

Volitional moods

Оглавление

1. Imperative	2
1.1. Stem	2
1.2. Gender markers	2
1.3. Imperative suffix	2
1.4. Truncated imperatives.....	3
1.5. Imperatives ending in glottal stop.....	4
2. Prohibitive	5
3. Optative (Jussive)	5
3.1. Positive optative.....	6
3.2. Negative optative	7
Usages of imperatives	8
Usages of optative.....	10

In this paper, I consider formation and usages of several volitional forms: imperative, prohibitive (negative imperative), optative and negative optative. Similar to Tsakhur, imperative is derived from perfective stem, while prohibitive is derived from imperfective stem. Positive optative is based on imperative, and negative optative is based on prohibitive.

Imperative and optative suffixes have no accent. Prohibitive prefix is accentuated.

	imperative	optative	prohibitive	negative optative
остаться	<u>ar</u> ga	<u>ar</u> gaj	am <u>al</u> ig	am <u>al</u> igij
провалиться	<u>irx</u> ^w a	<u>irx</u> ^w aj	ime <u>bx</u> ^w	ime <u>bx</u> uj
писать	<u>kix</u> 'a	<u>kix</u> ij	kim <u>el</u> ix ^j	kim <u>el</u> ixij
стоять	<u>lu</u> za	<u>lu</u> zaj	lum <u>ar</u> uz	lum <u>ar</u> uzuj
лежать	<u>luk</u> ^w a	<u>luk</u> ^w aj	lum <u>ar</u> uk	lum <u>ar</u> ukuj
братъ	<u>le</u> šaʔ	<u>le</u> šij	leme <u>bč</u> ^w	leme <u>bč</u> uj
грузить	<u>se</u> š ^w a	<u>se</u> šuj	seme <u>bč</u> ^w	seme <u>bč</u> uj
выкинуть	<u>χa</u> č'irχa	<u>χa</u> č'irχaj	χam <u>ač</u> 'irχ	χam <u>ač</u> 'irχij
говорить	<u>hal</u> ga	<u>hal</u> gaj	ma <u>l</u> ig	ma <u>l</u> igij
выбирать	ke <u>v</u> ire	ke <u>v</u> irej	ke <u>v</u> meriʔ	ke <u>v</u> meriʔij
молчать	ge <u>v</u> iχe	ge <u>v</u> iχij	ge <u>v</u> me <u>l</u> ix ^j	ge <u>v</u> me <u>l</u> ixij

Table 1. Accentuated forms of volitional moods.

1. Imperative

1.1. Stem

Imperative has no imperfective infixes, thus being more similar to the perfective stem than imperfective:

χarq'ar (IPFV, 1) - χaqir (PFV, 1) - χaq'a (IMP, 1)

If perfective and imperfective stems are suppletive, imperative has the same stem, as perfective:
saχar (IPFV, 1) - sejir (PFV, 1) – seja (IMP, 1)

But

reʔer (IPFV, 1) -	riʔir (PFV, 1) -	reʔ (IMP, 1) 'pull'
haʔar (IPFV, 1) -	hiʔir (PFV, 1) -	haʔa (IMP, 1) 'do'
iler (IPFV) -	liʔir (PFV, 1) -	ile (IMP, 1) 'eat'

Some verbs have suppletive imperative:

wilc'ar (IPFV, 1) -	hiwir (PFV, 1) -	haka (IMP, 1) or wija 'give'
jiʔi (IPFV, 1) -	hiχir (PFV, 1) -	riχ (IMP, 1) 'go to'

1.2. Gender markers

Imperative most often has "weak" series of gender markers:

0	r	w	0	d	0
κag ^w a	κarg ^w a	κowga	κag ^w a	κedge	κag ^w a 'sea'

"Strong" series is more rare:

r	r	b	d	d	d
ač'irχa	ač'irχa	ač'ibχa	ač'itχa	ač'itχa	ač'itχa 'влезать'

1.3. Imperative suffix

Imperative is almost exclusively marked by suffix –a. There are several verbs, which have imperative suffix –e, all have palatalized stem consonant:

jiχ ^e (IMP, 1) -	ji ^h χi ^r (PFV, 1) -	jiχ ^e er (IPFV, 1) 'carry'
regge (IMP, 2) -	reggir (PFV, 2) -	regger (IPFV, 2) 'copulate'
ješe (IMP, 1) -	ješir (PFV, 1) -	ješer (IPFV, 1) 'cry'
reʔe (IMP, 1) -	riʔir (PFV, 1) -	reʔer (IPFV, 1) 'pull'
keʔire (IMP, 1) -	keʔirir (PFV, 1) -	keʔiler (IPFV, 1) 'choose'
geʔixe (IMP, 1) -	geʔixir (PFV, 1) -	geʔixer (IPFV, 1) 'keep silence'

Some verbs with palatalized stem allow variation in the imperative endings:

kijča, kijče (IMP, 1) - залезть в огород'	kijčir (PFV, 1) -	kipčir (IPFV, 1) 'сорвать, прыгнуть в воду,
lejič'e, lejič'a (IMP, 1) -	leč'ur (PFV, 1) -	lepč'ur (подниматься, 1)
kix'a, kix'e (IMP, 4) -	kixir (PFV, 4) -	kilxer (IPFV, 4) 'write'
lix'a (IMP, 4) -	lixir (PFV, 4) -	lilxer (IPFV, 4) 'put'

There is also a group of similar verbs with palatalized stem, which have only –a in imperatives:

seja (IMP, 4) - sejir (PFV, 4) -	saxar (IPFV, 4) 'косить'
veja (IMP, 4) - vejir (PFV, 4) -	вахар (IPFV, 4) 'выгнать'
xeja (IMP, 4) - xejir (PFV, 4) -	χaxar (IPFV, 4) 'rest, lie'

lep'e

Verbs which have fronted vowel in HPL, change imperative suffix –a to –e:

saħa (1) -	setxe (HPL) 'sleep'
sata (1) -	selte (HPL) 'leave'
sar ^w a (1) -	sedv ^w e (HPL) 'imprison, close'
ħurka (1) -	ħütke (HPL) 'ask'

However, verbs with fronted stem vowel have –a, if the stem is not palatalized:

sigā (IMP, 1) -	sigir (PFV) -	sirgar (IPFV) 'let go'
getā (IMP, 1) -	getir (PFV) -	geltar (IPFV) 'pet'
jeta (IMP, 1) -	jetir (PFV) -	jetar (IPFV) 'knock'

1.4. Truncated imperatives

Most imperatives have counterparts without vowel (truncated imperative):

ħaq'a	- ħaq' 'hold'
suq ^w a	- suq ^w 'sit'
haʔa	- haʔ 'do'

One verb has only truncated form:

hiš - *hiše (become, IMP, 1)

In some cases, both forms are available, but truncated imperative seems more common than full:

lejič' - lejič'e ('подниматься', IMP, 1)

Some imperatives have no truncated form at all. This, however, can vary across the speakers.

geptaʔ -	*gept 'заводить о животном или ребенке'
leriq'a -	*leriq' 'reach'
ile -	*il 'eat'

1.5. Imperatives ending in glottal stop

Some imperatives have final ʔ.

lešaʔ 'take'

leršaʔ lerša

lewšaʔ lewša

Labile verbs have imperatives ending in -a and in -aʔ. For example, the verb 'boil, cook' can be used as transitive, and in this case it has glottal stop:

вiлiвmar хuх^waʔ – вари яйца

It can also be used as intransitive imperative addressed to P. In this case, it has no glottal stop:

dirina хuх^wa! варись скорее!

* dirina хuх^waʔ

The same meaning can be expressed as a combination of intransitive imperative and the imperative of the causativizing verb *haʔas* 'do':

вiлiвmar хuх^wa haʔ - вари яйца

Not all verbs are labile. For example, another verb with similar meaning, 'to boil', cannot have glottal stop and can be addressed to A only in combination with the verb *haʔas*:

dirina larsa – быстрее вскипятись, вода

ajša, хed larsa haʔ - Айша, вскипяти воду!

* ajša, хed larsaʔ

спать	saχa, saχ		
видеть	kaχ ^w a		
сидеть, остаться	suq ^w a		
стоять	luza		
остаться	arga		
класть	six'aʔ		
лежать	luk ^w a		
отпускать, отправить	siɡaʔ		
уйти 2, оставить	sata		

ругать, грузить	seš ^w a		
ask	χurka		
pet	gepta		
держать	χaq'aʔ		
bathe	aβ ^w a		

2. Prohibitive

Prohibitive has prefix ma- (me- in the verbs with fronted vowels):

luz (truncated imperative, stand, 1) – lumaz (prohibitive, 1)
 jet (TR IMP, knock, 1) – mejet (PROH, 1)

Prohibitive prefix is situated between the preverb and gender marker:

luwz (TR IMP, stand, 3) – lu-ma-w-uz (PROH, 3) – PV-PROH-3-stand

Prohibitive is derived from the imperfective stem. It has the same infixes r, l, b, as imperfective:

χi ^s viχ (TR IMP, stand, 1)	– χi ^s vmariχ
kix (TR IMP, write, 4)	– kimelix
six ^j (TR IMP, put, 4)	– simerix ^j
k'avaβ ^w (TR IMP, расходовать, ругаться, 1)	– k'avaβab

If perfective and imperfective stems are suppletive, prohibitive has imperfective stem:

kiwij (TR IMP give, 1) -	kimowlic' (PROH) –	kiwir (PFV) –	kiwilcar (IPFV)
lešaʔ (TR IMP take, 1) -	lemepč (PROH) –	lešur (PFV) –	lepčur (IPFV)
χej (TR IMP rest, 1) –	χamax (PROH) –	χejir (PFV) –	χaxar (IPFV)

There is a lot of variation in prohibitives in respect of imperfective infixes. Sometimes one speaker allows several forms:

kevmeliʔ, kevmeriʔ	(PROH 1, 'choose')
βataβ ^w , βatabβ ^w	(PROH 1, 'выйти')
simerix ^j , simelix ^j	(PROH 1, 'put')
gevmexix ^j , gevmetelix ^j	(PROH 1, 'keep silence')
χamač'irχ, χač'meliχ, χač'meriχ	(PROH 1, 'throw')

3. Optative (Jussive)

There is a dedicated form in Kina Rutul, which expresses inducement addressed to the 3rd person and blessings and curses which can be addressed to any person. I will refer to this form as Optative.

3.1. Positive optative

Positive optative is derived from imperative with suffix -Vj. The vowel of optative suffix depends on several factors.

If the imperative has **palatalized stem or stem ending in j, č or š**, the optative ends in **-ij or in -ej**:

wija – wijij (give, 3), leša – lešij (take, 1), hixʷa - hixʷij (say, 1), lejiče - lejičʷij (подниматься, 1), χeja – χejij (rest, 1), jixʷe - jixʷij ('carry', 1), geʷixe - geʷixij ('keep silence', 1), reʷe - reʷij ('pull', 1)
reχe - reχej ('deceive', 1), ješe – ješej ('cry', 1), keʷire - keʷirej ('choose', 1), geʷire - geʷirej ('pull', 1)

Fronted vowels do not influence optative ending:

higa – higaj ('want'), geta – getaj (1, 'заводить о животном и ребенке')

If the imperative has **labialized dental, alveolar consonant or ʷ**, the optative ends in **-uj**:

acʷa – acʷuj ('мерить'), latʷa – latʷuj (end, 1), satʷa - satʷuj (отрезать, латать, 4), sešʷa – sešuj (грузить, 4)
akakʷaʔ - akakuj (вырезать круглое), sakʷa - sakuj (замкнуть, 4), akʷa - akuj (bathe, 1)

Preceding **-u-** does not influence optative ending:

luza – luzaj (stand, 1), lut'a - lut'aj (wake up, 1)

If the imperative has **-i-** as a stem vowel, optative can end in **-ij**:

riχa - riχij (go to, 1), χiʷiχa - χiʷiχij (stand, 1), siwχa - siwχij (давить, 3), qiriχa - qiriχij 'leave', hacʷ – hacij.

But:

qiga - qigaj 'love', higa - higaj 'want', wixa - wixaj 'graze'

Verbs with labialized **non-dental/non-alveolar/non -ʷ** consonant have optative suffix **-aj**:

kaɡʷa - kaɡʷaj (see, 1), irxʷa - irxʷaj (провалиться, 1), suq'a - suq'aj (sit, 1), lukʷa - lukʷaj (lie, 1), lijkʷa - lijkʷaj (lighten, 4)

If the imperative has **non-palatalized stem and not j, č or š**, the optative ends in **-aj**:

kaɡʷa - kaɡʷaj 'see, 1', suga – sugaj 'get lost, 1', jiq'a - jiq'aj 'come, 1', luka – lukaj 'lie, 1', larsa – larsaj 'boil, 4', χotka – χotkaj 'ask, 4', geptaʔ - geptaj 'заводить о животном или ребенке, 4', siga – sigaj 'let go, 1'.

If the imperative ends in -e, optative has **-ij** or **-ej**:

geʷixe - geʷixij (keep silence, 1), reʷe - reʷij

riq' - riq'ej (die, 2), ile – ilej (eat, 1), ješe - ješej (cry, 1), reχe – reχej (deceive, 1)

	palatalized or j, č or š	labialized dental / alveolar/ ʷ	stem -i-	riq'ej, ilej, ješej
-aj	-ij	-uj	-ij or -aj	-ej

larsa – larsaj	leša – lešij, hix'a - hix'ij	lat'wa – lat'uj	riχa - riχij higa - higaj	ile – ilej
----------------	------------------------------	-----------------	------------------------------	------------

Table 2. Optative suffix

3.2. Negative optative

Negative optative is derived from prohibitive with suffix -Vj.

Verbs with **the labialized consonant** have **–uj**. Labialization can be a result of preceding vowel –u-, or imperfectivising infix –b-:

hulqa - maluqaj ('play'), suq'a - sumabq'uj ('sit'), seša – semebčuj ('грузить'), irx'wa – imebχuj (PROH 1, 'внутри упасть'), qiriχa - qu'ma'w - qu'ma'wuj ('leave'), luk'wa – lumarukuj ('lie'), leša – lemebčuj ('take'), lut'a - lumarut'uj ('wake up'), saw'wa - samabwuj ('замкнуть'), χutk'a – χumalukuj ('ask'), aw'wa - amabwuj ('let go'), qiš - quma'w - quma'wuj ('RE-become'), gurwa - maruwaj 'wander', wuru'χa - ma'wru'χuj (PROH, 3, 'mill'), riχ - ma'w ma'wuj 'leave'

But:

luza – lumazuj (PROH, 1, 'stand'),

Verbs with **the preceding vowel –i-** have **-ij**:

arg - amaligij (PROH, 1, 'stay'), saχ - samariχij (PROH, 1 'sleep'), χi'wix - χi'wmarixij (PROH, 1, 'stand'), qij - qimalic'ij (PROH, 1, 'give'), sata - samalitij (PROH, 1, 'leave'), qiga - qimagij (PROH, 1, 'приводить'), χaq'a - χamariq'ij (PROH, 1, 'hold'), higa? - himerigij (PROH 1, 'выгнать'), halga - maligij (PROH, 1, 'speak'), higa - malic'ij (PROH, 1, 'want'), ji'χa - mari'χij (PROH, 1 'kill'), wix'a - mawlixij (PROH, 1, 'graze'), girga - magij (PROH, 1, 'fetch')

Verbs with **the preceding fronted vowels** have **–ij**:

seja - semejij 'lie', kix'a – kimelixij 'write', six'a – simelixij 'put', gewixe - gewmerixij 'keep silence', kewire - kewmeri'ij 'choose', gewire - gewmeli'ij 'pull', re?e - meri'ij 'pull', jiq'(e) - mejiq'ij 'die', ile - meli'ij 'eat', reχe – mereχij (PROH, 1, 'deceive'), jix'e? - meji'χij (PROH 4, 'carry')

But:

reja - xamaxij (PROH, 1, 'rest'), siga - simerigij (PROH, 1, 'let go'), χač'irχa - χamač'irχij (PROH, 1, throw), jeta – mejetaj 'knock'

Verbs with **the preceding vowel –a-** have **–aj**:

laqa – lamaqaj 'turn back', ha? - ma?aj 'do', jaχa – majaχaj 'run', ra'w - ma'ra'waj 'drink'

One verb has ending –ej:

ješe – meješej 'cry'

4. Summary

	Imperative	Optative	Negative Optative
palatalized stem (-ir PFV, -er IPFV)	-e	-ij or -ej	-ij or -ej (only <i>meješej</i> , 'cry')
preceding fronted vowel	-a	-aj	-ij
preceding vowel -i-	-a	-ij or -aj	-ij
-C ^w - (dental, alveolar, ʁ)	-a	-uj	-uj
-C ^w - (rest)	-a	-aj	-uj
-bC-	-a	-aj	-uj
-u-	-a	-aj	-uj
other	-a	-aj	-aj

Usages of imperatives

There is no distinction between transitive and intransitive imperatives.

Said,	nek	a-w-a
Said	milk	PV-3-pour.IMP

Said, pour the milk

Said,	j-aχ-a
Said	1-run-IMP

Said, run!

The number of addressees has no special marking in imperatives. Number of addressees is reflected in gender markers in intransitive imperatives, because the absolutive participant of intransitive verbs is the addressee of imperative.

riš-be,	nek	a-w-a
girl-PL	milk	PV-3-pour.IMP

Girls, pour the milk

riš-be,	d-aχ-a
girl-PL	HPL-run-IMP

Girls, become a teacher

Second person pronoun can be used as a subject of imperative construction:

wad	zas	nek	a-w-a
you.ERG	you.DAT	milk	PV-3-pour.IMP

You pour me the milk

Noun can be a subject of imperative construction only in the special contexts of instruction addressed to several people:

*Said-a	nek	a-w-a
Said-ERG	milk	PV-3-pour.IMP

Said, pour the milk

Ajše-ra	jemiš-bir	j-idk-a	fatima-ra	xiw

hak-a	sara-ra	riq'	a-w-a

Айша пусть моет фрукты, Фатима пусть принесет хлеб, Сара пусть наливает суп.

Императив, как и другие глагольные формы, может использоваться в условно-уступительной функции:

xed	wij-a	ma-lwic'	kal'am	guru	wij
water	give-IMP	PROH-give	cabbage	dry	

Капусту поливай – не поливай, все равно засыхает.

1.3. Imperatives as a part of causatives

Imperative is used as a part of causative construction (Fedorenko 2016).

χa'dej kowga!

звезду видь

χinχira rišes χa'dej **kowga wi?ir**

Мальчик девочке звезду показал

Both verbs agree with absolutive:

dide rišes šu **ɤag^wa hi?ir**

отец девочке брата показал

dide χinχis riši **ɤarg^wa ri?ir**

отец мальчику девочку показал

dide χinχis mašin **kowga wi?ir**

отец мальчику машину показал

dide χiniχ **jaχa hi?ir**

отец сына бегать заставит

dide riš **raça riʔir**

Отец девочку бегать заставляет.

*dide riš **raça hiʔir**

*dide **hiʔir** riš **raça**

Truncated imperative is not used in causative construction:

χinχira rišes xaʔdej **kowga wiʔir**

*χinχira rišes xaʔdej **kowg wiʔir**

*jaχ **hiʔir**

Negation in causative constructions is expressed by negative copula:

dide rišes šu **kaḡ^{wa} hiʔir diš**

отец девочке брата не показал

Prohibitive can not be used in causative construction:

*dide rišes šu **kaḡarḡ hiʔir**

dide riš **raças riwir diš** – отец не пускал девочку бегать – как ответ на стимул заставил не бегать

Imperative can be separated from the verb ‘to do’ by other words:

χinχira rišes **kowga xadej wiʔir**

Мальчик девочке звезду показал.

rišera xed larsa **hiʔir xa**, **iʔir** – девочка воду вскипятила и налила

rišera xed larsa **xa hiʔir**, **iʔir** – девочка воду вскипятила и налила

Usages of optative

Kina optative combines two functions, which in some other Nakh-Dagestanian languages (e.g. Mehweb) can be expressed by different forms: 3rd person imperative and expression of blessings and curses addressed to all persons.

3rd person imperative

did-nin	mixdaba	d-iq'-a-j
father-mother	school	HPL-come-IMP-OPT

Parents should come to the school.

blessing

hiχ-di	raq'	w-iši-j
good-ATR	Way	3-be-OPT

Пусть дорога будет хорошей.

ixdi mu'qa rahmat hawid χalilov baba haj žus rahmat waaj
в нашем селе покойный Халилов дядя, ему пусть будет мир

curse

ulaba-xla	suga-j
eye.OBL-SUB.EL	disappear.IMP-OPT

Пусть исчезнет с глаз.

wi	j-iq'-ij
you.SG	M-die.IMP-OPT

May you die!

Оптативное и юссивное значения формы распределены по контекстам (или по глаголам?). Значение пожелания встречается только в таких ситуациях, которые не контролируются участниками ситуации. Напротив, форма интерпретируется как юссив в таких контекстах, где ситуация может быть осуществлена каузируемым. Ряд особенностей указывает на это распределение.

- 1) Оптативные и юссивные конструкции различаются составом глаголов, которые в них встречаются. Подавляющее большинство традиционных формул пожелания содержит глагол =išes 'become'. Другие глаголы в этих формулах встречаются редко. В юссивном значении возможен практически любой глагол, кроме тех, которые обозначают совершенно неконтролируемую ситуацию.

Allah-a-ra	wa-s	dux	hiši-j
Allah	you-DAT	son	1.become.IMP-OPT

May Allah give you a son.

uq'-bir	seji-s	sakwal-di	w-iši-j
grass-PL	mow-INF	health-ATR	3-become.IMP-OPT

перевод

uχun	lawad	sakwal-di	w-iši-j	
платье	одевает	health-ATR	3-become.IMP-OPT	

платье носи на здоровье

Weš	sen	uʔmurdid	jišij	was

May you live a hundred years!

saR	j-iši-j	wi
healthy	1-become.IMP-OPT	you.SG

May you be healthy!

wi-di	riš	saR	r-iši-j
you.SG-ATR	daughter	Healthy	2-become.IMP-OPT

May your daughter be healthy!

Вот редкие примеры оптативных формул с другими глаголами:

allaha-ra	wa-s	bala-d	χini-mer	d-iji-j
Allah-ERG	you-DAT	many-ATR	child-PL	HPL-give.IMP-OPT

May Allah give you many children.

wa-s	dux	uχ-a-j		
you-DAT	son	be.born-IMP-OPT		

May you have a son!

- 2) Оптативные и юссивные высказывания различаются некоторыми особенностями контекста.

В юссивном значении может использоваться частица *sata* 'leave' (от глагола *satir* 'оставили').

Sata	did-nin	Mixdaba	d-iq'-a-j
PTCL	father-mother	School	HPL-come-IMP-OPT

Let the parents come to the school.

Sata	had	saabir	hiši-j
PTCL	that		1.become.IMP-OPT

Оставь его, пусть успокоится.

В оптативных формулах эта частица невозможна:

saβ	r-iši-j
healthy	F-become.IMP-OPT

*sata	sav	r-iši-j
PTCL	healthy	F-become.IMP-OPT

Напротив, для оптативных формул характерно присутствие слова Allah в эргативе. Оптативные формулы могут содержать слово Аллах в эргативе, даже если глагол непереходный. *Allahara* означает 'с помощью Аллаха':

allah-a-ra	hiχ-di	raq'	w-iši-j
Allah-OBL-ERG	good-ATR	way	3-be-OPT

С помощью Аллаха пусть дорога будет хорошей.

allah-a-ra	wa-s	dux	hiši-j
Allah-OBL-ERG	you-DAT	son	become.IMP-OPT

May Allah give you a son

Те же конструкции могут не содержать слово *Allahara*, и при этом все равно переводиться со словом Аллах, поскольку пожелания мыслятся как обращенные к высшей силе.

hiχ-di	raq'	w-iši-j
good-ATR	way	3-be-OPT

С помощью Аллаха пусть дорога будет хорошей.

wa-s	dux	hiši-j
you-DAT	son	1.become.IMP-OPT

Пусть Аллах даст тебе сына.

- 3) Конструкции со значением пожелания и конструкции со значением побуждения различаются тем, для каких лиц они доступны. В побудительном значении форма может употребляться только по отношению к 3-му лицу.

Ср. форму императива с формой оптатива:

wi	j-aχ-a
you.SG	1-run-IMP

Run!

*zi / *wi	j-aχ-a-j
I / you.SG	1-run-IMP-OPT

Had	j-aχ-a-j
That	1-run-IMP-OPT

Let him run.

В значении пожелания форма используется по отношению ко всем трем лицам:

zi / wi / had	sav	r-iši-j
---------------	-----	---------

I/ you/ that	Healthy	2-become.IMP-OPT
--------------	---------	------------------

May I / you / she be healthy.

Еще примеры:

wad	us	qičitk-a
you.ERG	log	carry-IMP

You carry the log.

*wad	us	qičitk-a-j
you.ERG	log	carry-IMP-OPT

said-a	us	qičitk-a-j
Said-ERG	log	carry-IMP-OPT

Said should carry the log.

*wa-d	uq'	sej-ij
you-ERG	grass	mow.IMP-OPT

You should mow the grass.

wa-d	uq'	sej
you-ERG	grass	mow.IMP

You mow the grass.

Said-a	uq'	sej-ij
Said-ERG	grass	mow.IMP-OPT

Said should mow the grass.

Отрицательная форма оптатива используется так же, как положительная:

Said	χala	suq'-a-j
Said	home	stay-IMP-OPT

Said should stay at home.

Said	χala	su-ma-bq'o-j
Said	home	stay-PROH-stay-OPT

Said should not stay at home

	оптатив (пожелание)	юссив (побуждение)
1	Да	нет
2	Да	нет
3	Да	да

