Axaxdəvə Akhvakh
(Denis Creissels)

Axaxdəvə Akhvakh (henceforth AD Akhvakh), spoken in Axaxdəvə near Zaqatala (Azerbaijan), is a variety of Northern Akhvakh very close to the varieties spoken in the Axvaxskij Rajon of Dagestan (henceforth AR Akhvakh).

1. Императив 2-го лица

1.1. Какая форма используется как основная для выражения побуждения к 2-му лицу?

Уходи!
Дай мне книгу.
Приведи сюда Магомеда.
Пойешь.

The imperative is characterized by a suffix -a (glossed IMP) triggering the use of the long allomorph of stems having stem allomorphy. There is no distinction between singular and plural imperative, and no class mark can be added to it either. Note however that, with the intransitive verbs that have a prefixal slot for class agreement, the distinction is expressed by the agreement prefix – ex. (7) to (10).

As illustrated in (1), the imperative suffix shows no variation due to morphophonological processes.

(1) The suffix of the imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Impersonal form</th>
<th>impersonal suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k&lt;̄otur&lt;̄a &lt;̄ot ‘run away’</td>
<td>k’ot-a</td>
<td>k’ot-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žööm&lt;̄u&lt;̄a ‘call’</td>
<td>ža(b)-a</td>
<td>žab-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ȳ&lt;̄on&lt;̄u&lt;̄a ‘kiss’</td>
<td>ȳ&lt;̄a(b)-a</td>
<td>ȳ&lt;̄am-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l&lt;̄ur&lt;̄u&lt;̄a ‘dance’</td>
<td>l&lt;̄i(b)-a</td>
<td>l&lt;̄ib-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hūn&lt;̄u&lt;̄u&lt;̄a ‘heal’</td>
<td>h&lt;̄i&lt;̄(j)-a</td>
<td>h&lt;̄i&lt;̄j-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative is the standard way to express commands involving the addressee in S/A role.

(2) ap’ada wuruši o-missão q’azi-ľ-a!
    ten         ruble       N-give-IMP debt-N-LAT
‘Lend me ten rubles!’
(3) *hu-ɬ̄unu re'l-a dan-a!*
DEM-N-EL hand withdraw-IMP
‘Forget it!’

(4) *di šāgi eχada o-x-a!*
1SG(GEN) pan back N-give-IMP
‘Give me my pan back!’

(5) *iškapi gei-i-še q’ubat’ina b-eχ-a!*
cupboard inside-ESS-ADJZ pancake N-take-IMP
‘Take the pancakes that are in the cupboard!’

(6) *mokoč-o gudi, q’ōhula o-x-a!*
be_hungry-CVB.M COP₁,M food N-give-IMP
‘I am hungry, give me food!’

(7) *di-la če rač’i b-eχ-o w-oq’-a!*
1SG-DAT one rope N-take-CVB.M M-come-IMP
‘Bring (sing. masc.) me a rope!’

(8) *gāč’-a!*
FSTAND_UP-IMP
‘Stand up (sing. fem.)!’

(9) *gei-a b-eq’-a!*
inside-LAT HPL-come-IMP
‘Come (pl.) in!’

(10) *haīi kūl-e m-ič-ala, ba-k’w-a, čedače gei-i ba-k’-uba!*
where.ESS want-CVB.M N-be_found-COND HPL-come-IMP only inside-ESS HPL-be-PROH
‘Stay (pl.) where you want, but don’t stay (pl.) inside!’

Note that the imperative is commonly accompanied by the 2nd person singular or plural pronoun, in the absolute form (*mene / ušti*) with intransitive verbs, in the ergative case (*mede / ušte*) with transitive verbs.

(11) *eše-ga w-oq’-a mene žara-te!*
1PLE-LAT M-come-IMP 2SG tonight
‘Come (sg.) to our place tonight!’

(12) *mene di-gu šig-unu l’oq’-a!*
2SG 1SG-EL in_front-EL disappear-IMP
‘Disappear (sg.) from my sight!’

(13) *ha moła rasadi, eℓ’-u t’am-a me-de, m-ač-u t’-am-a me-de!*
hey Molla Rasadi say-INF throw-IMP 2SG-ERG N-talk-INF throw-IMP 2SG-ERG
‘Well Molla Rasadi, make (sg.) it (the crow) speak!’
(14) иč’и šoda me-de âu’o če č’uli b-es’-aj-a!
‘You should better keep a stick with you!’

(15) eɪ’-a me-de, k’ehi-le-k’ene-či harigʷ-e goda?
‘Tell (sg.) us, did you see it with your own eyes?’

(16) me-de m-ač-a di-ga, dene čuda w-ul’-ida gʷida!
‘Tell (sg.) me when I will die!’

(17) ušti ha le-ğe q’in-a!
‘Stay (pl.) here!’

(18) ušti l’uši b-eχ-u b-eq’-a!
‘Come (pl.) and take the hay!’

(19) ušt-e l’uši di-ga b-eq’-aj-a āi’oda!
‘Bring (pl.) me all of the hay!’

(20) ušt-e de-de eɹ’-ada-be gʷij-a!
‘Do (pl.) what I told you!’

In the following examples, the imperative of a transitive verb combines with k’edasʷe (two.ERG) interpreted as ‘two of you’ – ex. (21), and with češʷe (one.ERG) interpreted as ‘one of you’ – ex. (22).

(21) hu boq’oda k’ebek’i k’eda-šʷ-e m-eq’enaj-a,
‘Let two of you share out these four kopecks,

(22) ha-ɬ-e hašte eɹ’-ike,
‘It (the crow) does not speak just like that,’
Verbs whose meaning implies orientation, such as oḫu urządzenia ‘give’ or harigurulosure ‘show’, are sometimes found with an ending -e(ga) expressing at the same time imperative and orientation towards the speaker (cislocative). This ending probably results from the contraction of the imperative suffix -a and the word diga, allative of the 1st person singular pronoun.

oḫa diga ‘give me!’ → oxe(ga) ‘give (cisloc.)!’

1.2. Есть ли различие в образовании императива от переходных и непереходных глаголов?

No. Such a distinction has been signaled in AR Akhvakh, but AD Akhvakh ignores it.

1.3. Есть ли показатель множественного числа императива? (Отличаются ли побуждения к одному / нескольким адресатам?)

Уходи! - Уходите!
Дай мне книгу. - Дайте мне книгу.

No, but the distinction can be expressed by adding a 2nd person pronoun (see above).

1.3.1. Если есть, то для всех ли типов глаголов он характерен (обнаруживают ли разное поведение переходные / непереходные глаголы?)?

1.3.2. Если есть, то нет ли признаков факультативности этого показателя?

1.4. Может ли императив 2-го лица быть употреблен с субъектом 3-го лица? Например, в контекстах такого рода:

Ты, Патимат, ставь посуду, ты, Асият, режь помидоры, она-эргатив наливай чай.

In AD Akhvakh, the imperative does not seem to be able to combine with 3rd person subjects. As noted above, it is compatible with subjects other than 2nd person pronouns proper, but referentially, they must belong to the 2nd person. Commands concerning 3rd person referents are commonly expressed via the optative, or by means of the permissive periphrasis (see below). There is also an obligative, i.e., a derived verb form expressing the same meaning as English must. The obligative is marked by the derivative suffix -ux preceding the inflectional ending.
Анкета по нахско-дагестанскому оптативу и императиву

Аххан Акхавх (Денис Крейсельс)

(23) *hu-be m-ač-uč-ide čela*

DEM-N N-talk-OBLG-IPF₂,N still

‘It (the crow) still must speak’

The origin of the obligative derivation is the contraction of a periphrasis *infinitive + buxururu ‘fall’*, which still exists with the same meaning.

1.5. Каким образом выражается цепочка однородных императивов:

Пойди к Магомеду и приведи его сюда.
Возьми муку, просей ее, добавь воды, замеси тесто.
Солнышко нарисуй желтым, небо нарисуй голубым.

There are two possibilities: imperatives very commonly follow each other without necessitating any conjunction – ex. (24) to (26), but it is also possible to use the ‘general converb’, i.e., a dependent verb form more generally found in clause chains describing sequences of events – ex. (27) to (29). The two possibilities often combine within the same sentence – ex. (30) to (32). The use of the converbal construction suggests a tighter link between the successive events, and is virtually obligatory in the case of lexicalized combinations such as *take come > bring*.

(24) *b-eq'-a, pusta q'am-a!*

HPL-come-IMP melon eat-IMP

‘Come and eat a melon!’

(25) *mene w-ot-a be-li ak'a-li-gunu rāč'a hudu q'ohula-li čeri!*

2SG M-run-IMP neighborhood-GEN woman-F-EL ask-IMP DEM food-GEN name

‘Run and ask the neighbor the name of this food!’

(26) *b-eč-a q'ur-IDa, mik'e Ł-ėdefi īk'a lāč'u-k'ene žab-a!*

N-take-IMP Koran baby cry-POST big noise-COM read-IMP

‘Take the Koran, and when the baby cries, read it aloud!’

(27) *mola, w-oq'-a, apa surušī q'abu g''ūj-a, ḥala-te o-x-a!*

Molla M-come-IMP ten ruble acception do-IMP forgiveness N-give-IMP

‘Molla, come on, accept the ten rubles and forgive!’

(28) *du-la kūt-e m-ič-ala, ači o-x-e b-eč-a!*

2SG-DAT want-CVB.N N-be_found-COND money N-give-CVB.N N-take-IMP

‘If you want it, give the money and take it!’

(29) *b-eč-i harīgʷ-aj-a di-la!*

HPL-bring -CVB.HPL see-CAUS-IMP 1SG-DAT

‘Bring them and show them to me!’
(30) du-la-da imixi-la o-x-e xwani b-e¢-a!
2SG-DAT-INT donkey-ADD N-give-CVB.N horse N-take-IMP
‘Give the donkey and take the horse for you!’

(31) mene ɬaloχo heč-z-a, če šoda bogi gwij-a,
2SG up rise-IMP one good plov do-IMP
‘Stand up, prepare a good plov,
če k’eda pusta b-et’-aj-e haduda b-es-aj-a!
one two melon M-detach-CAUS-CVB.N ready N-remain-CAUS-IMP
gather some melons and get them ready!’

(32) mene w-ōho eq-a Şeciba ɬo-de q’-âne ge-ša,
2SG M-go.CVB.M look-IMP apple.PL who-ERG eat-PROG COP.NPL-COMP
‘Go and see who eats the apples,
qe r-âq-o r-eχ-o w-oq’-a!
then NPL-gather-CVB.M NPL-take-CVB.M M-come-IMP
then gather them and bring them!’

(33) w-â7-z-a, mešu-la b-eχ-o qeleko b-iq-o b-εl-o w-oq’-a!
M-go-IMP knife-ADD N-take-CVB.M cock N-cut_the_throat-CVB.M N-take-CVB.M M-come-IMP
‘Go, take a knife, kill the cock and bring it!’

2. Прожитив.

2.1. Какая форма используется как основная для выражения отрицательного побуждения ко 2-му лицу?

Не уходи!
Не давай ему книгу.
Не приводи сюда Магомеда.
Не ешь.

The prohibitive is characterized by a suffix -uba (glossed PROH) triggering the use of the short allomorph of stems having stem allomorphy. No class mark can be added to this suffix, which shows the variations due to the rules of interaction between vowels put into contact by the deletion of unstable consonants, as illustrated in (34).

(34) Variations of the suffix of the prohibitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’oturua ‘run away’</td>
<td>ʊt-uba</td>
<td>k’ot-uba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şörwa ‘call’</td>
<td>a(b)-uba</td>
<td>ş-oba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>č’ospace ‘kiss’</td>
<td>ɑ(ɔ)-uba</td>
<td>č’-ɔba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĭ’urwa ‘dance’</td>
<td>i(b)-uba</td>
<td>ĭ’-uba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûnua ‘heal’</td>
<td>h’q(j)-uba</td>
<td>h-uba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Etymologically, the final a of the prohibitive suffix -uba may be cognate with the imperative suffix -a, since prohibitives commonly originate from periphrases involving the imperative of verbs such as ‘stop’ in auxiliary function. However, I am aware of no possible etymology for the first part ub of the prohibitive suffix.

There is also an analytic form of the prohibitive: negative form of the general converb + imperative of bik’urula ‘be’, expressing a durative or continuative meaning (a similar possibility exists with the imperative, but it seems more common in the prohibitive).
(44)  \textit{w-aʔ-\textit{u}-\textit{o}  w-\textit{uk}'-\textit{a}}!  \\
\textit{M-speak-NEG-CVB.M  M-be-IMP}  \\
‘Keep silent!’ (lit. ‘Be not-speaking!’)

(45)  \textit{ū\textit{s}i  dan-\textit{t}o  w-\textit{uk}'-\textit{a}}!  \\
\textit{worry  pull-CVB.NEG.M  M-be-IMP}  \\
‘Don’t worry!’

I have also observed the sporadic occurrence of an emphatic form of the prohibitive expressing a threat in case the prohibition is not respected. This form, for which my main informant gives the Russian equivalent ‘Не дай Бог ...!’’, is marked by a suffix -\textit{alogo} triggering the use of the short allomorph of stems having stem allomorphy.

(46)  \textit{The emphatic variant of the prohibitive}  \\
\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\k̄'oturu.a & [k̄'ot-alogo] & \rightarrow k̄'ot-alogo \\
\ž̄örü.a & [ža(b)-alogo] & \rightarrow ž-ālogo \\
\c̄'oùnu.a & [c̄'a(b)-alogo] & \rightarrow c̄'-ālogo \\
\l̄'üruru.a & [l̄'i(b)-alogo] & \rightarrow l̄'-ēlogo \\
\end{array}
\]

This suffix is probably cognate with the interjection  \textit{hologo ~ hʷelogo} (AR Akhvakh \textit{hsolego}) ‘beware!’, and the emphatic form of the prohibitive commonly occurs in combination with this interjection. I am aware of no possible etymological analysis of the interjection \textit{hologo}.

(47)  \textit{hʷelogo  ima\textit{ça}-ge  l'α  \textit{b\textit{a}d-\textit{uk}'-alogo}}!  \\
\textit{beware  donkey-ESS  on-ESS  M\textit{sit-PROH}}  \\
‘Beware, don’t sit on the donkey!’

(48)  \textit{hʷelogo  ha-be  gʷ-ē\textit{logo}}!  \\
\textit{beware  DEM-N  do-PROH}  \\
‘Beware, don’t do this!’

2.2. Есть ли различие в образовании пропихитива от переходных и непереходных глаголов?

No.

2.3. Есть ли показатель множественного числа пропихитива? (Отличаются ли побуждения к одному / нескольким адресатам?)

No.

2.3.1. Если есть, то для всех ли типов глаголов он характерен?
2.3.2. Если есть, то нет ли признаков факультативности этого показателя?

3. Гортатив (побуждение к 1-му множ.)
3.1. Как выражается побуждение к 1-му лицу множ. числа?

Давай поедим.
Давай потанцуем.
Давай косить дальнее поле.
Давай поедем в Махачкалу.

Commands addressed to a group of persons including the speaker are expressed by combining the hortative particle *eixo* (glossed HORT) with the potential form of the verb. The 1st person plural pronoun is optional, and most of the time it is left unexpressed.

(49) *eixo* ɭaloχo heč’-i  m-oʔ-oji
HORT up rise-CVB.HPL HPL-go-POT.HPL
‘Let’s stand up and go!’

(50) *eixo* ī’or-uwa jala ɨxe-ɭa zor-ōwa
HORT kill-POT.M or river-ILLAT slip-CAUS.POT.M
‘Let’s kill him or throw him into the river!’

(51) *eixo* šū.’e šuč’-uwa!
HORT cloth exchange-POT.N
‘Let’s exchange our clothes!’

(52) *eixo* m-oʔ-oji mola rasadi-de či gʷ-éro gʷi-ša eq-uru.a!
HORT HPL-go-POT.HPL Molla Rasadi-ERG what do-PROG.M COP.M-COMP look-INF
‘Let’s go and see what Molla Rasadi is doing!’

(53) *eixo* i’il-e ači-mišidi q’-ōwa!
HORT 1PLI-ERG silver-gold eat-POT.N
‘Let’s spend the money!’

(54) *eixo* ač’eda katuška ɭ’-uwa!
HORT together potato sow-POT.N
‘Let’s sow potatoes together!’

3.2. Если гортатив выражается сочетанием частицы и какой-л. формы глагола, охарактеризуйте
3.2.1. Значение и происхождение частицы - употребляется ли она вне этой конструкции? В каких контекстах?

By itself, the hortative particle *eixo* is a non-analyzable word meaning ‘let’s go!’. It may be used alone, or take a complement in the lative case.

(55) *eixo* eše-ga, ušt-a če šoda bogi o-ɭ-uwa
HORT 1PLE-LAT 2PL-LAT če good plov N-give-POT.N
‘Let’s go to our place, and I will give you a good plov’
3.2.2. Форму глагола

The form of the verb combining with the particle eixo to form the 1st person plural of the imperative is the potential. This tense has the particularity to have no negative counterpart. It is marked by a suffix, glossed POT, showing obligatory class variations: M/N/NPL -uwa, F -iwa, HPL -oji (HP). The HPL variant triggers the use of the long allomorph of the verb stems that have stem allomorphy. In the other classes, the interaction between the stem and the initial vowel of the suffix gives rise to the variants illustrated in (56).

(56) Variations of the suffix of the potential

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POT.M/N/NPL</th>
<th>POT.F</th>
<th>POT.HPL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'otru-a ‘run away’</td>
<td>k’ot-</td>
<td>k’ot-uwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žōru-a ‘call’</td>
<td>ž(a(b))-</td>
<td>ž-ōwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ōnu-a ‘lie down’</td>
<td>k’wā(b)-</td>
<td>k’w-ōwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūru-a ‘dance’</td>
<td>ū(b)-</td>
<td>ū-ōwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hūnu-a ‘heal’</td>
<td>h’ī(b(j))-</td>
<td>h-ūwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Magobedbekova’s description of AR Akhvakh and in Magomedova & Abdullaeva’s dictionary, this tense is identified as ‘future’ (buduščee), but this label does not account for its value in AD Akhvakh. The only verb form qualifying as a future in AD Akhvakh is an analytic form auxiliated verb in the imperfective + copula in auxiliary function. Contrary to true future forms, the potential is never used to merely express predictions, and in elicitation, informants do not accept it as a possible equivalent of Russian or Azerbaidjani future.

The meaning of potentiality carried by this tense is often comparable to that of English modal auxiliaries. The potential most of the time refers to events whose realization is bound by some condition, and is typically used in combination with subordinate clauses expressing conditions.

(57) du-la kūt-e m-ič-ala, dene w-oq’-uwa
2SG-DAT want-CVB.N N-be_found-COND 1SG M-come-POT.M
‘If you want, I can / will come’

(58) di-la hudu-we harig’-ala, ēr’-uwa
1SG-DAT DEM-M see-COND tell-POT.N
‘If I see him, I can / will tell him’

(59) du-la kūt-e m-ič-ala, de-de ūk-oj-oi ji’e-li
2SG-DAT want-CVB.N N-be_found-COND 1SG-ERG eat-CAUS-POT.HPL child-PL
‘If you want, I can / will make the children eat’

(60) du-la ači q’wanaś-e m-ič-ala, de-de o-š-uwa du-laje
2SG-DAT ači be_necessary-CVB.N N-be_found-COND 1SG-ERG N-give-POT.N 2SG-DAT
‘I you need money, I will be able to give you some’
The potential also commonly combines with imperative or hortative clauses.

(62) hereši-k’ene di-la šahidišila g"iž-a, du-la ač’ada wuruši o-ž-uwa
lie-COM 1SG-DAT testimony do-IMP 2SG-DAT ten ruble N-give-POT.N
‘Give a false testimony for me, and I’ll give you ten rubles’

(63) q’ëdoda wuruši o-ž-a, w-ūwa
forty ruble N-give-IMP M-go.POT.M
‘Give me forty rubles, and I’ll go’

The potential is also commonly used in questions involving a 1st person S/A, either with a deliberative meaning, or in rhetorical questions used to emphatically express negative assertions.

(64) čubi g-ūwa de-de?
what do-POT.N 1SG-ERG
‘What can I do?’

(65) di-la-či b-eq’-uwa šac’iši ba’i’a haii g’e-ša?
1SG-DAT-Q N-know-POT.N right side where.ESS COP.N-COMP
‘How could I know where is the right side?’

As already mentioned above, the potential has no negative counterpart. Ex. (66) & (67) show that the imperfective negative or the future negative are used in contexts in which, in the positive, the potential would be used.

(66) du-la kūt-e m-ič-ū-ala, dene hu-šu-ga m-ač-ike
2SG-DAT want- CVB.N N-be_found-NEG-COND 1SG DEM-M-LAT N-talk-IPF₂,NEG.N
‘If you don’t want, I won’t tell him’

(67) hudu-š-e dene t’am-ala hudu-be g-ūruša
DEM-ERG 1SG throw-COND DEM-N do-INF
‘If he makes me do that,

dene b’-iš-da g’ila-we ī’ek’uda hu-šu-k’ena
1SG speak-IPF₂ COP.NEG.M-M no_more DEM-M-COM
I won’t speak with him anymore’

3.3. Есть ли возможность выразить противопоставление числа адресатов:

Давай поедим. - Давайте поедим.
Давай потанцуем. - Давайте потанцуем
Давай косить дальше поле. - Давайте косить дальше поле
Давайте поедем в Махачкалу. - Давайте поедем в Махачкалу.

No.

3.3.1. Если такое противопоставление есть, то является ли оно обязательным? То есть можно ли с помощью формы, которая подходит для обращения к одному адресату, обратиться к нескольким адресатам?

3.4. Есть ли супплетивные формы гортатива? (Формы со значением призыва к совместному действию, не связанные ни с каким глаголом - например, пойдем). Назовите их.

Yes, the hortative particle itself (see above).

3.5. Может ли эта форма (конструкция) быть употреблена как пропозитив, т.е. по отношению к 1-му лицу ед. числа?

Позову-ка я Патимат.
Схожу-ка я к врачу.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no grammaticalized expression of this meaning in AD Akhvakh. It is not excluded that the permissive periphrasis imperative of bełuру.Ła ɬuo ‘let’ + infinitive (see below) occasionally occurs with this meaning, but this should be checked (I have found no unquestionable illustration in my texts).

4. Юссив (побуждение к 3-му лицу)

4.1. С помощью какой формы выражается косвенное побуждение?

Пусть Патимат испечет хлеб.
Пусть Магомед едет в Махачкалу.
Пусть твои родители придут в школу.

The origin of the optative (see below) explains that it can be used with a jussive meaning. Note that, in the following ex. (70), the formative ɬa (etymologically, the imperative of ‘say’) occurs in the second clause only, which could justify to segment -aɬa as -a-ɬa- and to gloss -IMP-say-IMP rather than -OPT.

(68) če žo-Łi ɬaba b-eq'-iri
(one day-N(ESS) news N-come-IPF₁
‘One day it was announced

hâ-Łi-ge-še āɬ'oda jaše-li ɬā-šu ɬ'ila-Łi-ga b-eq'-aɬ'a
village-N-ESS-ADJZ all girl-PL king-M(GEN) house-N-LAT HPL-come-OPT
that all the girls of the village must come to the king’s palace’
(69) hāže de-de eĩ’-ere goda, ve-li ekʷʷa-šʷ-e
now 1SG-ERG say-PROG COP₂,N neighborhood-GEN man-M-ERG
‘Now I say that the neighbor

ja di ači o-x-ař’a, jala qoroχi
or 1SG(GEN) money N-give-OPT or garden
either must give me my money, or the garden’

(70) ɬ̄o-be imiči m-ič-ala, ũqa q’am-aj-a,
who-N donkey N-be_found-COND oats eat-CAUS-IMP
‘If somebody has a donkey, let him give it oats,

ɬ̄o-be xʷani m-ič-ala, qoroχi-ga o-t-ař’a žomi q’-ő!
who-N horse N-be_found-COND meadow-LAT N-let-OPT grass eat-INF
if somebody has a horse, let him leave it in the meadow so that it eats grass!’

Commands concerning 3rd person referents can also be expressed by the periphrasis imperative of bełuuru ‘let’ + infinitive, whose original meaning is asking for a permission, as in (71). Ex. (72) illustrates the jussive use of this periphrasis. Ex. (73) is ambiguous between a jussive and a permissive reading.

(71) b-eř-a de-de di-la-da kʷ-ĩda-be g-úruwa!
N-let-IMP 1SG-ERG 1SG-DAT-INT want-IPF₂,N do-INF
‘Let me do what I want!’

(72) b-eř-a hāže-da haduda b-ik’-uruwa!
N-let-IMP today-INT ready N-be-INF
‘Let him be ready from now!’

(73) b-eř-a žiži ekʷʷa-šʷ-e ū-šu-da mižoči-ľa
N-let-IMP each man-M-ERG ANA-M-INT beard-DAT
ĩ-šʷ-a-da kʷ-ĩda-be g-úruwa!
ANA-M-DAT-INT want-IPF₂,N do-INF
‘Let every man do what he wants with his own beard!’

4.2. Можно ли с помощью той же формы выразить разрешение?

- Можно Магомеду пойти к реке?
- Пусть идет.

- Можно Патимат взять конфету?
- Пусть берет.

Yes.

4.3. Можно ли с помощью этой формы выразить безразличие?
- Магомед женится на Патимат.
- Пускай женится, мне все равно.

The expression of indifference is another possible use of the periphrasis imperative of beɬ̄uru l-a 'let' + infinitive.

(74) me-de du-la b-uš-ida bał-a šuşut'-aj-a,
2SG-ERG 2SG-DAT N-fall-IPF₂ side calm_down-CAUS-IMP 'Calm down your half (of the baby) if you want,

du-be kuq'i gore,
2SG(GEN)-N matter COP.NEG.N but don’t interfere (lit. ‘it’s not your business’),

b-eč-a di-la b-uš-ida bał-a ʃ-ọru-a!
N-let-IMP 1SG-DAT N-fall-IPF₂ side cry-INF let my half (of the baby) cry!'

4.4. Употребляется ли эта форма с 1-м и 2-м лицами? Приведите примеры.

For examples of the optative with 1st person subjects, see below.

5. Фактитивный оптатив (форма для выражения пожеланий и проклятий)

5.1. Запишите пять-десять примеров наиболее распространенных пожеланий добра или зла, содержащих глагольные формы (пожелания на случай рождения ребенка, пожелания удачи работы, счастливого пути, выздоровления и т.д.; проклятия, которые произносятся, когда люди ругаются).

(75) munahe č-őča(l'a)! = munahe čab-ae(l'a)!
sin wash-OPT sin wash-OPT 'Let his/her sins be washed!'

(76) šadaq'a ał-a-ʃʷ-e ʃ'abu g-űča!
alms God-M-ERG acceptance do-OPT ‘Let God accept the alms!’

(77) raša šol-űča(l'a)!
night be_good-OPT 'Let the night be good!'

(78) še b-ik'-űča(l'a) du-laje!
shame N-be-OPT 2SG-DAT ‘Shame on you!’
(79) sawt̩ila b-ik’-űča(ɿ’a)!
    health N-be-OPT
    ‘Be healthy!’

(80) miq’i b-ít’e aχ-űča!
    road N-be_straight-CVB.N open-OPT
    ‘Pleasant journey!’

(81) ala-s̊w-e harig-óbaε’a!
    God-M-ERG see-CAUS.OPT.NEG
    ‘Heaven forbid!’

(82) di mina-li ga ič’a b-uł-aε’a
    1SG(GEN) head-N-LAT stone N-fall-OPT
    ‘Let a stone fall on my head!’

(83) dene ī’or-ubaε’a!
    1SG beat-OPT.NEG
    ‘I only hope they won’t beat me!’

5.2. Какая глагольная форма / конструкция используется для выражения этих пожеланий и проклятий?

The optative positive has two variants, both glossed OPT.

The first variant is characterized by a complex suffix -aɿ’a that can be segmented as -a-ɿ’a, with a first formative identifiable as the suffix of the imperative, and a second formative cognate with the imperative eɿ’a of eɿ’uru a ‘say’. The origin of this optative form is the grammaticalization of a construction whose original meaning was that the speaker asks the addressee to transmit a command to a third person. For example, a construction that originally expressed for example Tell him “Go!” has been reanalyzed as expressing Let him go!

Like the imperative suffix constituting its first formative, this variant of the optative suffix triggers the selection of the long allomorph of stems having stem allomorphy, and shows neither class variations nor variations due to morphophonological processes.

(84) The optative suffix -aɿ’a

| šoluru.a ‘be good’ | ʃoɿ-aɿ’a | → šol-aɿ’a |
| čōru.a ‘wash’ | ʃa(b)-aɿ’a | → čab-aɿ’a |
| čonua ‘kiss’ | ʃa(b)-aɿ’a | → čam-aɿ’a |
| ɿ’iru.a ‘dance’ | ɿ’i(b)-aɿ’a | → ɿ’ib-aɿ’a |
| hũnua ‘heal’ | hũn(j)-aɿ’a | → hũj-aɿ’a |

The second variant of the optative suffix is -űča(ɿ’a). In this variant, the formative -ɿ’a is optional. This variant also differs from the variant -aɿ’a by the fact that it triggers the selection of the short allomorph of the stems that have stem allomorphy.
(85) The optative suffix -ũč(a( kullandı))

| šoluru’a ‘be good’       | šol-ũč(a( لدينا)) | → šol-ũč(a( لدينا)) |
| čörna’a ‘wash’           | ča(b)-ũč(a( لدينا)) | → č-ǒč(a( لدينا)) |
| č’önuma ‘kiss’           | č’a(b)-ũč(a( لدينا)) | → č’-őč(a( لدينا)) |
| i’àrnuma ‘dance’         | i’i(b)-ũč(a( لدينا)) | → i’-ũč(a( لدينا)) |
| hünnuma ‘heal’           | h’u(j)-ũč(a( لدينا)) | → h-ũč(a( لدينا)) |

The probable origin of the second variant of the optative suffix is the contraction of a periphrasis involving mičça’ı’a, (optative form of mičunuwa ‘be found’) in auxiliary function, preceded by the short infinitive of the auxiliated verb, for example:

*munaha čo mičça’al! → munaha čőčça( لدينا)! ‘Let the sins be washed!’
*raa šolu mičça’al! → raša šolūčça( لدينا)! ‘Let the night be good!’

The periphrasis infinitive + mičça’ı’a does not figure in my data, but several examples, both with and without the formative -ǘça, can be found in Magomedova & Abdullaeva’s dictionary – ex. (86).

(86) AR Akhvakh (Magomedova & Abdullaeva 2007)

a. eče-ge-da ač’e        b-ųx-u m-ič-a hu čaba!
   1PLI-ESS-INT between.ESS N-remain-INF N-be_found-IMP DEM  čaba!
   ‘Let these words remain between us!’

b. ala-ʒw-e č’in-u ma-č-a’llı’a!
   God-M-ERG guard-INF HPL-be-OPT
   ‘God save us!’

The optative negative is characterized by a complex suffix -uba(u)a (glossed OPT.NEG) lending itself to the same decomposition as the first variant of the optative positive suffix, with a first formative identifiable as the suffix of the prohibitive -uba, and a second formative identical with the -úça found in the suffix of the optative positive.

Like the prohibitive suffix constituting its first formative, the optative negative suffix triggers the selection of the short allomorph of stems having stem allomorphy, and shows no class variations, but undergoes the morphophonological processes characteristic of suffixes following the short allomorph of stems ending with an unstable consonant, as illustrated in (87).

(87) The suffix of the optative negative

| šı’oturuwa ‘run away’    | šı’ot-uba(u)a | → šı’ot-uba(u)a |
| čörna’a ‘call’           | ča(b)-uba(u)a | → č-őba(u)a |
| č’önuma ‘kiss’           | č’a(b)-uba(u)a | → č’-őba(u)a |
| i’àrnuma ‘dance’         | i’i(b)-uba(u)a | → i’-ûba(u)a |
| hünnuma ‘heal’           | h’u(j)-uba(u)a | → h-ûba(u)a |

The probable origin of the second variant of the optative suffix is the contraction of a periphrasis involving mičça’ı’a, (optative form of mičunuwa ‘be found’) in auxiliary function, preceded by the short infinitive of the auxiliated verb, for example:

*munaha čo mičça’al! → munaha čőčça( لدينا)! ‘Let the sins be washed!’
*raa šolu mičça’al! → raša šolūčça( لدينا)! ‘Let the night be good!’

The periphrasis infinitive + mičça’ı’a does not figure in my data, but several examples, both with and without the formative -ǘça, can be found in Magomedova & Abdullaeva’s dictionary – ex. (86).

(86) AR Akhvakh (Magomedova & Abdullaeva 2007)

a. eče-ge-da ač’e b-ųx-u m-ič-a hu čaba!
   1PLI-ESS-INT between.ESS N-remain-INF N-be_found-IMP DEM  čaba!
   ‘Let these words remain between us!’

b. ala-ʒw-e č’in-u ma-č-a’llı’a!
   God-M-ERG guard-INF HPL-be-OPT
   ‘God save us!’

The optative negative is characterized by a complex suffix -uba(u)a (glossed OPT.NEG) lending itself to the same decomposition as the first variant of the optative positive suffix, with a first formative identifiable as the suffix of the prohibitive -uba, and a second formative identical with the -úça found in the suffix of the optative positive.

Like the prohibitive suffix constituting its first formative, the optative negative suffix triggers the selection of the short allomorph of stems having stem allomorphy, and shows no class variations, but undergoes the morphophonological processes characteristic of suffixes following the short allomorph of stems ending with an unstable consonant, as illustrated in (87).

(87) The suffix of the optative negative

| šı’oturuwa ‘run away’    | šı’ot-uba(u)a | → šı’ot-uba(u)a |
| čörna’a ‘call’           | ča(b)-uba(u)a | → č-őba(u)a |
| č’önuma ‘kiss’           | č’a(b)-uba(u)a | → č’-őba(u)a |
| i’àrnuma ‘dance’         | i’i(b)-uba(u)a | → i’-ûba(u)a |
| hünnuma ‘heal’           | h’u(j)-uba(u)a | → h-ûba(u)a |
5.3. Используется ли эта форма / конструкция во всех лицах? Запишите примеры для 1 / 2 / 3 лиц.

Although it occurs mainly with 3rd person subjects, the optative also accepts 1st person subjects.

(88) *dene mola rasadi w-uk’-ūča, de-de du-gunu hepi b-eq-u*

1SG Molla Rasadi M-be-OPT 1SG-ERG 2SG-EL revenge N-take_out-INF

‘Let me show that I am Molla Rasadi and give you a lesson!’

lit. ‘I hope I am Molla Rasadi so that I take revenge from you’

(89) *mene w-w.’-ūča,*

1SG M-die-OPT

‘I would rather die

ač’a wuruši-gu če k’ebek’-la kamilaj-e šot-ike

ten ruble-EL one kopeck-ADD miss-CVB.N be_good-IPF₁ NEG.N

than accept the ten rubles if only one kopek is missing’

(90) *č’ib-e qedo, mix’ara-di-le-ga eič’-iri, ušti q’alda ūk’at-a*

sow-CVB.N after seed-PL-NPL-LAT tell-IPF₁ 2PL quickly grow-IMP

‘After sowing he told the seeds: “Grow quickly,

dene īč’ila haga w-oq’e-či di-la yečče harig’-ač’a*

1SG again here.LAT M-come-POST 1SG-DAT apple see-OPT

so that when I come again I can see apples!”’

By contrast, the optative does not seem to be compatible with 2nd person subjects

The wishes expressed by optative clauses often concern the addressee, but either s/he is left understood, or figures in other syntactic roles, as in ex. (91).

(91) *du-be šaq’ilo b-ik’-ūča, īhora-ga k’ot-e kas-a gei-a*

2SG(GEN)-N intelligence N-be-OPT lake-EL run-CVB.N jump-IMP inside-LAT

‘I wish you are intelligent enough to run to the lake and jump into it!’

(lit. ‘let intelligence be to you ...’)

5.4. Используется ли эта форма / конструкция для выражения косвенного побуждения? Можно ли с ее помощью перевести предложения

Пусть Патимат испечет хлеб.
Пусть Магомед едет в Махачкалу.
Пусть твои родители придут в школу.
This use of the optative is possible (see above), and constitutes a retention of its etymological meaning.

The origin of the optative is a construction expressing indirect commands. It is not uncommon in Akhvakh to find sentences both preceded and followed by a form of the verb e'lu ra ‘say’, and a speaker asking the addressee to transmit a command to another person can use the construction illustrated by the following examples, in which e'la imperative of e'lu ra is repeated in the reduced form e'la. As illustrated by ex. (95), e'la immediately follows the verb of the sentence the addressee is asked to transmit.

(92) hu-šu-ga e'la  “haga  w-oq’-a” e’la!
    DEM-M-LAT say-IMP here.LAT M-come-IMP say-IMP
    ‘Tell him to come here!’

(93) hu-šu-ga e’la  “eša  w-ūba” e’la!
    DEM-M-LAT say-IMP away M-go.PROH say-IMP
    ‘Tell him not to go away!’

(94) me-de amru g”iį-a  “di-la  ič”ida  Sašte o-x-a” e’la!
    2SG-ERG order do-IMP 1SG-DAT sharp axe N-give-IMP say-IMP
    ‘Give orders so that I get a sharp axe!’

(95) hāki-šu-ga e’la,  q’eį-a  w-oq’-eįi,
    governor-M-LAT say-IMP home-LAT M-come-POST
    ‘Tell the governor, when he will be back home,

    “mina  q’eį-i  b-eľ-o  w-ūba  – e’la  – baza-ga!”
    head home-ESS N-let-CVB.M M-go.PROH say-IMP market-LAT
    that he should not go to the market and leave his head at home!’

(96) hāki-šu-ga e’la,  “baza-ga  w-ideći,
    governor-M-LAT say-IM market-LAT M-go.SIMULT
    ‘Tell the governor that when he goes to the market,

    ič’ila mina īgo-ęe  b-eľ-o  k’-ōho  rak’oro-gu  o-t-o  w-ūba” e’la
    again head window-ESS N-let-CVB.M let-CVB.M heart-EL N-release-M M-go.PROH say-IMP
    he should not forget his head at the window again’

(97) m-aʔ-a  q’eį-a  ak’o-ga e’la  “šoda bogi g”iį-a!” e’la,
    M-go-IMP home-LAT wife-LAT say-IMP good plov do-IMP say-IMP
    ‘Go to our place and tell my wife to prepare a good plov,

    “če  k’eda  pusta-la  b-eč-e  b-eš-a!” e’la!
    one two melon-ADD N-take-CVB.N N-bring-IMP say-IMP
    and to bring some melons!’
Анкета по нахско-дагестанскому оптативу и императиву

Axaxdar Akhvakh (Denis Creissels)

(98)  
\[m\-aʔ\-a\ hāžě\ ešē\ č'ili\-ga,\]  
M\-go IMP now 1PLE\(\text{GEN}\) house\(\text{LAT}\)  
‘Go immediately to our house,  
\[a̲k'\-o\-ga̲ e̲ŋ\-a\ “mōla\-šu\-k'ene̲ q'e̲ŋ\-a\ w\-oq'\-ida\ g\"ida\ ra̲la\̲q\-u,\]  
wife\(\text{LAT}\) say\(\text{IMP}\) Molla\(\text{-COM}\) home\(\text{LAT}\) M\-come\(\text{IPF}_2\) COP\(\text{OS}\)\_M in\_the\_evening  
and tell my wife that I am going with Molla tonight,  
\[šoda\ ra̲la\̲q\-u\-šë\ q'ōhula\ g\"i\-a” l\-a!\]  
good in\_the\_evening \(-\text{ADJZ}\) food do\(\text{IMP}\) say\(\text{IMP}\)  
and that she must prepare a good dinner.’

In fact, it is not possible to draw a strict limit between this construction in its literal interpretation and its grammaticalization as an optative form belonging to verb inflection.

6. Оптатив (форма для выражения желания)

6.1. С помощью какой формы выражаются такие значения, как:

\[\text{Вот бы мне / тебе / ему разбогатеть!}\]  
\[\text{Если бы у меня / у тебя / у него был свой дом!}\]  
\[\text{Хоть бы поскорее вернулся Магомед!}\]  
\[\text{Если б только родители были живы! [они умерли]}\]

The examples I have of sentences expressing this meaning look like the first part of conditional sentences (see 6.2.) whose second part would be missing: they are headed by the conditional converb, but no main verb is present. This use of the conditional converb can therefore be analyzed in terms of ‘insubordination’.

(99)  
\[di\ im\-a\ \text{w}-uk'\-āčala ...\]  
1SG\(\text{GEN}\) father M\-be\(\text{COND}\)  
‘If only he could have been my father!’

(100)  
\[mita̲q'\-ali\ du-ga dādī \text{w}-uχ'\-ađa mi\-ša-\-lü,\]  
in\_the\_morning 2SG\(\text{-LAT}\) across M\-remain\(\text{PFV}_2\) place\(\text{-N(ESS)}\)  
‘This morning instead of meeting you, (lit. at the place where I met you)  
\[di\-be\ \text{žuč'}\-a\ b-iq''\-e\ b-ik''\-āčala ...\]  
1SG\(\text{GEN})\_-N leg N\-cut\(\text{CVB}_N\) N\-be\(\text{COND}\)  
I would better have cut my leg,  
\[du\-be\-la\ mič'i\ b-uq'\-e\ b-ik''\-āčala ...\]  
1SG\(\text{GEN})\_-ADD tongue N\-dry\(\text{CVB}_N\) N\-be\(\text{COND}\)  
and my tongue would better have dried!’
6.2. Используется ли эта форма в условных конструкциях? Если да, то в какой их части - главной или зависимой? Приведите пример:

_Если б родители были живы, они бы мне помогли._

The standard form of conditional constructions is the combination of the main clause with a subordinate clause headed by the conditional converb.

A first form of the conditional converb involves the suffix -ala (glossed COND), with a long variant -alas ōge ~ -alas qe, triggering the selection of the long allomorph of alternating verb stems. This particularity is consistent with a possible etymological hypothesis, according to which this suffix might consist of the imperative suffix -a followed by the additive particle -la. However, this hypothesis is contradicted by the insertion of a class mark -ij- in the HPL class, which does not occur with the imperative suffix.

(101) _Formation of the conditional converb_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>HPL</th>
<th>Other classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫ̄'oturu.a ‘run away’</td>
<td>ḫ̄'ot-</td>
<td>ḫ̄'ot-ij-ala</td>
<td>ḫ̄'ot-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žōru.a ‘call’</td>
<td>ža(b)-</td>
<td>žab-ij-ala</td>
<td>žab-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ōnuwa ‘lie down’</td>
<td>k”ā(b)-</td>
<td>k”am-ij-ala</td>
<td>k”am-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḩ’jurua ‘dance’</td>
<td>ḩ”i(b)-</td>
<td>ḩ”ib-ij-ala</td>
<td>ḩ”ib-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḻ̄nuwa.a ‘heal’</td>
<td>ḻ̄w(i(j)-</td>
<td>ḻ̄w-ij-ala</td>
<td>ḻ̄w-ala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is another form of the conditional converb, characterized by a suffix -ãčala. This form results from the contraction of an analytic form including mičala, conditional converb of mičunuwa ‘be found’ in auxiliary function.

A piece of evidence against the analysis of the conditional suffix as including the imperative suffix as its first formative is that its negative counterpart does not involve the prohibitive suffix, but the negative suffix -i- inserted between the verb stem and the conditional suffix -ala. The negative suffix -i- triggers the selection of the short allomorph of alternating verb stems.

(102) _The negative form of the conditional converb_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Negative form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫ̄'oturu.a ‘run away’</td>
<td>ḫ̄'ot-</td>
<td>ḫ̄'ot-i-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žōru.a ‘call’</td>
<td>ža(b)-</td>
<td>ž-ēl-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ōnuwa ‘lie down’</td>
<td>k”ā(b)-</td>
<td>k”am-ēl-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḩ’jurua ‘dance’</td>
<td>ḩ”i(b)-</td>
<td>ḩ”ib-ala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḻ̄nuwa.a ‘heal’</td>
<td>ḻ̄w(i(j)-</td>
<td>ḻ̄w-ēl-ala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The negative form of the conditional converb can also be formed by means of a suffix -īčala lending itself to the same explanation as the variant -ãčala found in the positive form.

A first type of conditional sentences expresses conditions whose realization can be considered in the future.
(103) hu-ji baza-ga m-aʔ-ij-ala, dene-la w-ʔida gʷida
DEM-HPL market-LAT HPL-go-HPL-COND 1SG-ADD M-go.IPF₂ COP₂-M
‘If they go to the market, I will go too’

(104) ha req’a beča-la āl-ala, c’iriřiľ-ėde
DEM word.PL mountain-DAT hear-COND get_vexed-IPF₂-N
‘If the mountain hears these words, it will get vexed’

(105) ṣig-unu me-de-la de-de e’-ida šodarāče t’ub-ala,
in_front-EL 2SG-ERG-ADD 1SG-ERG dire-PFV₂ request achieve-COND
‘If you carry out my request first,
qela de-de-la t’ubal-una me-de r-āč-ada šołe-la
then 1SG-ERG-ADD achieve-POT.N 2SG-ERG NP-say-PFV₂ kindness-ADD
then I will do you the favour you are asking me to do’

(106) ičila di č’iliľ-igi gač-a sor-ala,
again 1SG(GEN) house-N LAT inside-LAT creep-COND
‘If you put your foot in my house again,
de-de du-be hu k’eda-la c’ek’a b-iqʷ-ėda goda
1SG-ERG 2SG(GEN)-N DEM two-ADD leg N-cut-IPF₂ COP₂-N
I will cut both of your legs’

(107) imiči m-ič-ala, če wuruš-a o-š-ida gʷeda
donkey N-be_found-COND one rouble-DAT N-give-IPF₂ COP₂-N
‘If the donkey is found, I will sell it for one ruble’

The same construction is used in conditional sentences referring to the present, if the speaker is not in a position to know whether the condition is realized or not.

(108) ha-be rič’i m-ič-ala, keto hači?
DEM-N meat N-be_found-COND cat where.ESS
‘If this is the meat, where is the cat?’

(109) mene hušte ſadada w-ūč-ala,
2SG thus mad M-be_found-COND
‘If you are as mad [as you pretend to be],
du-či-gune ekʷa-li-ga ču̱gu t’-ōš-awa?
2SG(GEN)-N-EL another’s_property-N-LAT why put-NEG-MIR.N
why don’t you put [wheat] from your [bag] into [the bag] of other people?’

In conditional sentences with present reference but mentioning a non-realized condition, the same form of the conditional converb is used in the subordinate clause, whereas the main verb is in an analytical form imperfective of the auxiliated verb +
perfective of bik’urula ‘be’. This form is similar to the future, from which it differs by the use of the perfective of ‘be’ instead of the copula, which is cross-linguistically a very common situation.

(110) du-ge he’ar-i-še čilo di-ge he’ar-i b-ikʷ-āčala
2SG-ESS in_the_mouth-ESS-ADJZ tooth 1SG-ESS in_the_mouth-ESS N-be-COND
‘If the tooth that is in your mouth were in my mouth,

ha q’ada-ħi-ge-la e xa b-eq-u t’-ēda b-ikʷ-ada
DEM moment-N-ESS-ADD out N-take_out-INF throw-IPF₂ N-be-PFV₂
I would have it out immediately’

(111) Soc’ina-de eħ’-e godi, ha ī-li-ċi ė’ek’a ė’arada b-ikʷ-āčala,
mule-ERG say-CVB.N COP₁.N DEM ANA-N-GEN leg thick N-be-COND
‘The mule said: “If my leg was big [enough],

beča roq’oğī-ĝe l’a b-ek-eda b-ikʷ-ari
mountain back-ESS on.ESS N-remain-CAUS.IPF₂ N-be-PFV₁
I would carry the mountain on my back’

Ex. (112) & (113) illustrate the contrast between conditional sentences referring to a condition that may come true in the future, and a construction in which the conditional perfect (conditional converb of bik’urula ‘be’ preceded by the general converb of the auxiliated verb), combined with a main verb in the analytic form perfective of the auxiliated verb + imperfective of ‘be’ is involved in the expression of the same counterfactual meaning as English conditional clauses in the past perfect.

(112) jaše j-eq’-ala, me-de ėwi gʷ-ida gʷeda?
girl F-come-COND 2SG-ERG what do-IPF₂ COP₂.N
‘If the girl comes, what will you do?’

(113) jaše j-eq’-e j-ikʷ-ala, me-de ėwi gʷ-ida b-ikʷ-ada?
girl F-come-CVB.N F-be-COND 2SG-ERG what do-IPF₂ N-be-PFV₂
‘If the girl had come, what would you have done?’

Ex. (114) provides another illustration of the use of the conditional perfect.

(114) žiži q-áda-śʷ-a o-Ĭ-e b-ikʷ-āčala,
each ask-PFV₂-M-DAT N-give-CVB.N N-be-COND
‘If I had given to every person who asked for it,

hāže-loʔo b-īxʷ-ida b-ikʷ-ʔa-be
today-until N-remain-IPF₂ N-be-PF.NEG-N
there would be none of it left now’
More generally, analytic forms of the conditional converb are used to express aspectual shades meanings. Note that, in the conditional, the use of *mičunu*a ‘be found’ in auxiliary function (rather than *bik’uru*a ‘be’) is particularly common.

(115) w-ūč-o M-go.OBLG-CVB.M, w-ūč-ala M-be_found-COND, u-t-a M-release-IMP, w-ūnu.a M-go.INF
‘If he must go, let him go’

(116) hu-we DEM-M l-éro M-be_afraid-PROG.M, w-ūč-ala M-be_found-COND, w-ūba-l’a M-go.PROH-OPT
‘If he is (being) afraid, let him not go!’

(117) me-de 2SG-ERG l’a ľādiro on.ESS gin-aj-e N-be_found-COND m-ič-ala N-be_found-COND
‘If you hang a sickle on the door,

işī 1PLE eša away HPL-go.IPF, m-ida 2 SG-ERG wolidi COP₂.HPL
we will go away’

(118) hude-še there-ADJZ ľā person.PL.on.ESS šār.e cloth COP.NEG.HPL, goli HPL-walk-walk-PROG.HPL, b-oī-oī-eri HPL-be_found-HPL-COND
‘If the people who live there go walking without clothes on them,

čigʷe how ak’i-ţewe how do-PROG HPL-walk-walk-PROG.HPL, minada COP₂. HPL, gʷ-ēre how do they distinguish between husband and wife?’

The following examples illustrate the use of the negative form of the conditional converb.

(119) jaše j-eq’-iu-ala, 2 SG-ERG girl F-come-NEG-COND, me-de čʷi COP₂.2SG-ERG, gʷeda? what do-IPF₂, gʷ-N-EDA?
‘If the girl does not come, what will you do?’

(120) eq-a 2SG(GEN) look-IMP, du 1 SG(LAT) life-N-LAT, ľi-ga baby 1 SG-LAT, mik’e resemble-NEG-COND
‘Imagine your life, if the baby does not resemble me’

(121) hudu-ľ-a DEM-N-DAT sāhū 2SG(GEN) N-be_found-NEG-COND, qʷʷanaʃ-e N-take-IPF₂.N-NEG-N, m-ič-ulu-ala, N-be_found-NEG-COND, b-eχ-ika-be
‘If it did not need soap, it would not take it’

(122) hu-be DEM-N, di 1SG(GEN) mind-N-LAT, Saq’ılo-ľi-ga N-come-CVB.N, b-eq’-e N-be_found-NEG-COND, m-ič-ulu-ala, N-be_found-NEG-COND
‘If it did not come to my mind,’
Анкета по нахско-дагестанскому оптативу и императиву

**Axaxdarо Akhvakh (Denis Creissels)**

\[
\text{hu-šu faq'ilо-ři-ga-la b-eq'-ike}
\]
DEM-M(GEN) mind-N-LAT-ADD N-come-IPF₂.NEG

‘it did not come to his mind either’

(123) ḥ̄u-s̄ u ʕaq'ilо-ři-ga-la, b-eq'-ike

\[
\text{qa'naš-ideki č'-āre b-ik”-ičitala,}
\]
be necessary-SIMULT rain-PROG N-be-COND.NEG

‘If it had not rained when it was necessary,

\[
\text{alа-šw-ə mili-la b-ižw-aj-e b-ik”-ičitala,}
\]
God-M-ERG sun-ADD N-be_created-CAUS-CVB.N N-be-COND.NEG

‘If God had not created the sun,

\[
\text{de-de q’iru čig”e č’-ida b-ik”-ada?}
\]
1SG-ERG wheat how sow-IPF₂ N-be-PFV₂

‘how would I have cultivated wheat?

Ex. (124) illustrates the possibility of a contextual interpretation of the negative form of the conditional converb ‘excepted that ...’.

(124) warana-di ɨb-ēl-ala, koša faza b-ik”-uša

camel-PL be afraid-CAUS.NEG-COND bad pain N-be-PF.NEG

‘Apart from the fact that the camels frightened me, nothing bad happened’

The meaning ‘whether ... or not' can be expressed in Akhvakh by putting the negative form of the conditional converb immediately after the positive form of the conditional converb of the same verb.

(125) du-te ču-bi, di raq’oši b-ol’-ala b-ol’-iš-ala?

2SG-DAT what-N 1SG(GEN) back N-ache-COND N-ache-NEG-COND

‘What does it matter to you, whether my back is aching or not?’

The conditional converb can be involved in constructions expressing a concessive meaning.

(126) beko-de qalil is”ič-ala, šama is”ič-ike

snake-ERG skin change-COND character change-IPF₂.NEG.N

‘Although the snake changes its skin, it does not change its character’

(127) mola-šw-e haštuda ež’-ala, “čegaza gotle”,

Molla-M-ERG so much say-COND nothing COP.NEG.N

‘Although Molla said, “There is nothing”,

\[
\text{ek”a-šw-e re’i dan-iki}
\]
man-M-ERG hand withdraw-IPF₁.NEG

‘the man insisted (lit. did not withdraw his hand)’
(128) haštuda-la ʾik’a  w-uk’-ala,  warana-gu ʾik’a  w-uk’-iko
so.much-ADD big M-be-COND camel-EL big M-be-IPF₂,NEG.M
‘He may be tall, but he is not taller than a camel’

(129) imix’i haštuda eğadaj-ala,  m-ič-it-awi
donkey so.much look.for-COND N-be-found-NEG-UW.N
‘Although he looked for the donkey, he did not find it’

(130) haštuda ʾaqq’uba č’am-ala,  čedala  miša-ļ-u  ači  b-ič’-ike
so.much pain chew-COND no place-N-EL money N-remain-IPF₂,NEG.N
‘Although I went to great pains, I don’t find money anywhere’

(131) haštuda dene “č’-āre  g’iđa”  ȩ’e  hulaj-ala,
so.much 1SG burn-PROG COP₂.M say-CVB.N scream-COND
‘Even if I scream “I am burning!”,’

dene eč’a  w-oqq-uba!
1SG out M-take.out-PROH
don’t take me out!”

(132) haštuda  q’ule  ba-š-ij-ala,  hema  o-š-u  ɬ-ići
so.much cheating HPL-grasp-HPL-COND cow N-give-INF be.able-IPF₁,NEG
‘Although he tried to cheat them, he did not succeed in selling the cow’

As already mentioned, it is also possible to express conditions via the imperative – see 3.2.2 above.

6.3. A special use of the optative: ‘Let’s assume that ...’

(133) k’eda kilo rič’i godi,  keto hači?
two kilo meat COP₁.N cat where.ESS
‘[If] this is two kilos of meat, [then] where is the cat?

šoge, ha-be  keto b-ik’-aĩ’a,  rič’i  ḥači?
well DEM-N cat N-be-OPT meat where.ESS
O.K., let’s assume this is the cat, then where is the meat?’

7. Формы императива / optativa в полипредикативных конструкциях.

Используются ли обнаруженные формы в полипредикативных конструкциях?

7.1. В зависимой части условных предложений:

Приди я вовремя, ничего бы не случилось.

This use of the imperative is possible when referring to future events, and with 2nd person subjects only – see above.
7.2. В зависимой части уступительных предложений:

Пусть меня убьют, все равно я за него замуж не выйду.
Дай ему мясо, дай ему рыбу - он ни от чего не откажется.

Yes, see 5.3. above.

7.3. В целевых придаточных (возможна форма юссива / гортатива / оптатива):

Мать поет, чтобы ребенок заснул.
Мать поет, чтобы заснуть.

In AD Akhvakh, adverbial clauses of purpose are almost always in the infinitive, irrespective of the existence / absence of co-reference relationships between the arguments of the main verb and those of the infinitive.

(134) ī‘āk’ā b-oē-āda q’ēi-a
rabbit N-set_out-CAUS.PFV₂ home-LAT
‘I sent the rabbit to our place’

du-ga ħaba o-¥-uruwa
2SG-LAT news N-give-INF
so that it would tell you the news.’

(135) če nikʷa hʷij-a harig-uruwa čigʷe hʷ-ēre go-ša
one song sing-IMP see-INF how sing-PROG COP.N-COMP
‘Sing a song so that I can see how you sing’

(136) me-de duşa gʷi-j-a hu-sʷ-a če hula m-iç-uruwa!
2SG-ERG prayer do-INF DEM-M-DAT one thing N-be_found-INF
‘Pray that he will find something!

(137) de-de či gʷ-irī, ādo-lo-1a dene šoda gʷ-iša b-eq’-uruwa?
1SG-ERG what do-IPF₁ person.PL-HPL-DAT 1SG good COP.M-COMP N-know-INF
‘What should I do so that people know that I am a good person?’

(138) mōla-sʷ-e baza-gu 1oda kilo rīč’i b-ëχ-e q’ēi-a o-t-iri,
Molla-M-ERG market-EL three kilo meat N-buy-CVB.N home-LAT N-release-IPF₁
Molla bought three kilos of meat at the market and sent them home,

ak’o-de če k’eda žo-ţi q’ōhula g-uruwa.
wife-ERG one two day-GEN food do-INF
in order for his wife to cook one or two day’s food.

The optative is however sporadically found in adverbial clauses of purpose too.
Анкета на нахско-дагестанском оптативу и императиву

Axaxdaro Akhvak (Denis Creissels)

(139) b-ɬ-a ha-be di-ge taχi-ge ik’al-ʔə’a qe,
N-let-IMP DEM-N 1SG-ESS pocket-ESS grow_up-OPT then
‘Leave it (the knife) in my pocket so that it may grow up,

c̥i ɬ-ɬɪ̰-ide,  b-ői-ide qoqodiro, qe o-Υ-wa du-laje
tooth.PL NPL-grow-IPF2-NPL N-become-IPF2 N saw then N-give-POT.N 2SG-DAT
its teeth will grow, it will become a saw, then I will give it to you’

7.4. В сентенциальных актантах при глаголах желания и манипуляции (возможна форма юссива / гортатива / оптатива):

Скажи ему, чтобы он возвращался домой.
Магомед попросил отца, чтобы тот прислал ему денег.
Я хочу, чтобы мне построили большой дом.

– ‘tell / ask’ (imperative): see 5.4.above

– ‘tell / ask’ (indicative): the complement clause is in the imperative, and immediately precedes ɬ’e, verb of eɬ’uru ‘say’

(140) ek”wa-s”w-e w-uu.’-idefi masijati g”ij-e b-ik”w-ari,
man-M-ERG M-die-SIMULT will do-CVB.N N-be-PF₁
‘The man, when dying, expressed the will

“b-ɛχ-e ači o-Υ-a” ɬ’e
N-take-CVB.N money N-give-IMP say-CVB.N
that I should give you the money’
lit. ‘he expressed the will saying: give the money’

(141) de-de ošo-ga eɬ’-e-či b-ik”w-ite
1SG-DAT COP.NEG.N 2PL-LAT want-CVB.N-Q N-be-PF.NEG.N
‘Didn’t I tell you

“ič’a k’ar-aj-a – ɬ’e – i-šu-ge l’a’?”
stone be_tied-CAUS-IMP say-CVB.N ANA-M-ESS on-ESS
that you should have tied a stone on me?’

– ‘want’: the complement clause is in the infinitive

(142) di-ɬ-a k”w-il-e b-ik”w-ari ak’o-lo-de di-ga eɬ’uru’a
1SG-DAT want-CVB.N N-be-PF₁ woman.PL-HPL-ERG 1SG-LAT look-INF
‘I wanted the women to look at me’

(143) di-ɬ-a k”w-il-e gola me-de mižo-ti ič’ol-uru’a
1SG-DAT want-CVB.N COP.NEG.N 2SG-ERG beard stroke-INF
‘I don’t want you to stroke your beard’
Анкета по нахско-дагестанскому оптативу и императиву

Axaxdəo Akhvakh (Denis Creissels)

(144) \( di-1a \ k^w\tilde{\imath}-e \ b-ik^w-ari \ me-de \ ha-be \ e\tilde{i}^w-uru\:i.a \)

\[ \text{1SG-DAT want-CVB.N N-be-PF} \quad \text{2SG-ERG DEM-N say-INF} \]

‘I wanted you to say that’

### Abbreviations

- **1PLI**: personal pronoun, 1st person plural inclusive
- **1PLE**: personal pronoun, 1st person plural exclusive
- **1SG**: personal pronoun, 1st person singular
- **2PL**: personal pronoun, 2nd person plural
- **2SG**: personal pronoun, 2nd person singular
- **ADD**: additive
- **ADEL**: adelative
- **ADESS**: adessive
- **ADJZ**: adjectivizer
- **ADLAT**: adlative
- **ANA**: anaphoric pronoun
- **ANT**: anterior converb
- **CAUS**: causative
- **COLL**: second element of a collective compound
- **COM**: comitative
- **COMP**: complementizer
- **CONC**: concessive converb
- **COND**: conditional converb
- **COP**: copula
- **CVB**: general converb
- **DAT**: dative case
- **DEM**: demonstrative
- **DIR**: directional
- **DISC**: discourse particle
- **EL**: elative
- **ERG**: ergative
- **ESS**: essive
- **EXPLIC**: explicative converb
- **F**: feminine singular
- **GEN**: genitive
- **GRAD**: gradual converb
- **HORT**: hortative
- **HPL**: human plural
- **ILLAT**: illative
- **IMMED**: immediate converb
- **IMMIN**: imminent converb
- **IMP**: imperative
- **INCEP**: inceptive converb
- **INEL**: inelative
- **INESS**: inessive
- **INF**: infinitive
- **INT**: intensifying particle
- **IPF**: imperfective
- **LAT**: lative
- **LIMIT**: limitative converb
- **M**: masculine singular
- **MIR**: mirative
- **N**: non-human singular
- **NEG**: negation
- **NPL**: non-human plural
- **O**: oblique stem
- **OBLG**: obligative
- **OPT**: optative
- **PF**: perfective
- **PL**: plural
- **POST**: posterior converb
- **POT**: potential
- **PROG**: progressive converb
- **PROH**: prohibitive
- **PURP**: purposive case / converb
- **Q**: interrogative
- **QUOT**: quotative
- **SG**: singular
- **SIMIL**: similitative converb
- **SIMULT**: simultaneous converb
- **SUBEL**: subelative
- **SUBESS**: subessive
- **SUBLAT**: sublative
- **SUP**: superlative
- **UW**: unwitnessed past
- **VLOC**: verbal locative
- **VN**: verbal noun