Ditransitive Constructions in Vafsi
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1.0 Introduction:

1.1 Introduction: Language affiliation skeleton grammatical sketch of Vafsi

Vafsi belongs to the Tatic family of Northwest Iranian (NWI) languages and is spoken in four villages (including four very close subdialects) located ± 200 km SSW of Tehran with about 20,000 speakers, half of whom live in cities outside the Vafsi area. Two subdialects, spoken in the villages of Vafsi and Gurchan, referred to below as V-Vafsi and G-Vafsi, respectively, have been documented (Stilo, to appear and Stilo, 2004).

1.2 Sketch of morphology and basic functions of Vafsi cases and PAMs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>Direct Case</th>
<th>Oblique Case</th>
<th>Set₁</th>
<th>Set₂</th>
<th>Set 2 Pronominal Bases (OPBs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Direct Sing.</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-i (unstressed)</td>
<td>-é</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>hazún=om, veréwn=om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique Sing.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-é (unstressed)</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>hazún=i, veréwn=i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Plur.</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>hazún=es, veréwn=es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique Plur.</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>-án</td>
<td>hazún=es, veréwn=es</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set₁ (‘Direct PAMs’) exponent of nominal arguments in Direct Case usually *suffixes* in verb, but may be *enclitics* (as copula).

Set₂ (‘Oblique PAMs’) exponent of nominal arguments in Oblique case predominately *enclitics*, highly mobile, but are sometimes *proclitics* or *prefixes*.

Characteristics of Oblique Pronoun Bases (OPBs): *hazún* = and *veréwn* =

- pronoun bases with no semantic content
- only perform a certain range of oblique syntactic functions
- neither *hazún* = nor *veréwn* = is licensed in Subject, Patient, or Possessive functions
- both OBPs require Set₂ enclitics as possessives to indicate person (compare English ‘my-self, your-self’ as a parallel example, but note that these OBPs are not reflexives)
- *hazún* =: used most commonly as Indirect Object and the adjunct to certain adpositions
- *veréwn* = is used exclusively in Benefactive functions, including those instances where the Benefactive is used to mark the Recipient of Ditransitives (see §2.2.3 below)
Table Three: Uses of Direct/Oblique Cases, Set₁/Set₂ PAMs and the OPBs
(list reduced only to functions relevant to this paper)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic Function</th>
<th>Direct Case</th>
<th>Obliq Case</th>
<th>Direct PAMs (Set₁)</th>
<th>Obliq PAMs (Set₂)</th>
<th>OPB Hazun</th>
<th>OPB verewn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Subject of intransitive verbs (all tenses)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Agent of transitive verbs in present</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Agent of transitive verbs in past</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Salient Patients, present (DOM, marked)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Salient Patients, past (DOM, Double Oblique Constr.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Non-salient Patients, pres./past (DOM, unmarked)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Experiencer of Experiencer verbs, all tenses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) RECIPIENT/Indirect Object</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j) Noun/Pronominal possessive</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 Alignment and Argument Marking

1.3.1 Vafsi alignment is characterized by three factors:

1. Tense-based split Ergativity (and optional variants, including ‘Double Oblique’),
2. Differential Object Marking (DOM), and
3. Cross-referencing of core arguments with Set₁ and Set₂ PAMs (Direct and Oblique functions, respectively), in addition to Set₂ clitic mobility, called ‘Fronting’ below.

Present system and DOM
- the Nom-Acc Construction/Salient Patients (Agent < Direct - Patient < Oblique);
- counterpart with non-salient Ps (Agent < Direct - Patient < Direct);

Past system and DOM
- the Double Oblique/Salient Patients (Agent < Oblique - Patient < Oblique);
- counterpart with non-salient Ps (Agent < Oblique - Patient < Direct).

The Past system has two additional alternate constructions, not relevant to this paper. Note that the Agent is always Oblique-marked in all constructions in the Past system.

1.3.2 Set₂ Clitics and their Fronting

- Set₂ encodes past tense Agents (point (c)) as well as Experiencers (all tenses, point (g)).
- In isolation, the PAM clitics are hosted by the verb, but within the clause Fronting (i.e., leftward movement) of Set₂ clitics (Set₂ is not mobile) to other hosts is quite common:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent of Past Tense Transitive Verbs</th>
<th>Experiencer of Experiencer verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past Transitive Fronted Pres., go- ‘want’ Fronted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-im-dæ</td>
<td>an=om bæ-dæ im-ær-gó an=om ær-gó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-i-dæ</td>
<td>an=i bæ-dæ i-r-gó an=i ær-gó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-i-s-dæ</td>
<td>an=es bæ-dæ is-ær-gó an=es ær-gó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUNCT=PAM-saw that=PAM PUNCT-saw PAM-DUR-want that=PAM DUR-want</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I, you, he saw’ ‘I, you, he saw that’ ‘I, you, he wants’ ‘I, you, he wants that’

Fronting Behaviors (but see also 2.3 for an additional crucial point for Ditransitives)

- operates within the bounds of the VP
- Set₂ cannot be fronted beyond the left edge of the VP
- Set₂ may be hosted by any element within the VP: nouns/pronouns as P, T, or R (whether in Direct or Oblique case), adverbs, PPs, etc.
- Set₂ clitic stacking is not permitted, e.g., to a noun with a Set₂ functioning as possessive
- Fronting is exclusively leftward-moving; never rightward for any reason

2.0 Indirect Objects: The Ditransitive Constructions

Vafsi has three strategies to mark the Recipient (R) argument of Ditransitive verbs

- **Double Object Construction** (DOC): Oblique-case flagging, no indexing in verb
- **Indirect Object Construction** (IOC): Adpositional flagging, no indexing in verb
- **PAM Ditransitive Construction**, PAM indexing in the verb, no flagging

**NB:** Recipient flagging and indexing are complementary and mutually exclusive. That is, while an overt Theme is occasionally additionally cross-referenced in the verb — via Set2 in the Present tenses (Point (d), Table Three) and Set1 in the Past (Point (e), Table Three) — so far as is known, this additional cross-referencing never occurs with Recipients.

2.1 The Double Object Ditransitive Construction (DOC)

Features of the Double Object Construction (NB: not Double Oblique Construction, point (e), Table Three):

- it lacks an adposition;
- animate Rs are in the Oblique case; (inanimate Rs in Oblique case? unknown)
- the R is most often postverbal (significant, but still optional, feature);
- Oblique Pronoun Bases (OPBs) hazun= may alternate with full pronoun in Oblique

In all examples in the rest of this paper, the verb, Theme, and Recipient will be distinguished visually with three different styles of underlining, as follows:

(1) æz pul æd-do-m esdæ.
    THEME VERB RECIPIENT
    LDIR money DUR-give=3S2 you.OBL
    ‘I’ll give you some money.’

2.1.1 Flagging of NP Themes (full nouns and pronouns)

As mentioned above (1.3), Vafsi has Differential Object Marking of Patients/Themes. That is, Patients/Themes that are both *specific* and *animate* are marked with the Oblique case both in the Present tenses and in the Double Oblique Construction in the Past system.

It is quite common in Vafsi, with certain verbs, to have animate Themes, both non-human animates (e.g., with ‘sell’) and human animates (e.g., ‘give (in marriage)’). Specific animate Themes, as with Patients, are Oblique case marked:

Non-specific, Inanimate Theme (DOM unmarked):

(2) yey qedri pûl=es ëx-da in tojjár-i. æz ney ëx-d-do-m soan.
    one a.bit money=3S2 PVB=gave this merchant-OM I.DIR reed NG-DUR-give-1S1 you.PL
    ‘She gave the merchant some money.’ (B11.10) ‘I will not give you the reed.’ (B4.86)

Specific, Animate Theme (DOM marked):

(3) næne-y=s hár=es=da yey æzin adui mizán-i.
    mother-OM=3S2 PVB=3S2=gave one such person fine-OM
    ‘He betrothed his mother to a such a fine man.’ (B2.25)
Non-salient NPs as Recipient

In contradistinction to the Differential Object Marking (DOM) of Patients/Themes, there is no equivalent differential marking for Rs in Vafsi. All Rs, regardless of specificity and/or animacy, are flagged with either an Oblique case (DOC) or an adposition (IOC).

(4) \(\text{hár}=\text{om}=\text{da} \quad \text{vev} \quad \text{leyle}=\text{y} \). \(\text{hár}=\text{om}=\text{da} \quad \text{vev} \quad \text{kel}=\text{i} \).

\(\text{PVB}=\text{1S2}=\text{gave one boy-OM} \quad \text{PVB}=\text{1S2}=\text{gave one girl-OF}\)

‘I gave (it) to some boy.’ ‘I gave (it) to some girl.’

Recipients are invariably Oblique case-marked, both as nouns or full pronouns. Both types also occur equally in postverbal position in most cases:

(5) \(\text{æz} \quad \text{pul} \quad \text{æd}=\text{do}-\text{m} \quad \text{æhmæd}=\text{i} \).

\(\text{LDIR} \quad \text{money DUR-give}=\text{3S2} \quad \text{P.N.MASC.OBL}\)

‘I’ll give Ahmad some money.’

(6) \(\text{æz} \quad \text{pul} \quad \text{æd}=\text{do}-\text{m} \quad \text{esdæ} \).

\(\text{LDIR} \quad \text{money DUR-give}=\text{3S2} \quad \text{YOU.OBL}\)

‘I’ll give you some money.’

2.1.2 DOC and \(\text{hazun}=\), the OPB Subtype

One difference between nouns and pronouns, however, is that the full pronoun type of DOC is also interchangeable with the Oblique Pronominal Base subtype, using the OPB, \(\text{hazun}=\).

(7) \(\text{b-éyn}=\text{om} \quad \text{ciz}=\text{i} \quad \text{æd}=\text{do}-\text{n}=\text{de} \quad \text{hazú}=\text{om}\) ? ~ \(\text{b-éyn}=\text{om} \quad \text{ciz}=\text{i} \quad \text{æd}=\text{do}-\text{n}=\text{de} \quad \text{teme}=\text{n}\) ?

\(\text{pu-see}=\text{1S1} \quad \text{thing-IDF} \quad \text{DUR-give}=\text{3P1} \quad \text{OPB}=\text{1S2} \quad \text{= = = = = = = = LOBL}\)

‘Let me see if they give me anything.’ (S2.27)

(8) \(\text{ciz} \quad \text{i}=\text{r-go} \quad \text{æz} \quad \text{há}=\text{do}-\text{m} \quad \text{hazú}=\text{i}=\text{i} ? ~ \text{ciz} \quad \text{i}=\text{r-go} \quad \text{æz} \quad \text{há}=\text{do}-\text{m} \quad \text{esdæ}=\text{es}\)?

\(\text{what} \quad \text{2S2-DUR-want} \quad \text{LDIR} \quad \text{PVB-give}=\text{1S1} \quad \text{OPB}=\text{2S2} \quad \text{= = = = = = = = YOU.OBL}\)

‘What do you want me to give you?’ (S2.30)

2.1.3 Word Order and the DOC Variants

As we have seen in all examples so far, the unmarked word order for placement of the R in the DOC is in postverbal but this position is not obligatory. Recipients can also occur preverbally, especially, but not only, when issues of focus are at play. The following examples (9-11) are all of the non-focus type.

(9) \(\text{in} \quad \text{ciz} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{tini}=\text{s} \quad \text{nešen} \quad \text{a}=\text{da} ? \quad \text{teme}=\text{m} \quad \text{ketab}=\text{es} \quad \text{ha}=\text{bax̂a} \).

\(\text{this} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{he.OBL}=\text{3S1} \quad \text{signal} \quad \text{PVB-give} \quad \text{LOBL} \quad \text{book}=\text{3S1} \quad \text{PVB-give.away}\)

‘What was that he showed him?’ ‘He gave me a book.’

When both Theme and Recipient appear preverbally, the R generally precedes the T:

(10) \(\text{in} \quad \text{kelje} \quad \text{tini} \quad \text{mænzel} \quad \text{æd}=\text{do}=\text{g} \). \(\text{hæmi}=\text{ke} \quad \text{teme}=\text{m} \quad \text{cay} \quad \text{æd}=\text{do}=\text{g} \).

\(\text{this} \quad \text{girl} \quad \text{he.OBL} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{DUR-give}=\text{3S1} \quad \text{when}=\text{SUB} \quad \text{LOBL} \quad \text{tea} \quad \text{DUR-give}=\text{3S1}\)

‘She gives her a place to stay.’ (A12.81) ‘When she gives me tea....’ (A11.143)
There are many cases, however, where the Theme precedes the R.

(11) xodavénd-e alémi-an do dane lazée tine d-dóæ. (tine ddóæ < tine æddóæ)
Lord-EZ world-OP two CLS son he.OBL DU-give-3S1

‘The Lord gives him two sons.’ (A11.8) (lit: ‘the Lord of the worlds)

The difference seems to be simply a matter of free variation, but with a clear preference for the Recipient to precede the Theme, that is, when the Recipient is not postverbal.

2.1.4 The Double Object Construction and Argument Dropping

Vafsi very commonly drops core arguments as old information in the context of discourse. Hence, it is quite common to find the Recipient as the only overt argument in a clause:

(12) hár=om-da aehmé-d-i.
PVB=1S2-gave P.N.-MO2

‘(I) gave (it) to Ahmad.’

2.2 The Indirect Object Construction (IOC)

The IOC has the following basic features:
- depending on the verb, this construction uses one of three adpositions:
  - the preposition dæ ‘to/Allative1, in, into’, most commonly used with ‘say’,
  - the preposition o ‘to/Allative2, upon, on’ (sometimes used with ‘give’, ‘entrust’, etc.)
  - the postposition =ra (usually ‘for/Benefactive’ and ‘with/Instrumental-Comitative’);
- Animate Rs with dæ and o require the Oblique case (more an effect of the relationship between prepositions and animate nouns than it is of the role of Recipient); =ra automatically always requires an Oblique;
- the R may be preverbal (especially with ‘say’) or postverbal (mostly with other verbs).

2.2.1 The preposition dæ ‘to, in, into’

(13) dæ tawan hic=es ná-wattæ.
to we.OBL nothing=3S2 NG-said
‘He didn’t say anything to us.’

The Recipient is mostly preverbal with the verb ‘say’, but it occasionally occurs postverbally:

(14) yey ci yá-waz dæ an kelj-i.
one what PU-say to that girl-OF2
‘Say something to that girl.’

OPBs and the IOC with dæ

yesterday to OPB=3S2 PU-1S2-said DUR-wanted PU-say-2S1 to OPB=3S2
‘I told him yesterday.’ ‘You should have told him.’ (BL381b)
2.2.2 The preposition *o* ‘to, upon, onto’

The preposition *o* is sometimes used as an alternate of the DOC with ‘give’ and certain other verbs. It requires the oblique case for animate Rs and is usually postverbal.

(16) *vey xerboz=san æ-day o tini.*  
  *one melon=P2 PVB-gave to he.OBL*  
  ‘They gave him a melon.’ (B3.58)

(17) *in leyle-Æ get-æsbir-om o esdæ* (dæst).  
  *this boy-OM DUR-entrust-1S1 to you.OBL (hand)*  
  ‘I am entrusting this boy to you’ (or, lit: ‘to your hand’ (optional))

2.2.3 The postposition =*ra* ‘for,’ ‘with’

The polysemous enclitic postposition =*ra* (‘for’/Benefactive, ‘with’/Instrumental-Comitative, Recipient), is required in the DOC only with a small set of verbs (esp. ‘write’, ‘send’, ‘bring’). An allative adposition is excluded for the Recipient with these verbs. The R with =*ra* is most commonly postverbal, but occasionally also preverbal:

(18) *kaqæ æn-nevis-om esdæ=ra.*  
  *paper DUR-write-1S1 you.OBL=BEN*  
  ‘I’ll write you a letter.’

(19) *vey cæt-ar-ænde esdæ=ra.*  
  *one tea DUR-bring-3P1 you.OBL=BEN*  
  ‘They will bring you a tea.’ (A11.128)

OPBs *hazun=* and *verewn=* and Recipients flagged by =*ra*:

The primary OPB used for the R with these verbs is *verewn=*, since it is specifically a Benefactive OPB. It is always possible to express the OPB variants alternatively with full pronouns, and thus there are parallel ways of expressing the IOC with pronoun Recipients:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OPB</th>
<th>Full Pronoun Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (20) *kaqæ æn-nevis-om* verewn=i (=*ra*).  
  *letter DUR-write-1S1 OPB=2S2(for)* | *kaqæ æn-nevis-om esdæ=ra.*  
  *letter DUR-write-1S1 you.OBL=for* |
  ‘I’ll write you letters/a letter.’

2.2.4 Recipient and Beneficient/Beneficient

Many languages are ambivalent about the third argument of ‘take/bring’ (among others), cf. English *What have you brought us?/What have you brought for us?* Hence the term ‘Beneficient’ has been coined. Vafsi, this argument is much more commonly, perhaps obligatorily, expressed with the benefactive adposition =*ra* (but in postverbal position, see point (b) under 4.1.6):
(21) yey cay æt-ar-énde esdæ=ra. ci y-ard-e tæmen=ra? (< ci=i)
one tea DUR-bring-3P1 you.OBL=for what PU-brought-PRF Lobl=for (<what=2S2)
‘They will bring you a tea.’ (All.128) ‘What have you brought me?’ (A1.9)

Actions performed on someone’s behalf (Beneficient), but whose end product is also intended
to be transferred/given to that person (Recipient), amalgamate the two roles into one (see also
Similarities and Differences between Recipient and Benefactive/Beneficient below):

(22) æz kot æd-duz-om veréwn=i ~ æz kot æd-duz-om esdæ=ra
Lobl coat DUR-sew-1S1 OPB=2S2 Lobl coat DUR-sew-1S1 you.OBL=for
‘I’ll sew you a coat/I’ll sew a coat for you.’

2.3 Recipient Indexing: The PAM Ditransitive Construction

The two flagging constructions (DOC, IOC) of Vafsi present us with patterns that are cross-
linguistically familiar and, with a few exceptions, typologically unsurprising. The Vafsi PAM
Ditransitive Construction, however, exhibits with some typologically more unusual features.

The PAM Ditransitive Construction is distinguished from the DOC and IOC by indexing, that
is, the encoding of a pronominal R as Set2 (the Oblique PAMs) directly in the verb (or verbal
complex, in the case of LVCs). There are two variants of the Oblique PAM Construction:

- Set2 as R occurring with simplex verbs that have an overt Theme NP present (23)
- Set2 as R with Light Verb Constructions (LVCs) consisting of a non-verbal element
  (NVE) and a Light Verb (24).

The crucial feature of both these subtypes is that the Set2 PAM obligatorily moves leftwards
off the verb root and attaches to the Theme or to the NVE.

A) Simplex verb with Set2 fronted to an overt Theme NP

(23) ketab=i _d-do-m. ketab=i nàè-d-do-m.
book=2S2 DUR-give-1S1 book=2S2 NG-DUR-give-1S1
‘I’ll give you a book.’ ‘I won’t give you a book.’

B) Set2 fronted to the NVE of a Compound verb:

(24) juwéw=om há-dæ!
answer=1S2 PVB-give
‘Answer me!’ (lit: Give me an answer!)

It should be noted that while Set2 (the oblique PAMs) that encode the Recipient are
obligatorily fronted off the verb to the Theme or the NVE, Set2 PAMs encoding Theme
always remain on the verb. For this contrast, compare (23) above with (25) below.

2.3.1 The Oblique PAM Construction with Simplex Verb Roots

Patients/Themes and Recipients at times behave quite differently in their indexing in the verb:

- an overt salient Patient/Theme may occasionally be cross-referenced in the verb while,
  so far as is known at present, cross-referencing is not licensed for a Recipient.
- The Oblique PAM may be incorporated directly into the verb for the role of a pronoun as Theme, but such indexed forms are ungrammatical as Recipients alone:

\[(25)\]  
\[
i-d\text{-do\text{-}m} \quad \text{i-t\text{-}ar\text{-}om}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
2S_2\text{-DUR\text{-}give\text{-}1S_1} & 2S_2\text{-DUR\text{-}bring\text{-}1S_1} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’ll give you Theme (in marriage).’  
but: ‘*I’ll give you Recipient (something).’

‘I’ll bring you Theme (somewhere).’  
‘*I’ll bring you Recipient (something).’

‘Say,’ ‘Teach’: Monotransitive or Ditransitive?

Only a small subset of two or three simplex verbs allow indexing of the R directly in the verb via a Set 2 clitic when the Patient has been omitted (as a result of regular argument dropping):

\[(26)\]  
\[
i-r\text{-vaz\text{-}óm}.
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
2S_2\text{-DUR\text{-}say\text{-}1S_1} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’ll tell you.’

\[(27)\]  
\[
is\text{-Æ\text{-}æns\text{-}en\text{-}om} \quad \text{i-t\text{-}æns\text{-}en\text{-}énde}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3S_2\text{-DUR\text{-}learn\text{-CAUS}\text{-}1S_1} & 2S_2\text{-DUR\text{-}learn\text{-CAUS}\text{-}3P_1} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’ll teach him.’  
‘They’ll teach you’

Simplex verbs with Oblique PAMs and overt Theme

As mentioned above, when there is an overt Theme in the clause, it is perfectly acceptable to encode the Recipient with a Set 2 PAM \textit{as long as it is fronted} off the verb to the Theme:

\[(28)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{keta}=\text{b} & \text{æd\text{-}do\text{-}m} \\
\text{book}=2S_2 & \text{du\text{-}give\text{-}1S_1} \\
\text{áwæ}=\text{s} & \text{æd\text{-}do\text{-}m} \\
\text{water}=3S_2 & \text{du\text{-}give\text{-}1S_1} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘I’ll give you a book.’  
‘I’ll give him water.’

\[(29)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{hær\text{-}ki} & \text{vey dæsd\text{-}e} \quad \text{mu}=\text{s} \quad \text{æd\text{-}dó\text{-}w}. \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{each\text{-}who} & \text{one bunch\text{-}EZ} \quad \text{hair}=3S_2 \quad \text{du\text{-}give\text{-}3S_1} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘They each give him a bunch of [their] hair.’ (A12.114)

The Oblique PAM Construction is encountered especially in blessings and curses:

\[(30)\]  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
xoda \text{ on}=\text{i} & (h)\text{á\text{-}do\text{-}Ø}! \\
\text{God} & \text{long\text{-}life}=2S_2 \quad \text{PVB\text{-}give\text{-}3S_1} \\
xoda \text{ qoæt}=\text{ian} & (h)\text{á\text{-}do\text{-}Ø}! \\
\text{God} & \text{strength}=2P_2 \quad \text{PVB\text{-}give\text{-}3S_1} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘May God give you long life!’  
‘May God give you strength!’

\(2^{\text{nd}}\) plural or \(2^{\text{nd}}\) singular deferential

The verbs we have already seen above (22) signifying actions that are performed on someone’s behalf (Beneficient), but whose end product is also intended to be transferred to the person (Recipient), may also have a third alternate, synonymous form using the Oblique PAM Construction. In this case, however, there must be an overt Theme to host the Set 2:
(31) (a) æz kot æd-duz-om veréwn=i ~
I. OBL coat DU-sew-1S1 OPB=2S2

(b) æz kot æd-duz-om esdæ=ra ~
I. OBL coat DU-sew-1S1 you.OBL=for

→ (c) æz kot=i æd-duz-om
I. OBL coat=2 S1 DU-sew-1S1 ‘I’ll sew you a coat/I’ll sew a coat for you.’ (c) also means: ‘I’ll sew your coat’

Such three/four-fold interpretations as in (31) are only possible with a small subset of verbs (‘build, sew, bake’, etc.) that signify actions performed on someone’s behalf with an end product intended to be transferred to the person. In contradistinction to (31), however, an argument that is interpreted exclusively as a Beneficient of other verbs is not licensed for indexing in the verb:

(32) æz bez=í ær-ko
I. DIR goat=2 S2 DU-kill-1S1
‘I’ll kill your goat.’ (*I’ll kill you a goat, *I’ll kill a goat for you’)

2.3.2 Oblique PAM Construction Fronted to NVEs in Light Verb Constructions
It is slightly more common to find a Set2 enclitic indexing the R with LVCs, but, again, as long as the Set2 is fronted to the non-verbal element (NVE) of the verb.

(33) b-úrí yé-ss-am nešán=i æd-d-àm.
PU-come.IMP PU-go-1P1 sign=2 S2 DU-give-1P1
‘Come on, let’s go. We’ll show you.’ (i.e., ‘we’ll show (it) to you.’) (B3.40)

2.3.3 Noun Incorporation
The examples of the PAM Ditransitive Construction we have seen thus far all involve the fronting of the R clitics only to generic/indefinite (i.e., non-salient) nouns. It is ungrammatical to front these clitics to a definite/specific Theme. That is, (28) above, ketab=i æd-do-m is grammatical if it means ‘I’ll give you a book’ but not if it means ‘I’ll give you the book.’

This restriction makes ketab=i æd-do-m look like the (lexical, not morphological) incorporation of a noun into the verbal complex. This analysis may explain why we find the fronting of the R PAM rather frequently with the fixed, somewhat lexicalized phrases that we find in blessings and curses, such as xoda onr=es (h)á-do-Ø! ‘May God give him long life’ (##).

There is, in fact, a range of subtle gradations starting with true LVCs (where the NVE is not an argument of the predicate) that take Patients as arguments (34), progressing to arguments that are interpreted as either Patients or Recipients (35), to those that look less and less incorporated (36-39). We eventually reach the type that can only be interpreted as a specific, referential Theme (40). In the latter type, Recipients encoded as Set2 PAMs are no longer permitted and must convert to full pronouns as in usual DOC-type constructions:

(34) bæzan dómmæ=dæ an esdæ faerib æd-dò-Ø.
then after=LOC she you.OBL deception DU-give-3S1
‘Then after that she will trick you.’ (A11.87)
(35) áwæ=s æd-do-m
  water=3S₂  DU-give-1S₁
  ‘I’ll give him (Recipient) water’ or ‘I’ll water it (Patient)’  (e.g., a plant or a crop)

(36) xoda onr=æs (h)á-do-Ø!
  God  long.life=3S₂  PVB-give-3S₁
  ‘May God give him (long) life!’

(37) ketab=i æd-do-m.
  (= 28) book=2S₂  DU-give-1S₁
  ‘I’ll give you a book.’

(38) æz esdæ šu xaterjæm=i æt-ar-om.
    from you.oBL  husband  tranquil.mind=2S₂  DU-bring-1S₁
  ‘I’ll bring you reassuring news from your husband.’

(39) hær-ki yey dæsd-e mu=s æd-dó-æ.
  (= 29) each-who one bunch-EZ  hair=3S₂  DU-give-3S₁
  ‘They each give him a bunch of [their] hair.’  (A12.114)

but the cut-off point comes into effect after this point in:

(40) *an ketab=i æd-do-m. > an ketab æd-do-m esdæ.
    that book=2S₂  DU-give-1S₁     that book  DU-give-1S₁ you.oBL
    ‘I’ll give you that book.’

3.0 The Typology of the Vafsi Ditransitive Constructions

The typology of Vafsi A/P/T/R marking, as discussed in various places throughout this paper, is complicated by two factors:

(1) Tense-based split Ergativity, especially in the tense-based split marking of Agents leading to the ‘Double Oblique’ construction that is so common in Vafsi past tenses

(2) Differential Object Marking (DOM)

These two splits ultimately require us to show the typology of flagging constructions (DOC, IOC) in four schemata rather than just one (Figures 1 – 4). Furthermore, two additional schemata will be needed for the typology of the indexing construction in present vs. past tenses but since none of the available data for Vafsi include any examples of indexing of Recipients in the past tenses, only a fifth schema for the Present tenses (Figure 5) will be given below.
Figure One: Indirective Flagging of P/T/R; Present system (DOC, IOC)

Non-salient PATIENT, Present Tense  Non-salient THEME, Present Tense

S=Ø  A=Ø  P=Ø  P=Ø  T=Ø  R=m

æz æz esdæ ney ær-gir-óm æz ney æd-dó-m esdæ.

I. DIR from you. OBL reed DU-get-1S1 I.DIR reed DU-give-1S1 you. OBL

AGENTDirectCase  PATIENTDirectCase  THEMEDirectCase  RECIPIENTObliqueCase

‘I’ll get the reed from you.’  ‘I’ll give you the reed.’

Figure Two: Indirective Flagging of P/T/R; Past system (DOC, IOC)

Non-salient PATIENT, Past Tense  Non-salient THEME, Past Tense

S=Ø  A=m  P=Ø  P=Ø  T=Ø  R=m

tæmen æz hæsén-i púl=om há-girææ

tæmen púl=om há-da hæsén-i.

I. OBL from P.N.-OM money=1S2 PVB-get I.OBL money=1S2 PVB-gave P.N.-OM

AGENTObliqueCase  PATIENTDirectCase  THEMEObliqueCase  RECIPIENTObliqueCase

‘I got money from Hassan.’  ‘I gave money to Hassan.’

Figure Three: Neutral Flagging of R and Salient P/T; Present system

Salient PATIENT, Present Tense  Salient THEME, Present Tense

S=Ø  A=Ø  P=m  P=m  T=m  R=m

æz in kelj-i ær-gir-óm.

bawæ kell-i=s æd-do-Ø tæmen

I. DIR this girl-OF DU-take-1S1 father daughter-OF=3S2 DU-give-3S1 OBL

AGENTDirect  PATIENTOblique  THEMEOblique  RECIPIENTOblique

‘I will marry this girl.’  ‘The father will give me his daughter.’
4.1 Features of Recipients Shared with other Nominal Arguments and Adjuncts

Various characteristics of each of the three Ditransitive constructions of Vafsi also share both similarities to, but also differences from, strategies for expressing Patient/Theme, Goal, and Benefactive, as listed below.

4.1.1 Similarities between Recipient and Patient/Theme:

a. both are Oblique Case-marked;
b. both may be indexed in the verb using Set2 PAMs (in the present tenses);
c. both have synonymous alternates of case-flagging of a pronoun vs. indexing in the verb;
d. when encoded as a Set2 PAM in an LVC, both obligatorily front the Set2 to the NVE;
4.1.2 Differences between Recipient and Patient/Theme:

a. Unmarked word orders for the DOC generally place the Patient/Theme before the verb and Recipient after the verb;
b. While salient Patient/Themes have DOM differentiated by oblique case marking, there is no equivalent differential Recipient marking;
c. Adpositional flagging is an alternate for the Recipient (IOC), but not for the P/T;
d. Fronting of the Set₂ marker as Patient/Theme from a simplex verb in the present to another host is disallowed, as opposed to Recipient, where such fronting is obligatory (but compare point (d) above for LVCs);
e. Patient/Theme may be passivized, but passivization of Recipient is not licensed in Vafsi;
f. Only pronominal Recipients may alternate with OPBs (this also goes for Goal and Benefactive) but OPBs never fill the role of Patient/Theme.
g. an overt salient Patient/Theme may occasion ally be cross-referenced in the verb while, so far as is known at present, cross-referencing is not licensed for a Recipient.

4.1.3 Similarities between Recipient and Goal/Destination

a. DOC: The Recipient of most Ditransitive verbs and the Goal adjunct both typically occur in post-verbal position;
b. DOC: Both Recipient and Goal are usually expressed without an adposition (‘simple’ GOAL, as opposed to more complex PATH, see Differences, Point (e));
c. DOC: Animate Rs and animate GOALS (e.g., aeræse bærzegär-i ‘he gets to the farmer.’ (B8.60)) are both marked with the oblique case, although animate Goals in the Direct case and inanimate GOALS in the Oblique case rarely also occur (see Differences below);
d. IOC: Both the R and the GOAL can also be expressed with an adposition, particularly the two allative prepositions dæ and o;
e. DOC/IOC: Pronominal Rs and GOALs can both also be expressed with the OPB hazun=.

4.1.4 Differences between Recipient and Goal/Destination

a. Only the R requires the oblique case (at least until we can explore the issue of inanimate Recipients);
b. The GOAL is most commonly, but certainly not always, inanimate and is usually a noun of place. Even when it is not inanimate or specifically a noun of place, the GOAL NP is generally inert or, at best, passive or unengaged in the event. That is, it does not play a role in active accepting the Patient. The R, at least so far, is always animate and implies a sense of accepting, receiving, i.e., if not a fully volitional involvement, at least a certain participation in the event;
c. The GOAL occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs whereas the Recipient is one of three arguments of a Ditransitive verb;
d. Issues of Path: GOAL marked by dae alone often has a sense not only of ‘to, towards’ (which it shares with Recipient), but as opposed to Recipient, dae very often also has the sense of ‘into, inside’ or ‘on, onto’;
e. Additional refinement of PATH: while GOAL and R share an optional use of the preposition dae, GOAL also differs fundamentally from R in that with nouns of GOAL only the basic Allative is expressed without an adposition. There are many different types of additional, semantically complex adpositional phrases that further refine the PATH to the GOAL (‘to-between/among, to-under, to-next to,’ among others). This differentiation of Path marking for the GOAL is not available to the Recipient.

4.1.5 Similarities between Recipient and Benefactive/Benecipient:

a. Both the Recipient in one type of IOC and the Benefactive use the adpositional enclitic =ra ‘for; with’;
b. Both the Recipient and the Benefactive allow the use of OPBs;
4.1.6 Differences between Recipient and Beneactive/Beneccipient:

a. The Beneactive may be used with intransitive verbs;
b. The Beneccipient is more often postverbal than the true Beneactive.

Appendix One: Statistics of the various Ditransitive Constructions

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<th>Vafs dialect</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speaker A</td>
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<td>TOTAL DITRANS TOKENS:</td>
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<td>‘Give’ only (simplex)</td>
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<td>GIVE, DOC, preverbal:</td>
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<td>GIVE, IOC, postverbal:</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTALS:</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
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| Compound Verbs formed with ‘Give’ |            |              |              |
| GIVE-comps, DOC, preverbal:      | 50%         | 100.0%       | 20.0%        |
| GIVE-comps, DOC, postverbal:     | 50%         | 0.0%         | 20.0%        |
| GIVE-comps, IOC, preverbal:      | 0%          | 0.0%         | 20.0%        |
| GIVE-comps, IOC, postverbal:     | 0%          | 0.0%         | 40.0%        |
| TOTALS:                          | 100%        | 100.0%       | 100.0%       |

| ‘Say’ only (simplex) (TO BE COMPLETED) | xx% | xx% | xx% |
| SAY, DOC, preverbal:                |     |     |     |
| SAY, DOC, postverbal:               |     |     |     |
| SAY, IOC, preverbal:                |     |     |     |
| SAY, IOC, postverbal:               |     |     |     |
| TOTALS:                             |     |     |     |

| All other Ditransitive Verbs |            |              |              |
| OTHER, DOC, preverbal:        | 33.3%       | 0.0%         | 0.0%         |
| OTHER, DOC, postverbal:       | 0.0%        | 50.0%        | 0.0%         |
| OTHER, IOC, preverbal:        | 33.3%       | 12.5%        | 20.0%        |
| OTHER, IOC, postverbal:       | 33.3%       | 37.5%        | 80.0%        |
| TOTALS:                        | 99.9%       | 100.0%       | 100.0%       |

Bibliography

Comrie, Haspelmath and Malchukov, 2006. ‘Questionnaire on Ditransitive Constructions’
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