LV:IPFV-HAB.EGO yesterday Anwar-OBL-SUPER(LAT)  
*χ<sup>wē</sup> q'ac' \*b-ik-a-la.*  
 dog bite N-LV:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 Intended: 'I am afraid that the dog bit Anwar yesterday.'
- (197) *nu uruχ k'-as dag-ŋ<sup>w</sup>anal anwal-li-čē*  
 I be.afraid LV:IPFV-HAB.EGO yesterday-like Anwar-OBL-SUPER(LAT)  
*χ<sup>wē</sup> q'ac' b-ik-a-la ile.*  
 dog bite N-happen:PFV-IRR-APPR COMP  
 'I am afraid that the dog might bite Anwar as it happened yesterday.'

The clause with the apprehensive and complementizer can be inserted into the main clause:

- (198) *musa-ni mura d-arʔ-ib [dunijal ur-a-la ile].*  
 Musa-ERG hay NPL-gather:PFV-AOR world rain-IRR-APPR COMP  
 'Musa collected the hay out of fear that rain starts.'
- (199) *musa-ni [dunijal ur-a-la ile] mura d-arʔ-ib.*  
 Musa-ERG world rain-IRR-APPR COMP hay PL-gather:PFV-AOR  
 'Musa collected the hay out of fear that rain starts.'

The apprehensive construction without the complementizer cannot be inserted into the main clause:

- (200) *eli šula-le b-uc-a [badara*  
 child tight-ADVZ N-hold:PFV-IMP.TR dish  
*b-o<sup>r</sup>ʔ-aq-a-la].*  
 N-break:PFV-CAUS-IRR-APPR  
 'Hold the child tight, it might break the dish.'
- (201) \**eli [badara b-o<sup>r</sup>ʔ-aq-a-la] šula-le b-uc-a.*  
 child dish N-break-CAUS-IRR-APPR tight-ADVZ N-hold:PFV-IMP.TR  
 Intended: 'Hold the child tight so that it does not break the dish.'
- (202) *sumka b-uχ-a mataħ ar-d-uʔ-a-la.*  
 bag N-bring:PFV-IMP.TR money PV-NPL-lose:PFV-IRR-APPR  
 'Take the bag not to lose the money.'
- (203) \**sumka [mataħ ar-d-uʔ-a-la] b-uχ-a.*  
 bag money PV-NPL-lose:PFV-IRR-APPR N-bring:PFV-IMP.TR  
 Intended: 'Take the bag not to lose the money.'

Apprehensive is used to express negative purpose:

- (204) *w-aʹld-e*      *adaj-ni*      *ħu*      *dam w-aqʹ-a-la.*  
M-hide:PFV-IMP father-ERG you.sg(NOM) beat M-do:PFV-IRR-APPR  
‘Hide, so that your father does not beat you.’
- (205) *cʹa-li-če*      *ħule w-iz-e,*      *b-uš-a-la.*  
fire-OBL-SUPER(LAT) look M-LV:PFV-IMP N-die(of.fire):PFV-IRR-APPR  
‘Watch the fire so that it does not go out.’

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

- (206) *w-aʹld-e*      *adaj-ni*      *ħu*      *dam*  
M-hide:PFV-IMP father-ERG you.sg(NOM) beat  
***ħa-qʹ-a-lis.***  
NEG-M.do:PFV-IRR-PURP  
‘Hide, so that your father does not beat you.’
- (207) *cʹa-li-če*      *ħule w-iz-e*  
fire-OBL-SUPER(LAT) look M-LV:PFV-IMP  
***ħa-b-uš-a-lis.***  
NEG-N-die(of.fire):PFV-IRR-PURP  
‘Watch the fire so that it does not go out.’

As some other verbal forms, apprehensives can be part of constructions with topicalizing reduplication.

- (208) *it w-erχʷ*      *ħa-rχʷ-a-la*      *nu le-l-la*  
this M-enter:PFV NEG-M.enter:PFV-IRR-APPR I AUX-F-EGO  
*uruχ*      *kʹ-uwe.*  
be.afraid LV:IPFV-CVB.IPFV  
‘I worry that he may not enter [the university].’

## 10 Discussion

In this section, I will compare the Mehweb system of non-indicative forms with that of several other Dargwa lects (languages or dialects): Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari. Akusha is especially interesting for this study, because it is suggested that Mehwebs came to the place where they now live from the areas

where the Akusha dialect is spoken (Dobrushina 2019 [this volume]). If this hypothesis is true, we might expect that Mehweb will show more similarity with Akusha than with other Dargwa lects. Another object for the comparison is Avar – the language which is spoken in the vicinity and which could have influenced Mehweb.

The main prominent feature of Mehweb is the absence of personal endings in all non-indicative forms. In this respect, Mehweb is presumably unique among Dargwa languages and dialects. Akusha, Tanti, Shiri, Ashty, Icari – all distinguish persons in the forms of optative and in conditional forms. The loss of personal endings may be due to the influence of Avar, since the latter has no personal paradigm.

Some traces of the former personal endings are still present in the grammar of non-indicative mood forms. The Mehweb prohibitive ends in *-ad(i)*. In Akusha Dargwa, *-ad* of prohibitive coincides with the second person Future marker (van den Berg 2001: 36). Shiri, Ashty and Icari use the endings *-t/-t:* in the prohibitive, which are the markers of the second person in some other forms of these lects (Belyaev (b) manuscript; Mutalov & Sumbatova 2003). Mehweb, however, has the marker *-ad(i)* only in the prohibitive, hence synchronically it does not denote person. Sumbatova suggested that the Mehweb prohibitive marker originates from the second person ending (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 590).

In other respects, however, the Mehweb prohibitive is similar to that of the other Dargwa lects: it is formed by a special negative prefix *ma-* (used only for the prohibitive and the negative optative) and the suffix *-ad(i)*. In Avar, the prohibitive is expressed by a suffix.

There are several more features which distinguish Mehweb non-indicative mood forms from what is typical for Dargwa lects.

The system of imperative marking is simpler in Mehweb than in other Dargwa dialects. In Akusha, Tanti, Ashty, Shiri, and Icari, the choice of the imperative marker is triggered by three factors: transitivity, aspect and the formal class of the verb. In Mehweb, the formal class is irrelevant for the choice of the imperative marker. The only relevant factors are transitivity and aspect.

It is interesting that the marker of the imperative itself is formally identical to that of Tanti but not to that of Akusha (which is supposed to be closest to Mehweb). In Akusha, Ashty, Shiri and Icari, the marker for perfective transitive imperatives is *-a*, other types of imperative have *-i* or some other marker depending on the class of verb (van den Berg 2001: 48; Belyaev (a) & (b) manuscripts; Mutalov & Sumbatova 2003). In Mehweb, the second class of imperatives takes *-e*, like the Tanti dialect (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 142). The marker *-e* in Mehweb could have been supported by the imperative of Avar, but the distribution of

Avar markers is opposite to that of Mehweb: *-e* for transitive imperatives, *-a* for intransitive (Charachidzé 1981: 105).

Mehweb differs from other Dargwa idioms in using the marker *-na* for the plural imperative and prohibitive. Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari also mark the plurality of the addressee by a special ending, but in these dialects this marker is identical to the marker of the second person plural in other forms. The Mehweb imperative/prohibitive plural marker differs from other Dargwa lects even formally. In Mehweb, the plural imperative/prohibitive is *-na*; compare to *-ja/-aja* in Akusha (van den Berg 2001: 48), *-a*: in Ashty (Belyaev (a) manuscript), *-aja* in Shiri (Belyaev (b) manuscript), *-a/-ja* in Tanti (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 142), *-aja* in Icari (Mutalov & Sumbatova 2003). Note that Avar has no special endings for the second person plural imperative. For the moment, I have no suggestions as to the origin of the marker *-na*.

Unusual for Dargwa idioms are also Mehweb conditional markers. In Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari, conditional forms are marked by the suffix *-li* or *-le*. Counterfactual conditionals in all these lects are derived from hypothetical conditionals with the marker of the past tense. Mehweb conditionals differ both in terms of content and in terms of structure. Mehweb conditionals have other markers than these Dargwa dialects (*-k'a* for hypothetical conditional converb and *-q'alle* for counterfactual; see §8.1 on the probable origin of these markers). The counterfactual form is not formally related to the hypothetical. It seems therefore that the proto-Dargwa conditional forms were completely substituted in Mehweb by new forms.

The optative of Mehweb has the same marker *-b* as other Dargwa lects. Another similarity is the presence of truncated optative forms in Mehweb as well as in Akusha, Ashty, Shiri and Tanti (see references in §7.1). The difference from other Dargwa lects is that the Mehweb optative has one form for all persons, as I mentioned before. Mehweb is also simpler than the related idioms is that it does not use the optative for commands which have first person object, as do Tanti, Shiri, Ashty, and Icari (I have no information about this construction in Akusha).

As most other Dargwa dialects, Mehweb lacks a dedicated form for the hortative. The meaning of the hortative is regularly expressed by the combination of the particle based on the imperative of 'go' and the infinitive. Unfortunately, there is no sufficient information on how the hortative is expressed in Akusha, Ashty, Shiri, Tanti, and Icari.

As for the jussive, Mehweb uses a periphrastic construction to express it. The combination of the imperative of the verb with the imperative of the verb of speech (lit. 'verb-imp say') is found in several East Caucasian languages

(Akhvakh (Creissels manuscript), Lak and Archi (Dobrushina 2012)), but not among the Dargwa lects discussed above.

Apprehensives seem to be rare in East Caucasian (as well as in other languages of the world). To my knowledge, apart from Mehweb, the apprehensive is attested only in Archi (Kibrik 1977). These forms however are rarely looked for by linguists, so the reason for the infrequency of these forms can as well be their undocumentedness.

## 11 Conclusion

As this study has shown, there are several features which show the special position of Mehweb among other Dargwa lects. In several cases, Mehweb differs from the other five lects used for comparison, while those five show affinity between them. The study of non-indicative moods did not show any special similarity between Mehweb and Akusha. The influence of Avar, however, is also not attested in these forms. The only feature of the Mehweb system of non-indicative moods which can result from intensive contact with other languages is that, in several respects, it is simpler than the system of other Dargwa lects.

## List of abbreviations

1SG	first person singular
AD	spatial domain near the landmark
ADD	additive particle
ADVZ	adverbializer
AOR	aorist
APPR	apprehensive
ATR	attributivizer
AUX	auxiliary
CARD	cardinal numeral
CAUS	causative
CL	gender (class) agreement slot
COMIT	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
COP	copula
CTRF	counterfactual
CVB	converb

DAT	dative
EGO	egophoric
EL	motion from a spatial domain
EMPH	emphasis (particle)
ERG	ergative
ESS	static location in a spatial domain
F	feminine (gender agreement)
F1	feminine (unmarried and young women gender prefix)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual (durative for verbs denoting states)
HPL	human plural (gender agreement)
IMP	imperative
IN	spatial domain inside a (hollow) landmark
INDEF	indefinite particle
INF	infinitive
INTER	spatial domain between multiple landmarks
INTJ	interjection
IPFT	imperfect
IPFV	imperfective (derivational base)
IRR	irrealis (derivational base)
LAT	motion into a spatial domain
LV	light verb
M	masculine (gender agreement)
N	neuter (gender agreement)
NEG	negation (verbal prefix)
NEGVOL	negation in volitional forms (negative imperative, negative optative)
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NPL	non-human plural (gender agreement)
OBL	oblique (nominal stem suffix)
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal numeral
PFV	perfective (derivational base)
PL	plural
PROH	prohibitive
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle

PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive converb
PV	preverb (verbal prefix)
Q	question (interrogative particle)
QUOT	quotative (particle)
SUPER	spatial domain on the horizontal surface of the landmark
TR	transitive
TRANS	motion through a spatial domain

## References

- Belyaev, Oleg. (a). Grammatičeskij očerk aštynskogo jazyka [A grammar of Ashty]. Manuscript.
- Belyaev, Oleg. (b). The TAM system of Shiri Dargwa and the semantic evolution of perfective past. Manuscript.
- Belyaev, Oleg. 2012. Aspektual'no-temporal'naja sistema aštynskogo dialecta darginskogo jazyka [Aspectual temporal system of Ashty Dargwa]. *Acta Linguistica Petropolitana* 8(4). 181–227.
- Charachidzé, Georges. 1981. *Grammaire de la langue avar: Langue du Caucase nord-est* (Document de linguistique quantitative 38). Paris: Ed. Jean-Favard.
- Creissels, Denis. Optative in Akhvakh. Manuscript.
- Daniel, Michael. 2019. Mehweb verb morphology. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 73–115. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Dobrushina, Nina. 2001. Naklonenie i modal'nost' [Mood and modality]. In A. E. Kibrik, K. I. Kazenin, E. A. Ljutikova & S. G. Tatevosov (eds.), *Bagvalinskij jazyk. Grammatika. Teksty. Slovari*. Moscow: Nasledie.
- Dobrushina, Nina. 2011. The optative domain in East Caucasian languages. In Gilles Authier & Timur Maisak (eds.), *Tense, aspect, modality and finiteness in East Caucasian languages* (Diversitas linguarum 30), 95–130. Bochum: Brockmeyer.
- Dobrushina, Nina. 2012. What is the jussive for? A study of third person commands in six Caucasian languages. *Linguistics* 50(1). 1–25.
- Dobrushina, Nina. 2019. The language and people of Mehweb. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 1–15. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Dobrushina, Nina & Solmaz Merdanova. 2012. Concessive constructions in Agul. In V. S. Xrakovskij (ed.), *Typology of concessive constructions*, 477–494. Munich: Lincom Europa.

- Evans, Nicholas. 2007. Insubordination and its uses. In I. Nikolaeva (ed.), *Finiteness*. Oxford University Press.
- Forker, Diana. The grammar of Sanzhi. In preparation.
- Forker, Diana. 2016. Toward a typology for additive markers. *Lingua* 180. 69–100.
- Haiman, John. 1978. Conditionals are topics. *Language* 54(3). 564–589.
- Khajdakov, Said. 1985. *Darginskij i megebskij jazyki (principy slovoizmenenija)* [Dargwa and Mehweb Dargwa]. Moscow: Nauka.
- Khalilova, Zaira. 2009. *A grammar of Khwarshi*. LOT, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics, Utrecht, (Doctoral dissertation).
- Kibrik, Aleksandr. 1977. *Opyt strukturnogo opisanija arčinskogo jazyka* [Towards a structural description of Archi]. Vol. 2. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta.
- Kozhukhar, Aleksandra. 2019. The self-pronoun in Mehweb. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 271–293. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Kustova, Marina. 2019. General converbs in Mehweb. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 255–270. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Magometov, Aleksandr. 1982. *Megebskij dialekt darginskogo jazyka: Issledovanie i teksty* [Mehweb Dargwa: Grammar survey and texts]. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.
- Maisak, Timur. 2010. *Predicate topicalization in East Caucasian languages*. Handout at the conference Syntax of the World's Languages IV, Lyon, 23–26 September.
- Maisak, Timur & Michael Daniel. 2018. Černaja koška grammatikalizacii: Konstrukcii s glagolom 'najti' v dagestanskix jazykax [A black cat of grammaticalization. Constructions with 'find' in some Daghestanian languages]. In D. A. Ryzhova, B. V. Orehov, N. R. Dobrushina, T. I. Reznikova, A. A. Bonch-Osmolovskaja, A. S. Vyrenkova & M. V. Kjuseva (eds.), *Èvrika! Sbornik statej o poiskax i naxodkax k jubileju E. V. Raxilinoj*, 120–149. Moscow: Labirint.
- Mauri, Caterina & Andrea Sansò. 2016. The linguistic marking of (ir)realis and subjunctive. In Jan Nuyts & Johan van der Auwera (eds.), *Handbook of Modality and Mood*, 166–195. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moroz, George. 2019. Phonology of Mehweb. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 17–37. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Mutalov, Rasul & Nina Sumbatova. 2003. *A grammar of Icari Dargwa* (Languages of the World Series 92). Munich: Lincom Europa.



- Sheyanova, Maria. 2019. Specialized converbs in Mehweb. In Michael Daniel, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.), *The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax*, 235–253. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- Sumatova, Nina. The sketch of Mewheb grammar. Manuscript.
- Sumatova, Nina & Yury Lander. 2014. *Darginskij govor selenija Tanty: Grammatičeskij očerk, voprosy sintaksisa* [Tanti Dargwa: Grammar survey and essays on syntax]. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury.
- van den Berg, Helma E. 2001. *Dargi folktales: Oral stories from the Caucasus with an introduction to Dargi grammar* (CNWS Publications 106). Research School of Asian African & Amerindian Studies, Universiteit Leiden.

