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 Vafs 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 One: Morphology of Vafsi Nouns and Adjectives

	Masculine	Fem I	Fem II
Direct Sing.	-Ø	´-æ (unstressed)	-é
Oblique Sing.	´-i (unstressed)	-é	-í
	Common Plural		
Direct Plur.	´-e (unstressed)		
Oblique Plur.	-án		

Table Two: Pronouns, PAMs, and Oblique Pronominal Bases

Person/ Number	Direct Case	Oblique Case	Set_1		Set_2		Oblique Pronominal Bases (OPBs)	
			Suffix	Enclitic (Copula)	Enclitic	Prefix	*hazun=*	*verewn=*
1st sg	æz	tæ-mén	-om(e)	=im(e)	=om	im-	hazún=om	veréwn=om
2nd sg	tæ	es-dǽ	-i	=i	=i	i-	hazún=i	veréwn=i
3rd sg	an, in	t-an-í, t-in-í	-e (comm. gender)	=e (m.) =oæ (f.)	=es	is-	hazún=es	veréwn=es
1st pl	awán	t-awán	-ám(e)	=ám(e)	=oan	oan-	hazún=oan	veréwn=oan
2nd pl	soán	soán	-a	=a	=ian	ian-	hazún=ian	veréwn=ian
3rd pl	án-e, ín-e	t-an-án, t-in-án	-énd(e)	=énd(e)	=esan	isan-	hazún=esan	veréwn=esan
'who'	ke	te-gé						

Set_1 ('Direct PAMs') exponent of nominal arguments in Direct Case
usually *suffixes* in verb, but may be *enclitics* (as copula).

Set_2 ('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 *verewn=*

- pronoun bases with no semantic content
- only perform a certain range of *oblique* syntactic functions
- neither *hazún=* nor *verewn=* is licensed in Subject, Patient, or Possessive functions
- both OPBs require Set_2 enclitics as *possessives* to indicate person (compare English '*my*-self, *your*-self' as a parallel example, but note that these OPBs are not reflexives)
- *hazún=*: used most commonly as Indirect Object and the adjunct to certain adpositions
- *verewn=* 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, Set_1/Set_2 PAMs and the OPBs
(list reduced only to functions relevant to this paper)

	Syntactic Function	Direct Case	Obliq Case	Direct PAMs (Set_1)	Obliq PAMs (Set_2)	OPB *Hazun*	OPB *verewn*
		Direct case=Set_1					
(a)	Subject of intransitive verbs (all tenses)	+	-	+	-	-	-
(b)	Agent of transitive verbs in present	+	-	+	-	-	-
(c)	Agent of transitive verbs in past	-	+	-	+	-	-
(d)	Salient Patients, present (DOM, marked)	-	+	-	+	-	-
(e)	Salient Patients, past (DOM, Double Oblique Constr.)	-	+	(+)	-	-	-
(f)	Non-salient Patients, pres./past (DOM, unmarked)	+	-	-	-	-	-
(g)	Experiencer of Experiencer verbs, all tenses	-	+	-	+	-	-
(h)	RECIPIENT/Indirect Object	-	+	-	+	+	(+)
(j)	Noun/Pronominal possessive	-	+	-	+	-	-
			Oblique case=Set_2				

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 Set_1 and Set_2 PAMs (Direct and Oblique functions, respectively), in addition to Set_2 clitic mobility, called 'Fronting' below.

Present system and DOM
(a) the Nom-Acc Construction/Salient Patients ($Agent_{DIRECT}$ - $Patient_{OBLIQUE}$);
(b) counterpart with non-salient Ps ($Agent_{DIRECT}$ - $Patient_{DIRECT}$);

Past system and DOM
(c) the Double Oblique/Salient Patients ($Agent_{OBLIQUE}$ - $Patient_{OBLIQUE}$);
(d) 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 Set_2 Clitics and their Fronting

- Set_2 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 Set_2 clitics (Set_2 is not mobile) to other hosts is quite common:

Agent of Past Tense Transitive Verbs			Experiencier of Experiencer verb		
Past Transitive	Fronted		Pres., *go-* 'want'	Fronted	
b-*ím*-dæ	an=*om*	bǽ- -diæ	*im*-ær-gó	an=*om*	ær- -gó
b-*í*-diæ	an=*i*	bǽ-diæ	*i*-r-gó	an=*i*	ær-gó
b-*ís*-diæ	an=*es*	bǽ-diæ	*is*-ær-gó	an=*es*	ær-gó
PUNCT=*PAM*-saw	that=*PAM* PUNCT-saw		PAM-DUR-want	that=*PAM*	DUR-want
'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
- Set_2 cannot be fronted beyond the left edge of the VP
- Set_2 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.
- Set_2 clitic stacking is not permitted, e.g., to a noun with a Set_2 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 Set_2 in the Present tenses (Point (d), Table Three) and Set_1 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
I.DIR money DUR-give=$3S_2$ 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 qædri púl=es æ-da in tojjár-i. æz ney næ-d-do-m soan.
one a.bit money=$3S_2$ PVB-gave this merchant-OM I.DIR reed NG-DUR-give-$1S_1$ 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=$3S_2$ PVB=$3S_2$=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) hár=om=da yey leyle-y.
PVB=$1S_2$=gave one boy-OM
'I gave (it) to some boy.'

hár=om=da yey kelj-i.
PVB=$1S_2$=gave one girl-OF_2
'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) æz pul æd-do-m æhmæd-i.
I.DIR money DUR-give=$3S_2$ P.N.MASC.OBL
'I'll give Ahmad some money.'

(6) æz pul æd-do-m esdæ.
I.DIR money DUR-give=$3S_2$ you.OBL
'I'll give you some money.'

2.1.2 DOC and *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, *hazun*=.

(7) b-éyn-om cíz-i æd-dó-nde hazún=om? ~ b-éyn-om cíz-i æd-dó-nde tæmen?
PU-see-$1S_1$ thing-IDF DUR-give-$3P_1$ OPB=$1S_2$ = = = = = = = = = I.OBL
'Let me see if they give me anything.' (S2.27)

(8) ciz i-r-go æz há-do-m hazún=i? ~ ciz i-r-go æz há-do-m esdæ?
what $2S_2$-DUR-want I.DIR PVB-give-$1S_1$ OPB=$2S_2$ = = = = = = = = 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) in ciz be tini=s nešen a-da?
this what was he.OBL=$3S_1$ signal PVB-gave
'What was that he showed him?'

tæmen ketab=es ha-baxša
I.OBL book=$3S_1$ PVB-gave.away
'He gave me a book.'

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

(10) in kelje tini mænzel æd-do-æ.
this girl he.OBL house DUR-give-$3S_1$
'She gives her a place to stay.' (A12.81)

háeni=ke tæmen cay æd-do-Ø,...
when=SUB I.OBL tea DUR-give-$3S_1$
'When she gives me tea,...' (A11.143)

There are many cases, however, where the Theme precedes the R.

(11) xodavænd-e alæmi-an do danæ lazæ tine _d-dó-æ. (tine _ddóæ < tine^æddóæ)
Lord-EZ world-OP two CLS son he.OBL DU-give-$3S_1$
'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 æhmæd=i.
PVB=$1S_2$-gave P.N.-MO_2
'(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/Allative$_1$, in, into', most commonly used with 'say',
  - the preposition *o* 'to/Allative$_2$, 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=$3S_2$ 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-OF_2
'Say something to that girl.'

OPBs and the IOC with *dæ*

(15) hæzíri da hazún=es b-ím-vattæ.
yesterday to OPB=$3S_2$ PU-$1S_2$-said
'I told him yesterday.'

ær-goa bá-waz-i da hazún=es.
DUR-wanted PU-say-$2S_1$ to OPB=$3S_2$
'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) yey xærbozæ=san æ-day o tini.
one melon=$3P_2$ PVB-gave to he.OBL
'They gave him a melon.' (B3.58)

(17) in leyle-y æt-æsbir-om o esdæ (dæst).
this boy-OM DUR-entrust-$1S_1$ 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-nivis-om esdæ=ra.
paper DUR-write-$1S_1$ you.OBL=BEN
'I'll write you a letter.'

(19) yey cay æt-ar-énde esdæ=ra.
one tea DUR-bring-$3P_1$ 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:

	OPB			Full Pronoun Form		
(20)	kaqæ	æn-nevis-om	veréwn=i (=ra).	kaqæ	æn-nevis-om	esdæ=ra.
	letter	DUR-write-$1S_1$	OPB=$2S_2$(=for)	letter	DUR-write-$1S_1$	you.OBL=for

'I'll write you letters/a letter.'

2.2.4 Recipient and Beneficient/Benecipient

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 'Benecipient' 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 æ̱t-ar-énde esdæ=ra. ci y-ard-e tæmen=ra? (< ci=i)
one tea DUR-bring-3P$_1$ you.OBL=for what PU-brought-PRF I.OBL=for (<what=2S$_2$)
'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/Benecipient* below):

(22) æz kot æd-duz-om veréwn=i ~ æz kot æd-duz-om esdæ=ra
I.OBL coat DUR-sew-1S$_1$ OPB=2S$_2$ I.OBL coat DUR-sew-1S$_1$ 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 Set$_2$ (the Oblique PAMs) directly in the verb (or verbal complex, in the case of LVCs). There are two variants of the Oblique PAM Construction:

- Set$_2$ as R occurring with simplex verbs that have an overt Theme NP present (23)
- Set$_2$ 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 Set$_2$ PAM *obligatorily* moves leftwards off the verb root and attaches to the Theme or to the NVE.

A) Simplex verb with Set$_2$ fronted to an overt Theme NP

(23) ketab=i _d-do-m. ketab=i ná-d-do-m.
book=2S$_2$ DUR-give-1S$_1$ book=2S$_2$ NG-DUR-give-1S$_1$
'I'll give you a book.' 'I won't give you a book.'

B) Set$_2$ fronted to the NVE of a Compound verb:

(24) juwéw=om há-dæ!
answer=1S$_2$ PVB-give
'Answer me!' (lit: Give me an answer!)

It should be noted that while Set$_2$ (the oblique PAMs) that encode the Recipient are obligatorily fronted *off the verb* to the Theme or the NVE, Set$_2$ 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-do-m
$2S_2$-DUR-give-$1S_1$
'I'll give you$_{THEME}$ (in marriage).'
but: '*I'll give you$_{REC}$ (something).'

i-t-ar-om
$2S_2$-DUR-bring-$1S_1$
'I'll bring you$_{THEME}$ (somewhere)'
'*I'll bring you$_{REC}$ (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-vaz-óm.
$2S_2$-DUR-say-$1S_1$
'I'll tell you.'

(27) is-æt-æns-en-om
$3S_2$-DUR-learn-CAUS-$1S_1$
'I'll teach him.'

i-t-æns-en-énde
$2S_2$-DUR-learn-CAUS-$3P_1$
'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 *as long as it is fronted* off the verb to the Theme:

Set_2 enclitic fronted to the Theme:

(28) ketab=i æd-do-m.
book=$2S_2$ DU-give-$1S_1$
'I'll give you a book.'

áwæ=s æd-do-m
water=$3S_2$ DU-give-$1S_1$
'I'll give him water.'

(29) hær-ki yey dæsd-e mu=s æd-dó-æ.
each-who one bunch-EZ hair=$3S_2$ DU-give-$3S_1$
'They each give him a bunch of [their] hair.' (A12.114)

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

(30) xoda onr=i (h)á-do-Ø!
God long.life=$2S_2$ PVB-give-$3S_1$
'May God give you long life!'

xoda qoæt=ian (h)á-do-Ø!
God strength=$2P_2$ PVB-give-$3S_1$
'May God give you strength!'
(2^{nd} plural or 2^{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 ~
(=22) I.OBL coat DU-sew-1S$_1$ OPB=2S$_2$

(b) æz kot æd-duz-om esdæ=ra ~
I.OBL coat DU-sew-1S$_1$ you.OBL=for

➔ (c) æz kot=i æd-duz-om
I.OBL coat=2S$_1$ DU-sew-1S$_1$
'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 possbile 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-koš-om.
I.DIR goat=2S$_2$ DU-kill-1S$_1$
'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 Set$_2$ enclitic indexing the R with LVCs, but, again, as long as the Set$_2$ is fronted to the non-verbal element (NVE) of the verb.

(33) b-úri yé-ss-am nešán=i æd-d-àm.
PU-come.IMP PU-go-1P$_1$ sign=2S$_2$ DU-give-1P$_1$
'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 Ditranstive 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'Il 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 Set$_2$ PAMs are no longer permitted and must convert to full pronouns as in usual DOC-type constructions:

(34) bæzan dómmæ=dæ an esdæ færíb æd-dò-Ø.
then after=LOC she you.OBL deception DU-give-3S$_1$
'Then after that she will trick you.' (A11.87)

(35) áwæ=s æd-do-m

water=$3S_2$ DU-give-$1S_1$

'I'll give him (Recipient) water' or 'I'll water it (Patient)' (e.g., a plant or a crop)

(36) xoda onr=es (h)á-do-Ø!

God long.life=$3S_2$ PVB-give-$3S_1$

'May God give him (long) life!'

(37) ketab=i æ̱d-do-m.

(= 28) book=$2S_2$ DU-give-$1S_1$

'I'll give you a book.'

(38) æz esdæ šu xaterjæm=i æ̱t-ar-om.

from you.OBL husband tranquil.mind=$2S_2$ DU-bring-$1S_1$

'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=$3S_2$ DU-give-$3S_1$

'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 æ̱d-do-m. > an ketab æ̱d-do-m esdæ.

that book=$2S_2$ DU-give-$1S_1$ that book DU-give-$1S_1$ 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:

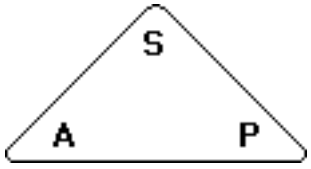
(1) Tense-based split Ergativity, especially in the tense-based split marking of Agents leading to the 'Double Oblique' construction that is so common in Vafsi past tenses

(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

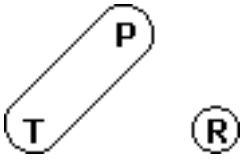


S=Ø A=Ø P=Ø

æz	æz	esdæ	ney	ær-gir-óm
I.DIR	from	you.OBL	reed	DU-get-1S$_1$
↕			↕	
AGENT$_{DirectCase}$			PATIENT$_{DirectCase}$	

'I'll get the reed from you.'

Non-salient THEME, Present Tense



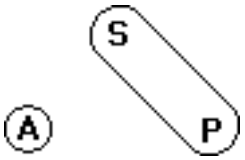
P=Ø T=Ø R=m

æz	ney	æd-dó-m	esdæ.	
I.DIR	reed	DU-give-1S$_1$	you.OBL	
↕		↕		
THEME$_{DirectCase}$		RECIPIENT$_{ObliqueCase}$		

'I'll give you the reed.'

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

Non-salient PATIENT, Past Tense

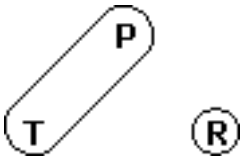


S=Ø A=m P=Ø

tæmen	æz	hæsáːn-i	púl=om	há-giræ	
I.OBL	from	P.N.-OM	money=1S$_2$	PVB-get	
↕			↕		
AGENT$_{ObliqueCase}$			PATIENT$_{DirectCase}$		

'I got money from Hassan.'

Non-salient THEME, Past Tense



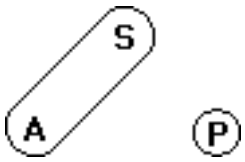
P=Ø T=Ø R=m

tæmen	púl=om	há-da	hæsáːn-i.	
I.OBL	money=1S$_2$	PVB-gave	P.N.-OM	
↕			↕	
THEME$_{DirectCase}$			RECIPIENT$_{ObliqueCase}$	

'I gave money to Hassan.'

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

Salient PATIENT, Present Tense

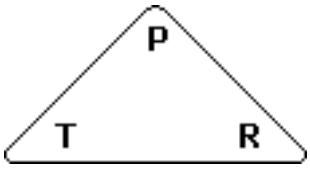


S=Ø A=Ø P=m

æz	in	kelj-i	ær-gir-om.	
I.DIR	this	girl-OF	DU-take-1S$_1$	
↕		↕		
AGENT$_{Direct}$		PATIENT$_{Oblique}$		

'I will marry this girl.'

Salient THEME, Present Tense



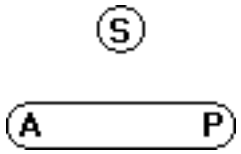
P=m T=m R=m

bawæ	kell-i=s	æd-do-Ø	tæmen		
father	daughter-OF=3S$_2$	DU-give-3S$_1$	I.OBL		
↕			↕		
THEME$_{Oblique}$			RECIPIENT$_{Oblique}$		

'The father will give me his daughter.'

Figure Four: Neutral Flagging of R and Salient P/T; **Past** system

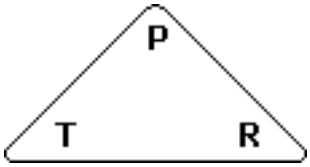
Salient PATIENT, Past Tense



S=Ø A=m P=m
('Double Oblique Construction')

belæxæræ tini kelj-i=s há-girætæ.
eventually he.OBL girl-OF-$3S_2$ PVB-took
↕ ↕
$AGENT_{Oblique}$ $PATIENT_{Oblique}$
'Eventually he married this girl.'

Salient THEME, Past Tense



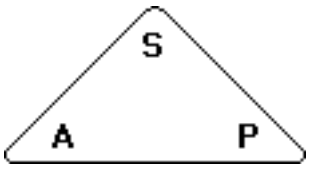
P=m T=m R=m
('Double Object Construction')

tæmen kell-i=m há-da hæsǽn-i
I.OBL daughter-OF=$1S_2$ PVB-gave P.N.-OM
↕ ↕
$THEME_{Oblique}$ $RECIPIENT_{Oblique}$
'I gave my daughter to Hassan (in marriage).'

Argument Indexing with non-salient P/T (PAM Construction)

Figure Five: Neutral Indexing of S/A/P and R/P/T; **Present** system

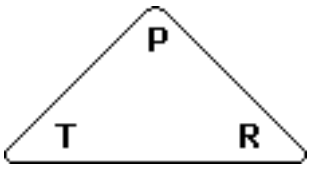
Salient PATIENT, Present Tense



S=m A=m P=m

xoda ræhmǽt=i Ø-kær-e!
God pity=$2S_2$ PU-do-$3S_1$
↕ ↕
PATIENT/PAM-Set_2 AGENT/PAM-Set_1
'May God pity you/have mercy on you!'

Salient THEME, Present Tense



P=m T=m R=m*

xoda onr=i há-do-Ø!
God long.life=$2S_2$ PVB-give-$3S_1$
↕ ↕
RECIPIENT/PAM-Set_2 AGENT/PAM-Set_1
'May God give you long life!'

NB: While the Theme and the Recipient can both be indexed in the verb, hence 'm' in this schema, it is never possible for both of them to be indexed in the verb at the same time, i.e., *either* Theme *or* Recipient, but not both.

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 Set_2 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 Set_2 PAM in an LVC, both *obligatorily* front the Set_2 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 Set_2 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 occasionally 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., *æræse bærzegér-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 *dæ* alone often has a sense not only of 'to, towards' (which it shares with Recipient), but as opposed to Recipient, *dæ* 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 *dæ*, 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 Benefactive/Benecipient:

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

Appendix One: Statistics of the various Ditransitive Constructions

Table Four

	Gurchan dialect Speaker A	Gurchan dialect Speaker B	Vafs dialect Folk Tales
TOTAL DITRANS TOKENS:			
'Give' only (simplex)			
GIVE, DOC, preverbal:	47.8%	24.4%	2.8%
GIVE, DOC, postverbal:	52.2%	73.3%	86.1%
GIVE, IOC, preverbal:	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%
GIVE, IOC, postverbal:	0.0%	2.2%	8.3%
TOTALS:	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%
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)			
SAY, DOC, preverbal:	xx%	xx%	x%
SAY, DOC, postverbal:	xx%	xx%	xx%
SAY, IOC, preverbal:	x%	x%	x%
SAY, IOC, postverbal:	x%	x%	x%
TOTALS:	xx%	xx%	xx%
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%

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1S1	Set_1 (Direct) PAM, 1st sg.
2S1	Set_1 (Direct) PAM, 2nd sg.
3S1	Set_1 (Direct) PAM, 3rd sg.
1P1	Set_1 (Direct) PAM, 1st pl.
2P1	Set_1 (Direct) PAM, 2nd pl.
3P1	Set_1 (Direct) PAM, 3rd pl.
1S2	Set_2 (Oblique) PAM, 1st sg.
2S2	Set_2 (Oblique) PAM, 2nd sg.
3S2	Set_2 (Oblique) PAM, 3rd sg.
1P2	Set_2 (Oblique) PAM, 1st pl.
2P2	Set_2 (Oblique) PAM, 2nd pl.
3P2	Set_2 (Oblique) PAM, 3rd pl.
AUX	Auxiliary verb
BEN	Benefactive
CHG	Change of state morpheme
CLS	Classifier
CMP	Comparative
COMP	Comparative
DEF	Definite marker
DIR	Direct Case
DP	Direct Case, Plural
DU	Durative marker
EZ	Ezafe
IDF	Indefinite
IMP	Imperative
LOC	Locative
LVC	Light Verb Construction
NG	Negative
NVE	Non-verbal Element (in LVC)
OBL	Oblique
OF	Oblique feminine, Type 1
OF2	Oblique feminine, Type 2
OM	Oblique masculine
OP	Oblique plural
OPB	Oblique Pronominal Base
P.N.	Proper Name
PAM	Person Agreement Marker
PF	Perfect
PL	Plural
PU	Punctual
PVB	Preverb
REC	Recipient
SUB	Subordinator
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Mood Marker
TR	Transitive