

This is a questionnaire I filled in for Nina Dobrushina

Анкета по нахско-дагестанскому оптативу и императиву.

Ахаддәрә Akhvakh
(Denis Creissels)

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

1. Императив 2-го лица

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

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

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*

<i>k̄'oturula</i> 'run away'	<i>k̄'ot-a</i>	→ <i>k̄'ot-a</i>
<i>žōruḷa</i> 'call'	<i>žā(b)-a</i>	→ <i>žāb-a</i>
<i>c̄'ōnuḷa</i> 'kiss'	<i>c̄'ā̃(b)-a</i>	→ <i>c̄'am-a</i>
<i>l̄'ūrula</i> 'dance'	<i>l̄'i(b)-a</i>	→ <i>l̄'ib-a</i>
<i>h̄īnuḷa</i> 'heal'	<i>h̄'ī(j)-a</i>	→ <i>h̄'īj-a</i>

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

(2) *ap'ada vuruši o-x-a q̄'azi-ḷ-a!*
ten ruble N-give-IMP debt-N-LAT
'Lend me ten rubles!'

- (3) *hu-ĭ-unu rel'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 geĭ-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 rac'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) *g'ič'-a!*
⟨F⟩stand_up-IMP
'Stand up (sing. fem.)!'
- (9) *geĭ-a b-eq'-a!*
inside-LAT HPL-come-IMP
'Come (pl.) in!'
- (10) *haĭi kūt-e m-ič-ala, ba-k'^w-a, čedače geĭ-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 žarale!*
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 moĭa rasadi, eĭ'-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) *ĩč'i šoda me-de ãl'o če č'uli b-ek-aj-a!*
 SUP good 2SG-ERG together one stick N-remain-CAUS-IMP
 'You should better keep a stick with you!'
- (15) *eĭ'-a me-de, k'ehi-le-k'ene-či harig^w-e goda?*
 say-IMP 2SG-ERG eye. PL-NPL-COM-Q see-CVB.N COP₂.N
 'Tell (sg.) us, did you see it with your own eyes?'
- (16) *me-de m-ač-a di-ga, dene čūda w-ul'-ida g^wida!*
 2SG-ERG N-talk-IMP 1SG-LAT 1SG when M-die-IPF₂ COP₂.M
 'Tell (sg.) me when I will die!'
- (17) *ušti ha le-q̄e q'in-a!*
 2PL DEM place-ESS stand-IMP
 'Stay (pl.) here!'
- (18) *ušti l'ūšī b-eχ-u b-eq'-a!*
 2PL hay N-take-INF HPL-come-IMP
 'Come (pl.) and take the hay!'
- (19) *ušt-e l'ūšī di-ga b-eq'-aj-a ãl'oda!*
 2PL-ERG hay 1SG-LAT N-come-CAUS-IMP all
 'Bring (pl.) me all of the hay!'
- (20) *ušt-e de-de eĭ'-ada-be g^wij-a!*
 2PL-ERG 1SG-ERG say-PF₂.N do-IMP
 'Do (pl.) what I told you!'

In the following examples, the imperative of a transitive verb combines with *k'edaš^we* (two.ERG) interpreted as 'two of you' – ex. (21), and with *češ^we* (one.ERG) interpreted as 'one of you' – ex. (22).

- (21) *hu boq'oda k'ebek'i k'eda-š^w-e m-eq'enaj-a,*
 DEM four kopeck two-M-ERG N-share_out-IMP
 'Let two of you share out these four kopecks,

hu češ^we-we-la kodi-ga k'eda k'ebek'i b-eq'-alo?o w-ov-aĭ'a
 DEM other-M-ADD in_hand-LAT two kopeck N-come-LIMIT M-remain-OPT
 and the third one wait until two kopecks are available (lit. come in hand)'

- (22) *ha-ĭ-e hašte eĭ'-ike,*
 DEM-N-ERG thus say-IPF₂.NEG.N
 'It (the crow) does not speak just like that,

če-š^w-e dene c̄'eḷe-q̄a žab-a, qe m-ač-uwa le
 one-M-ERG 1SG invitation-LAT call-IMP then N-talk-POT.N DISC
 let one of you invite me, and it will speak.'

Verbs whose meaning implies orientation, such as *oḫurula* 'give' or *harigōrula* '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!' → *oḫe(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 *-uḫ-* preceding the inflectional ending.

- (23) *hu-be m-ač-uḫ-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* + *buḫuruḷa* ‘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 ke-ḷi ak'a-ḫi-gunu rāc'a hudu q'ōhula-ḷi c'eri!*
 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-eḫ-a q'urūḷa, mik'e ḡ-ēdeḷi ḷk'a lāc'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) *moḷa, w-oq'-a, aḡa vuruḷi q'abu g'ij-a, ḡalaḷe o-x-a!*
 Molla M-come-IMP ten ruble acceptation do-IMP forgiveness N-give-IMP
 ‘Molla, come on, accept the ten rubles and forgive!’

- (28) *du-la kūḷ-e m-ič-ala, ači o-x-e b-eḫ-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-eḷ-i harig^w-aj-a di-la!*
 HPL-bring -CVB.HPL see-CAUS-IMP 1SG-DAT
 ‘Bring them and show them to me!’

- (30) *du-la-da imiχi-la o-x̄-e x̄^wani b-eχ-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 ɫaloχo heč'-a, če šoda bogi g^wij-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-er-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 ʕečiba ɫo-de q̄'-āne 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-āq-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-āʔ-a, mešu-la b-eχ-o q̄eleko b-iq̄-o b-el-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. Прохибитив.

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

He уходи!
He давай ему книгу.
He приводи сюда Магомеда.
He 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

<i>k̄'oturula</i> ‘run away’	<i>k̄'ot-uba</i>	→ <i>k̄'ot-uba</i>
<i>žōrula</i> ‘call’	<i>ž̄a(b)-uba</i>	→ <i>ž̄-ōba</i>
<i>č'ōnula</i> ‘kiss’	<i>č'ā̄(b)-uba</i>	→ <i>č'-ō̄ba</i>
<i>l̄'ūrula</i> ‘dance’	<i>l̄'i(b)-uba</i>	→ <i>l̄'-ūba</i>
<i>hūnula</i> ‘heal’	<i>h^wi(j)-uba</i>	→ <i>h-ūba</i>

- (35) *ʃadada čʷila m-ač-uba!*
 mad thing N-talk-PROH
 ‘Don’t talk nonsense!’
- (36) *dī-χarunu q̄’azi-ī-a q-ōba!*
 1SG-ADEL debt-N-LAT ask-PROH
 ‘Don’t ask me to lend you money!’
- (37) *me-de dī-ga mina b-ił-uba, dene čāčada ʃadada gʷido*
 2SG-ERG 1SG-LAT head N-put-PROH 1SG a_little mad COP_{2,M}
 ‘Don’t pay attention to me (lit. don’t put your head on me), I am a bit mad.’
- (38) *eī’-uba qe de-de eī’-ila ī’-e!*
 say-PROH then 1SG-ERG say-PF.NEG say-CVB.N
 ‘Don’t pretend after that that I didn’t tell you !’
- (39) *hu češe ak̄’a-ī-a harig-ōba!*
 DEM other woman-F-LAT see-CAUS.PROH
 ‘Don’t show it to the other woman!’
- (40) *o-x-ideīi tašʷil-āri, “če āde-ī-a o-x-uba – ī’-e,*
 N-give-SIMULT insist-PFV one person-N-LAT N-give-PROH say-CVB.N
me-de-da q̄’am-a!”
 2SG-ERG-INT eat-IMP
 ‘When she gave it to me she insisted: Don’t give it to anyone else, eat it yourself!’
- (41) *ak̄’i, ekʷa-sū kuq̄’i-ī-ga aī’e-ī-ga sor-uba!*
 wife man-M(GEN) matter-N-LAT middle-N-LAT creep-PROH
 ‘Wife, don’t interfere in men’s business!’
- (42) *ušt-e ʃeropula-ge kad̄a-k’-ideīi hirida knopka ič’-uba!*
 2PL-ERG airplane-ESS <HPL>sit-SIMULT red knob push-PROH
 ‘While sitting in the plane, don’t push the red knob!’
- (43) *miq̄ʷ-e hamare-qe b-eq’-ika āde-χarunu ači b-eχ-uba!*
 road-ESS face-ESS N-know-IPF₂ person-APUDEL money N-take-PROH
 ‘When you are outside, don’t accept money from people that you don’t know!’

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) *w-aʔ-il-o* *w-uk'-a!*
 M-speak-NEG-CVB.M M-be-IMP
 'Keep silent!' (lit. 'Be not-speaking!')

(45) *ĩwi* *dan-ilo* *w-uk'-a!*
 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 *-alogo* triggering the use of the short allomorph of stems having stem allomorphy.

(46) *The emphatic variant of the prohibitive*

<i>k̄'oturula</i> 'run away'	<i>k̄'ot-alogo</i>	→ <i>k̄'ot-alogo</i>
<i>žōrula</i> 'call'	<i>žā(b)-alogo</i>	→ <i>ž-ālogo</i>
<i>c̄'ōnula</i> 'kiss'	<i>c̄'ā(b)-alogo</i>	→ <i>c̄'-ālogo</i>
<i>l̄'ūrula</i> 'dance'	<i>l̄'i(b)-alogo</i>	→ <i>l̄'-ēlogo</i>

This suffix is probably cognate with the interjection *hologo* ~ *h^welogo* (AR Akhvakh *holego*) '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 *hologo*.

(47) *h^welogo* *imaχa-ge* *l'a* *kadʷk'-alogo!*
 beware donkey-ESS on-ESS <M>sit-PROH
 'Beware, don't sit on the donkey!'

(48) *h^welogo* *ha-be* *g^w-ēlogo!*
 beware DEM-N do-PROH
 'Beware, don't do this!'

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

No.

2.3. Есть ли показатель множественного числа **прохибитива**? (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 дальше поле.

Давай поедем в Махачкалу.

Commands addressed to a group of persons including the speaker are expressed by combining the hortative particle *eġo* (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) *eġo ʔaloχo hečʔ-i m-oʔ-oji*
 HORT up rise-CVB.HPL HPL-go-POT.HPL
 ‘Let’s stand up and go!’
- (50) *eġo ġʔor-uwa jala ġχe-ġa zor-ōwa*
 HORT kill-POT.M or river-ILLAT slip-CAUS.POT.M
 ‘Let’s kill him or throw him into the river!’
- (51) *eġo šālʔe išučʔ-uwa!*
 HORT cloth exchange-POT.N
 ‘Let’s exchange our clothes!’
- (52) *eġo m-oʔ-oji moġa rasadi-de čġ gʷ-ēro gʷi-ša eġ-urula!*
 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) *eġo ġġ-e ačġ-mišġdi qʔ-ōwa!*
 HORT 1PLI-ERG silver-gold eat-POT.N
 ‘Let’s spend the money!’
- (54) *eġo aġʔeda katuška čʔ-ūwa!*
 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 *eġo* is a non-analyzable word meaning ‘let’s go!’. It may be used alone, or take a complement in the lative case.

- (55) *eġo eše-ga, ušt-a če šoda bogġ o-χ-uwa*
 HORT 1PLE-LAT 2PL-LAT one 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 *eĭo* 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

		POT.M/N/NPL	POT.F	POT.HPL
<i>k̄'oturula</i> 'run away'	<i>k̄'ot-</i>	<i>k̄'ot-uwa</i>	<i>k̄'ot-iwa</i>	<i>k̄'ot-oji</i>
<i>žōrula</i> 'call'	<i>žā(b)-</i>	<i>ž-ōwa</i>	<i>ž-ēwa</i>	<i>žab-oji</i>
<i>k'ōnula</i> 'lie down'	<i>k'wā(b)-</i>	<i>k'w-ōwa</i>	<i>k'w-ēwa</i>	<i>k'wam-oji</i>
<i>l'ūrula</i> 'dance'	<i>l'i(b)-</i>	<i>l'-ūwa</i>	<i>l'-īwa</i>	<i>l'ib-oji</i>
<i>hūnula</i> 'heal'	<i>h'wī(j)-</i>	<i>h-ūwa</i>	<i>h'-īwa</i>	<i>h'wīj-oji</i>

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^w-ala, eĭ'-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-ōj-ōji mik'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'wanaŋ-e m-ič-ala, de-de o-x-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'

- (61) *ik'a čwila b-oī-ala, mik'e surilada b-ik'-uwa*
 big thing N-occur-COND baby ugly N-be-POT.N
 'At the worst, the baby may / will be ugly'

The potential also commonly combines with imperative or hortative clauses.

- (62) *hereši-k'ene di-La šahidiṭila g^wij-a, du-La ač'ada buruši o-x̄-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'ēdoda buruši o-x̄-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 řāc'iīi bal'a haīi g^we-sā?*
 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-il-ala, dene hu-ṣu-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-ṣ^w-e dene t'am-ala hudu-be g-ūrula*
 DEM-M-ERG 1SG throw-COND DEM-N do-INF
 'If he makes me do that,

dene ṣ^w-īda g^wīla-we ī'ek'uda hu-ṣu-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 дальнее поле. - Давайте косить дальнее поле
Давай поедem в Махачкалу. - Давайте поедem 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, пойдem). 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 beṭurula '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 $\bar{l}'a$ (etymologically, the imperative of 'say') occurs in the second clause only, which could justify to segment $a\bar{l}'a$ as $-a\bar{l}'-a$ and to gloss $-IMP-say-IMP$ rather than $-OPT$.

(68) *če žo-ḥi χaba b-eq'-iri*
 one day-N(ESS) news N-come-IPF₁
 'One day it was announced

hā-ḥi-ge-še āl'oda jaše-li χā-sū č'ila-ḥi-ga b-eq'-aḷ'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) *hãže de-de eĭ'-ere goda, ve-ĭi ek'ʷa-šʷ-e*
 now 1SG-ERG say-PROG COP_{2,N} neighborhood-GEN man-M-ERG
 'Now I say that the neighbor

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

(70) *ĭo-be imiχi m-ič-ala, ũq̄a q̄'am-aj-a,*
 who-N donkey N-be_found-COND oats eat-CAUS-IMP
 'If somebody has a donkey, let him give it oats,

ĭo-be xʷani m-ič-ala, qoroχi-ga o-t-aĭ'a žomi q̄'-ō!
 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 beĭurula* '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-eĭ-a de-de di-la-da kʷ-ĩda-be g-ūrula!*
 N-let-IMP 1SG-ERG 1SG-DAT-INT want-IPF_{2,N} do-INF
 'Let me do what I want!'

(72) *b-eĭ-a hãže-da ħaduda b-ik'-urula!*
 N-let-IMP today-INT ready N-be-INF
 'Let him be ready from now!'

(73) *b-eĭ-a žiži ek'ʷa-šʷ-e ĭ-šū-da mižoĭi-la*
 N-let-IMP each man-M-ERG ANA-M-INT beard-DAT
ĩ-šʷ-a-da kʷ-ĩda-be g-ūrula!
 ANA-M-DAT-INT want-IPF_{2,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 beḡurula* 'let' + *infinitive*.

(74) *me-de du-la b-uḡ-ida baḡ'a šušut'-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 gole,
 2SG(GEN)-N matter COP.NEG.N
 but don't interfere (lit. 'it's not your business'),

b-eḡ-a di-la b-uḡ-ida baḡ'a ḡ-ōrula!
 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 удачной работы, счастливого пути, выздоровления и т.д.; проклятия, которые произносятся, когда люди ругаются).

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

(76) *šadaq'a aḡa-š^w-e q'abu g-ūč(a)!*
 alms God-M-ERG acceptance do-OPT
 'Let God accept the alms!'

(77) *raḡa šoḡ-ūč(a)l'a!*
 night be_good-OPT
 'Let the night be good!'

(78) *ḡe b-ik'-ūč(a)l'a du-laje!*
 shame N-be-OPT 2SG-DAT
 'Shame on you!'

(79) *sax̄t̄ila b-ik'-ũč̄a(ī'a)!*

health N-be-OPT

'Be healthy!'

(80) *miq̄'i b-it'-e aχ-ũč̄a!*

road N-be_straight-CVB.N open-OPT

'Pleasant journey!'

(81) *ālā-s̄^w-e harig-ōbaī'a!*

God-M-ERG see-CAUS.OPT.NEG

'Heaven forbid!'

(82) *di mina-īi-ga ič̄'a b-uχ-aī'a*

1SG(GEN) head-N-LAT stone N-fall-OPT

'Let a stone fall on my head!'

(83) *dene ī'or-ubaī'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 *-aī'a* that can be segmented as *-a-ī'a*, with a first formative identifiable as the suffix of the imperative, and a second formative cognate with the imperative *eī'a* of *eī'urula* '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 -aī'a*

<i>šoṭurula</i> 'be good'	šoṭ-aī'a	→ šoṭ-aī'a
<i>čōrula</i> 'wash'	ča(b)-aī'a	→ čab-aī'a
<i>c̄'ōnula</i> 'kiss'	c̄'ā(b)-aī'a	→ c̄'am-aī'a
<i>ī'ūrula</i> 'dance'	ī'i(b)-aī'a	→ ī'ib-aī'a
<i>hūnula</i> 'heal'	h ^w i(j)-aī'a	→ h ^w ij-aī'a

The second variant of the optative suffix is *-ũč̄a(ī'a)*. In this variant, the formative *-ī'a* is optional. This variant also differs from the variant *-aī'a* by the fact that it triggers the selection of the short allomorph of the stems that have stem allomorphy.

(85) *The optative suffix -ũča(Ī'a)*

<i>šoġurULA</i> ‘be good’	<i>šoġ-ũča(Ī'a)</i>	→ <i>šoġ-ũča(Ī'a)</i>
<i>čōrULA</i> ‘wash’	<i>ča(b)-ũča(Ī'a)</i>	→ <i>č-ōča(Ī'a)</i>
<i>č'ōnULA</i> ‘kiss’	<i>č'ā(b)-ũča(Ī'a)</i>	→ <i>č'-ōča(Ī'a)</i>
<i>Ī'ūrULA</i> ‘dance’	<i>Ī'i(b)-ũča(Ī'a)</i>	→ <i>Ī'-ũča(Ī'a)</i>
<i>hūnULA</i> ‘heal’	<i>h^wi(j)-ũča(Ī'a)</i>	→ <i>h-ũča(Ī'a)</i>

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

<i>*munahe čō mičāĪa!</i>	→ <i>munahe čōča(Ī'a)!</i>	‘Let the sins be washed!’
<i>*raĻa šoġu mičāĪ'a!</i>	→ <i>raĻa šoġũča(Ī'a)!</i>	‘Let the night be good!’

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

(86) AR Akhvakh (Magomedova & Abdullaeva 2007)

a. <i>eĪe-ge-da aĪ'e</i>	<i>b-iġ-u</i>	<i>m-ič-a</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>ġaba!</i>
1PLI-ESS-INT	between.ESS	N-remain-INF	N-be_found-IMP	DEM conversation
‘Let these words remain between us!’				
b. <i>āĻa-s^w-e</i>	<i>č'in-u</i>	<i>ma-č-aĪ'a!</i>		
God-M-ERG	guard-INF	HPL-be-OPT		
‘God save us!’				

The optative negative is characterized by a complex suffix *-ubaĪ'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 *-Ī'a* 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*

<i>k'oturULA</i> ‘run away’	<i>k'ot-ubaĪ'a</i>	→ <i>k'ot-ubaĪ'a</i>
<i>žōrULA</i> ‘call’	<i>ža(b)-ubaĪ'a</i>	→ <i>ž-ōbaĪ'a</i>
<i>č'ōnULA</i> ‘kiss’	<i>č'ā(b)-ubaĪ'a</i>	→ <i>č'-ōbaĪ'a</i>
<i>Ī'ūrULA</i> ‘dance’	<i>Ī'i(b)-ubaĪ'a</i>	→ <i>Ī'-ubaĪ'a</i>
<i>hūnULA</i> ‘heal’	<i>h^wi(j)-ubaĪ'a</i>	→ <i>h-ubaĪ'a</i>

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 moġa rasadi w-uk'-ũĉa, de-de du-gunu ħepi b-eq̄-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-ũġ'-ũĉa,*
 1SG M-die-OPT
 'I would rather die'

aĉ'a vurušġ-gu ĉe k'ebek'i-la kamilaj-e šoġ-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) *ĉ'ib-e qedo, miġ'ara-di-le-ga eġ'iri, ušti q'alda ġk'aġ-a*
 sow-CVB.N after seed-PL-NPL-LAT tell-IPF₁ 2PL quickly grow-IMP
 'After sowing he told the seeds: "Grow quickly,

dene ġĉ'ila haga w-oq'-eġi di-La ġeĉe harig^w-aġ'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 ġaq'ilo b-ik'-ũĉa, ġhora-ga k'ot-e kas-a geġ-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 *eḷ'urula* '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 *eḷ'a* imperative of *eḷ'urula* is repeated in the reduced form *ḷ'a*. As illustrated by ex. (95), *ḷ'a* immediately follows the verb of the sentence the addressee is asked to transmit.

- (92) *hu-ṣu-ga eḷ'-a "haga w-oq'-a" ḷ'-a!*
 DEM-M-LAT say-IMP here.LAT M-come-IMP say-IMP
 'Tell him to come here!'

- (93) *hu-ṣu-ga eḷ'-a "eša w-ũba" ḷ'-a!*
 DEM-M-LAT say-IMP away M-go.PROH say-IMP
 'Tell him not to go away!'

- (94) *me-de amru g^wij-a "di-La ič^wida řašte o-ḡ-a" ḷ'-a!*
 2SG-ERG order do-IMP 1SG-DAT sharp axe N-give-IMP say-IMP
 'Give orders so that I get a sharp axe!'

- (95) *ḥāki-ṣu-ga eḷ'-a, q'eḷ-a w-oq'-eḷi,*
 governor-M-LAT say-IMP home-LAT M-come-POST
 'Tell the governor, when he will be back home,

"mina q'eḷ-i b-eḷ-o w-ũba – ḷ'-a – 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) *ḥāki-ṣu-ga eḷ'-a, "baza-ga w-ĩdeḷi,*
 governor-M-LAT say-IM market-LAT M-go.SIMULT
 'Tell the governor that when he goes to the market,

ĩč'ila mina ĩgo-qe b-eḷ-o k'-ōho rak'oro-gu o-t-o w-ũba" ḷ'-a
 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-a?-a q'eḷ-a aḡ'o-ga eḷ'-a "řoda bogi g^wij-a!" ḷ'-a,*
 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-eḡ-e b-eḷ-a!" ḷ'-a!
 one two melon-ADD N-take-CVB.N N-bring-IMP say-IMP
 and to bring some melons!'

(98) *m-aʔ-a hāže eše č'ili-ga,*
 M-go-IMP now 1PLE(GEN) house-LAT
 'Go immediately to our house,

ak'o-ga eL'-a "mola-sū-k'ene q'eL'-a w-oq'-ida g'wida ralaqū,
 wife-LAT say-IMP Molla-M-COM home-LAT M-come-IPF₂ COP_{2,M} in_the_evening
 and tell my wife that I am going with Molla tonight,

šoda ralaqū-sē q'ōhula g'wij-a" l'-a!
 good in_the_evening -ADJZ food do-IMP say-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:

Вот бы мне / тебе / ему разбогатеть!
Если бы у меня / у тебя / у него был свой дом!
Хоть бы поскорее вернулся Магомед!
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 ima w-uk'-āčala ...*
 1SG(GEN) father M-be-COND
 'If only he could have been my father!'

(100) *mitaq'ali du-ga dādi w-uχ-ada miša-ḥi,*
 in_the_morning 2SG-LAT across M-remain-PFV₂ place-N(ESS)
 'This morning instead of meeting you, (lit. at the place where I met you)

di-be šūk'a b-iq'w-e b-ik'w-āčala ...
 1SG(GEN)-N leg N-cut-CVB.N N-be-COND
 I would better have cut my leg,

du-be-la mič'i b-uq'-e b-ik'w-āčala ...
 1SG(GEN)-N-ADD tongue N-dry-CVB.N N-be-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 *-alašige* ~ *-alašqe*, 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*

<i>k̄'oturula</i> 'run away'	<i>k̄'ot-</i>	→ HPL <i>k̄'ot-ij-ala</i>	other classes <i>k̄'ot-ala</i>
<i>žōrula</i> 'call'	<i>ž'a(b)-</i>	→ HPL <i>ž'ab-ij-ala</i>	other classes <i>ž'ab-ala</i>
<i>k'ōnula</i> 'lie down'	<i>k'wā(b)-</i>	→ HPL <i>k'wam-ij-ala</i>	other classes <i>k'wam-ala</i>
<i>l̄'ūrula</i> 'dance'	<i>l̄'i(b)-</i>	→ HPL <i>l̄'ib-ij-ala</i>	other classes <i>l̄'ib-ala</i>
<i>hūnula</i> 'heal'	<i>h'wī(j)-</i>	→ HPL <i>h'wīj-ij-ala</i>	other classes <i>h'wīj-ala</i>

There is another form of the conditional converb, characterized by a suffix *-āčala*. This form results from the contraction of an analytic form including *mičala*, conditional converb of *mičunula* '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 *-il-* inserted between the verb stem and the conditional suffix *-ala*. The negative suffix *-il-* triggers the selection of the short allomorph of alternating verb stems.

(102) *The negative form of the conditional converb*

<i>k̄'oturula</i> 'run away'	<i>k̄'ot-</i>	→ <i>k̄'ot-il-ala</i>
<i>žōrula</i> 'call'	<i>ž'a(b)-</i>	→ <i>ž-ēl-ala</i>
<i>k'ōnula</i> 'lie down'	<i>k'wā(b)-</i>	→ <i>k'w-ēl-ala</i>
<i>l̄'ūrula</i> 'dance'	<i>l̄'i(b)-</i>	→ <i>l̄'-il-ala</i>
<i>hūnula</i> 'heal'	<i>h'wī(j)-</i>	→ <i>h'w-īl-ala</i>

The negative form of the conditional converb can also be formed by means of a suffix *-ičilala* lending itself to the same explanation as the variant *-āčala* 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-ĩda g^wida*
 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 ãl-ala, c’iriñil-ēde*
 DEM word.PL mountain-DAT hear-COND get_vexed-IPF₂.N
 ‘If the mountain hears these words, it will get vexed’
- (105) *šig-unu me-de-la de-de eĭ’-ada 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-uwa me-de r-ãč-ada šoĭe-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) *ĩčila di č’ili-ñi-ga geĭ-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-iq^w-ēda goda*
 1SG-ERG 2SG(GEN)-N DEM two-ADD leg N-cut-IPF₂ COP₂.N
 I will cut both of your legs’
- (107) *imiçi m-ič-ala, če ĩuruš-a o-x-ida g^weda*
 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 riĭ’i m-ič-ala, keto haĭi?*
 DEM-N meat N-be_found-COND cat where.ESS
 ‘If this is the meat, where is the cat?’
- (109) *mene hušte řadada w-ũč-ala,*
 2SG thus mad M-be_found-COND
 ‘If you are as mad [as you pretend to be],
- du-ñi-gune ek^wa-ñi-ga čugu t’-õš-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 heL'ar-i-ṣe čilo di-ge heL'ar-i b-ik'^w-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 q̄'ada-ḥi-ge-la eχa b-eq̄-u t'-ēda b-ik'^w-ada
 DEM moment-N-ESS-ADD out N-take_out-INF throw-IPF₂ N-be-PFV₂
 I would have it out immediately'

(111) *ḥoc'ina-de eL'-e godi, ha ṭ-ḥi-lī c'ek'a c'arada b-ik'^w-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'oLi-qe l'a b-ek-eda b-ik'^w-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 čwi g^w-īda g^w-eda?*
 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-ik'^w-ala, me-de čwi g^w-īda b-ik'^w-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-āda-ṣ^w-a o-x-e b-ik'^w-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-iχ^w-ida b-ik'^w-ila-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 *mičunula* ‘be found’ in auxiliary function (rather than *bik’urula* ‘be’) is particularly common.

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

- (116) *hu-we* *L-ēro* *w-ũč-ala*, *w-ũba-Ī’a!*
 DEM-M be_afraid-PROG.M M-be_found-COND M-go.PROH-OPT
 ‘If he is (being) afraid, let him not go!’

- (117) *me-de* *ĩč’o-ge* *L’a* *qãdiro* *gin-aj-e* *m-ič-ala*
 2SG-ERG door-ESS on.ESS sickle hang-CAUS-CVB.N N-be_found-COND
 ‘If you hang a sickle on the door,

iši *eša* *m-ida* *wolidi*
 1PLE away HPL-go.IPF₂ COP₂.HPL
 we will go away’

- (118) *hude-šē* *ãdo* *L’a* *šãL’e* *goli* *b-oĪ-oĪ-eri* *ma-č-ij-ala*,
 there-ADJZ person.PL on.ESS cloth COP.NEG.HPL HPL-walk-walk-PROG.HPL HPL-be_found-HPL-COND
 ‘If the people who live there go walking without clothes on them,

čig^we *ak̄’i-χewe* *minada* *g^w-ēre* *golidi?*
 how wife-husband separate do-PROG COP₂.HPL
 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’-il-ala*, *me-de* *č^wi* *g^w-ida* *g^weda?*
 girl F-come-NEG-COND 2SG-ERG what do-IPF₂ COP₂.N
 ‘If the girl does not come, what will you do?’

- (120) *eq̄-a* *du* *ʕumi-ĩ-ga*, *mik’e* *di-ga* *ẽĩ-il-ala*
 look-IMP 2SG(GEN) life-N-LAT baby 1SG-LAT resemble-NEG-COND
 ‘Imagine your life, if the baby does not resemble me’

- (121) *hudu-ĩ-a* *sãhũ* *q^wanaɣ-e* *m-ič-il-ala*, *b-eχ-ika-be*
 DEM-N-DAT soap need-CVB.N N-be_found-NEG-COND N-take-IPF₂.NEG-N
 ‘If it did not need soap, it would not take it’

- (122) *hu-be* *di* *ʕaq’ilo-ĩ-ga* *b-eq’-e* *m-ič-il-ala*,
 DEM-N 1SG(GEN) mind-N-LAT N-come-CVB.N N-be_found-NEG-COND
 ‘If it did not come to my mind,

hu-sū ʕaḳ'ilo-ḫi-ga-la b-eq'-ike
 DEM-M(GEN) mind-N-LAT-ADD N-come-IPF₂.NEG.N
 it did not come to his mind either'

(123) *q'onaʕ-ideḫi c'-āre b-ik'^w-ičilala,*
 be necessary-SIMULT rain-PROG N-be-COND.NEG
 'If it had not rained when it was necessary,

ālā-s^w-e miḫi-la b-iž^w-aj-e b-ik'^w-ičilala,
 God-M-ERG sun-ADD N-be_created-CAUS-CVB.N N-be-COND.NEG
 if God had not created the sun,

de-de q'iru čig^we č'-ida b-ik'^w-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 lib-ēl-ala, koša ʕaza b-ik'^w-ila*
 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-la ču-bi, di raq'oḫi b-ol'-ala b-ol'-il-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 qali iš^wič'-ala, ʕama iš^wič'-ike*
 snake-ERG skin change-COND character change-IPF₂.NEG.N
 'Although the snake changes its skin, it does not change its character'

(127) *moḫa-s^w-e haštuda eḫ'-ala, "čegaza goḫe",*
 Molla-M-ERG so_much say-COND nothing COP.NEG.N
 'Although Molla said, "There is nothing",

ek'^wa-s^w-e rez'a dan-iki
 man-M-ERG hand withdraw-IPF₁.NEG
 the man insisted (lit. did not withdraw his hand)'

- (128) *haštuda-la ĩk'a w-uk'-ala, warana-gu ĩk'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) *imiḫi haštuda eḡadaj-ala, m-ič-il-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 ḡaḡ'uba č'am-ala, čedala miša-ī-u ači b-iḡ^w-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^wida" l̄'-e ḡulaj-ala,*
 so_much 1SG burn-PROG COP₂.M say-CVB.N scream-COND
 'Even if I scream "I am burning!",
- dene eḡa w-oḡ-uba!*
 1SG out M-take_out-PROH
 don't take me out!"
- (132) *haštuda ḡ'ūḡe ba-ḡ-ij-ala, ḡema o-ḡ-u ḡid-iki*
 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 riḡ'i godi, keto haḡi?*
 two kilo meat COP₁.N cat where.ESS
 '[If] this is two kilos of meat, [then] where is the cat?'
ḡoge, ha-be keto b-ik^w-aḡ'a, riḡ'i haḡi?
 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 / оптатива 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) *l'āk'a b-oī-āda q'eī-a*
rabbit N-set_out-CAUS.PFV₂ home-LAT
'I sent the rabbit to our place'

du-ga x̄aba o-x̄-urula
2SG-LAT news N-give-INF
so that it would tell you the news.'

(135) *če nik^wa h^wij-a harig-urula čig^we h^w-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 duʃa g^wij-a hu-š^w-a če hula m-ič-unula!*
2SG-ERG prayer do-INF DEM-M-DAT one thing N-be_found-INF
'Pray that he will find something!'

(137) *de-de či g^w-iri, ādo-lo-la dene šoda g^wi-ša b-eq'-urula?*
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) *moīa-š^w-e baza-gu loda kilo riī'i b-eχ-e q'eī-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,

āk'o-de če k'eda žo-īi q'ōhula g-ūrula.
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.

(139) *b-eṭ̄-a ha-be di-ge taχi-ge ṭk'at̄-aṭ̄'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,

čili r-iž̄w-ide, b-oṭ̄-ide q̄oq̄odiro, qe o-x̄-uwa 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 *ṭ'e*, converb of *eṭ̄'urula* ‘say’

(140) *ek^wa-s̄w-e w-ul'-ideṭ̄i masijati g^wij-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-eχ-e ači o-x̄-a” ṭ'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 eṭ̄'e-či b-ik^w-ile*
 1SG-ERG 2PL-LAT say-CVB.N-Q N-be-PF.NEG.N
 ‘Didn’t I tell you

“ṭč'a k'ar-aj-a – ṭ'e – ṭ̄-s̄u-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-la k^wit̄-e b-ik^w-ari aḱ'o-lo-de di-ga eḱ-urula*
 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-la k^wit̄-e gola me-de mižoṭ̄i ič'ol-urula*
 1SG-DAT want-CVB.N COP.NEG.N 2SG-ERG beard stroke-INF
 ‘I don’t want you to stroke your beard’

(144) *di-La k^wɪ̄-e b-ik^w-ari me-de ha-be eḷ'-urula*
 1SG-DAT want-CVB.N N-be-PF₁ 2SG-ERG DEM-N say-INF
 'I wanted you to say that'

Abbreviations

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