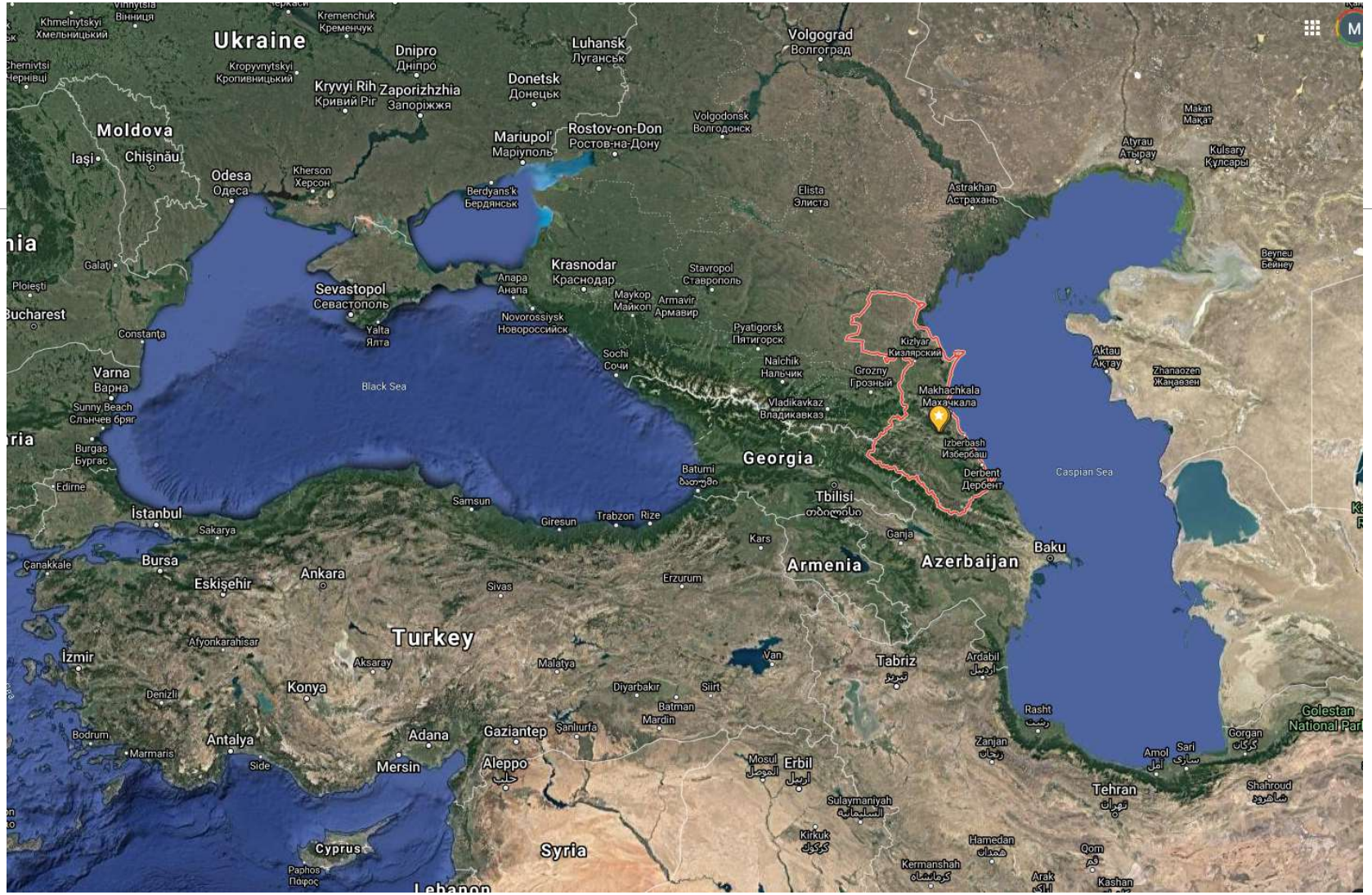
Optatives in East Caucasian morphology and culture

NINA DOBRUSHINA
HSE UNIVERSITY, MOSCOW

ONLINE COURSE ON EAST CAUCASIAN LANGUAGES-2021

LINGUISTIC CONVERGENCE LABORATORY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Arak
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Cyprus
Paphos
Syria
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Daghestan

- **General location:** Northeast Caucasus, Russian Federation, borders with Chechnya, Georgia and Azerbaijan
- **Landscape**: Highlands, mountain ridges
- **Economics:** Diverse geography and economy (lowlands rich and fertile, mountains poor)
- **Density:** Over 40 languages on a territory of ~50,000 km^2
- **Diversity:** Three language families (**Nakh-Daghestanian (East-Caucasian)**, Turkic, Indo-European). Even related languages are considerably different
- **Beyond Daghestan**: several Nakh-Daghestanian languages are spoken in modern Azerbaijan

Optatives: forms dedicated to express a wish or a hope of the speaker that something would (not) happen

Rutul (Kina dialect, Nakh-Daghestanian)

hɨχ-dɨ	raq’	**w-iš-ij**
good-ATR	way	**3-be-OPT**

‘Have a safe journey!’

Ingush (Nakh-Daghestanian; Nichols 2011: 278)

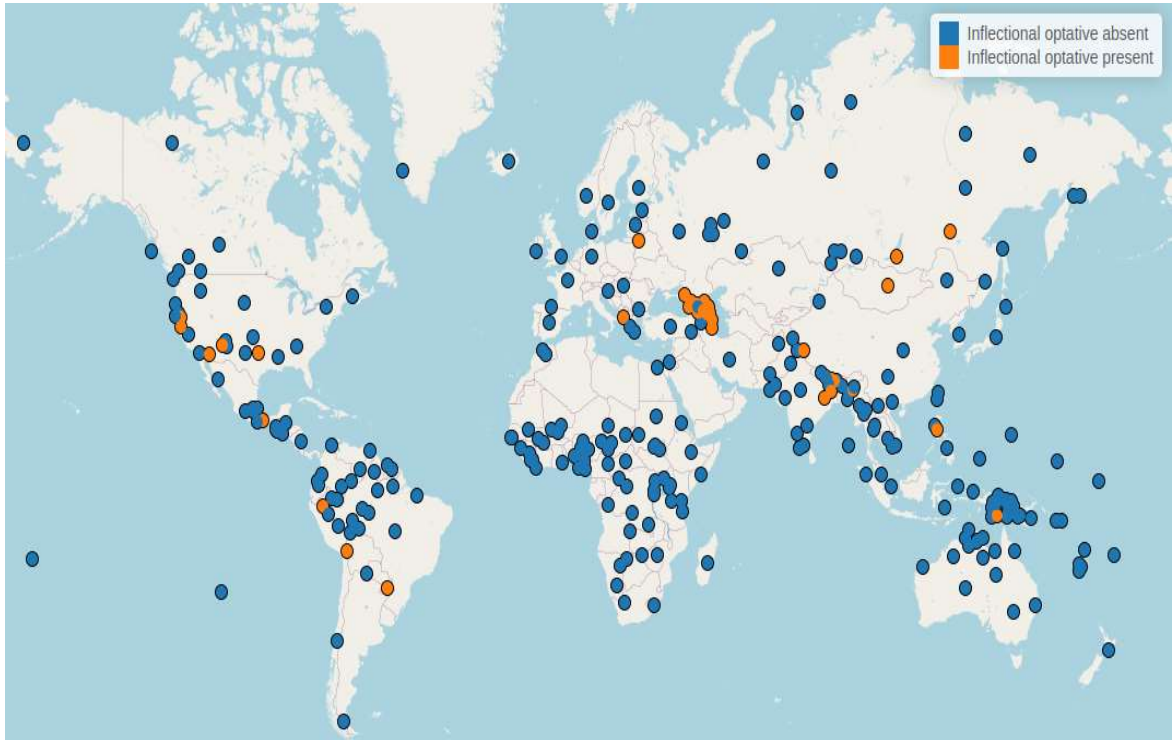
adamaa	t’y	my	**joaghiila**	yz	biisa
human_being.DAT	on	NEG	**J.come.OPT3**	DEM	night

‘May no other person ever experience such a night.’

Optative is a typologically rare phenomenon

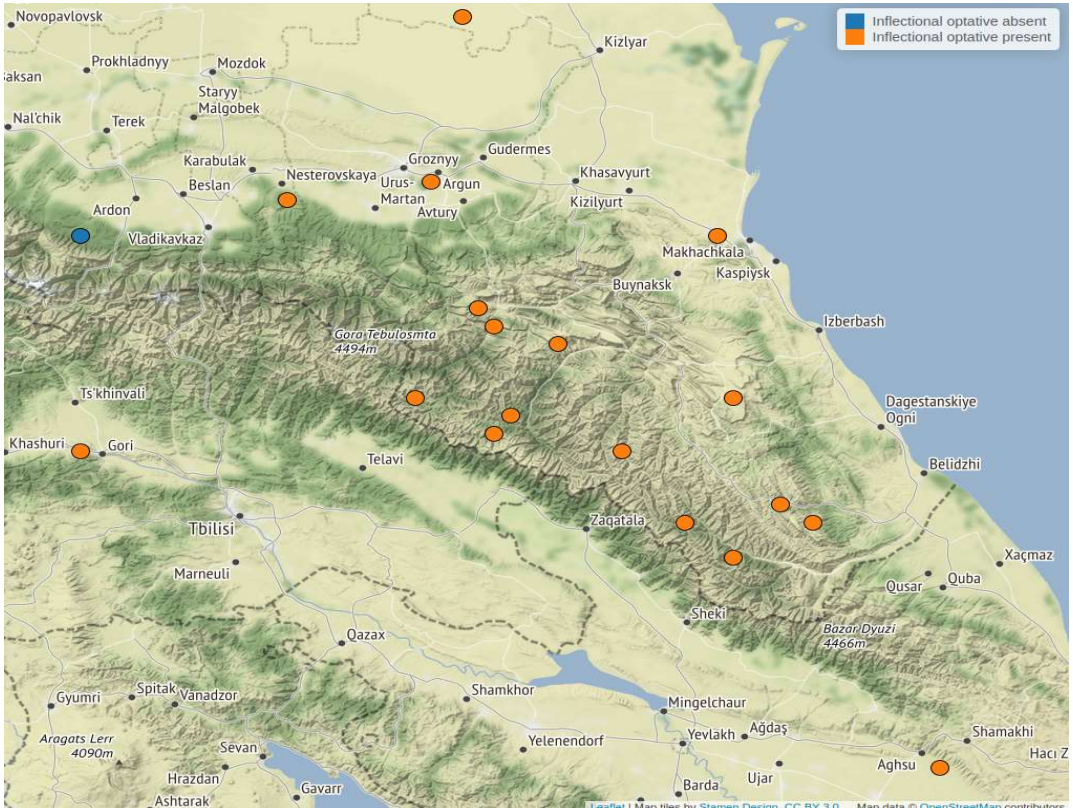
Found in 48 languages out of 319 languages of the worldwide sample

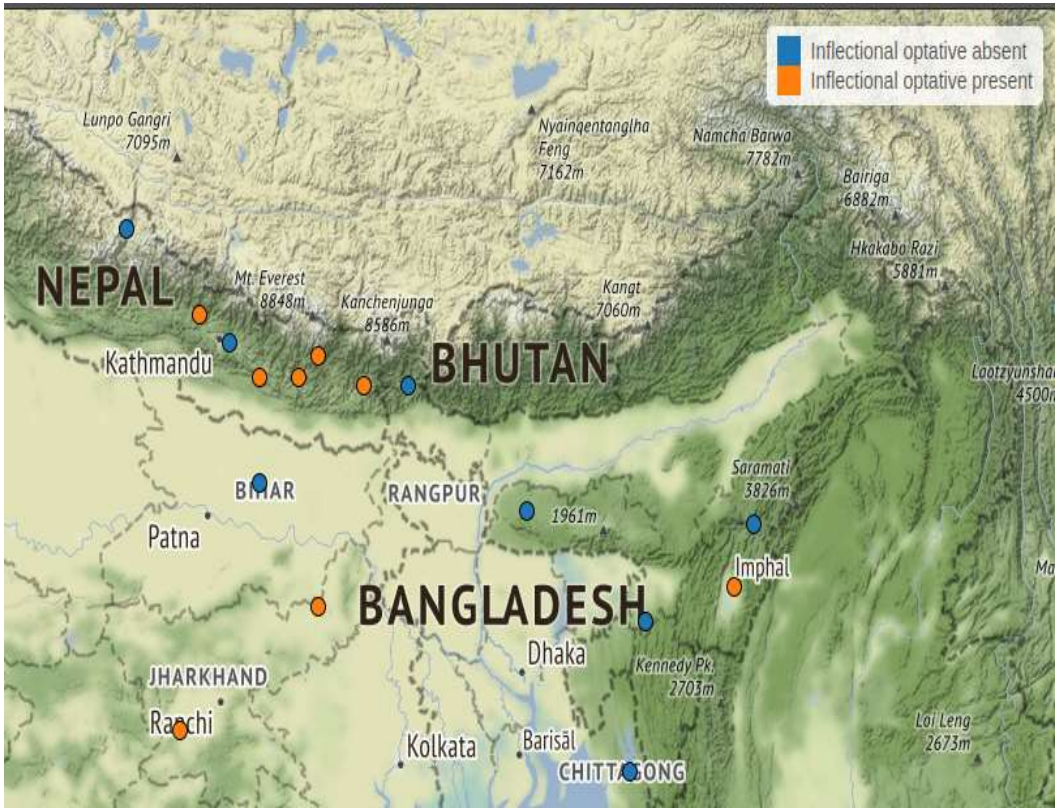
(sample biased towards the Caucasus)



Dobrushina, N., J. van der Auwera, V. Goussev. 2013. The Optative. In: Dryer, M. S. & Haspelmath, M. (eds.) **The World Atlas of Language Structures Online**. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.

Two areas rich in Optatives – the Caucasus and northern India & Nepal





Inflectional optative present in almost every language of the Caucasus

45 languages in the database

4 languages have no inflectional optative: Armenian, Ossetic, Azerbaijani, Archi

Optatives are the ONLY morphosyntactic feature found in ALL families present in the Caucasus, including Indo-European and Turkic (newcomers to the area)

Optative is present in Caucasian languages of different families, including those where inflectional optative is otherwise uncommon

Indo-European family – 3 of 30 in WALS

Turkic family – 3 of 14 in WALS

Inflectional Optatives in the Caucasus: every hallmark of contact origin

Inflectional Optatives are

- ✓ a typologically rare phenomenon
- ✓ present in almost every language of the Caucasus, some languages even have two inflectional Optatives
- ✓ found in languages of different families, including those where inflectional optatives are rare outside the Caucasus: Indo-European (Tat) and Turkic (Kumyk, Nogay, Balkar)
- ✓ may use unrelated (non-cognate) material within the same family

Why optatives are so *contagious*?

Blessings and curses make part of everyday speech practices, such as greetings, farewell, curses, congratulations, condolescences

More tangible evidence: plenty of wishes in the dictionaries as examples in dictionary entries

Standard Dargwa	Yusupov (2014), 37 157 entries –	271
Karata	Magomedova & Xalidova (2001), 8000 entries -	106
Avar	Gimbatov (2006), 36 000 entries -	>200
Lak	Abdulaev (2015) –	166
Tsakhur	Ibragimov & Nurmamedov (2010) –	40
Tabassaran -	Xanmagomedov & Shalbuzov (2001) –	74
Kumyk -	Bammatov (2013) –	101
Kubachi -	Magomedov (2016) -	100
To compare:		
Russian -	Ozhegov & Shvedova (1999), 80 000 entries	~20

The range of situations which require wishes:

Kubachi: when one meets a blind person - it:i šˑ:ala hak ‘May your sight come back to you!’
when one has got new clothes - čaχ aral but:ab! ‘Let it be worn (out) in health!’

Kumyk: of a stubborn person - q:aq: bolup q:alsyn! ‘May s/he turn to stone!’

Tabasaran: if one eats too much - aʁu ip’riwu! ‘May you eat poison!’

Avar: when a small child dies - alžan q’ač’aze araw watagi! ‘May s/he prepare heaven for you!’

Lak: when you interrupt someone - wilasːa nic’al q’uq’in ‘May your speech be interrupted by honey!’

Lak: towards children who continue playing outside late into the evening (jokingly) - šapa-šapːaj q’ahajmi qːøˤrmawčːitral bøˤq’annaw (bukannaw) ‘May those who do not want to come home be eaten by fierce cats!’

when the person who wishes good mistakenly chooses an inappropriate word - dak’nijmur xunnaw, mazrajmur qːaxunnaw! ‘Let it happen what is in the heart rather than what was said by ways of a lapse of the tongue’

Shared discourse forms enhance borrowing of grammar

"**The sharing of discourse forms**, which can be motivated on political and cultural grounds, **mediates** the borrowing of grammatical forms" (Beier, Michael, & Sherzer 2002)

"It may not be the grammatical structures themselves that are transferred, **but the rhetorical precursors to them**, increased tendencies to choose certain patterns of expression, that can set the scene for subsequent grammatical developments." (Mithun 2012)

Logophoricity in Africa, Nikitina 2017

- **There is no evidence that individual logophoric markers have been borrowed directly** from one language to another: it is often a result of independent innovations

- Rather than spreading through direct contact, **logophoricity develops independently** in certain areally prominent genres of discourse

- **The spread of folktales, along with storytelling practices, is a likely channel for such indirect borrowing**

Optatives diffused in the Caucasus due to sharing of discourse forms

- The genres of blessings and curses spread all over the Caucasus as a part of everyday communicative practices

- Inflectional optatives were typical of some indigenous families

- Inflectional optatives could be lost and renewed because of their utmost importance and contact with adjacent groups

- Languages of non-indigenous families (Turkic and Indo-European) developed or rather kept inflectional optatives due to the necessity to express the genres of blessings and curses

Roadmap of the presentation

- Presence of optatives in the languages of Daghestan
- Their functional scope
- Their grammaticalization paths
- Their syntax

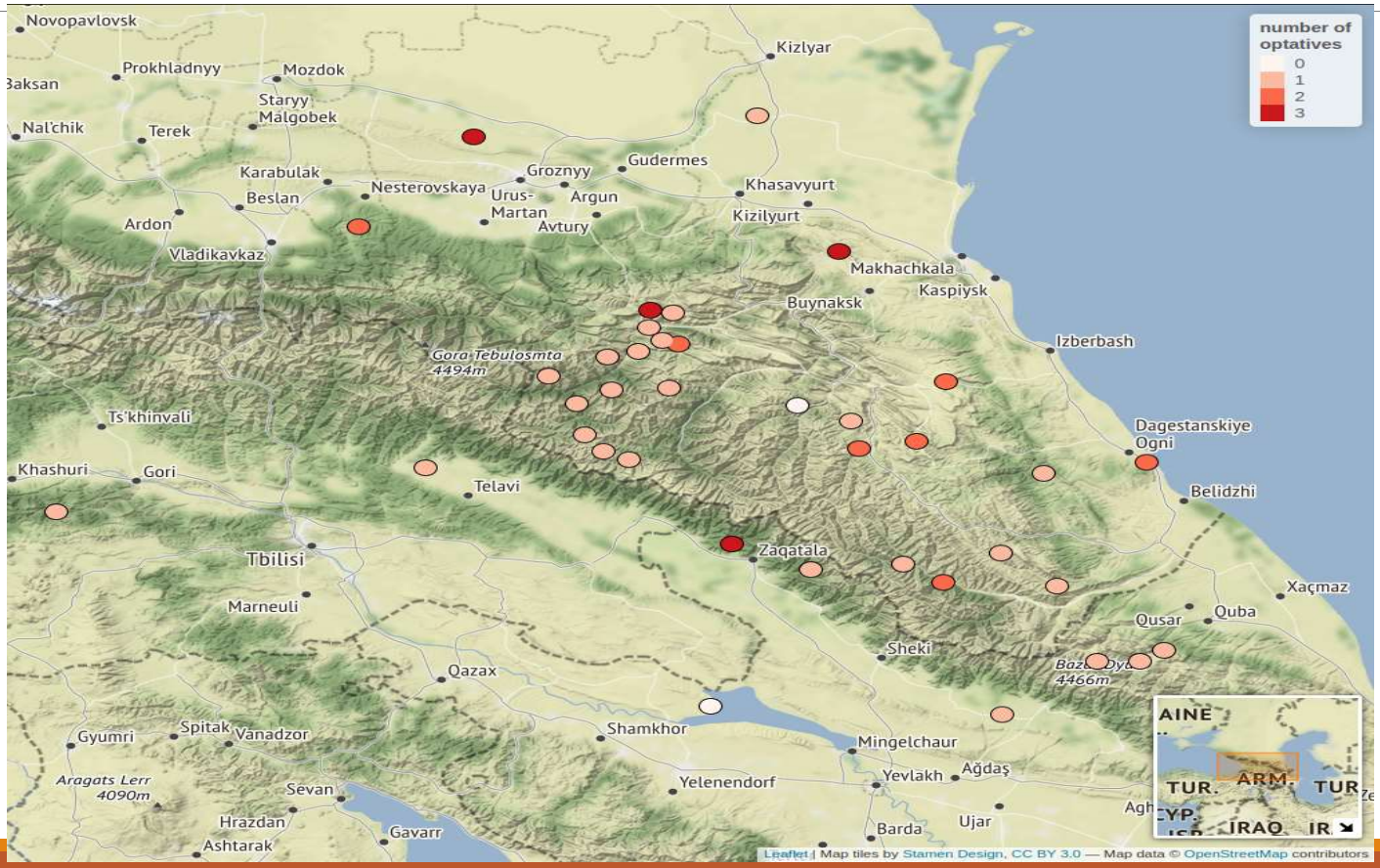
- What *exactly* is shared in language contact?

Some languages of Daghestan have two or even three inflectional optatives

Ashty, Avar, Karata, Kubachi, Kumyk, Itsari/Sanzhi, Lak, Shiri, Standard Dargwa, Tanty, Tat

Sometimes with a clear semantic contrast, more often apparently synonymous

Number of dedicated optatives in the languages of Daghestan: from zero to three



Functional scope: Optatives in ND languages always express blessings and curses

Itsari (Dargwa) (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 97), blessing

salamat	*w-irq'-ab*
good	M-do:IPF-OPT

'Happy journey!'

Bagvalal (Avar-Andic, Dobrushina 2001: 327), curse

biš:di	*žuzaħ-i-ƛ:*	*c'aj-la-ni*	*c'ahi-la*
you.pl	hell-OBL-GEN	fire-LOC-IN	burn.1MP-OPT

'May you burn in the hellfire!'

Semantic types:

blessings & curses (strong/ performative optative) VS dreams & hopes (weak/ desiderative optative)

Rutul (Nakh-Daghestanian, dialect of Kina, personal fieldwork)

Optative, blessing

hɨχ-dɨ	raq’	**w-iš-ij**
good-ATR	way	**3-be-OPT**

‘Have a safe journey.’

Optative, curse

ulaba-xla	**sug-aj**
eye.OBL-SUB.EL	**disappear-OPT**

‘May s/he disappear from my eyes.’

Irrealis, hope

xɨnɨx	**ǯ-eši-r-i-jden!**
child	**NEG-cry.PFV-CVB-COP2-IRR**

‘If only the child did not cry!’

Two semantically different inflectional optatives: Kumyk (Turkic)

Kumyk, blessings and curses Optative

sen	**süjün-gür**
you.SG	**be.glad-PFM.OPT**

‘Live merrily!’ (‘May you be glad!’)

Kumyk, dreams and hopes Optative

sen	onu	**al-ʁaj**	**e-di-ŋ**
you.SG	3SG	**take-DES.OPT**	**AUX-PST-2SG**

‘You’d better take him [your son] with you.’

Optative in Nakh-Daghestanian languages often combines blessings and curses with 3rd person command

Rutul (Dobrushina, field data)

(3) *zɨ / wɨ / had* *saʁ* ***r-iš-ij***
I/ you/ that healthy **2-become-OPT**
May I / you / she be healthy.

(4) *said-a* *uqʼ* ***sej-ij***
Said-ERG grass **mow-OPT**
Said should mow the grass.

(5) **wa-d* *uqʼ* ***sej-ij***
you-ERG grass **mow-OPT**
You should mow the grass.

	Blessings and curses	**3rd person command**
1		
2		
3		

Some languages have separate forms for these functions

Mehweb Dargwa (Dobrushina 2019)

Optative, available with 1/2/3 person subject, blessings and curses

d-arš-ib-i	**kalʔ-a-b**	nu / ħu / dursi
F1-be.beautiful:PFV-AOR-PTCP	**stay-IRR-OPT**	I / you.SG / girl

'May I/you/girl be beautiful.'

Jussive, available with 3rd person subject only, 3rd person command

Musa **uz-e**	**bet'-a**
Musa **M.work:IPFV-IMP**	**say:PFV-IMP.TR**

'Let Musa work.'

Mehweb jussive is not used to express wishes

Optative

aradeš	**g-a-b**
health	**give:pfv-irr-opt**

‘May [Allah] make [you] healthy!’

Jussive

The following sentence can only be uttered by an atheist who thinks that God can be forced to perform an action:

??aradeš	**ag-a**	**bet’a**
health	**give:pfv-imp.tr**	**tell:ipfv-imp.tr**

Intended: ‘Let [Allah] make [you] healthy.’

Mehweb optative is not used to express 3rd person command

If the optative is derived from a verb which typically denotes controllable actions, the sentence is interpreted as a wish that Allah fulfills the action.

The following example can be interpreted as a wish which can be made real by Allah, but not as an indirect command to the third person to give money:

d-aq-il	arc	**g-a-b**
NPL-much-ATR	money	**give:PFV-IRR-OPT**

'May you be given [by Allah] a lot of money.'

(Dobrushina 2019: 144)

Grammaticalization paths
Sources of Nakh-Daghestanian optatives

Stem

- imperative-based
- other

Suffix

- say-based
- participle-based
- unknown

Imperative-based optatives

In some ND languages, the optative is based on the **imperative**

Avar:

χut'a 'stay. IMP' - *χut'a-gi* 'stay.IMP-OPT'

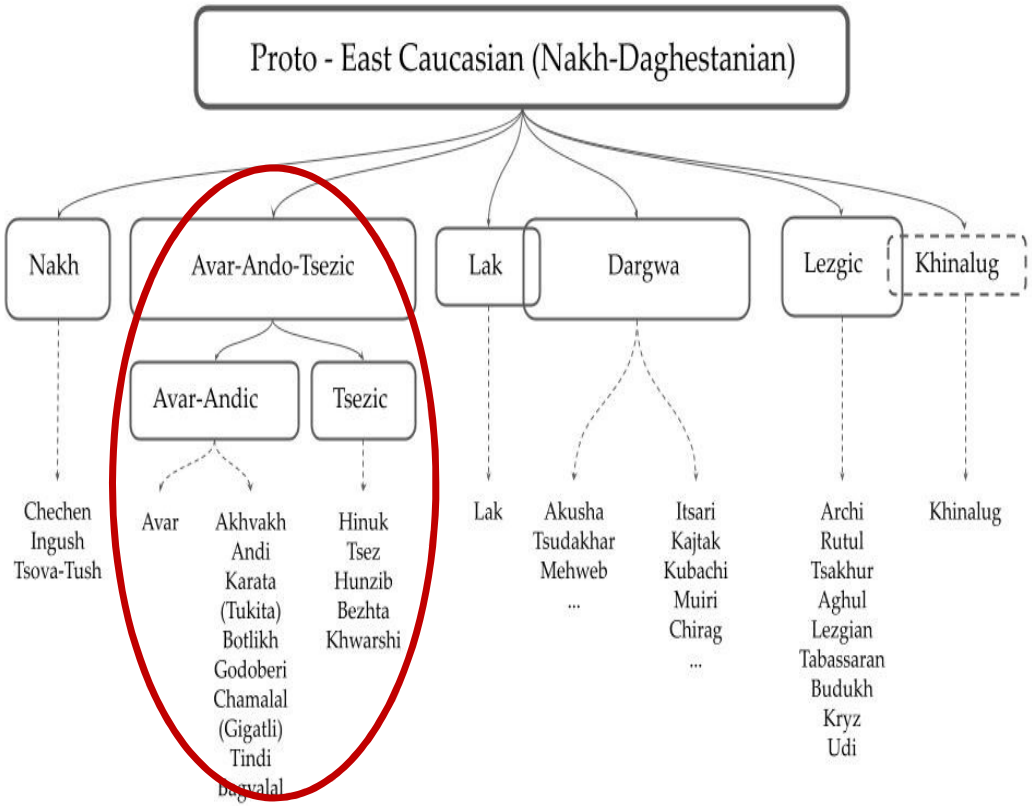
(Alekseev et al. 2012: 224-225)

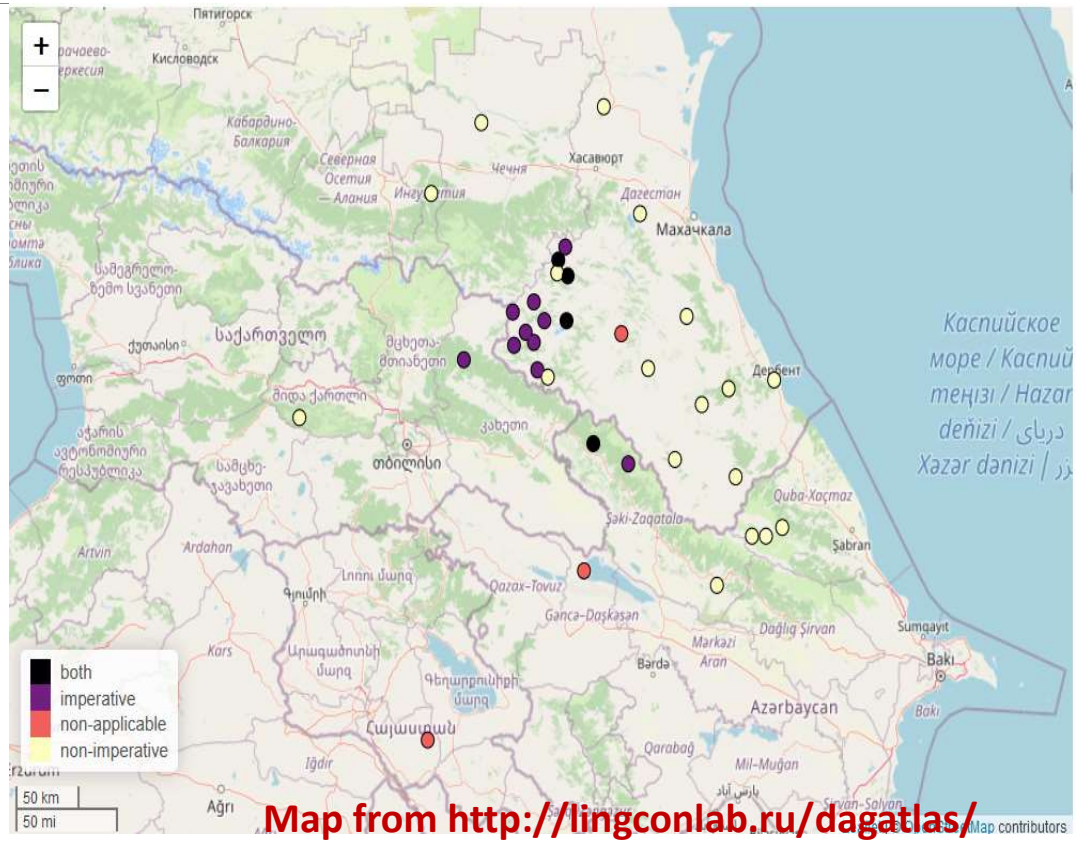
To a certain extent, the geographical distribution coincides with the genetic one:

all Avar-Ando-Tsezic languages have imperative-based optatives.

But also Tsakhur (Lezgic) and Tsova-Tush (Nakh)

Imperative-based optatives



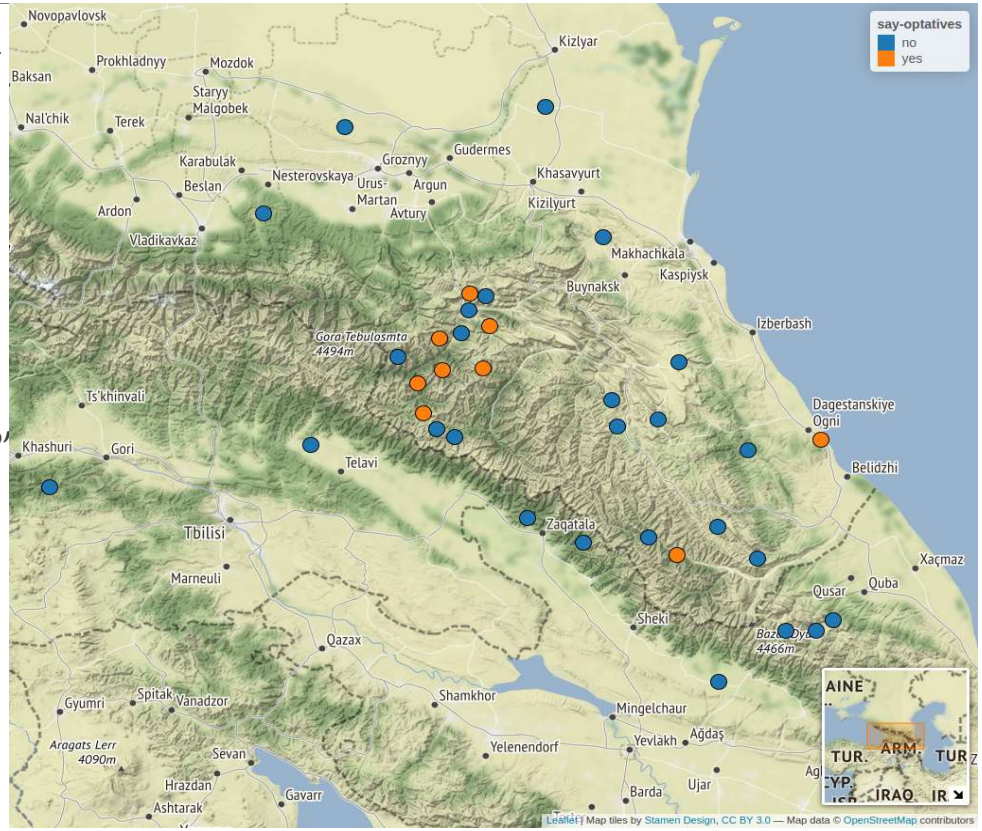


Optative suffix is derived from ‘say’

In some languages, the optative suffix is derived from the imperative of ‘say’ (Authier 2015)

Khwarshi:	šešo-ƛo ‘stick.IMP-OPT’	- iƛo ‘say.IMP’
Hinuq:	kekir-ƛo ‘send.IMP-OPT’	- eƛo ‘say.IMP’
Tsez:	baj-ƛ ‘come.IMP-OPT’	- eƛo ‘say.IMP’
Karata:	b-ek:a-ƛ’a ‘N-give.IMP-OPT’	- keƛ’a ‘say.IMP’

In most of these languages, the optative suffix is attached to the imperative stem.



Optative suffix is derived from ‘say’

All ‘say’-optatives also express 3rd person command

	Blessings and curses	**3rd person command**
1		
2		
3		

Say-forms only for jussives

In some languages, the form based on ‘say’ does not express wishes and is used exclusively for 3rd person command:

	Blessings and curse	**3rd person command**
1		
2		
3		

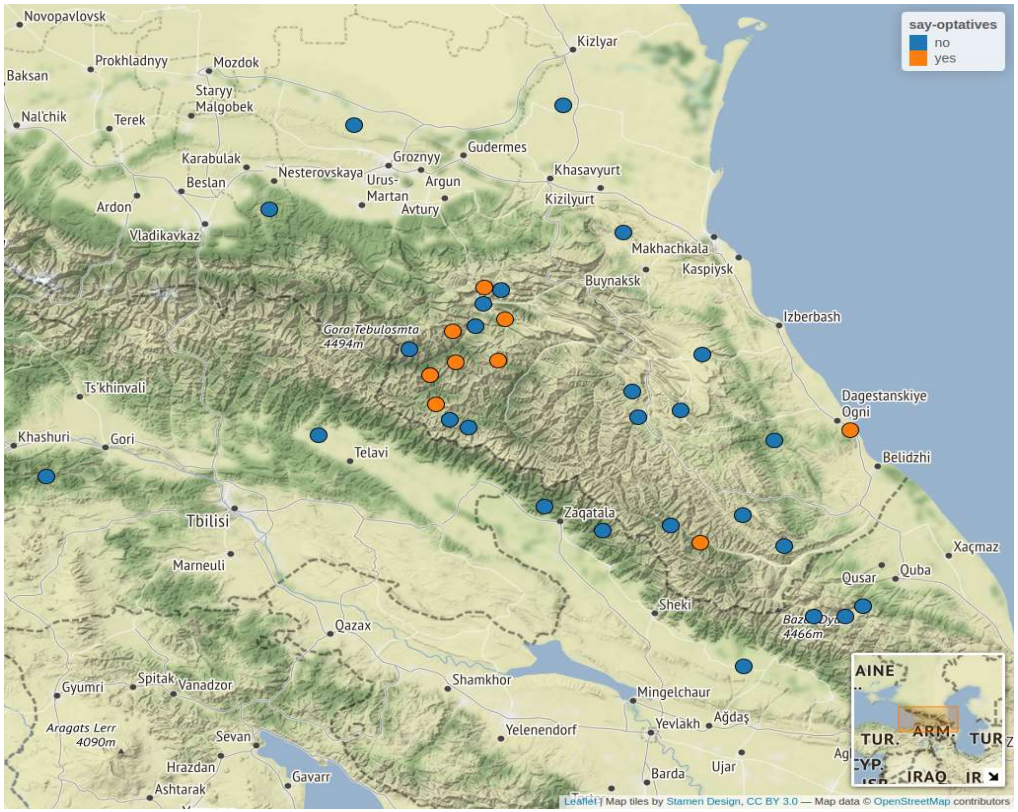
Archi

ba:c’i ba ‘fill.IMP say.IMP’ – ‘Let him fill’

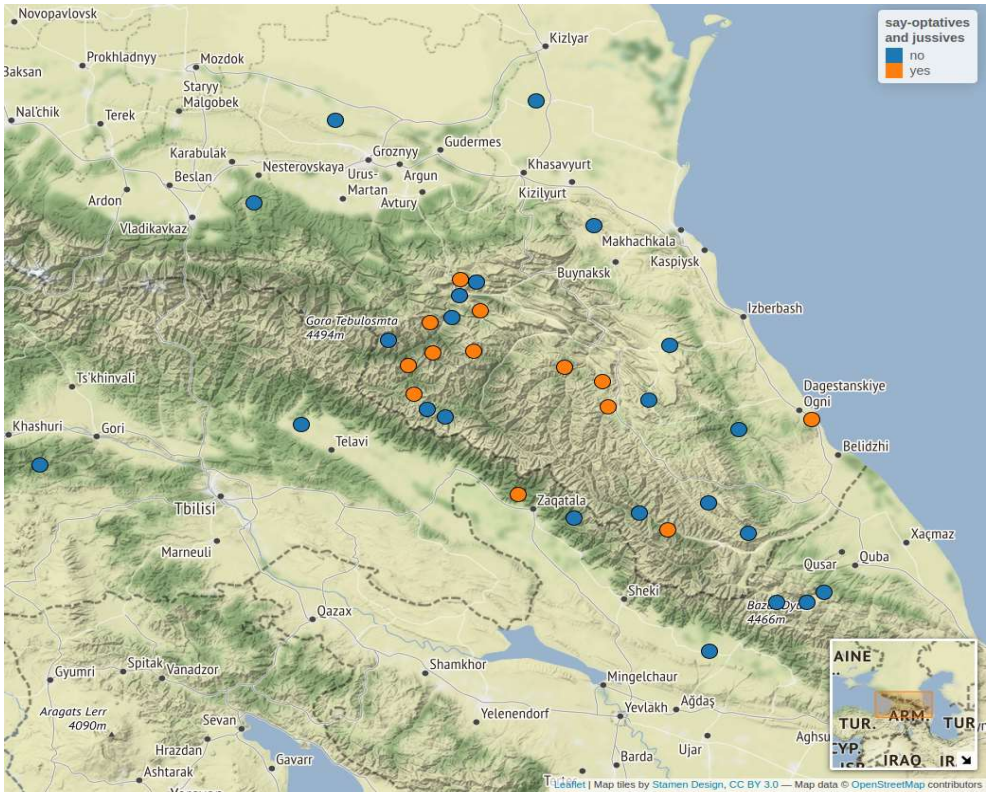
Lak

nasu-ča ‘go.IMP-say.IMP’ – ‘Let him go’

Say-optatives



Say-optatives and say-jussives



Possible path of grammaticalization of say-optatives: from Jussive to Optative

1) The construction of two imperatives is used to express 3rd person command:

he.CASE go.IMP tell.IMP lit. 'to.him "Go!" tell!'

2) **Jussive stage:** The construction is reanalyzed by changing the case marking of the main participant (in Mehweb, from interlative – encoding of the addressee - to nominative / ergative) / acquires new meanings (permission, indifference; allows inanimate subjects)

he.NOM go.IMP tell.IMP lit. 'he "Go!" tell' = 'Let him go!'

3) **Optative stage:** Extends to the meanings of blessings and curses with 1/2/3 person subjects

he.ERG go-OPT 'Make / let /may him/he go (to hell)!"

At the 2nd or 3rd stages *tell.IMP* may undergo reduction.

(Non)imperative stems and (non)say suffixes

stem	**suffix**	**languages**	**example**
imperative	‘say.IMP’	Akhvakh, Chamalal, Godoberi, Hinuq, Karata, Khwarshi, Tindi, Tsez	Karata b-ek:a-ƛ’a 3-give.IMP-OPT
imperative	other	Andi, Avar, Bagvalal, Bezhta, Tsakhur, Tsova-Tush	Bagvalal c’ahi-la burn.IMP-OPT
non-imperative	‘say.IMP’	Tat, Mukhad Rutul	Tat bu-ra-v-gu SUBJ-go-3-OPT
non-imperative	other	many	

Optatives from participles

In Archi, Akhvakh, and Rutul participles are used with optative meaning

Archi (participle, agreement the with nominative, own field data)

wiš	lobur	c'ullij	**e<b>t:i-t:-ib**!
you.sg.GEN	child.PL	be.healthy	<HPL>become.PFV-ATR-PL

'May your children be healthy!'

Also found in Karata

Kina Rutul (participle, agreement with the nominative, own field data)

hɨχ-dɨ	raq'	w-iši-d
good-ATR	way	3-be-ATTR

Have a nice trip!

Akhvakh (participle, agreement with addressee, Creissels (ms); pc with Indira Abdullaeva)

du	jaše-ɬ:a	talaħi	ox-ada-je
your	daughter-DAT	luck	give-PTCPL-F

'May your daughter have luck!' (said to a woman)

In Tsakhur, the optative contains the attributive suffix

Tsakhur (agreement with nominative, Ibragimov & Nurmagomedov 2010)

baχt-u-ka ixe-na
luck-OBL-COMIT become-ATTR.A
May [he] be happy

bol q-ixe-n
richness PV-become-ATTR.N
May s/he become rich (lit. richness become)

jurd-ubu k'ar q-ixaj-nmɨ
home-PL black PV-become-ATTR.PL
'May the whole clan turn to ashes!' (lit. 'let the houses blacken')

In Tsakhur, the attributive suffix **is attached to the imperative**

Avar, Lak, and Aghul have dedicated optative participles

Lak, form in –iwu- (pc with Rosa Eldarova)

ars-nal,	qinnu	**uč'-iwu-l**,	čaʁar	b-u<w>k'-unn-i
son-GEN	PTCL	**M.come-OPT-GEN**	letter	3-3.come-PST.CVB-AOR

'The letter came from my son, may he come back safely.'

ta	q:atta	**č:uč:-iwu-x**	maq	busi
that	house	**burn-OPT-LOC**	word	say.IMP

'Say something to this one, may her house burn down'

Other nominal optatives

Apart from the optative participle, Dargwa languages also have a nominal optative (in some sources – "optative nouns"). They are zero-marked, carry no personal endings, and can be used either as the main predicate in a clause or as arguments with case endings.

Tanty Dargwa (Sumbatova & Lander: 132-133)

ʕuˁ	allah-li	**w=at**
you	Allah-ERG	**M=keep:PF.OPT**

'May you be kept by Allah!'

sa=j	allah-li	**w=at-la**	kulpat	b=erq-ab!
self=M	Allah-ERG	M=keep:PF-GEN	family	N=blossom:IPF-OPT

'May the family of this man, may God keep him, blossom!'

Why verbal adjectives and verbal nouns act as optatives? Why optatives have nominal features?

Sumbatova & Lander (2010: 409 – 410, 415, 421, 428):

the optatives, together with exclamatives, **are thetic**, because they express unexpected information (no topical component).

Thetic judgement - logically unstructured, presenting a fact as an inseparable unit. This is opposed to the classical bipartite subject-predicate structure of a judgment which constitutes of two successive acts: naming an entity and making a statement about it.

Inflectional optative present in all languages, but one - Archi

- **Archi** is one-village language spoken in central Daghestan
- Genetically belongs to Lezgic group, but geographically and culturally is separated from Lezgic languages for many hundreds of years
- Archi grammar underwent significant changes as compared to its closest relatives (geographically, Tsakhur and Rutul)
- The village of Archi is located close to Avar and Lak villages
- Archi people were bilingual in both Avar and Lak
- The Archis associate themselves with Avars, but are well aware of the uniqueness of their language

There is no dedicated inflectional optative in Archi, but blessings and curses are as prominent as in any other local cultures

Blessings and curses are expressed by 2nd person imperative or prohibitive.

lobur,	nokɬ'-a-ši	**zaba**
child.PL	house-IN-ALL	**come.IMP**

'Children, go home!'

lobur	χ:ʷara-ši	**zaba**
child.PL	be.glad-CVB	**come.IMP**

'May the children come back joyfully!' (lit. 'Children joyful come back')

When used as optative, the imperative and prohibitive are available for all persons

zon/ un/ wit lo	c'at'ur-t:u	**k^{w}-a**!
I/YOU/YOUR SON	be.clever-ATR.I	**I.become**-IMP

'May I/you/ your son become clever!'

This pattern is also found in some Avar-Ando-Tsezic languages: imperative and prohibitive can be used as optatives, and in this function they are available for all persons

Botlikh (example from Saidova & Abuzov 2012)

kapur	adam-i-la	**haʁ-abas:i**	di:	haʁ-a-b na:
pagan	men-GEN-ADD	**see-PROH**	I.DAT	see-PST.PTCP-N thing

May even a non-believer not see what I have seen.

Karata (Magomedova & Xalidova 2002: 120)

heʎ̱'i-misa	**tor-i**	du-b
mouth-home	**rot-IMP**	your.sg-N

May you not be able to speak (lit. May your mouth rot)

Probable scenario for Archi

- Loss of the proto-Lezgic optative (Alekseev 1985)

- Development of a new pattern: 2nd person imperative for 1/2/3 persons optative under the influence of the adjacent languages

??? Not found in Avar dictionary

For the Archis, the contact variety was the Charoda dialect of Avar

Syntax
Commands VS Blessings and curses

IMPERATIVES

2nd person: Hearer = Performer

3rd person: Hearer ≠ Performer

BLESSINGS AND CURSES OPTATIVES

2nd person: Hearer = Subject of the Wish

3rd person: Hearer ≠ Subject of the Wish

Who is the performer of blessings and curses?

God help you!

Черт тебя побери!

In Daghestan, blessings and curses are meant to be performed by Allah or, rarely, by a shaitan

- Allah can be expressed as a vocative:

ja-allah	*ħušab*	*taliħ*	*g-a-b*
PCL-Allah	you.PLDAT	luck	**give:PFV-IRR-OPT**

'May [Allah] give [you] luck!'

- Allah can be an ergative NP in a transitive construction:

allah-li	*ara-deš*	*g-a-b*
Allah-OBL(ERG)	healthy-NMLZ	**give:PFV-IRR-OPT**

'May Allah give [you] health!'

- It may not be expressed overtly (but come up in the translation):

aradeš	***g-a-b****!*
health	**give:PFV-IRR-OPT**

'May [Allah] give [you] health!' (Mehweb Dargwa; Dobrushina 2019)

In some languages, the ergative of Allah can appear in intransitive constructions

Rutul (Kina dialect)

allah-a-ra	wa-s	duχ	hiš-ij
Allah-OBL-ERG	you-DAT	son	1.become-OPT

May you have a son with the help of Allah (lit. May ***by Allah*** a son be to you)

Semantically, situations with one or two participants are equally controlled by Allah => In some languages it makes its way to the syntax

One parallel in other language

Jóola Fóoñi (Senegal) has developed a dedicated optative construction which is biclausal and whose matrix clause is *ɛmɪtɛy ɛkaan* 'Let God make (that)...'. The construction is being reanalyzed as **monoclausal**, and the former matrix clause acts as an **optative particle** (Creissels & Bassène 2022):

Ɛmɪtɛy ɛkaan *Ɛmɪtɛy ɛbɔncɛtɔɔ!*

Ɛmɪtɛy	ɛ-kaan	Ɛmɪtɛy	ɛ-bɔncɛt-ɔɔ
God(E)	sI:clE-make	God(E)	sI:clE-forgive-I:clA

lit. 'Let God make that God will forgive him/her!'

Contact

"**The sharing of discourse forms**, which can be motivated on political and cultural grounds, **mediates** the borrowing of grammatical forms" (Beier, Michael, & Sherzer 2002)

What exactly spreads via language contact?

Optative *forms* OR wish *formulae*?

What exactly spreads via language contact?

Optative forms

- Material borrowing
  - Optative suffixes
- Structural borrowing (grammatical calquing; grammatical replication)
  - Grammaticalization path?

Wish formulae

- Material borrowing
  - Wish expressions as a whole or partially
- Constructional borrowing (lexical calquing; lexical replication)
  - Structure of wish formulae?

Optatives: material borrowing?

No convincing cases of affix borrowing

Avar optative suffix –gi is not found in any other languages, as well as Lak –nnaw and –iwuj;
Lezgian –raj is the same as Aghul –raj, but the languages are closely related (cf. Tabasaran –ri)
Kumyk -ɣur/-ɣyr/ gür/ gir; -syn, sin, sun; -ɣaj / -gej + edi are not found in other languages

Closely related languages:

Khwarshi, Hinuq, Tsez –	-ƛo, -ƛo, -ƛ (<say)
Karata, Akhwakh, Godoberi, Chamalal, Tindi -	- ƛ'a (<say)

Optatives: structural borrowing

YES

say.IMP pattern is likely to have spread by contact

- say.IMP optatives spread to all Avar-Ando-Tsezic languages
- say.IMP jussives are found in Lak, some Dargwa varieties (Mehweb, Shiri), Archi
- Are less typical for Southern Daghestan:
  - Found in Judeo Tat and Mukhad Rutul
  - Not found in Lezgian, Aghul, Tabasaran, Kina Rutul, Tsakhur, Kryz, Budukh, Khinalug, Udi

Optatives: structural borrowing

Probably also the usage of imperatives and prohibitives for optatives in Avar-Ando-Tsezic languages

What spreads due to the contact? Wish-expressions: database

- Extracting examples of wishes from the dictionaries and other sources

- Transcribing and providing word-by-word translation

- Coding for the type of wish (good or bad), situation (if available)

Team

Nina Dobrushina & Alina Russkikh – supervisors

Pavel Astafjev – Tabasaran, Tsakhur

Ekaterina Akhmedshina – Kubachi, Kumyk

Nikita Beklemishev – Karata, Botlikh

Darja Izmalkova - Avar

Darja Morozova – Standard Dargwa, Lak

Case study of ‘bon voyage’

May the road be good / Good road

May the road be straight

May the journey be good

May the journey be for your benefit

Go well

Do well

May the road be open

May success (luck) be

May [?] let the road

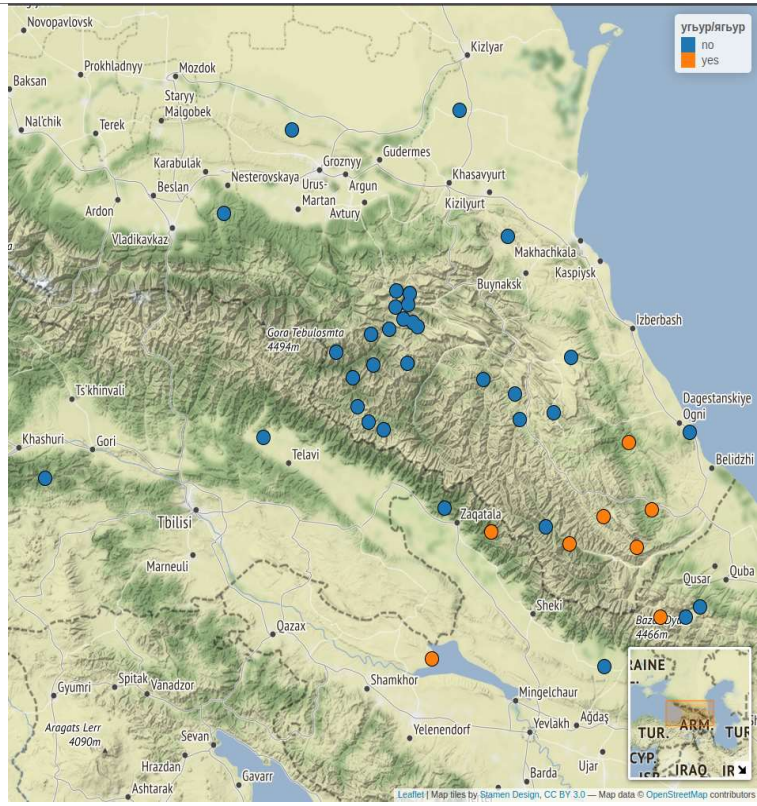
One clear case of material borrowing

Most Lezgic languages and Khinalug have expression of wishes of happy travel involving the same Azerbaijani word ‘good luck’.

The speakers of Aghul, Lezgian and Rutul commented that this word “has no translation”

Aghul	jaʁur xuraj
Tabasaran	jaʁur ibšri
Tsnal dialect of Lezgian	jaʁur xuj
Lezgian	juʁur xuj
Mukhad Rutul	uʁur wišij (obsolete)
Tsakhur	uʁur xen
Khinalug	uʁur jaxkkwa

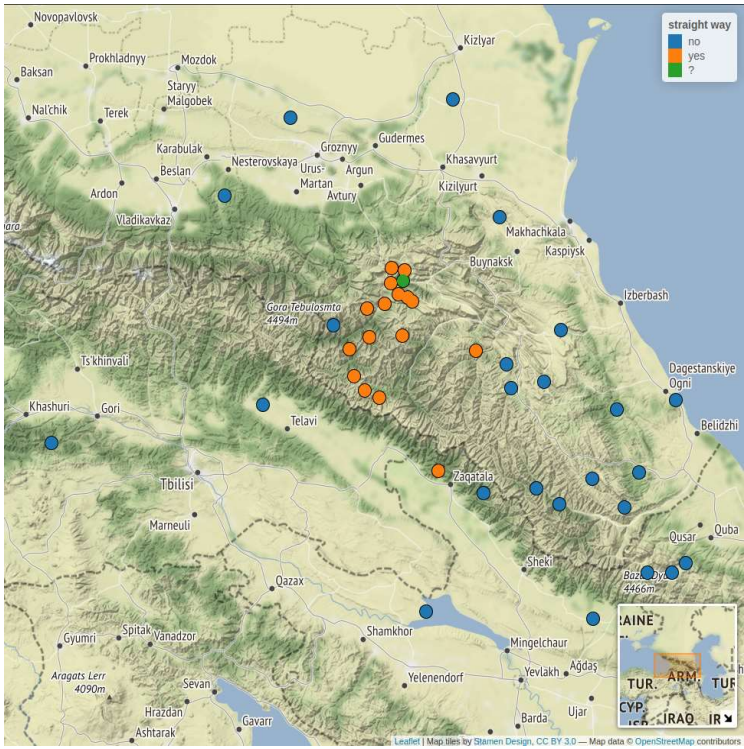
In Azerbaijan, the expression *Yolun uğurlu olsun* ("your.road successful be.JUSS") exists but is not the most common way to wish a nice trip. The expression *uğurlu olsun* means ‘Have luck’, but it is not used as a farewell wish (pc with Murad Sulejmanov).



One clear case of constructional borrowing

Almost all **Avar-Ando-Tsezic** languages **and to some extent Archi** use the expression with the word meaning ‘straight, right’:

Avar	nuχ bit’a-gi!	
	road be.straight-OPT	
Botlikh	miq’i	b-it’-ibe
	road	n-be_straight-opt
Hunzib	huni bic’i	r-aq-ob
	road straight	5-happen-OPT
Archi:	same and different	t'al-ek-mul ka
		straight-?-NMLZ 4.become.IMP



The case of contact influence in the domain of constructions on a microlevel:

Tsez

huni regir-o-ƛ

road send/let-IMP-OPT

Happy journey! (lit. May [SUBJ] let the road)

Hinuq

hune kekir-ƛo

road send/let-OPT

Happy journey! (lit. May [SUBJ] let the road)

Another wide-spread pattern for ‘bon voyage’

May the road be good / Good road

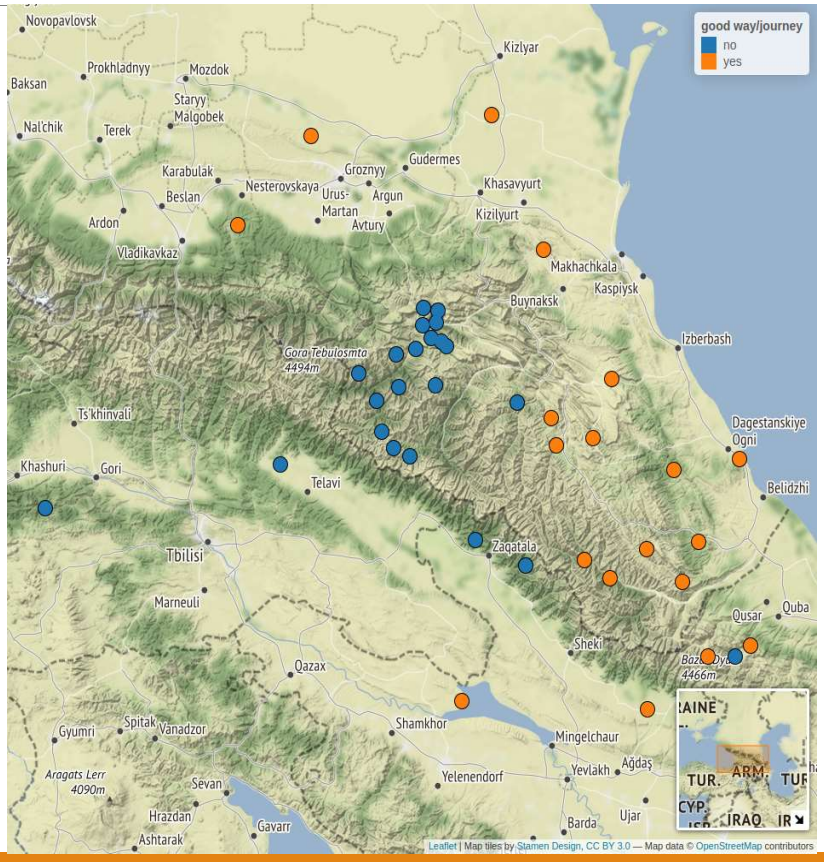
Aghul, Budukh, Standard Dargwa, Mehweb Dargwa, Tanty Dargwa, Lak, Lezgian, Rutul, Udi

Chechen, Ingush

Kumyk, Nogay

Armenian, Tat

Too universal



‘bon voyage’ beyond Daghestan

Tsova-Tush –	God’s peace to you
Georgian –	Kind journey
Adyghe -	Happy road
Abaza -	Good road
Armenian -	Good road
Azerbaijani –	Good road

What spread due to the contact?

- No material borrowing in the domain of affixes

- Structural borrowing:
  - say-optatives and jussives, area under the influence of Avar plus Lak and Dargwa languages
  - probably imperative-prohibitive pattern in the Avar-Ando-Tsezic area

- Material borrowing from Azerbaijani in southern languages (Lezgic + Khinalug) in the domain of wish-formulae

- Constructional borrowing of wish-formulae:
  - 'May the road be straight' (Avar-Ando-Tsezic languages and Archi);
  - 'May [SUBJ] let the road' (Tsez and Hinuq)

The same two areas emerge as shared patterns of grammaticalization and as shared constructions, both united by large lingua francas

Lingua franca Avar	**Lingua franca Azerbaijani**
Avar-Ando-Tsezic languages + Archi	Lezgic languages
- say-optatives	- less rich systems of optatives
- imperatives as optatives	- jaʁur/ juʁur/ uʁur in 'bon voyage' farewell wish
- 'May the road be straight'	

Cf. similar results in Naccarato & Verhees 2021: one construction in Avar-influenced area + case of direct borrowing from Avar; another construction in the languages influenced by Azerbaijani

In the domain of inflectional optatives

No evidence of direct borrowing of optative markers

Emergence of optatives is rather a result of independent innovations

BUT shared grammaticalization patterns in the areas united by the same lingua franca

In the domain of wish formulae

Many independent formulae even in adjacent languages

Evidences of direct borrowing and of constructional copying in the areas united by the same lingua franca

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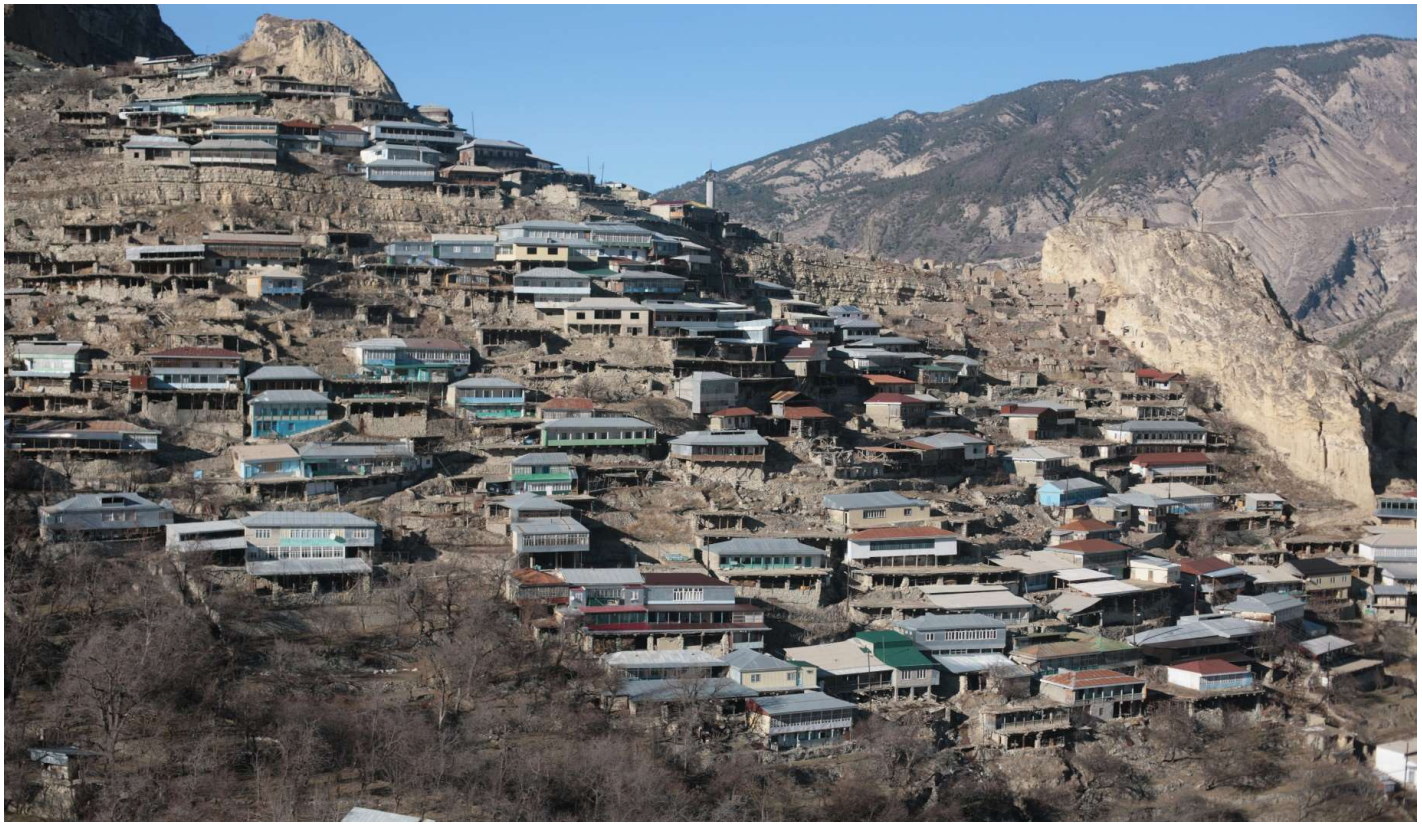
Thank you for your attention!