

Ditransitives in Nakh-Dagestanian.

(focus on recipient)¹

Michael Daniel (Moscow State University)
daniel@qub.com

Zaira Khalilova (MPI EVA)
khalilova@eva.mpg.de

Zarina Molochieva (University if Leipzig)
molo@rz.uni-leipzig.de

0. PRELIMINARIES

The sources: Chechen – introspection and interviews with native speakers; Ingush – [Nichols 1994: Ingush] native speakers; Archi [Kibrik 1977: Opyt strukturnogo opisaniya archinskogo jazyka & corpus of glossed Archi texts, a project supported by the NSF]; Bagvalal – [Kibrik 2001: Bagvalinskij jazyk: grammatika, texty, slovni]; Godoberi – [Kibrik 1996: Godoberi]; Bezhta – Madzhid Khalilov, p.c.; Tsez – Arsen Abdulaev, p.c.; Hinuq – Diana Forker, p.c.; Hunzib – [van den Berg 1995 A Grammar of Hunzib]; Khwarshi – f.n. (Dargwa, Lak, Avar, Khinalug data are not yet included.)

Typological features: ergative alignment; class (+ number) agreement.

Rich nominal inflection: two subsystems differentiated on formal grounds. Syntactic cases include nominative (absolute), ergative, genitive, dative plus other cases, depending on the specific language. Locative subparadigm is produced by combining a localization marker locating an object regarding a landmark (on, under, behind...) and orientation marker conveying the notion of movement (essive, lative, ablative...). Some languages, however, lack this system (Khinalug, Nakh languages)

Nominal Inflection Inventories

Khwarshi	Archi	Bagvalal	Chechen
Nominative	Nominative	Nominative	Nominative
Ergative	Ergative	Ergative	Ergative
Dative	Dative	Dative	Dative
Genitive 1	Genitive	Genitive	Genitive
Genitive 2	Comitative	Affective	Instrumental
Instrumental	Substitutive	Substitutive	Comparative
(more...)	(more...)		
In Super Cont Inter Sub Ad Apud	In Super Cont Inter Sub HumLoc	In Super Cont Inter Sub Ad HumLoc	Locative Lative Allative Ablative
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div style="margin-right: 5px;">x</div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; gap: 5px;"> Essive Lative Versative Ablative Translative </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div style="margin-right: 5px;">x</div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; gap: 5px;"> Essive Lative Allative Ablative Translative Terminative </div> </div>	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 2em; margin-right: 5px;">}</div> <div style="margin-right: 5px;">x</div> <div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; gap: 5px;"> Essive Lative Ablative Translative </div> </div>	

¹ This common project has been conceived and started during the first author's stay at EVA MPI in Spring of 2007.

1. VARIATION IN RECIPIENT CODING: ‘GIVE’

two markings available for Recipient, contrasting ‘give’ vs. ‘pass, let have’ situations

1. Chechen

zāra-s	hū-na/hoe-ga	knīga	j-ella.
Z.-ERG	you.SG.OBL-DAT/you.SG.OBL-ALL	book(NOM)	2-give.PRF

‘Zara gave you a book.’ (permanently ~ temporarily)

2. Hinuq

de	hajto-z/hajto-qo	t’ek	tol-iš
I.ERG	he.OBL-DAT/he.OBL-CONT	book(NOM)	give-PST

‘I gave him a book.’ (permanently ~ temporarily)

3. Tsez

di	nesi-r/nesi-qo-r	t’ek	tel-si
I.ERG	he-LAT/he-POSS-LAT	book(NOM)	give-PST

‘I gave him a book.’ (permanently ~ temporarily)

4. Bagvalal

den	ʕali-la/ʕali-la	as	iči
I.ERG	Ali-DAT/Ali-HUMLOC	money(NOM)	give

‘I gave the money to Ali.’ (permanently ~ temporarily; probably, less salient here)

We will call the ‘less spatial’ marking dative strategy and the ‘more spatial’ marking locative strategy.

GIVE OR PASS?

temporary vs. permanent recipient? as in (5)

5. Archi – situation of transfer to a mediator

han	edi	wa-ra-k	lo-tu-t	hel’əna
what(NOM)	4.be.PF	you.SG.OBL-CONT-LAT	4.give.PF-ATR-4	thing(NOM)

‘What was the thing given to you (for transfer to a third party)?’

But:

6. Bezhta – situation of giving back

do	hogco-qa	t’ek	niL-ijo
I.ERG	he-POSS	book(NOM)	give-PST

‘I gave his book back to him’

7. Archi – situation of transfer from a mediator to a third party

waj aman madad i-t'u za-ħu lo-t'u za-ra-k
waj EXCLAM EXCLAM 4.be-NEG I.OBL-COMIT 4.give.PF-NEG I.OBL-CONT-LAT

‘Oh, I don’t have it, (they) didn’t give it to me!’

(The wife denies that the mediator brought her an object sent by her husband)

Thus, transfer of rights of possession (provisionally, give vs. pass) is relevant rather than temporary vs. permanent recipient.

STRUCTURAL POSITIONS AND ROLES

Same or different roles?

8. Bezhta – presence of both locative and dative strategies

do öždi-qa okko ado-l niIijo
I.ERG boy-POSS money(NOM) father-DAT give.PF

‘I gave the money for the father to the boy’

9. Archi

tu-w-mu za-ra-k wež arsi lo
that-1-OBL(ERG) I.OBL-CONT-LAT you.pl.DAT money(NOM) give.PF

‘He gave me the money for you’

10. Chechen

as k’anta-ga die-na axč d-iel-ira
I.ERG boy-ALL father.OBL-DAT money(NOM) 3-give-WP

‘I gave the money for the father to the boy’

In 11, Dative might be understood in the sense of 8 – 10 even in the absence of the locative strategy.

11. Archi

tu-w-mu el arsi lo-li
that-1-OBL(ERG) 4.we.DAT money(NOM) 4.give-EVID

‘He gave (sent) money for us, they say’ (through someone)

POSSESSIVE PREDICATION

Cf two types of ‘give’-situations correlates with similar effects in ‘have’-situations.

12. Chechen

a. soe-ħ top j-u.
I.OBL-LOC gun(NOM) 2-COP

‘I have a gun with me.’

b. san top j-u.
I.GEN gun(NOM) 2-COP

‘I have (possess) a gun.’

However, there is not necessarily a full formal parallelism; cf. Archi (same in Bagvalal)

13. Archi

a. za-ḥu tumank b-i
 I.OBL-COMIT gun(NOM) 3-be

‘I have a gun with me.’

b. za-ra-k tumank bo-Lo
 I.OBL-CONT-LAT gun(NOM) 3-give.PST

‘(He) gave me a gun’

2. OUTSIDE ‘GIVE’

creation verbs do not allow variation

15. Khwarshi

de isu-l aq l-ij-i
 I.ERG he.OBL-LAT house(NOM) 4-do-PST

‘I built a house for him.’

‘buy’ behaves similarly :

16. Hinuq

de hajtu-z šel’u r-ux-iš
 I.ERG she.OBL-DAT clothes(NOM) 5-buy-PST

‘I bought her clothes.’

Other may display this variation with a similar semantic effect.

17. Khwarshi

a. de isu-ḥo-l tarpa l-ot’ok’-i
 I.ERG he.OBL-APUD-LAT bag(NOM) 4-carry-PST

‘I brought him a bag’

b. de isu-l tarpa l-ot’ok’-i
 I.ERG he.OBL-LAT bag(NOM) 4-carry-PST

‘I brought a bag to him’ (for a while)

(also ‘throw’ in Archi – pass by throwing vs give by throwing; but cf. below)

3. VERBS OF SPEECH

	Chechen	Ingush	Bezhta	Hinuq	Khwarshi	Tsez	Archi	Bagvalal
say	All	All	Poss(Ess)	Cont(Ess)	ContLat	PossLat	ContAll	SupLat
ask	All	All	Poss(Ess)	Cont(Ess)	Cont(Ess)	Poss(Ess)	ContAll	SupLat
tell	Dat/All	Dat/All	Poss(Ess)	Cont(Ess)	Cont(Ess)	Poss(Ess)	-	SupLat

18. Chechen

zāra-s tüira sū-na/soe-ga d-īc-ira.
 Z.-ERG tale(NOM) I.OBL-DAT/I.OBL-ALL 3-tell-WP
 ‘Zara told me a tale’
 ‘Ask’ and ‘say’ do not show this variation.

19. Chechen

as mas sahat d-alla xiett-ira cun-ga
 I.ERG what time(NOM) 3-come.PF ask-WP this-ALL
 ‘I asked him what time it was’

Tsezic differ only in the choice of localization, plus separate treatment of ‘tell’, ‘ask’ in Khwarshi and Tsez.

20. Khwarshi lative with ‘say’ but essive with ‘tell’, ‘ask’

uža ešet'-qo-l bit't'ura-l himon il-in
 boy.ERG mother.OBL-CONT-LAT true-4 thing(4) say-UW
 ‘The boy told the truth to his mother.’

21. Tsez same as Khwarshi

nesi-q di imaru esis
 he.OBL-POSS I.ERG tale tell.PST
 ‘I told him a tale’

22. Bezhta essive with ‘tell’, ‘say’, ‘ask’

do hogco-qa bit'ara-b žo niso-jo
 I.ERG he-POSS true-3 thing(NOM) tell-PST
 ‘I told him the truth.’

23. Hinuq same as Bezhta

de hajto-qo xabar ?ese-s
 I.ERG he.OBL-CONT story(NOM) tell-PST
 ‘I told him the news’

24. Archi lative with all speech verbs; same in Bagvalal

u-q¹a-tā ŋisa-r-ši a¹? + bo ŋisa-s jaq¹an e¹i-li
 1-come.PF-TEMP1 Isa-CONT-ALL call SAY.PF Isa-DAT be.evident 4.INCH.PF-CVB
 w-e-q¹i-ši i<w>di
 1-come.POT-POT-CVB.AUXDEP <1>AUX.PF

‘On my way I called out to Isa – he understood and came (up to me)’

A NOTE ON ‘ASK ABOUT’ VERBS

Bezhta, Tsez and Khwarshi: ‘to ask about’ = ‘cause to tell’

Bezhta: treats the second participant of ‘ask’ as Addressee of a speech verb (PossEss) rather than Causee of a causative verb (instrumental).

25. Bezhta marking of the Causee

do öždi-d t'ek q'ojil-l-ijo
 I.ERG boy-INSTR book read-CAUS-PST
 ‘I made the boy read the book.’

26. Bezhta ‘ask about’ verbs – Causee is treated as Addressee

abo öždi-qa niso-l-lo nito-d oqos-Lo.
 father-4 boy-POSS tell-CAUS-PST when-QUES 1.come-QUOT
 ‘The father asked the boy when he would come’

27. Tsez

di nesi-q žawab esi-r-si
 I.ERG he-POSS answer(NOM) ask-CAUS-PST
 ‘I asked him for the answer’

Nakh languages and Archi: ‘ask’ is not a causative, Addressive marking

28. Chechen

as niena-ga xiatt-ira čuorpa ħa-j-all-i ael.
 I.ERG mother-ALL ask-WP soup(NOM) DX-2-finish-INTER QUOT
 ‘I asked (my) mother whether the soup was ready.’

29. Ingush (Nichols 1994)

āz mas saħat d-eanna-d xaett-ar con-ga
 I.ERG what time(NOM) 3-came-PF ask-WP him-ALL
 ‘I asked him what time it was.’

European-type Addressees – a metaphor or vestiges of the dative’s locative prehistory?

4. VERBS OF CONTACT

‘throw’ – dative vs. locative alternation

30. Bezhta

do öždi-l/josoli-l kirkat b-ile-jo
 I.ERG boy-DAT/wall-DAT ball(NOM) 3-throw-PST
 ‘I threw a ball at the boy / against the wall.’

31. Bezhta

do öždi-qa kirkat b-ile-jo
 I.ERG boy-POSS ball(NOM) 3-throw-PST
 ‘I threw a ball to the boy’ (so he can catch it)

32. Chechen

mūsa-s sū-na/soe-ga bürk qoess-ira.
 M-ERG I.OBL-DAT/I.OBL-ALL ball(NOM) throw-WP
 ‘Musa threw a ball at me / to me.’

33. Archi

b-ez č’ele caxa
 3-I.DAT stone(NOM) <3>throw.IMP

‘Throw a stone at me!’ (if I did anything wrong)

34. Archi

nac’-a a^hnš cax-u-li ju-w-mi-s
 bird-OBL(ERG) apple(NOM) 4.drop-PF-EVID this-1-OBL-DAT
 ‘A bird threw an apple at him (dropped an apple on him)’

Dative strategy ‘less recipientive’ than the locative strategy?

Dative is used in its locative function; cf. examples with ‘hit’, ‘push’:

35. Chechen

as hū-na p'elg tüox-na
 I.ERG he.OBL-DAT finger(NOM) hit-PF

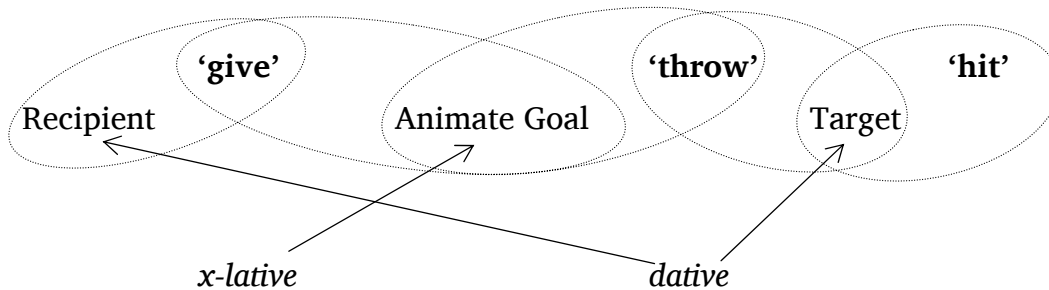
'I tapped you with my finger.'

36. Archi

ju-w gurži-li-n os gon qIeč+ bo-li o**χ**b>qIa-li to-r laha-s
 this-1 Georgian-OBL-GEN one finger(NOM) push SAY.PF-CVB <3>go.PF-EVID thot-2 lad.obl(ERG)-DAT

'This Georgian pushed her with his finger'

The dative marking with 'throw' has nothing in common with the dative in 'give'-constructions. Locative marking with 'throw', on the contrary, is in principle identical with the locative 'give' strategy – in both cases the concept of physical transfer from one person to another is in focus ('pass'), without any assumption regarding the transfer of possession ('give'). Locative marking with 'throw' or 'give' are variants of Animate Goal marking.



CONCLUSIONS:

Too many goals... Nakh-Daghestanian languages are extremely rich in locative morphology, and can afford distinguishing many goals (true Recipient, Animate Goal, Addressee...) which other languages often combine in one marker.

Disrupt dative. Dative covers a variety of meanings which are not obviously due to any kind of extension or metaphor – they may well be different ex-metaphors inherited from the dative's spatial pre-history. One of the arguments is a conceptually discontinuous marking where locative strategy of marking Animate Goal seems to cut between Target and Recipient. (The same might be true of Addressee marking in those languages that use dative).