

## Целевые конструкции в собственно хваршинском

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### Purpose Clauses in Khwarshi Proper

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Purpose clauses in Khwarshi Proper (< Avar-Andic-Tsezic < Nakh-Daghestanian) remain understudied, though being well described for Inkhokwari Khwarshi (see Khalilova (2009: 409)) and Hinuq (see Forker (2013: 440, 617)). The Khwarshi Proper data for this study was gathered using elicitation during the field trip to the villages of Khonokh, Tsumadinsky District and Mutsalaul, Khasavyurtovsky District, Republic of Dagestan in January 2025.

Khwarshi exhibits several ways to encode purposive semantics in an adverbial clause. The most common and typologically trivial way is for the subordinate verb to take the infinitive form, sometimes followed by the reported speech clitic without changing its semantics (which is less common than quotative requiring optative/jussive form, but is attested for other East-Caucasian languages):

- (1) *de*                      *l-ac'-a*                      *l-u-ho*                      *kuk-a(=λλa)*  
1SG.ERG                      IV-eat-INF                      IV-do-PRS                      eat-INF(=QU)  
“I am cooking in order to eat.”

- (2) Hinuq (Forker 2013: 619)  
*hezzo*                      *Ø-aq'e-n*                      *hayli-r*                      *sasaqo*  
then                      I-come-UWPST                      there-LAT                      morning  
*qañli-qo*                      *xozyayn*                      *Ø-ez-a=ñen*  
dawn-at                      owner(I)                      I-look-INF=QU  
‘Then in the morning at dawn the owner came in order to have a look.’

Another way to mark a purpose clause is to use a ‘causal case’ which has rather opaque causal-purposive semantics and is compatible with masdar or, rarely, infinitive/participle (the type of marking which roughly corresponds to a causal converb described by Khalilova (2009: 411) that also has a purposive meaning).

- (3) *hadam*                      *b-ih-abču*                      *b-eča-nu-λaru*                      *ku:ka*  
people                      HPL-die-CV.NEG                      HPL-be-MSD-BEN                      eat\GNT  
“People eat to be alive (so they wouldn’t die).”

- (4) Inkhokwari Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009: 411)  
*homondu*                      *q'wak'i*                      *gollu*                      *ζoloqan-ba*  
such                      firmness                      be.PRS.PTCP                      young.man-PL.ABS  
*b-eq<sup>w</sup>-aλeru*                      *l-i-še*                      *l-eč-i*  
HPL-happen-CAUSAL                      IV-do-IFV.CV                      IV-be-PST.W

*aḷaza-l*                      *gollu<r>aha-l*                      *himon*  
village.PL.OBL-inter      be.PRS.PTCP<IV>-all-IV      thing(IV)  
“All these games were played in the village in order to get such strong young people.”

Finally, a third way exists, consisting of the participle combined with the allative marker, not described by Khalilova (2009) for Inkhokwari:

(5) *da*      *j-ič-ča*                      *ustur-eḷ-koḷ*                      *qartaj-qo*  
1SG      II-sit-PST.W                      table-SUB.DIR                      witch-CONT  
*j-aq-ajto-ho-l*  
II-get-NEG.PTCP-AD-LAT  
“I set under the table so the witch wouldn’t get me.”

No specific negative purposive markers were found (unlike Inkhokwari where the purposive constructions seem to be either strictly positive or only negative); instead, the three strategies differ in the way they are used as the first reaction to the stimuli with different clausal polarity:

(6) *do*                      *isu-ho*                      *y-eḷ-ḷ-ḷuso*      *do*                      *eḷdu-č*  
1SG.ABS                      this.OBL-AD                      II-go-NEG.PURP      1SG.ABS                      inside-EMPH  
*y-eč-a*                      *goli*  
II-be-INF                      be.PRS  
“I will stay at home, in order not to marry him.” (Khalilova 2009: 411)

In my talk, I’m planning on describing the peculiar infinitive + purposive form from the typological perspective and presenting the continuum of the markers ranking from most to least preferred depending on the polarity of the subordinate clause.

#### References:

Forker, Diana. A Grammar of Hinuq, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013.  
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