

## Ditransitive Constructions in East Caucasian: A family overview

*Michael Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Zaira Khalilova, and Zarina  
Molochieva*

*(Moscow State University, MPI EVA Leipzig, and University of Leipzig)*

### **Abstract**

After giving a general account of ditransitive constructions in East Caucasian languages, the paper focuses on the most salient and unique property of 'give'-verbs in the languages of the family – the distinction made between two types of transfer. This distinction reflects the double nature of 'give'-situations which involve both metaphorical transfer of possession rights and physical transfer of the object, and the consequent double nature of the Recipient which combines properties of a Beneficiary and a Goal. East Caucasian languages break Recipient down into two different marking strategies which may be called dative and lative, respectively. After giving a brief introduction to genetic grouping and areal spread of the family, as well as sketches its typological profile, we provide a general characteristic of the ditransitive constructions. Then we discuss some specific properties of dative marking in East Caucasian, focussing on the alternation in Recipient/Goal marking in 'give'-situations, non-dative marking of the Addressee with speech verbs, and dative with verbs of contact. Finally, § 8 is a summary of the discussion<sup>2</sup>.

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## 1. Introduction

The East Caucasian (or Nakh-Daghestanian) languages constitute a family of languages that are spoken in the northern and eastern Caucasus. While the majority of the languages are spoken in Daghestan, Chechen and Ingush are spoken in Chenchnya and Ingushetia, respectively, Batsbi is spoken in Georgia, and Khinalug and some of the Lezgif languages are spoken in northern Azerbaijan.

The family is divided into several genealogical subgroups including Nakh (Chechen, Ingush, Batsbi), Tsezic (Bezhta, Tsez, Khwarshi, Hinuq, Hunzib), Avar-Andic (Avar, Bagvalal, Andi, Karata, Tindi and others), Lezgif (Lezgian, Agul, Tabassaran, Budukh, Kryz, Archi and others). Dargwa, which earlier classifications considered to be one language, is in fact a group of languages (including e.g. Akusha, Icari, Mehweb and others). Lak, one of Daghestan's major literary languages, is a family level isolate, sometimes combined with the Dargwa languages into a separate Lak-Dargwa grouping. Khinalug, a language spoken in one village in northern Azerbaijan, is also most likely a family-level isolate which has been subject to strong Lezgif (and Azerbaijani) influence. Most languages of the family were not documented before the late 19th century. The number of speakers varies from several hundreds for some Tsezic languages to over 500 000 in the case of Avar. Some languages, especially Avar, have significant dialectal variation. Finally, some scholars establish a more distant genealogical affiliation of the East Caucasian to the West Caucasian (Abkhaz, Circassian and others) and suggest a bigger (and deeper) North Caucasian family; for a recent account see (Nikolayev & Starostin 1994).

This paper gives an overview of ditransitive constructions in the languages of the East Caucasian family. The authors have first-hand data on several languages they have been working on (Khwarshi, Chechen, Archi, Khinalug). Not all other languages have grammars that are detailed enough. Due to this, as well as to the limitations of the book format, the paper cannot be considered as fully representing the variation in ditransitive patterns in a family-wide way. Khwarshi (Tsezic), Chechen (Nakh), Archi (Lezgif) and Khinalug (probable family level isolate) are however representative of different genealogical groupings within the family. Supplemented by second-hand data from the languages of other groups, the present article gives a general idea of the family's ditransitive profile and variation within it.

Before proceeding to the ditransitive data, we provide a brief outline of the grammatical structure of East Caucasian. These are dependent-marking left-branching ergative languages that typically have one class-number agreement slot in the verb. There are up to five gender/noun classes in the singular and two (human and nonhuman) in the plural. Some of the Lezgian languages have lost class agreement. Some languages, including e.g. Tabassaran and Batsbi, have developed or are starting to develop patterns of person agreement by cliticizing personal pronouns to the predicate.

The nominal inflection system is very elaborate and often consists of dozens of forms. Two sets of nominal forms are distinguished: syntactic cases and the locative subparadigm. Syntactic cases include the unmarked nominative case<sup>3</sup>, the ergative case, and usually also genitive and dative cases. Forms in the locative subparadigm are produced by combining a localization marker placing an object with respect to the landmark, including ‘on’, ‘under’, ‘behind’ etc., and an orientation marker conveying the notion of movement, including elative, lative, allative etc. Compare:

(1) examples of locative forms

Bagvalal	Archi	Agul
<i>roš-i-L'i</i>	<i>q<sup>w</sup>en-ni-ti-š</i>	<i>karawut-i-q-di</i>
tree-obl-sub	cliff-obl-super-el	bed-obl-post-lat
‘under the tree’	‘from (the top of) the cliff’	‘to behind the bed’

Essive, the “static” orientation (staying in the location designated by the localization suffix) is usually unmarked, as in Bagvalal example. Bare localization marker with no following orientation marker is interpreted as essive, and no gloss for the essive is used in interlinear glossing. Quite a few languages combine essive and lative in the unmarked form, but most have a separate elative marker.

Some languages, including Chechen and Udi, are poor in nominal spatial forms (that is, as compared to their relatives). For more details on the nominal inflectional profile of East Caucasian, see Kibrik (1970),

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<sup>3</sup> There is a terminological disagreement concerning the label applied to the unmarked form in East Caucasian languages. Most Western and some Russian scholars use the label *absolute*, following Dixonian tradition. Aleksandr Kibrik is the promoter of the use of *nominative* for this form; he explains this choice in Kibrik (2003b).

Comrie & Polinsky (1998), Kibrik (2003a), and (Daniel & Ganenkov (2008) for a shorter survey.

Table 1. Nominal inflection inventories:  
from rich (Khwarshi) to poor (Chechen)

Khwarshi	Khinalug	Chechen								
Nominative Ergative Lative <sup>4</sup> Genitive 1 Genitive 2 <sup>5</sup> Instrumental (etc.)	Nominative Ergative Dative Inalienable genitive General genitive <sup>6</sup> Comitative	Nominative Ergative Dative Genitive Instrumental Comparative								
<table style="display: inline-table; border: none; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="border: none;">In Super Cont Inter Sub Ad Apud</td> <td style="border: none; padding: 0 10px;">}</td> <td style="border: none; padding: 0 10px;">x</td> <td style="border: none;">Essive Lative Versative Ablative Translative Terminative</td> </tr> </table>	In Super Cont Inter Sub Ad Apud	}	x	Essive Lative Versative Ablative Translative Terminative	<table style="display: inline-table; border: none; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="border: none;">Ad Poss Cmpr</td> <td style="border: none; padding: 0 10px;">}</td> <td style="border: none; padding: 0 10px;">x</td> <td style="border: none;">Essive Lative</td> </tr> </table>	Ad Poss Cmpr	}	x	Essive Lative	Locative Lative Allative Ablative
In Super Cont Inter Sub Ad Apud	}	x	Essive Lative Versative Ablative Translative Terminative							
Ad Poss Cmpr	}	x	Essive Lative							

## 2. Flagging in the ditransitive construction

### 2.1. The most common pattern: Recipient dative-marked

East Caucasian ditransitive constructions are primarily encoded by case-marking and clearly follow the indirective pattern. The Theme is encoded in the same way as P, i.e. it is in the (unmarked) nominative case. The Recipient, on the other hand, is marked by a dative case (ex.2) or, more rarely, by its functional substitute from the locative subparadigm (ex. 3).

<sup>4</sup> In Khwarshi, the same marker is attached to the stem to convey dative-like functions and to localization marker to convey lative meaning; see below for discussion.

<sup>5</sup> The choice between genitive 1 and 2 is controlled by the case of the head noun; genitive 1 is used for nominative heads, genitive 2, for all other heads.

<sup>6</sup> The only other East Caucasian language that has (in)alienability opposition is Budukh (Talibov 2007: 80-81).

(2) Tsakhur (Kibrik et al. 1999: 856)

<i>aχ<sup>w</sup>-in-id</i>	<i>q'ış-i-k<sup>w</sup>a</i>	<i>sana-d</i>	<i>har har</i>
4.remain.PFV-ATR-PART.4(NOM)	butter-OBL-COMIT	together-PART.4	every every
<i>nafas-i-s,</i>	<i>žama?at-i-s</i>	<i>it'al-a?-in.</i>	
soul-OBL-DAT	community-OBL-DAT	distribute-4.DO.PFV-ATR	

'What was left was given away together with the butter to every single soul, to the community.'

(3) Icarl (Sumbatova and Mutalov 2003: 185)

<i>du-l</i>	<i>cin-na qal</i>	<i>c'a-l</i>	<i>b-ik-ub</i>	<i>admij-li-j</i>
I-ERG	self-GEN house	fire-ERG	N.burn.PFV-PRET	person-OBL-SUPER(LAT)
<i>azir</i>	<i>qūruš</i>	<i>b-ič'-ib-da</i>		
thousand	rouble	N-give.PFV-PRET-1		

'I gave one thousand roubles to the man whose house has burnt down.'

## 2.2. Alternative Recipient marking

The construction exemplified in (2) and (3) is the unmarked and most frequent pattern. However, most if not all East Caucasian languages have an alternative way to mark Recipients. These "alternative Recipients" employ some form from the locative subparadigm, typically one of the latives. In most contexts, dative vs. lative Recipients contrast 'give forever, offer' vs. 'give for a while, lend to someone, hand' types of situations, respectively.

(4) Tsakhur (Kibrik et al. 1999: 788)

<i>na<sup>s</sup>χu-r-ē</i>	<i>il,or&gt;zur,</i>	<i>haša<sup>s</sup>χu-r</i>	<i>ilēz<sup>w</sup>ar-a-j?-i,</i>
how-2-Q1	<2>stop.PFV	thus-2	2.stand-<2>do-PFV
<i>t'ufli-bi</i>	<i>že-s-qa</i>	<i>hiwo,</i>	<i>sumk'a-b</i>
shoes-PL	self.OBL.2-AD-ALL	give.PFV	bag.3-PART.3
<i>gi<sup>w</sup>x-u</i>	<i>wo-b</i>	<i>žu-ni</i>	<i>k'aneqa.</i>
<3>put-PFV	COP-3	self.OBL.1-AOBL	near

'He made her stand in the way she was standing (the other time), handed her the shoes and put the bag next to her.'

- (5) Avar (Magomed Magomedov, Gilles Authier, p.c.)

<i>di-ca</i>	<i>rek'e-qe</i>	<i>c'al-ize,</i>		
I.OBL-ERG	heart.OBL-APUD-LAT	read-INF		
<i>muṣalim-as</i>	<i>di-q-e</i>	<i>q'urʔan</i>	<i>ɫ'u-na</i>	
teacher-ERG	I.OBL-APUD-LAT	Koran	give.PFV-PF	

'The teacher gave me the Koran so that I read the lesson'

When a language possesses two orientation markers expressing the meaning of 'moving to the landmark', as in Archi or Khwarshi, it is the lative form ('onto', 'into' etc.) not the allative/versative form ('towards') that is used as alternative Recipient marker.

- (6) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)

<i>k'an</i>	<i>harak-du-t</i>	<i>iq-n-a</i>	<i>ja-r</i>	<i>ǰanna</i>
most	before-ATR-4	day-OBL-IN	this-2	woman.OBL(ERG)
<i>čʔut</i>	<i>bo-ɫo-li</i>	<i>ju-w</i>	<i>oq'er-mu-ra-k</i>	<i>da·b·χi-s</i>
jug	3-give.PFV-EVID	this-1	pauper-OBL.1-CONT-LAT	<3>hit-INF

'On the (very) first day this woman gave this pauper a jug {of butter} to churn.'

In Dargwa languages, the lative is unmarked (i.e. bare localization marker is interpreted as a lative) while the essive is marked by adding a class agreement marker. It is the unmarked lative which is used in alternative Recipient marking. Some East Caucasian languages do not distinguish the lative from the (unmarked) essive at all or in the specific localization used for alternative Recipient. When no lative form is available, it is the essive that is used, as in Khinalug or Kryz:

- (7) Kryz (Authier 2009++)

<i>div.ul-ir</i>	<i>sa-d</i>	<i>šušə</i>	<i>ɸari-v</i>	<i>vuc're</i>
devil-ERG	one-N	bottle	old.woman-AD	give-PRS

'The devil gives a bottle to the old woman.'

The Lezgian data are problematic. The alternative Recipient is marked by the adessive (Haspelmath 1993: 273), although the language also has a separate ad-directive form (Haspelmath 1993: 92). Tentatively, it can be explained by stating that Lezgian essives cover some lative ('into', 'onto' etc.) usages, while Lezgian directives are closer to allatives ('towards') of other languages (cf. Archi and Khwarshi, which choose the lative from

the lative / allative alternative), but that point requires further investigation. Similarly problematic are two of the Tsezic languages, Bezhta and Hinuq. Both languages have a distinct lative form in the localization they use for alternative Recipient marking (apparently, cognate marker *-qV* which is labeled CONT and POSS, respectively). However, these languages allow both essive and lative forms for alternative Recipient instead of allowing lative only (Lomtadze 1963: 194, 206; Diana Forker, p.c.; Madzhid Khalilov, p.c.). This, again, may have something to do with re-combination of essive and lative meanings in the essive form: cf. the use of the Bezhta POSS in an apparently lative function 'throw to someone' discussed in note 12 below.

The case of alternative Recipient marking which may at first seem unusual is found in Budukh (Lezgif). According to (Talibov 2007: 78-81), Budukh has two genitive forms, one of which is specialized for inalienable possessions (including body parts, clothes and kinship terms) while the other covers the rest of the possessive domain. It is this 'second genitive' which is used as alternative Recipient marking. Apparently, both markings of the Recipient are syntactic cases, which seems to contradict our previous generalizations with syntactic dative vs. spatial lative used in this function. However, Authier (in preparation) suggests a locative origin for this marker, indicating a locative cognate to the Budukh second genitive in Kryz, its closely related sister language; Gilles Authier (p.c.) also reports some spatial usages of the form still attested today (though only with inanimate nouns, while animate nouns seem to require a postposition). Budukh and Kryz do not distinguish between lative and essive meanings, similarly to the Hunzib and Khinalug. In other words, Budukh alternative Recipient marking is motivated not by its syntactic use as the alienable genitive but by its historical (now only peripheral) lative (essive-lative) function. That fits into the general East Caucasian background.

With these important exceptions (rather, unclear cases), the essive or another - elative, translative - orientation or any syntactic case is never used in our data for alternative Recipient marking when lative marking is available; allative (alias versative, directive) also seems to be dispreferred. For this reason, we will use "lative Recipients" and "lative strategy of Recipient marking" as a convenient label for all the Recipients in (4) to (7) above.

On the other hand, the dative case does not have exactly the same functions in all languages of the family. One notable parameter of variation is the balance between recipient/benefactive and spatial usages.

In Bagvalal, the dative is only used spatially when governed by some postpositions. In Archi, in addition to spatial postpositions, there are contexts when the dative Goal is governed by movement or contact verbs including ‘enter’ or ‘hit’. In addition to these usages, Agul and Tabassaran employ the dative on adjunct-like spatial arguments such as place names (‘deported to Kyrgyzstan’) or nouns with spatial semantics (‘go onto the road’, ‘come home’).

Another important parameter is the degree of structural integration of datives into the system of syntactic cases (as opposed to the spatial subparadigm). In Bagvalal, special dative marking is only available for personal pronouns, while in other pronouns and all nouns it is identical to the super-essive (Kibrik et al. 2001). This syncretism might however be accidental. Indeed, the Bagvalal dative has fewer spatial uses than some other East Caucasian languages, including those that have a separate dative marker for all nouns (as Agul).

More examples come from Lezgian, Dargwa, Tsezic, Avar and Lak. Though it is not a member of the locative subparadigm *stricto sensu*, according to Haspelmath (1993: 87), the Lezgian dative substitutes for the missing in-directive case. The same is true of the Huppuq’ dialect of Agul (Timur Maisak, p.c.). In Icari Dargwa, there is no separate dative marker at all. The main Recipient marker is the super-lative (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003); alternative Recipient marking uses the in-lative (Rasul Mutalov, p.c.). Here, both strategies use forms that belong to the spatial subparadigm. However, the Icari super-lative is closer to the dative of other East Caucasian languages than the in-lative. This is supported by the fact that the super-lative is used in another function typically associated with East Caucasian datives: marking of Experiencers (Sumbatova and Mutalov 2003). In a partially similar way, in Khwarshi, Tsez and Bezhta the dative functions are fulfilled by the same marker that forms lative forms of all localizations.

(8) Khwarshi – spatial function: lative as orientation marker

<i>hobože</i>	<i>idu</i>	<i>golluč</i>	<i>aq<sup>s</sup>-ba</i>	<i>l-uχ-un</i>
now	this	all	mouse-PL	NPL-come-UW

*isu-l’o-l*

3SG.OBL-SUPER-LAT

‘Now all these mice attacked him.’



(9) Khwarshi – benefactive (dative) function of the lative

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

‘I built a house for him’

In addition to the Beneficiaries and Recipients marked by the lative as in (9), Khwarshi uses apud-lative and Tsez poss-lative (Comrie 2000) marking to convey the same distinction as the ad-allative in the Tsakhur ex. (4), or adessive in the Avar ex. (5). The same pattern with identical dative/lative marker is also attested in Lak and in Avar; again, the Recipient may be marked either with a dative which is formally identical to lative or with the ad-lative – see (Žirkov 1955: 39-40).

To sum up, what all these (and many other East Caucasian) languages have in common is two distinct Recipient-marking strategies, one for situations of offering and giving away for ever, the other for handing over and lending. In the clearest cases, the strategies are associated with the dative case and with some lative form from the spatial subparadigm, respectively.

This distribution can sometimes be obscured by the fact that East Caucasian datives may fulfill some functions that belong to the spatial semantic domain (e.g. Agul) – or may even be absent altogether, with dative functions being fulfilled by some form belonging to (Icari Dargwa) or related to (Khwarshi) spatial subparadigm, probably reflecting a general typological tendency of latives drifting into datives and datives originating from latives. Latives may be absent from the spatial subparadigm, too, so the second strategy can not choose a lative form.

Even so, the form which is used in the first strategy is functionally clearly “more dative”, combining spatial usages with benefactive and experiential functions. The form which is used in the second strategy is always a lative when the lative is available, and essive only if the essive combines essive with lative functions. Therefore, the second strategy will be called *lative*, regardless of whether it is really a lative or an unmarked form combining essive and lative functions. Similarly, we will call the first strategy *dative* even though the case marking in question is not necessarily a dative stricto sensu. The semantics and functional properties of the distinction between dative and lative strategies are discussed in greater detail below.

However pervasive the presence of the two Recipients is, there is one East Caucasian language which lacks it. This is Udi, a Lezgian language

spoken in Azerbaijani, in small communities dispersed in Russia and in one village in Georgia. (Ganenkov 2008) discusses the forms and functions of cases in the Nidzh dialect. It does not mention the distinction between the two Recipients; the Udi Electronic Corpus from the same dialect does not have any instances reminiscent of the distinction in the other languages of the family. (Schulze, to appear) discusses two dative cases present in Vartashen, the other dialect of Udi, but explains their distribution by other factors (affectedness, reciprocity etc.).

The following table summarizes the formal means used for alternative Recipient marking as opposed to the more common “dative” strategy.

Table 2. Formal means of lative vs. dative strategies of Recipient marking in East Caucasian

Language	Lative strategy		Dative strategy	
Batsbi	ALL	<i>-eg</i>	DAT	<i>-en</i>
Chechen	ALL	<i>-ga</i>	DAT	<i>-na</i>
Avar	APUD-LAT	<i>-q-e</i>	LAT	<i>-e</i>
Akhvakh	AD.LAT	<i>-lira</i>	DATIVE	<i>-a</i>
Bagvalal	HUMLOC	<i>-lā</i>	DAT (SUPER)	<i>-ha (-la)</i>
Tsez	POSS-LAT POSS	<i>-qo-r</i> <i>-qo</i>	LATIVE	<i>-r</i>
Khwarshi	APUD-LAT	<i>-ba-l</i>	LATIVE	<i>-l</i>
Hinuq	POSS-LAT POSS	<i>-qo-r</i> <i>-qo</i>	DATIVE	<i>-z</i>
Hunzib	AD	<i>-g</i>	DATIVE	<i>-i</i>
Akusha Dargwa	IN(LAT)	<i>-zi</i>	DAT	<i>-s</i>
Icari Dargwa	IN(LAT)	<i>-cī</i>	SUPER(LAT)	<i>-j</i>
Khinalug	POSS	<i>-š</i>	DATIVE	<i>-u</i>
Lezgian	AD		DAT	<i>-s</i>
Agul	SUPER-LAT APUD-LAT	<i>-l-di</i> <i>-w-di</i>	DAT	<i>-s</i>
Archi	CONT-LAT	<i>-ra-k</i>	DAT	<i>-s</i>
Kryz	AD	<i>-v</i>	DATIVE	<i>-z</i>
Budukh	AD (alias GEN 2)	<i>-u</i>	DATIVE	<i>-z</i>
Udi	absent		DATIVE	<i>-a (-χ)</i>

### 2.3. Pronominal arguments and animacy of the Theme

Most often, there are no special effects on the ditransitive construction triggered by pronominalization of any of the arguments. Some languages, however, may exhibit structural differences between pronominal and nominal paradigms. Thus, in Bagvalal, only the first and second person singular pronouns and the human interrogative pronoun have a distinct dative case form; in all other pronouns and nominals, the dative is identical to the super-essive (Kibrik et al. eds 2001: 140). Note that this merger is not connected to the ditransitivity pattern in particular. The dominating morphosyntactic pattern for experiential and modal verbs in East Caucasian involves marking Experiencers by dative. In Bagvalal, these verbs also use dative marking on pronouns only and take super-essive arguments otherwise. There do not seem to be any restrictions on the animacy of the Theme, either; cf. the examples (29) and (30) below.

## 3. Head marking devices

The main pattern of agreement in ditransitive constructions displays indirective alignment; cf. for instance (11) above. The Theme patterns with P/S in terms of agreement control in the same way as it patterns with them in terms of case marking. In a few languages, however, the Recipient is also involved in verbal marking.

### 3.1. Indexing by pronominal clitics in Tabassaran

A few languages feature referencing core arguments by means of cliticized personal pronouns. One example is Tabassaran. The rules of personal agreement in Tabassaran are complicated and may be presented here only in a very partial way; for details see (Kibrik & Seleznev 1982). There are two personal agreement slots. One slot is called syntactic and is obligatory; whenever a verb has a locutor (Speaker or Addressee) as its subject, it has a personal (first or second person) agreement suffix. The choice of the subject determined by A > E > P hierarchy. The other slot is optional, and is added to the verb to put an argument under emphasis. This is the only agreement possibility for the Recipient. In the following examples, there is no obligatory agreement because the subject (Agent in this case) is not a locutor. The optional (pragmatic) agreement slot may

be left empty or occupied by a pronominal clitic referring to the Recipient or Theme.

(10) Tabassaran (Kibrik & Seleznev 1982: 26)

<i>dadiji</i>	<i>uzu</i>	<i>uvuz</i>	<i>ūvnu</i> / <i>ūvun-vuz</i> / <i>ūvun-zu</i>
father.ERG	me	you.SG.DAT	gave / gave-2SG.DAT / gave-1SG

‘Father gave me to you.’

(11) Tabassaran (Kibrik & Seleznev 1982: 26)

<i>dadiji</i>	<i>uvu</i>	<i>uzuz</i>	<i>ūvnu</i> / <i>ūvun-vu</i> / <i>ūvun-zuz</i>
father.ERG	you.SG	you.SG.DAT	gave / gave-1SG / gave-2SG.DAT

‘Father gave you to me.’

While Batsbi shows similar patterns of cliticization (probably, at its earlier stage), Udi has floating personal clitics that may be hosted by different constituents in the clause (see Harris 2002).

### 3.2. Preverbs in Khinalug

A different implementation of head-marking in ditransitive constructions involves spatial preverbs in Khinalug. This language has a system of by and large lexicalized spatial prefixes on verbs which, among other things, express the distinction between movement on the same horizontal and towards the speaker (*tal-*) vs. on the same level and away from the speaker (*lä-*). With ‘give’, these prefixes alternate depending on the distribution of the semantic roles (Agent and Recipient) between speech act participants (although for the first person Recipient, the forms are strongly fused).

(12) Khinalug (Kibrik et al. 1972: 235; Khinalug Electronic Corpus) – ‘I give you’

<i>dä</i>	<i>sanžab-irdir</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ägni-lli</i>	<i>ta.š-f-a,</i>
this	needle-PL	I.INAL	clothes-EL	pull.out-NPL.LV-IMP

<i>jä</i>	<i>dä</i>	<i>k’an-dir</i>	<i>uχ</i>
I.ERG	this	bead-PL	you.SG.DAT

*lä-k'i-r-mä*

SAME.LEVEL.EL-give-IPFV-IND

'You pull these pins out of my clothes, and I will give you these beads.'

- (13) Khinalug (Kibrik et al. 1972: 247; Khinalug Electronic Corpus) – 'you give me'

*žan*      *bala,*   *asir=im*      *hinä*   *q'ičä-r-ir*  
 VOC      child   me.DAT=and      that.OBL   ware-PL-LOC

*sa*      *t'ing*   *al*      *tilq'u-jä*      *tä*  
 one      drop   milk   milk-CVB      SAME.LEVEL.LAT.give.IMP

'My boy, milk a drop of milk and give it to me in this vessel.'

This pattern is not, however, specific to the verb 'give' (except for the strong fusion); other verbs, including e.g. 'look', show similar alternation of preverbs. Comparable patterns are reported for Nakh languages; see (Nichols, a preparation) on Ingush as well as the Chechen ex. (36) below. This is not a true person marking, but rather a personal deixis device from which some information on persons of the participants, including the Recipient, may be inferred.

### 3.3. Person suppletion in Tsezic

Yet another head-marking-like device is found in Tsezic languages and, unlike preverbs and personal clitics discussed above, is specifically related to ditransitive constructions. The Tsezic languages use different stems for 'give', depending on whether the Recipient is third or first/second person. This suppletion is discussed in detail in Comrie (2003) and may be seen in the following examples:

- (14) Hinuq (Diana Forker, p.c.) – third person Recipient

*mesed-mexer*      *teł*      *goła*      *torpa*      *q'iliqan-qo-r*  
 gold-money      inside   be.PTCP   bag   drummer-POSS-LAT

*tOL-O*      < ... >

give-PRS

'She passes the bag with the gold to the drummer ...'

(15) Hinuq (Diana Forker, p.c.) – non-third person Recipient

<i>mežuz</i>	<i>neL-ajaz</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>mecχer-no</i>	<i>gom,</i>	<i>mesed-no</i>		
you.pl.DAT	give-PURP	I.GEN.DIR	money-and	be.NEG	gold-and		
<i>gom,</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>gotiš</i>	<i>žo</i>	<i>goł,</i>	<i>og,</i>	<i>aku,</i>	<i>berso-n</i>
be.NEG	I.GEN1	be.PTCP	thing	be,	axe	spade,	plough-and
<i>t'okaw</i>	<i>mežuz</i>	<i>diqo</i>	<i>žo</i>	<i>gom</i>			
more	you.pl.DAT	I.POSS	thing	be.NEG			

'I have no money to give to you, no gold, all I have are an axe, a spade and a plough – I have nothing more for you'

A similar distribution can be observed in Tsez and Khwarshi, while in e.g. Hunzib, another Tsezic language, the *n-* version of the 'give' verb is used with Recipients of all persons. Comrie as well as Nikolayev & Starostin (1994: 641) suggest that the first element of the Tsezic 'give' root is in fact a fossilized deictic. If this is true, the stem suppletion can be compared with the alternation of spatial preverbs with 'give' in Khinalug or Nakh languages, even though deictic configurations of the Agent and the Recipient are treated slightly differently. However, synchronically, Tsezic 'give' cannot be segmented any more.

With the exception of Recipient-controlled suppletion, speaking family-wide, indexing and any other marking on the verb does not play any important role in ditransitive patterns, and, unlike dative and lative strategies, is not specifically connected to them. Not surprisingly, thus, in those languages where ditransitive relations are marked on the predicate, there is no special interaction between head and dependent marking. Case marking on arguments is a fully independent and obligatory mechanism for expressing the argument structure of 'give' verbs.

#### 4. Behavioral properties: structural indifference

According to our data, the ditransitive construction does not seem to be associated with special re-distribution of syntactic statuses between the Recipient and the Theme in East Caucasian. In terms of syntax, the Theme is a regular P, and the giver is a regular A, while Recipients are peripheral arguments.

The Theme shows clear morphosyntactic domination which is implied by the fact of its alignment with the Patient. Its privileged status is 'inherited' from the Patient and is not specific to ditransitive pattern; it amounts primarily, if not exclusively, to agreement control and obligatoriness. Only the Patient or Theme may control intraclausal agreement<sup>7</sup>.

In some languages, in the so-called "binominative auxiliary pattern" (functionally related to antipassives in other ergative languages), the lexical verb must agree with the Patient while the auxiliary may (or must, as in e.g. Khwarshi) agree with the the Agent. Exactly the same pattern is observed in ditransitive constructions with auxiliaries; however, while Agent promotion to the nominative position is possible, the Recipient can never be so promoted.

Outside agreement control properties, Patient-Theme and Recipient (as well as other arguments) seem either to enjoy more or less the same syntactic control properties as the Agent or to be equally disprivileged as compared to the Agent. With their relatively free word order, East Caucasian languages do not put any strong restrictions on the position of the Theme and Recipient in the clause. While all the languages have some kind of causative formation, which is highly elaborate and varies from morphological derivation in Andic languages to more or less clearly periphrastic 'do'-causatives in various Lezgian languages, they rarely feature Agent-promoting antipassive derivations (with the exception of the auxiliary-based binominative construction mentioned above). There is no valency-changing process that may promote the Recipient to a higher syntactic position.

Below, all relevant examples for syntactic tests could not possibly have been provided for the sake of the volume space. We omit most of the contexts that give "negative" results with respect to Theme / Recipient syntactic prominence.

#### 4.1. Relativization and question formation: neutral

In a ditransitive construction, anything can be relativized, including Theme, Agent, Recipient or a peripheral argument.

---

<sup>7</sup> Agreement of participles follows a special pattern, though: participles usually have a suffix agreement slot which is controlled by the head of the relative clause, whatever its semantic role is.

## (16) Agul (Agul Electronic Corpus): Recipient relativization

<i>pul-du-q-as</i>	<i>c'-a-t̄-i-s</i>	<i>pul-du-q-as</i>	<i>c'-a-ji</i> ,
[money-OBL-POST-EL	give-IPFV-NMLZ-OBL]-DAT	money-OBL-POST-EL	give-IPFV-PST
<i>jaḅ-ar-i-s</i>	<i>p-u-t̄-i-s</i>	<i>jaḅ-ar-i-s</i>	<i>c'-a-ji.</i>
[day-PL-OBL-DAT	say-PFV-NMLZ-OBL]-DAT	day-PL-OBL-DAT	give-IPFV-PST

'Those to whom it was given for money, they gave it for money; and to those who would ask to give it in exchange for working days, it was given for working days.'

Although each pattern is structurally possible and elicitable, including both dative and lative Recipients, Recipient relativization as in (16) seems to be extremely rare in the corpora available to us. This usage-based preference seems to group the Recipient with peripheral rather than core arguments of the East Caucasian clause.

Other tests often indicate a similar "flat" syntax. Thus, in Archi, both the Theme and the Recipient may be questioned, focussed or launch floating quantifiers (though the corpus evidence for the latter is somewhat poor and inconclusive). Even less frequent than floating quantifier construction (maybe half way to self-repairs), "detached" right peripheral genitives or adjectives may, in principle, also refer to either of the three ditransitive arguments.

The Recipient and the Theme are equal from the point of view of the applied behavioral tests. One could in principle expect that they enjoy a special syntactic status as compared to other peripheral arguments. For Archi, this does not seem to be the case: peripheral arguments may be questioned, focussed and relativized upon.

## 4.2. Reflexivization and nominalization: S/A-based

There is a number of materials related to reflexivization in East Caucasian (see for example Kibrik ed. 1999, Kibrik ed. 2001). While the variation across languages is significant in terms of alignment, from neutral to nominative, that does not seem to have effects on ditransitive constructions in particular.

To take the example of Archi, in ditransitive constructions neither Recipient nor Theme can control reflexivization of the Agent, while the Agent may control reflexivization of either Recipient or Theme. When the reflexive NP is an Agent, it seems to be controllable from outside the



sentence only, while for a reflexive in any other position there is a clear preference for Agent as an intraclausal controller.

The interpretation of a possessive reflexive seems to be more context dependent and allowing more structural freedom. The possessive reflexive is also normally understood as controlled by the Agent, but, when supported by a reflexive ‘reprise’, a similar reflexive possessive construction in (17) is understood as controlled by the Recipient. In (18) the identification of the controller depends on the larger context<sup>8</sup>.

(17) Archi, elicited (Bulbul Musaeva, p.c.)

<i>parčaḥ-li</i>	<i>uḥmi-s</i>	<i>žu-n-uṛu</i>	<i>došdur</i>
king-OBL(ERG)	shepherd.OBL-DAT	self.OBL.1-GEN-EMPH<2>	sister(2)
<i>žu-ṣ = uṛu</i>	<i>do-ḶO</i>		
self.OBL.1-DAT-EMPH<2>	2-give.PFV		

‘The king married the shepherd<sub>i</sub> to his<sub>i</sub> own sister’ (e.g. as a result of some clever combination’

(18) Archi, elicited (Bulbul Musaeva, p.c.)

<i>cʼiχdi-mu</i>	<i>Ḷaʼmu-tū-m-mi-ra-k</i>	<i>žu-n = tʼ-u</i>
thief-OBL(ERG)	rich-ATR-1-OBL-CONT-LAT	self.OBL-GEN=4-EMPH
<i>arsi</i>	<i>ḶO</i>	
money(4)	4.give.PFV	

‘The thief<sub>i</sub> gave his<sub>i,j</sub> money to the rich man<sub>j</sub>,’

Similarly, a possessive reflexive on a Recipient may be understood not only as referring to the Agent but also, in an appropriate context, as referring to the Theme. In some cases, even possessive reflexives on the Agent seem to be controlled by one of the other arguments within the clause. However, examples with reflexives controlled by anything else than the Agent, do not seem to be frequent in texts.

It is S’s of intransitive verbs, Agents and Experiencers that can (optionally) be encoded by genitives with action nominals; even when the Agent is absent, none of the arguments would be able to shift to genitive marking.

<sup>8</sup> The more strict constraints on reflexivization in the first two examples seem to be lexically motivated. With a female Theme, the verb ‘give’ is understood as ‘give as a wife’, and in this case the Agent is naturally understood as the father of the girl getting married.

## 4.3. Summary of behavioral properties

To sum up, there are no specific syntactic statuses, or privileges, attributed to the Recipient. The Theme follows indirective pattern: it does have a privileged morphosyntactic status, but this status is “inherited” from its Patient alignment; it is not less or more privileged than any other Patient. The Agent is privileged under some behavioral tests, such as reflexivization and nominalization. The Recipient, on the other hand, is not privileged syntactically or morphosyntactically as compared to other peripheral arguments, and dative and lative Recipients seem to behave in the same way. In other words, there is no redistribution of syntactic preferences between Theme and Recipient as happens in ditransitive constructions in some languages. Dative Recipients are in this respect clearly distinguished from dative Experiencers who are, at least in some respects, syntactically aligned with A/S.

Table 3. Hierarchy of arguments (based on Archi data)

		behavioral privileges	
		+	-
morphosyntactic privileges	+	S	P (incl. Theme)
	-	A/Exp	peripheral (incl. Recipients)

The analysis in § 4 has been mostly focussed on Archi data. Although individual languages may vary, we believe that this image of structural indifference and/or Agent prominence truthfully represents the typological profile of the East Caucasian languages on the whole, with their relatively “flat” syntax. Deeper analysis of individual languages is of course required and may uncover important new facts.

## 5. Alternation in Recipient marking

### 5.1. Semantics

Typologically, the most interesting property of ditransitive constructions reported for most (probably, all but one) East Caucasian languages is the availability of two different markings for Recipients, and the semantic motivation of the alternation.

(19) Tsez, elicited (Arsen Abdullaev, p.c.)

<i>di</i>	<i>nesi-r/nesi-qo-r</i>	<i>t'ek</i>	<i>teL-si</i>
I.ERG	he-LAT/he-POSS-LAT	book	give-PST

'I gave / lent him a book.'

(20) Avar, elicited (Magomed Magomedov, Gilles Authier p.c.)

<i>di-q'e</i>	<i>L'e-č'o-go,</i>	<i>di-je</i>	<i>šaj</i>
I.OBL-APUD-LAT	give.IPFV-NEG-SEQ	I.OBL-LAT	why
<i>du-ca</i>	<i>ha-b</i>	<i>t'eq</i>	<i>L'ola-r-e-b?</i>
you.sg.OBL-ERG	this-N	book	give-FUT-NEG-PART-N

'Instead of giving this book to me (for a while), why don't you offer it to me?'

Even though the first strategy called dative is not always realized as a true benefactive dative and the second one is not necessarily lative, the two strategies choose marking as close to Beneficiary dative viz. spatial lative from the functional viewpoint as possible (see § 2.2 for a detailed discussion).

Another controversy is connected to the semantic contrast between the two strategies. To start with, some grammars, even when explicitly mentioning the distinction, are not completely explicit with respect to its semantic interpretation (cf. Talibov 2007: 81 and 83 on Budukh, or Žirkov 1955: 41 and 42 on Lak, who do not provide any information on the semantic contrast between the two forms, or Kibrik et al. 1972: 141 on "a nuance of non-full possession" of Poss-marked Recipients in Khinalug, or Kibrik et al. ed. 2001 on a non-consistently elicitable semantic contrast in

Bagvalal, or only indirect data – examples from a dictionary – for Tindi in Magomedova 2003: 221). It seems that whenever an attempt is made to investigate the semantics of the two ditransitive constructions, this amounts to permanent vs. temporary transfer, or ‘offer, grant’ vs. ‘lend’.

Various corpora provide clear illustrations of the temporary transfer meaning with the lative strategy.

(21) Akusha Dargwa (van den Berg 2001: 128)

<i>il + bahandan</i>	<i>sune-la</i>	<i>meh-la</i>	<i>t'imir.χimir</i>
this+because	self.OBL-GEN	iron-GEN	all.kinds.of.things
<i>d-iḥ = äq-es</i>	<i>unra-li-zi</i>	<i>d-ed-i-li</i>	<i>sa.y</i>
PL-keep=CAUS-INF	neighbour-OBL-IN(LAT)	PL-give-AOR-CVB	be.M

‘Therefore he gave all his blacksmith’s tools to his neighbours for safe-keeping’

(22) Akhvakh (Denis Creissels, p.c.)

<i>hu-ṣ<sup>w</sup>-a</i>	<i>biš-ada</i>	<i>ači</i>	<i>бoвoт-иvаnа</i>
that-OBL.M-DAT	win-PFV.PTCP	money	increase-CVB.PURP
<i>če</i>	<i>ek<sup>w</sup>a-ṣu-īira</i>	<i>o-ṣ-ari</i>	<i>kuq'i</i>
one	man-OBL.M-AD.LAT	N-give-PFV	business
			<i>g-ūrula</i>
			do-INF

‘In order to get more from the money he had won, he gave it to a man to make business with it (entrusted a man with a money to make profit out of it)’

(23) Akhvakh (Denis Creissels, p.c.)

<i>bešanoda</i>	<i>ṣuruši</i>	<i>milica-ṣ<sup>w</sup>-a</i>	<i>o-ṣ-ada,</i>
hundred	ruble	policeman-M-DAT	N-give-PFV.ASSINV
<i>boq'ēdoda</i>	<i>ṣuruši-la</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>imo-īira</i>
forty	ruble-and	I.GEN	father-AD.LAT
<i>o-ṣ-ada</i>	<i>zikira</i>	<i>b-el-urula</i>	
N-give-PFV.ASSINV	zokr	N-lead-INF	

‘I gave hundred rubles to the policeman (as a bribe), and forty rubles to my father for him to organize the zokr (a religious ritual)’

This interpretation of the contrast is supported by the distribution of the two strategies among other verbs. Creation verbs typically do not allow

the lative strategy at all, both transitive and less frequent intransitive ones.<sup>9</sup>

(24) Khwarshi (Witch.048) transitive creation verb

<i>l-i-jin</i>	<i>ʔituk'á</i>	<i>bušne-bo</i>	<i>q'ala-l</i>
NPL-do-UW	witch.OBL(ERG)	bread-PL	child-LAT
<i>k'oro-s,</i>	<i>zoru-l</i>	<i>joʔa-a<sup>m</sup>mus.</i>	
cheese-GEN1	fox.OBL-LAT	ashes-coil.GEN1	

'The witch made bread with cheese for the children, and bread with ashes for the fox.'

(25) Hinuq (Diana Forker, p.c.) transitive creation verb

<i>noχ</i>	<i>dihó,</i>	<i>ked ,</i>	<i>debez</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>b-uw-an</i>
come	I.APUD	girl	you.sg.DAT	I.ERG	3-do-FUT2
<i>dunjál-mo-L'ó</i>	<i>gosme</i>	<i>bat'ijaw</i>	<i>ʕalžan</i>		
world-OBL-SUPER	without	other	paradise		

'Marry me, girl, and a paradise I will make for you, peerless in the whole world.'

(26) Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 220) intransitive creation verb

<i>boʔu</i>	<i>is-t'i-i</i>	<i>aqu-n</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>ože</i>
this.OBL	sibling-OBL-DAT	1-be.born-CVB	be.1	boy

'A son was born to this brother.'

Similarly, only dative marking is available for the verb 'buy'. Benefactive contexts also pattern with the creation verbs. In the following Hunzib example, the dative strategy for the benefactive expression 'do something for someone' co-occurs with the lative strategy for 'give' in the sense of 'lend'.

(27) Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 200)

<i>taleh</i>	<i>niʔ-ob,</i>	<i>dibi</i>	<i>ħalt'i-n</i>	<i>b-uw-a</i>	<i>də,</i>
happiness	give-OPT	you.DAT	work-and	4-do-INF	I.ERG

<sup>9</sup> Note once again the difference between dative / lative marking and dative / lative strategies introduced above in §2.2. In Khwarshi, which lacks a dedicated dative marker, lative marker attached directly to the oblique stem conveys dative strategy. The lative strategy, on the other hand, is expressed by apud-lative forms.

*bel*            *purɤun*            *nɪl-o*            *di-go* <...>  
 this            van            give-IMP            I.OBL-AD

‘Bless you, I will do that work for your sake, lend me this van.’

On the other hand, the verb ‘bring’ or ‘send’ may behave like ‘give’ in that they allow both dative and lative marking, depending on the situation; cf. Khwarshi ex. (38), and (Adigozel Hacıyev, p.c.) on Budukh.

A similar contrast of permanent vs. temporary transfer may also be seen with human Themes:

- (28)            Khwarshi – ‘bring’ with the dative strategy (formally lative, see § 2.1)

*dil*            *j-i-gu*            *kad*            *χ<sup>w</sup>adak’ari-l*            *j-ot’ok’-i*,  
 I.LAT            2-do-PST.PTCP            girl            miller-LAT            2-take-W

*ono-sa*            *žu*            *uže*            *dil*            *eq-i*.  
 there-DEF            that            boy            I.LAT            1.bring-W

‘The girl that was born to me was taken to the miller, and their boy was brought to me from there.’

- (29)            Agul (Agul Electronic Corpus) – “apprentice-ship” context

*zun*            *gada*            *qaje-guna*,            *fajš-u-na*            *c’-a-a*  
 I(ERG)            son            post.be-TEMP            fetch-PFV-CVB            give-IPFV-PRS

*ze*            *gada*            *malla-jar-i-l-di*            *mi-s*            *dars-ar*  
 my            son            molla-PL-OBL-SUPER-LAT            THIS.OBL-DAT            lesson-PL

*ħarq’-a-s*.  
 teach-IPFV-INF

‘And I have a son, so I fetch (him) and give my son to the mullahs, for them to teach him.’

- (30)            Agul (Agul Electronic Corpus) – marriage context

*wa-l*            *jav-ar*            *žuš-ar*            *ɣ<sup>w</sup>-a-s-e*,            <...> *ha-me*  
 you-SUPER            day-PL            night-PL            go-IPFV-INF-COP            EMPH-this

*gada-ji-s*            *ha-me*            *ruš*            *tin*            *p-u-na-a*  
 boy-OBL-DAT            EMPH-this            girl            give.IMP            say-PFV-RES-PRS

‘You are going to have (hard) times, give this {your} girl to this boy’, she said.

Another contextual parameter is the nature of the Theme. There are objects typically given not to be returned, and other objects typically given temporarily only. Almost invariably, when the Theme is an item of food, East Caucasian languages mark the Recipient by dative, because food is given to be consumed, and once eaten, can not be given back. Exceptions are discussed below; see ex. (40) and (43).

A beautiful example of food item transfer that incorporates both temporary and permanent transfer comes from Akhvakh.

(31) Akhvakh (Denis Creissels, example from a corpus)

<i>wašo-de</i>	<i>ha-di</i>	<i>miš'aradi</i>	<i>ila-ḥi-lira</i>	
boy.OBL-ERG	this-SAME.LEVEL	fruit.stone.PL	mother-OBL.F-AD.LAT	
<i>e-ḡ-awi,</i>	<i>“ila,</i>	<i>di-la</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>miš'aradi,</i>
NPL-give-EVID.NPL	mother	I.OBL-DAT	this	fruit.stone.PL
<i>r-iq'w-aj-a,</i>	<i>hani</i>	<i>q'ōnuḷa</i>	<i>di-la</i>	<i>e-ḡ-a.”</i>
NPL-crack-CAUS-IMP	kernel	eat-INF	I.OBL-DAT	N-give-IMP

‘The boy handed the fruit stones to his mother, “Mother, crack these stones for me, and give them to me for me to eat the kernel”’

Metaphorical uses of ‘give’ – such as giving help, blessing, happiness or punishment – all prefer the dative strategy:

(32) Kryz (Authier, in preparation)

<i>zi-ḡa-z</i>	<i>čič-ḡa-r</i>	<i>χabar</i>	<i>vu-dam?</i>
I-you.pl-DAT	what-SUPER-EL	news	give-HORT

‘What am I going to talk to you about?’

(33) Hinuq (Diana Forker, p.c.)

<i>assalamu</i>	<i>Ṣalajkum-len</i>	<i>haral'no</i>	<i>b-iχer-no</i>	<i>salam</i>
assalam	alaykum-QUOT	voice-and	3-raise-CVB	greeting
<i>tol-iš</i>	<i>q'iliqan-i</i>	<i>zarmaqan-e-z,</i>		
give-PST	drummer-OBL(ERG)	zurna.player-OBL-DAT		

*k<sup>w</sup>ezej*    *r-uχ-a*            *igor*    *aq'e-İL'o*  
 hand            5-take-INF            nearer    come-SIM

‘“Hello”, said the drummer, raising his voice, and given the greeting, approached the zurna player to shake his hand.’

An opposite type of situation is that of shaking hands (lit. *giving hand*). Our Khinalug consultant, when confronted with a constructed context where the dative strategy was used for giving a hand, said that, in this case, the hand would have to be severed from the body and the owner of the hand was going to disown his hand forever; the dative is also inappropriate with ‘hand’ as the Theme in Agul (Solmaz Merdanova, p.c.), Archi (Bulbul Musaeva, p.c.) and Budukh (Adigozel Hacıyev, p.c.).

The degree to which this distinction is recognized by the speakers is shown by the following example from a spontaneous Khinalug narrative. This is a tale about a sparrow who makes a series of successful exchanges: a loaf of bread for a thorn, a sheep for the loaf of bread, and then a saz (traditional string instrument) for the sheep. At the point when the sparrow asks to give him the saz, the narrator uses the lative strategy (POSS), hesitates and then makes a self-repair:

(34) Khinalug (Khinalug Electronic Corpus) – wrong strategy choice with consequent self-repair<sup>10</sup>

<i>li,</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>muxw-att<sub>1</sub>-i-mä,</i>	<i>hinä-ga</i>	<i>kwi</i>	<i>aš<sub>1</sub>-i</i>
say	I.DAT	knowing-become-NEG-IND	that.OBL-TIME	that	singer-GEN
<i>saz</i>		<i>tä-k'-ä</i>	<i>i-š</i>	<i>///</i>	<i>asir</i>
saz		SAME.LEVEL.LAT-give-IMP	I.OBL-POSS	HES	I.DAT

‘(He) said: none of my problems (I know nothing), in that case {i.e. if you can’t give me back my sheep} pass me ... give me this singer’s saz’

All these data seem to support the interpretation of permanent vs. temporary transfer. While this analysis holds true for most contexts, the following examples show that it needs to be refined. Indeed, surprisingly, the situation of giving a borrowed object back to its original possessor is consistently encoded by the lative strategy.

<sup>10</sup> See also ex. (44) below for another clear example of the speaker’s attention to the distinction.



- (35) Agul (Agul Electronic Corpus)
- |                |                     |               |                 |                |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>me</i>      | <i>ruš</i>          | <i>š-u-ne</i> | <i>fac-u-na</i> | <i>qa-i-ne</i> |
| this           | girl                | go-PFV-PF     | catch-PFV-PF    | RE-give.PFV-PF |
| <i>šahǰuli</i> | <i>aǰǰas-a-l-di</i> |               | <i>ǰajwan.</i>  |                |
| Shakhguli      | Abbas-OBL-SUPER-LAT |               | horse           |                |
- ‘This girl went there, caught the horse and gave it back to Shakhguli Abbas.’
- (36) Chechen (Aishat.56; Chechen Pears Stories Collection)
- |             |                  |          |               |              |                |
|-------------|------------------|----------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>juǰa</i> | <i>v-uod-i</i>   | <i>i</i> | <i>šliapa</i> | <i>cunga</i> | <i>dǰa-lo.</i> |
| then        | 1-go-CVB,IMM.ANT | this     | hat           | he.ALL       | away-give.PRS  |
- ‘Then (he) went back and gave the hat back to him.’
- (37) Akusha Dargwa (van den Berg 2001: 132)
- |                |                   |                   |             |  |
|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------|--|
| <i>meh-la</i>  | <i>usta-ni-ra</i> | <i>unra-zi</i>    |             |  |
| iron-GEN       | master-ERG-AND    | neighbour-IN(LAT) |             |  |
| <i>il-a-la</i> | <i>urši</i>       | <i>w-ed-i-li</i>  | <i>sa.y</i> |  |
| this-OBL-GEN   | boy               | M-give-AOR-CVB    | be.M        |  |
- ‘And the blacksmith returned the boy to the neighbour’
- (38) Khwarshi – ‘bring’ with the lative strategy
- |                    |              |                  |            |                  |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>j-ot’ok’-un</i> | <i>ǰutuq</i> | <i>aq’za</i>     | <i>ise</i> | <i>uǰa-ǰa-l</i>  |
| 5-take-UW          | box          | mouse.pl.obl.erg | this.OBL   | boy.OBL-APUD-LAT |
- ‘The mice brought the box back to the boy.’

This type of situation, though not very frequent in texts, is consistently marked by the lative strategy in various languages we have data for. According to Solmaz Merdanova (p.c.), although not impossible in such contexts, the dative would mark some kind of special situation, such as a conscious rejection of a thing previously given or offered.

It is true that giving back is an essentially different situation from giving away, but it does not fit at all into the concept of temporary transfer: the object goes back to its permanent owner rather than a temporary holder. We suggest that the dative strategy covers those situations which involve the transfer of possession, while the lative strategy covers those situations which do not. In giving back, the

construction follows the lative pattern not because the Recipient is temporary but because the giver has no legal rights to carry out the transfer of the property.

While explaining both types of situation described above, this interpretation also accounts for the use of the lative strategy in situations of mediated transfer. Both the transfer from the initial giver to the mediator and from the mediator to the final Recipient are covered by the lative strategy.

(39) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)

<i>un</i>	<i>daki</i>	<i>lo-t'u</i>	<i>d-is</i>	<i>ḡanna-ra-k</i>
you.sg(ERG)	why	4.give.PFV-NEG	2-me.GEN	woman.OBL-CONT-LAT
<i>is</i>	<i>amanat</i>	<i>bo-li</i>		
4.me.GEN	pawn	say.PFV-EVID		

‘Why didn’t you give my wife the thing that I gave to you (for her) – he asked.’

(40) Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 229) Mediator meets Beneficiary

<i>butii</i>	<i>āq'-oł</i>	<i>niL-ən</i>	<i>χan-li-g</i>	<i>kaḡar,</i>
home	1-come-WHEN	give-CVB	khan-OBL-AD	letter
<i>“ha,</i>	<i>dibi</i>	<i>kaḡar”</i>		
INTRJCT	you.sg.DAT	letter		

‘Having come home, he gave the letter to the khan, «Aha, here is a letter for you»’

(41) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)

<i>un</i>	<i>bo-li</i>	<i>la-ra-k</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>baḡ-ur</i>
you.sg(ERG)	say.PFV-EVID	we.OBL-CONT-LAT(EXCL)	one	side-PL
<i>oq'i</i>	<i>bo-li</i>			
NPL.give.IMP	say.PFV-EVID			

‘And you, they said, give us the dried meat.’ {The meat is intended for the husband of the woman to whom the imperative is directed, and the speaker offers to be a mediator in the transfer}.

(42) Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 260) giving to a mediator

<i>kanwert-li-i</i>	<i>əg-no</i>	<i>gul-un,</i>	<i>kanwert</i>	<i>niL-ən</i>
envelope-OBL-DAT	that-and	put.5-CVB	envelope	give-CVB
<i>li</i>	<i>ož-di-g,</i>	<i>“r-ež-o,”</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>nisa-n</i>
be.5	boy-OBL-AD	5-take-IMP	QUOT	say-CVB

‘He put it (the letter just written) in an envelope, gave the envelope to the boy and said ‘Deliver it’.

In ex. (39) and (40), the final Recipient is not coded by dative because the mediator who does not own the object does not possess legal rights to transfer of possession. In ex. (41) and (42), the mediator is not coded by dative because, although the giver may in principle transfer the object legally, that is not what he intends to do in the case in mediated transfer. Thus, both situations do not involve transfer of possession and do not employ the dative strategy; similar examples were elicited for Budukh (Adigozel Hacıyev, p.c.)<sup>11</sup>.

In discussing food as a Theme typically associated with the dative strategy, we mentioned that there are very few examples in the Archi corpus that uses the dative strategy for the Recipient of a food item; cf. (41) and (43). Notably, in both cases the Recipient is not supposed to eat the food being given (here, implicitly, honey): the larger context shows that the person whose speech is being reported is not supposed to use the honey herself, but she asks on behalf of another person who is sick and needs honey as a natural medicine.

(43) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)

<i>ja č’aq’w</i>	<i>āc’a-lli</i>	<i>oq’i,</i>	<i>χo-t’o-mč’iš,</i>
or spoon	4.fill-IMP.CVB	4.give.IMP	4.find-NEG-COND
<i>ja ača-lli</i>	<i>že-ra-k</i>	<i>asin-ni</i>	
or 4.pour-IMP.CVB	self.NON1-CONT-LAT	measure-IMP.CVB	

<sup>11</sup> We believe, from our field and elicitation experience, that the speakers are not conscious of that, rather abstract, motivation and consider the situations of lending, giving back and giving through a third party as separate types of situation. The pattern is however pervasive in our data, so that we posit the underlying category of transfer of possession; also see below how it mixes up with the idea of the spatial movement of the Theme.

*oq'i*                      *bo-li*  
 4.give.IMP                say-EVID

'Pour a spoonful {of honey} and give {it to me}, if you haven't got {enough honey}; or {if you got enough} pour, measure and give it to me {for money}, she said.'

A more subtle case comes from Akhvakh. In a story translated from Azerbaijani, the original sentence has one 'give' predicate and one Recipient for both Themes. But as the speaker perceives the difference between giving a donkey vs. giving a list of the names of the villages the Recipient has to visit, he uses the verb 'give' twice, with differently referentially identical but differently marked Recipients. Indeed, the donkey comes into the Recipient's possession, while the list of the villages is not an item of possession – rather, an instrument that he is going to use on an errand.

(44) Akhvakh (Denis Creissels, p.c.)

<i>χani-s<sup>w</sup>-e</i>	<i>di-La</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>imiχi</i>	<i>o-x-ari,</i>	<i>bešanoda</i>
khan-OBL-ERG	I-DAT	one	donkey	N-give-PFV	hundred
<i>hã-lĩ</i>	<i>č'eri</i>	<i>l'a</i>	<i>q<sup>w</sup>ar-ada</i>	<i>kaβa</i>	<i>o-x-ari</i>
village-GEN	name	on	write-PFV.PTCP	paper	N-give-PFV
<i>di-lira</i>					
I-AD.LAT					

'The governor gave (offered) me a donkey and (provided me with) a paper on which a list of hundred villages was written'

Another example comes from Budukh:

(45) Budukh (Talibov 2007: 256)

<i>kaβaz</i>	<i>serhatče-r-u</i>	<i>jiva-ži</i>
paper	guard-PL-AD	3/4.give.PFV-PF

'(He) gave the letter to the guards.'

From the larger context of the story we learn that the boy who gives the letter to the frontier guards happened to see a suspicious man in the forest, hid himself behind a tree and watched the man (a spy) putting a letter under a stone. He thus gives the letter to the guards for them to have necessary information to track the spy. Alternatively (but less likely) this example may be underlying the fact that the boy is not the possessor of the letter.

The idea of transfer of possession seems to be quite consistent throughout our data. Of course, it is understood that this transfer is a convenient label rather than a true legal notion, and sometimes may result from less straightforward linguistic categorization. An example is the situation of distributing textbooks among schoolchildren at the beginning of the school year; they are to be returned in late spring. Nevertheless, our Archi consultant used the dative strategy for this situation; she explained this by saying that the children will be in possession of their textbooks for a significant period of time. Similarly, the following example is conceptually intermediate between lending and transfer of possession, probably because the funny verdict of the court, while declaring temporary lending, implicitly assumes permanent transfer of possession:

- (46) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)
- |                  |                  |                    |                 |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <i>dogi-li-n</i> | <i>oʔč</i>       | <i>ke-l-kan</i>    | <i>dogo-wu</i>  |
| donkey-OBL-GEN   | tail             | 4.become-INF-TEMP5 | donkey=AND      |
| <i>LO-s</i>      | <i>ju-w-mi-s</i> | <i>barha-s</i>     | <i>ḥonnol-u</i> |
| 4.give-INF       | this-1-OBL-DAT   | foster-INF         | woman-AND       |
| <i>lo</i>        | <i>ali-l-kan</i> | <i>do-LO-s</i>     |                 |
| child            | 4.come-INF-TEMP5 | 2-give-INF         |                 |

“Give him the donkey until its tail grows back again, and give him the woman until the baby is born” (so it was decided).

On the other hand, there are some contexts where it is the usage of the lative strategy which is not very clear. In the original text, the Khinalug sentence given in (47) immediately follows (34), where the narrator found the usage of the lative strategy so inappropriate that she thought it necessary to correct herself. Nevertheless, she uses the lative strategy.

- (47) Khinalug (Khinalug Electronic Corpus)
- |                               |                  |                              |                          |            |
|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| <i>γoz<sub>i</sub>-i = m,</i> | <i>ma,</i>       | < ... >                      | <i>ašy<sub>i</sub>-i</i> | <i>saz</i> |
| that.HPL.OBL-ERG=AND          | well             |                              | singer-GEN               | saz        |
| <i>tenč-qχu-jä</i>            | <i>c'imir-iš</i> | <i>lä-k'u-i</i>              |                          |            |
| take.away-4.LV-CVB            | sparrow-POSS     | SAME.LEVEL.EL-give-PTCP(AOR) |                          |            |

‘And they, well, had to, after many disputes, to give the saz to the sparrow.’

Similar examples, where the context seems to imply transfer of possession but the lative strategy is used, are found in Akhvakh, Bagvalal and Hunzib texts.

(48) Bagvalal (Kibrik et al. 2001: 775)

<i>hatu-b</i> a.little-N	<i>hiL'aχ</i> under	<i>awtobus-la</i> bus-and	<i>b-ix-ē-b-o,</i> N-stop-CAUS-N-CVB	<i>ibraška,</i> Ibrashka
<i>w-aχa-la</i> M-outside-PART	<i>w-ā-w-o,</i> M-come-M-CVB	<i>gaʔišnik-šū-łā</i> road.policeman-OBL.M-HUMLOC		
<i>inštu-ra</i> five-CARD	<i>azar</i> thousand	<i>šard-āla</i> hand-CAUS.POT.INF	<i>w-ełi.</i> M-go	

‘Some way down the road Ibrashka stopped the bus, got out and went (back) to the road policeman to give him five thousand roubles.’

(49) Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 246) dative meets lative

<i>lač'i</i> clothes	<i>šil'e.l-en,</i> put.on-CVB	<i>ka-y-n</i> hand-DAT-and	<i>sə.sə.sid-go</i> each.OBL-AD
<i>hās = č'it'</i> one.hundred	<i>q'uruš</i> rouble	<i>okro</i> money	<i>niL-ən</i> give-CVB
			<i>li;</i> be.5
<i>hās = č'it'</i> one.hundred	<i>dibi,</i> you.DAT,	<i>hās = č'it'</i> one.hundred	<i>dibi,</i> you.DAT,
<i>hās = č'it'</i> one.hundred	<i>ołu-u</i> that.OBL-DAT		

‘When she had dressed them, she gave them each one hundred roubles in their hands; ‘one hundred for you, one hundred for you and one hundred for him’

A plausible explanation here might be that the situation is focussed on the spatial aspect of transfer (movement of the object) rather than on transfer of possession (in this case, remaining implicit). It is hardly accidental that the Bagvalal example uses the more specifically spatial ‘hand over’ verb rather than the default ‘give’ verb, and the Hunzib example contains a spatial specification ‘into hands’.

The discussion of the difference between the two ways to mark the Recipient in (Magomedbekova 1967: 55) and in (Alekseev 2003: 110-111) referring back to Magomedbekova (1967: 55; 1971: 55) contains explicit

references to spatiality. Magomedbekova denies the existence of the two dative markers posited by Adolf Dirr for Karata and Akhvakh. She says, for Akhvakh, that the assumed second dative (which corresponds to our lative strategy) conveys spatial movement ('left at his place', 'handed over to him') rather than possession transfer; and at the same time, for Karata, she provides a clear temporary transfer context as an example. Our Archi consultants, fully bilingual between Archi and Russian, when trying to render the difference between the two Recipients in Russian, were using ungrammatical *дал к нему*, lit. "gave towards him" construction which is a clear spatial paraphrase.

As Denis Creissels notes regarding his Akhvakh corpus (p.c.), many situations include both possession transfer and spatial transfer; but those situations that involve transfer of possession and exclude spatial movement from the Agent to the Recipient consistently use the dative strategy, while those situations which involve such spatial movement without transfer of possession consistently use the lative strategy (as in 'shaking hand' contexts discussed above). Other contexts are less straightforward:

(50) Agul (Agul Electronic Corpus)

<i>k̄ambajni = ra</i>	<i>i-nij</i>	<i>za-w-di</i>	<i>besplāṭna,</i>
combine.harvester=and	give.PFV-PF.PST	I-APUD-LAT	<i>free.of.charge</i>
<i>ic'-a-s = ra</i>	<i>zemlāk-ar</i>	<i>p-u-na</i>	
give-IPFV-INF=and	compatriot-PL	say-PFV-CVB	

'He lent me the combine harvester, free of charge, because we are from the same village, he said'.

In this example, neither transfer of possession nor spatial transfer is conceivable: normally, one does not give an agricultural machine as an offer, nor can one hand it over as a book or pen. The lative strategy here apparently conveys the pure notion of lending as opposed to offering.

At the same time, when the two concepts of transfer are equally applicable, the choice depends on the speaker's perspective, which may account for numerous occurrences of the lative strategy in the contexts implying transfer of possession rights. This suggestion is summarized schematically in Table 4. (Also see § 8 for a discussion of how these scheme relates to the discussion of the English dative alternation in (Goldberg 1992, Hovav Rappoport & Levin 2008).

Table 4.

		Spatial transfer	
		-	+
Transfer of possession	-	lative	lative
	+	dative	dative/lative

## 5.2. Localization choice

In the §2.2 above, we have shown that alternative Recipients consistently prefer latives as orientation marking. But many languages have rich inventories of localizations (expressing the position with respect to the landmark), from three in Khinalug to seven and eight in some Tsezic languages, and the lative strategy has to choose one of them. Agul is reported to use *apud-lat* or *super-lat*, alternatively; cf. ex. (35) and (50). We now discuss the basis for this choice.

Two parallels seem especially worthy following, one with the role of an actual (alias temporary) Possessor, the other with the animate Source with 'take from' verbs. Agul uses *apud* with different orientations for all three roles, which suggests a full "temporary possession" paradigm, including *apud-lative*, *apud-essive* and *apud-elative*; and this is indeed how Merdanova (2004: 44) accounts for the three forms.

While the notion of the Source with 'take away' verbs is clear, the actual Possessor construction requires some comments. The distinction between default (permanent) and actual possessive predication is maybe not less pervasive in East Caucasian than the distinction between the two Recipients. Typically, permanent possessive predication uses "free" genitives as Possessors, as most Andic and Tsezic languages, Archi or Khinalug. Fewer languages use a form from the spatial subparadigm, as Rutul (Maxmudova 2001) or Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993); Lezgian may also use the dative in this function. As opposed to permanent possession, wherever reported, temporary possessive predication use some kind of locative form. The next table provides a more systematic comparison of the three roles in several East Caucasian languages.



Table 5. Putative ‘temporary possessive’ paradigms  
across East Caucasian

	<b>lative Recipient</b>	<b>locative Possessor</b>	<b>animate Source</b>
Archi	CONT-LAT	COMIT	CONT-EL
Agul	APUD-LAT, SUPER-LAT	APUD-ESS	APUD-EL
Kryz	AD	CUM-ESS	AD-EL
Bagvalal	HUMLOC	CONT-ESS	CONT-EL
Dargwa, Icari	IN-LAT	IN-ESS	IN-EL
Hinuq	POSS-LAT POSS	POSS-ESS	POSS-EL
Khwarshi	CONT-LAT	CONT-ESS	CONT-EL
Chechen	ALL	LOC	ABL

The table shows that the correlation between the three functions is strong even if not fully consistent. Note that Archi and Bagvalal have gaps in the cont-essive and cont-lative slots, respectively, so that the use of markers of other localizations (HUMLOC and COMIT) might be considered as paradigmatically motivated; more data is required from other East Caucasian languages.

To us, the conceptual analogy between the three functions is not obvious. The animate Source is different from the other two roles in that it is the default marking with ‘take from’ verbs, while lative Recipient and locative Possessor are secondary, less frequent constructions replacing the respective default patterns under special conditions. Animate Source is clearly focussed on the spatial aspect and indifferent with regard to actual vs. permanent possession distinction. Its rather peripheral ‘possessive twin’ is a construction with a NP-internal genitive dependent on the P, as in *he took/stole my hat*, attested in East Caucasian.

The lative Recipient and the locative Possessor are in many ways closer to each other. Both are alternatives to the default, more syntactic strategies of marking similar relations. Both shift the situation from the possessive domain into spatial domain. We have shown above, for the lative vs. dative Recipient strategy, that it is not the notion of temporariness of the possessive relation but the absence of legal rights to it which is in the heart of the distinction; the same is true of the role of the locative Possessor, who might as well be called Holder.

But the parallel between the two cases is not absolute, either. Morphosyntactically, the two Recipients are very similar to each other (see §4), both being peripheral arguments. The locative Possessor, on the other hand, behaves differently from the genitive Possessor: unlike the genitive, locative Possessor is not an adnominal modifier; see Kibrik (ed.) (2001: 227) for Bagvalal CONT. The spatial component is not as obligatory in lative Recipients as in locative Possessor; in some contexts, lative Recipients have nothing lative about them (cf. discussion of ex. 63 to 65 above). The locative Possessor (Holder) is similar to the Possessor in many ‘practical’ aspects (one who holds an object may use it as if he or she were its possessor) but is an essentially different, spatial function. Lative and dative Recipients are subdivisions within the Recipient domain as viewed from different perspectives, because prototypical Recipient combines spatial and possessive features, while Possessor and Holder (as well as Possessor and human Source) are two different roles.

Table 6.

Possessive domain	Spatial domain	
Recipient (dative)	Recipient (lative)	‘giving’
Possessor	Holder	‘having’
	human Source	‘taking’

However strong these differences are, from the East Caucasian data one must conclude that the three functions of locative Possessor, lative Recipient and human possessive Source seem to be conceptually close enough to become, at least sometimes, co-members of the same localization.

### 5.3. Syntactic/semantic role

Now let us turn to morphosyntactic issues. While it is obvious that the dative argument is a true Recipient, the status of the lative argument of ‘give’ verbs is less clear: do the two types of ‘give’ constructions involve the same set of semantic roles and syntactic slots? Consider the following

example (analogous examples have been elicited for Archi, Chechen and Bezhta).

(51) Batsbi, elicited (Bela Savkhelishvili, p.c.)

<i>as</i>	<i>t'ateb</i>	<i>dad-en</i>	<i>k'nat-eg</i>	<i>d-ał-ina-s</i>
I.ERG	money	father-DAT	boy.ALL	3-give-AOR-1SG

'I gave the money for the father to the boy.'

Here both a “dative” and a “lative” Recipients are present, which seems to indicate that dative and lative arguments fill different syntactic slots. However, it is unclear whether the dative here is a true Recipient identifiable with the datives of the dative strategy. The dative argument in (51) may be interpreted as non-obligatory Beneficiary ('give for the benefit of') rather than Recipient ('give to'). Indeed, one of our Archi consultants accepted the interpretation of the dative in a similar example as Beneficiary rather than Recipient even after omitting the “lative” Recipient ('he gave the money for you (to/via someone)'); thus the Beneficiary dative and Recipient dative might be different roles. On the other hand, in Chechen a similar construction may be interpreted as 'I have sent the money to the father via the boy' and refer to the situation where the money has already reached the father, without foregrounding the situation of transfer of the money to the boy, which looks like a true combination of dative and lative strategies in one clause.

Furthermore, 'give' verbs form full (non-elliptical) clauses with either lative Goal or dative Recipient, which could be interpreted as an indication that they fill the same slot; 'give' certainly does not have four arguments ('X passes Y to Z via W'). On the other hand, the semantic roles of the dative and lative Recipients do not seem to be exactly the same: the situations are different, which correlates with different marking of the arguments.

This morphosyntactic and semantic controversy suggests that argument structures available for 'give' verbs in East Caucasian languages are fuzzy rather than clear-cut alternatives, with the lative argument intermediate between Recipient and Goal and the dative argument ambiguous between Recipient and Beneficiary. In the cases where both dative and lative arguments are present, they compete for the syntactically dominant Recipient position, as in (51). The following chart gives a scheme of this analysis. This distribution is compatible with the map suggested in (Comrie, Haspelmath, Malchukov, this volume).

Table 7.

‘give’		
	dative	lative
Beneficiary	Recipient	Goal

## 6. Other dative and lative uses: verbs of speech and verbs of contact

This section provides a brief discussion of the dative and lative use with verbs that do not involve Recipient but are indirectly relevant for the understanding of the nature of the alternative Recipient marking as a typological characteristic of the East Caucasian.

### 6.1. Verbs of speech

Many East Caucasian languages use not the dative, but some kind of spatial marking for the role of the Addressee with verbs of speech. Cf.:

(52) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)

<i>u-q<sup>ʃ</sup>a-t̄a</i>	<i>ʃisa-r-š̄i</i>	<i>a<sup>ʃ</sup>ʔ</i>	<i>bo,</i>	<i>ʃisa-s jaq<sup>ʃ</sup>an</i>
1-COME.PFV-TEMP1	Isa-CONT-ALL	call	say.PFV	Isa-DAT be.evident
<i>e-t̄-li,</i>	<i>w-e-q<sup>ʃ</sup>i-š̄i</i>			<i>i-w&gt;di</i>
4.INCH.PFV-CVB	1-COME.POT-POT-CVB.AUXDEP			<1>AUX.PFV

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

The example above may be placed in the class of verbs of sound impact, for which spatial case frames are available also in European languages (such as English *yell at*). In East Caucasian these frames are also dominant with sound signals, direct or indirect speech, nouns referring to speech acts, as well as specific speech interaction verbs such as ‘ask’ or ‘tell off’, or expressions such as ‘give an answer’ or ‘give one’s word’.

(53) Chechen (Neighbours.122: adopted from Nunuev 1997)

<i>aḥ</i>	<i>cʰhanij diega</i>	<i>ḥaxuo-ra</i>	<i>d-ā-ca-ḥ</i>
you.sg.ERG	one.GEN father.ALL	mention-FUT	3-be-NEG-CVB.IRR
<i>cʰa</i>	<i>huma d-ijcu-ra</i>	<i>dara as</i>	<i>ḥöga</i>
one	thing 3-tell-FUT 3-BE.PST	I.ERG I.ERG	you.sg.ALL

‘I will tell you a story, if you do not tell it to anybody (lit. to no-one’s father).’

(54) Icarì (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 204)

<i>u-l=k'unajla</i>	<i>di-ċi</i>	<i>ɤaj</i>	<i>b-iċ-ib-di</i>
you-ERG=but	I-IN.LAT	word	N-give.PFV-PRET-2SG

‘But you gave me your word!’

The verb or verbal expression ‘ask’ may follow a similar pattern, as in Archi or Nakh languages; other (probably, most) languages use different spatial models, most often an elative one.

(55) Tsakhur (Kibrik et al. 1999: 793)

<i>i-m-m-iš-k-e</i>	<i>qidyĭn</i>	<i>ha?-u</i>	<i>wo-d,</i>
this.H-ATR-PL-OBL.PL-CONT-EL	question.4	4.do-PFV	COP-4
<i>fĭlankas-in</i>	<i>χaw n'ā-ne</i>	<i>wo-d-un.</i>	
so.and.SO-ATR	house(4) where-INTRG	be-4-ATR	

‘He asked them where was the house of so-and-so.’

Not all languages associate the role of Addressee with their spatial subparadigms. Chechen allows an alternation of dative vs. lative marking, Agul uses a regular dative, while Tsakhur uses its affective case.

(56) Tsakhur (Kibrik et al. 1999: 788-9)

<i>gi&gt;w&gt;x<sup>w</sup>-iŋga<sup>ʃ</sup>,</i>	<i>manke sudje-j-k'le</i>	<i>iwho</i>	<i>wo-d:</i>
<3>put.PFV-TEMP1	then judge-OBL-AFF	say.PFV	be-4
<i>“ma-ni xunaš<sup>ʃ</sup>-e-k-e</i>	<i>qidyĭn he?-e,</i>	<i>že-ni</i>	
this-AOBL woman-OBL-CONT-EL	question 4.do-IMP	self.OBL.2-AOBL	
<i>sumk'<sub>1</sub>-ē</i>	<i>nimā-n</i>	<i>pil-nī</i>	<i>wo-d-in?”</i>
bag-IN	how.much-ATR	money.4-INTRG	be-4-ATR

‘He puts {the purse} down and says to the judge: ask this woman how much money was there in her purse.’

As was mentioned above, the Agul dative preserves more lative functions than datives in languages such as Bagvalal or Archi or Khinalug, so dative Addressees in Agul may be explained as lative (and thus typically East Caucasian) marking. Affective marking in Tsakhur, that, according to (Gilles Authier, p.c.), is cognate to an elative in other Lezgif languages. is more problematic.

Finally, some Tsezic languages may use essive for the Addressee. Cf. the following example:

(57) Hinuq (Diana Forker, p.c.)

<i>šajt'an-za-j</i>	<i>hajto-ɣo</i>	<i>mol-a-ł?eli-n:</i>	<i>ħaži</i>		
devil-OBL.PL-ERG	he.OBL-POSS	sleep-OBL-INTER	speak-PF	Hadzhi	
<i>caχ-om</i>	<i>sabaw-be</i>	<i>debez</i>	<i>zaral</i>	<i>b-uw-a</i>	<i>goł</i>
write-PROH	amulet-PL	you.sg.DAT	harm	3-do-INF	be

‘The devils told him in his sleep: Hadzhi, do not write amulets, they will do you harm.’

Hinuq may also use the lative in these contexts, while e.g. Bezhta uses the essive only and Khwarshi and Tsez use the lative. This is another indication that essive and lative functions were probably redistributed between the Tsezic lative and essive (cf. use of essive or lative on the alternative Recipient); further research is required here.

## 7. Verbs of contact

A construction that will first complicate but then shed more light on the dative / lative alternation in ditransitive constructions is the use of the dative with verbs of contact and propulsion – a use widespread in East Caucasian. Consider the following example with ‘throw’:

(58) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)

<i>nac'a</i>	<i>a'nš</i>	<i>caχ-u-li</i>	<i>ju-w-mi-s.</i>
bird-OBL(ERG)	apple	4.drop-PFV-EVID	this-1-OBL-DAT

‘A bird threw an apple at him (dropped an apple on him).’

It seems that this use of dative, quite widespread in East Caucasian, are in direct contradiction with the dative / lative strategy distribution: we should expect ‘throw at someone’ to be coded spatially and ‘throw to someone’ by a dative. As compared to the use of lative forms, the dative is

more benefactive with ‘give’ verbs but less benefactive (more spatial) with ‘throw’ verbs.

The problem is solved by classifying the dative ‘throw’-verbs together with verbs of contact like ‘hit’ (rather than with ‘give’ verbs which are verbs of transfer). Indeed, ‘hit’ and ‘push’ commonly receive dative-marked arguments (Goals) in the languages of the family. Cf. (59) where the two dative constructions meet each other, as well as the following examples:

(59) Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 144) – dative meets dative

<i>kid-ba-lo</i> girl-PL-OBL-ERG	<i>diʔi</i> I.DAT	<i>k'ek'e</i> roasted.barley	<i>niL-ər</i> give-PST
<i>k'ek'e</i> roasted.barley	<i>də</i> I(ERG)	<i>gud-i-i</i> hen-OBL-DAT	<i>č'ale-r</i> strew-PST
<i>gud-i-l</i> hen-OBL-ERG	<i>diʔi</i> I.DAT	<i>qoqla</i> egg	<i>niL-ər</i> give-PST
<i>qoqla</i> egg	<i>də</i> I(ERG)	<i>hem-ma-a</i> pillar-OBL-DAT	<i>m-ijaa-r</i> 4-beat-PST

‘Girls gave me roasted barley / I threw the barley at the hen / The hen gave me an egg / I beat the egg against the pillar’

(60) Archi (Archi Electronic Corpus)

<i>ju-w</i> this-1	<i>gurži-li-n</i> Georgian-OBL-GEN	<i>os</i> one	<i>gon</i> finger	<i>q'eč</i> push
<i>bo-li</i> SAY.PFV-CVB	<i>o·b·q'a-li</i> <3>go.PFV-EVID	<i>to-r</i> that-2	<i>laha-s</i> girl.OBL-DAT	

‘This Georgian pushed her with his finger.’

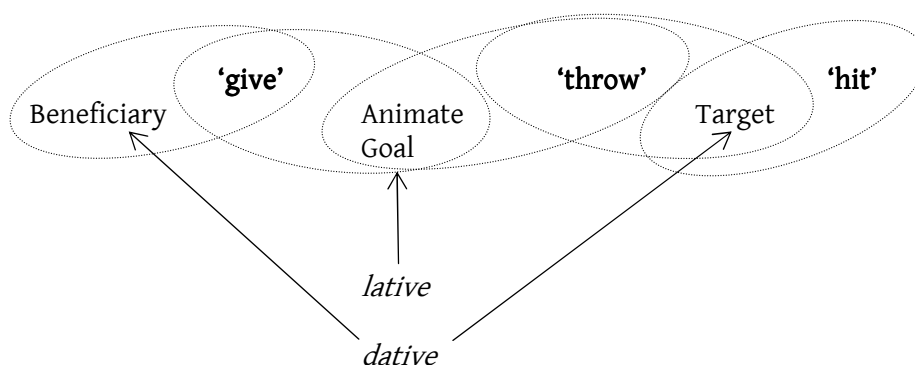
(61) Agul (Agul Electronic Corpus)

<i>ja</i> VOC	<i>ħulašuw,</i> guest	<i>fas</i> why	<i>jarħ-a-j-e</i> hit-IPFV-CVB-COP	<i>wun</i> you.sg
<i>ħajwan-di-s</i> horse-obl-DAT	<i>aš-a-a?</i> say-IPFV-PRS			

‘«Hey, guest, why are you beating your horse?» – he says.’

The dative marking with ‘throw’ is related to locative dative uses with ‘hit’/‘touch’ in (59) through (61), and is not to be compared with the dative in ‘give’-constructions. Locative marking with ‘throw’, on the contrary, is in principle identical with the lative ‘give’ strategy – in both cases the concept of physical transfer from one person to another is in focus (‘pass’), without assuming transfer of possession (‘give’)<sup>12</sup>. Locative marking with ‘throw’ or ‘give’ are variants of Animate Goal marking.

Table 8.



The resulting scheme is discontinuous with lative marking inserted between two dative domains. This discontinuity might have resulted from a later intrusion of a “younger” spatial marking into what was originally all covered by the dative case.

## 8. Conclusions

East Caucasian ditransitive constructions show indirective patterns in their case-marking. As far as we know, there is nothing special about the respective syntactic status of the Theme and Recipient, a frequent topic of ditransitive studies. Word order is relatively flexible, valency decreasing derivations are marginal or absent, and relativization or reflexivization constraints typically weak or non-existent.

Fortunately, there is no language or language family which does not have new insights to offer. East Caucasian languages are unusual in the

<sup>12</sup> Note however that some Tsezic languages use *essive* rather than *lative* here, e.g. Bezhta.



way they make the distinction between two types of 'give' situations, one which involves the transfer of possession and one which does not. Where other languages make lexical distinctions ('give' vs. 'lend') or, more often, simply rely on context, East Caucasian languages consistently distinguish nominal marking on the participants that are the Beneficiaries or Goals of transfer<sup>13</sup>.

The choice is made along the following lines. If the situation involves transfer of property, the participant is considered to be more like a Beneficiary and is marked by a dative (or, in the absence of a dative, by its closest equivalent).

If the Theme is only temporarily transferred, or if the Agent does not have legal rights to the Theme – is not entitled to transfer it to anybody, the participant is considered to be more like a human Goal to which the Theme is moved. This is not to say, of course, that 'give' verbs in such contexts are simply caused motion verbs such as 'put' or 'throw'. However, such treatment of 'give' situations is a particularly clear realization of the ambivalent nature of 'give' verbs as simultaneously expressing benefactive and movement concepts. In fact, assuming such ambivalence underlies virtually any interpretation of the grammaticalization of benefactives from latives: The Recipient is always somewhat of a Goal.

The question is: If this conceptual framework is so natural, why is the situation of Recipient splitting along these lines so rare? Or, from a different point of view: If the benefactive Recipient and an animate Goal have so much in common, why do the languages of the family need to distinguish them? A probable answer is the degree to which the semantics of space is elaborated in East Caucasian languages. The languages have enough Goal markers to afford many distinctions.

Udi supports this explanation: this is one of the spatially poorest languages of the family whose dative/lative domain restricted to one form in Nidzh and two forms in Vartashen, the two dialects of the language. The Vartashen datives, according to Schulze's analysis (Schulze, in preparation) are not directly rooted in the spatial vs. benefactive dative opposition but have to do with affectedness distinction and Recipient vs. Patient marking. Allative, attested in both dialects, has very low textual frequency.

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<sup>13</sup> For a semantically close contrast marked on the Theme, see (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Wälchli 2001: 654)

This hypothesis is indirectly corroborated by the fact of non-dative marking of the Addressee of speech verbs. Spatial marking for Addressees is not as unique as the distinction between the two ditransitive strategies – even some European languages have it as a more peripheral strategy – but still, it is not common. Again, East Caucasian languages profit from the abundance of Goal marking means available to them. This questions one common assumption about dative marking for the Addressee. It is sometimes supposed to result from a spatial metaphor of transfer of information. An alternative explanation could be that Addressees and Recipients are two essentially different types of Goal, that may merge in the languages with poorer nominal spatial inventories.

In many ways, the distinction between the two Recipients is parallel to the distinction between the genitive and locative Possessor: locative Possessor and lative Recipient both rely more on spatial than possessive concepts. Together with the animate Source with ‘take from’ verbs, they sometimes form a full locative series, as Agul *apud-essive*, *apud-lative* and *apud-elative*. However, their conceptual similarity is probably less straightforward than it may seem; see §5.2 for a brief discussion.

The East Caucasian dative is further interesting in that, in many languages, it preserves some clearly spatial uses even after becoming a true dative with a benefactive–experiential nucleus. In some languages, datives are common with contact verbs and spatial postpositions or on spatial adverbs with lative semantics. Such datives are likely to represent vestiges of a more Goaly stage when they were spatial forms that were less advanced towards becoming Beneficiaries.

Finally, a brief reference to the typological background is necessary.

Although the nature of transfer being encoded on the Recipient is a rare typological feature, it is not unique. Other similar cases are discussed in (Kittila 2007). However, the East Caucasian data (among other languages, Tsez is also mentioned) do not seem to fit in the suggested typological rationale. Kittila opposes temporary to permanent transfer as a less vs. more complete event: what he calls aspectual difference, interpreted in terms of semantic transitivity. According to this approach, temporary Recipients are less affected and thus less transitive. However, in East Caucasian, the main distinction seems to be made in terms of spatiality of transfer rather than in terms of the affectedness of the animate Goal; claiming that “permanent” Recipients are more transitive than “temporary” ones simply does not provide any new insights for the analysis.

More directly relevant to East Caucasian is the vast discussion of the English dative alternation. (Goldberg 1992) suggests that the *to* construction is opposed to the double object construction as caused motion event vs. caused possession event. That sounds very reminiscent of our analysis above. Hovav Rappoport and Levin object, however, that, in English, ‘give’ situations are never actually understood as caused motion events, whether they use the *to* or the double object variant. The ‘throw’-situations, on the other hand, do have both interpretations that correlate with the choice between *Leigh threw Lane the ball* and *Leigh threw the ball to Lane*.

If we compare that to East Caucasian, we see a somewhat opposite configuration. Unlike English, verbs of giving may convey situations based on either caused possession or caused motion concepts; quite expectedly, the latter uses a more spatial marking on the Recipient. Verbs of throwing do distinguish between caused possession and caused motion situations. However, these caused motion situations correspond to the meanings that, in English, are conveyed by *throw at* rather than by *throw to* constructions, while the *to* variant and the double object variant of the English *throw* both pattern with the caused motion version of verbs of giving. East Caucasian thus represents a conceptualization of transfer which is drastically different from that attested in English.

### Abbreviations and notational conventions

AD	near (localization)	INTER	amidst (localization)
AFF	affective (experiential case marker)	INTRG	interrogative
ALL	allative (orientation ‘to-wards’)	INTRJCT	interjection
AOR	aorist	IPFV	imperfective (derivational stem)
APUD	in the vicinity of (localization)	IRR	irreal
ASSINV	assertor’s involvement	INTR	intransitive (thematic stem marker)
ATR	attributivizer	LAT	lative (orientation ‘to’)
AUX	auxiliary	LOC	locative (localization)
AUXDEP	dependent of an auxiliary	LV	light verb
BECOME	‘become’ as a light verb	M	masculine (agreement class)

CARD	cardinal (numeral)	N	neuter (agreement class)
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative
CLIMB	'climb' as a light verb	NMLZ	nominalizer
COMIT	comitative	NOM	nominative
COND	conditional	NPL	non-human plural
CONT	close contact (localization)	OBL	oblique nominal stem
COP	copula	OPT	optative
CVB	converb	PART	particle
DAT	dative	PF	perfect (tense)
DEF	definite	PFV	perfective (derivational stem)
DIR	direct	PL	plural
DO	'do' as a light verb	POSS	possessive (localization)
EL	elative	POST	behind (localization)
EMPH	emphatic	POT	potential (derivational stem)
ERG	ergative	PRET	preterit
EVID	evidential	PROH	prohibitive (negative imperative)
EXCL	exclusive	PRS	present
F	feminine	PTCP	participle
FUT	future	PURP	purposive (converb)
GEN	genitive	QUOT	reported speech marker
H	human	RE	refactive (preverb)
HES	hesitation	RES	resultative
HORT	hortative	SAME.LEVEL	horizontal deixis
HUMLOC	human locative (localization)	SEQ	sequential
IMM.ANT	immediately anterior (converb)	SIM	simultaneous (converb)
IMP	imperative	SUB	under (localization)
IN	inside (localization)	SUPER	on the surface (localization)
INAL	inalienable	TEMP	temporal (converb)
INCH	inchoative	UW	unwitnessed (past)
INCL	inclusive	VOC	vocative (particle)
IND	indicative	W	witnessed (past)
INF	infinitive		

Glosses put in parentheses are implicit categories relevant for understanding the grammatical structure of a sentence, such as the nominal class or ergative function of the oblique stem. Curly brackets explain pragmatic context and omitted information. Agreement classes are glossed either as numbers (when they are more than three) or as M, F, N.

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