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Functions of the dative: An Iranian perspective

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Abstract: In this paper, we give an account of dative functions in a number of Iranian languages from a typological perspective. To analyze the functionality of dative markers in the selected languages, we follow a semantic map approach and take Haspelmath's map of dative functions as a typological grid to examine our data. We collected our data from descriptive grammars and, for Ossetic and Wakhi, from interviews. The data show that five additional connections should be added to the semantic map of dative functions; these connections are confirmed by data from at least three languages within the Iranian language family. The main semantic property for the dative in Iranian languages is indirect affectedness. Moreover, in some languages spatial functions of the dative are also attested. The distribution of dative functions is mainly explained by the preservation of the oblique case and the areal distribution. In addition, in some languages, a grammaticalization cycle is observed, as a result of which purportedly beneficiary markers are transforming into dative markers.

Keywords: dative, semantic map, connectivity, grammaticalization, Iranian languages

1 Introduction

Case markers labeled 'dative' vary greatly in the range of functions they cover, which makes it difficult to provide a cross-linguistically valid definition for them. In Greek/Latin, where the term originates, the dative case is used for both goal/recipient argument of ditransitive verbs, and for the complements of certain intransitive verbs such as 'help', 'obey', or 'trust' (Næss 2009: 572). This situation has led certain authors to recognize dative-marked elements as either recipient/goal arguments (e.g. Blansitt 1988, Van Belle and Van Langendonk

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1996) or complements of verbs similar to those cited above for Greek/Latin (e.g. Blake 2001). The dative case appears to straddle between commonly assumed structural and semantic dichotomy of case; in the case of the ditransitive indirect objects it might be defined structurally, but at the same time it may have uses, such as marking experiencers or beneficiaries, which can only be accounted for in semantic terms (Næss 2009: 572). The problem of defining a dative gets even more difficult in some languages where it has also local uses. There appears to exist two mainstream approches for defining datives: syntactic approaches, in which the dative is a case that encodes the indirect object (Blake 2001: 199), and a semantic notion of the dative in which this grammatical case is considered being used prototypically to mark 'recipient phrase' in 'give' constructions (Newman 1996: 82). Given the range of functions datives cover, it is not cross-linguistically unexpected that datives overlap with other cases, e.g. the genitive and the accusative. Considering the functional range of datives, there are studies approaching dative polysemy in the broader picture of case polysemy (e.g. Malchukov and Narrog 2009) or grammaticalization chains (e.g. Lehmann 1995 [1982], Narrog 2014).

This article aims to give a semantic approach to functions of dative markers in New Iranian languages. We adopt Newman's definition as the basis for designating dative markers in these languages, therefore we consider any morpheme a dative marker if it encodes the recipient in 'give' constructions. However, Recipient as a prototypical dative function has a duality of meaning and represents both spatial uses, ex. Goal, and non-spatial ones, ex. indirect affectedness (Figure 1):

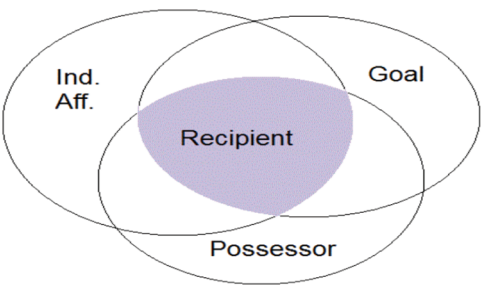

Figure 1: The relationships between recipient and various other participant roles (Lambert 2010: 72).

Possession can be modeled as an extension of a spatial relation. Indirect affectees are event participants which are affected by the event in some way, though their affectedness unilaterally entails the affectedness of another participant of the same event (Lambert 2010: 70). Indirect affectedness of the

recipient consists of something physical being brought into his/her possession, but it needs not to. Indirect affectees can also be beneficiaries – where no possession, less so physical, is involved.

The intersection of the roles "possessor" and "indirect affectee" results in the role usually called "external possessor"; the intersection between the roles "goal" and "indirect affectee" is "affected goal" (e.g. '*Lisa*' in *Greg threw rotten tomatoes at Lisa*, Lambert 2010: 73).

Semantic maps are a way to visualize a regular relationship between two or more meanings or grammatical functions of one and the same linguistic form (Narrog and van der Auwera 2011). They are tools which represent cross-linguistic regularities in the mapping of meaning on form (Narrog and Ito 2007: 273). Croft (2003: 133) claims that a semantic map is a way to represent language universals and language-specific grammatical knowledge. In his words, the semantic map model does not assume that categories are universal across languages; it only assumes that conceptual space and certain relations between categories in conceptual space are universal (Croft 2003: 196). Studies on semantic maps are abundant; one can mention works taking up a semantic map approach on tense/aspect (Anderson 1982; Croft and Poole 2008), modality (Anderson 1986; Auwera and Plungian 1998), voice (Kemmer 1993; Croft 2001), pronouns (Haspelmath 1997; Cysouw 2007), and case marking (Haspelmath 2003; Narrog and Ito 2007; Rice and Kabata 2007).

In this paper, semantic maps will be used to illustrate the functions of dative markers in New Iranian languages. Haspelmath's map (Figure 2) is the basis for mapping the polysemy of dative markers in Iranian languages.

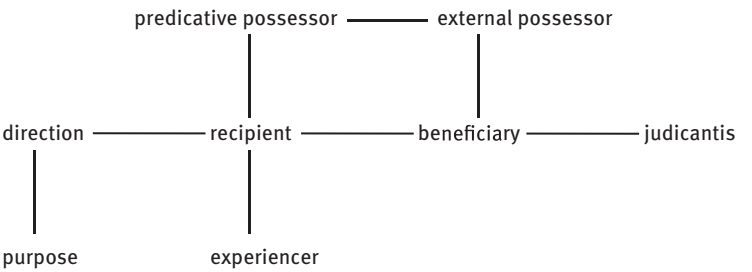

Figure 2: Semantic map of typical dative functions (Haspelmath 2003: 213).

This map, proposed mainly for the analysis of dative functions in some European languages (including also German, English and French), illustrates dative functions with recipient as the core function. Considering function labels, for instance, *to* in English encodes direction (*I went to London*), recipient (*I gave the apple to Adam*), purpose (*I left the party to get home early*), and experiencer (*It seems outrageous to me*). However, it does not encode other functions on the

map, but in some languages the dative marker, in addition to encoding the recipient as the main function, marks additional functions: beneficiary (cf. Russian: *on* ***mne*** *kupil kingu* 'He bought me a book'); predicative possession (cf. French: *Ce chien est* ***à*** *moi* 'This dog is mine'), judicantis (cf. German: *Das ist* ***mir*** *zu warm* 'That's too warm for me), and external possessor (cf. Russian: *On* ***mne*** *slomal ruku* 'He broke my arm').

An important point about semantic maps is that they may contain implicational universals; if a marker encodes direction and beneficiary on the map, it should also encode recipient, which is placed between the two former on the map. In other words, the markers should cover connected regions on the map. This point has been labelled *connectivity* (Croft 2003), *proximity* (Haspelmath 2003), and *adjacency* (Auwera and Plungian 1998) in the literature. Two main types of semantic maps can be distinguished. In the first type, as in Figure 2, there are connections between meanings expressed through lines. In the second type, a map represents similarity between meanings by spatial adjacency and not through connecting lines (see Croft and Poole 2008). Figure 3 below represents an example of the second type of semantic maps.

Since Haspelmath (2003), some studies have tried to tackle the functionality of dative markers in a cross-linguistic perspective. One can mention, among others, Næss (2009), Lambert (2010), and Narrog (2010). Næss gives an overview of functions of the dative case across languages and examines its overlap with other cases such as the dative-accusative syncretism, the dative-allative syncretism and the dative-genitive syncretism. She does not provide a map for the dative domain. Lambert (2010) proposes the following map (see Figure 3) for dative functions in German, Korean, and Estonian.

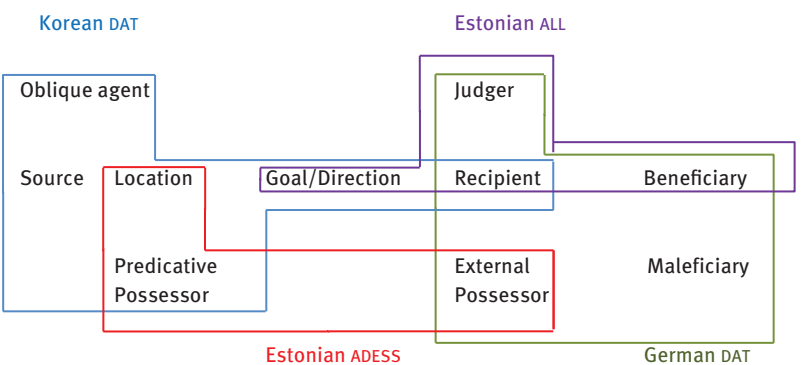

Figure 3: Functions of German and Korean dative, Estonian allative, and Estonian addessive (Lambert 2010: 264).

In German, the dative case is genuinely based on the indirect affectedness (since it mainly encodes non-spatial functions). In Korean, it is basically a spatial dative with an extension to indirect affectedness. The Estonian allative is based on indirect affectedness; while Estonian addessive is spatially based where it encodes location. This map will be discussed more in Section 3. Another related study is Narrog (2010). He gives a diachronic perspective of the goal-recipient domain and specifically shows directionalities of change between functions. We will discuss his map in Section 3.

What interest us in this study is mainly common patterns and points of difference attested among Iranian languages regarding the functionality of dative markers. The questions we try to answer are these: (1) What functions of the dative are common to Iranian languages? (2) What are the points of difference in these languages with regard to dative functions? (3) Does the distribution of functions display any areal patterns? (4) Is there a notable difference in dative polysemy distinguishing Eastern Iranian from Western Iranian or vice versa? In doing so, we take into account any marker that encodes recipient phrase in 'give' constructions and look at its other functions. We will start with Western Iranian languages and then move on to Eastern Iranian languages. The total number of languages included in our study is 15. The selected languages were chosen based on the availability of detailed descriptive grammars, and in some cases the availability of native speakers. We refer partially to older stages of Iranian languages when discussing dative polysemy in new languages. The diachronic development of markers, however, is not included in this study. Since Iranian languages have not been covered in detail in the existing literature dealing with dative polysemy, their dative polysemy can shed light on further research for similar polysemy patterns across Indo-European languages.

2 Functions of dative marker in Iranian languages

In this section, functions of the dative marker in Iranian languages will be discussed. Iranian languages constitute the western group of the larger Indo-Iranian family which represents a major eastern branch of the Indo-European languages (Windfuhr 2009: 1). They are classified into western and eastern groups based on primarily phonological features, but also morphological ones. Each of these two major groups is sometimes subdivided along the opposite axis, giving a potential four-way distinction between Southwestern (e.g. Persian), Northwestern (e.g. Zazaki), Southeastern (e.g. Parachi), and Northeastern Iranian (e.g. Ossetic, Pashto). These conventional terms

correspond only partially to the real geographical situation of the languages and their speakers. Thus Ossetic, an Eastern Iranian language, is spoken in the Caucasus, further west than many Western Iranian languages (Sims-Williams 1996).

Iranian languages possess two main strategies for encoding dative functions: case markers and adpositions. Old Iranian expressed dative functions by a specific dative case, which generally covered recipient, beneficiary, purpose, agent (only in Avestan), and adnominal possessor (Old Persian) functions. Towards the Middle Iranian period, the rich case system was either reduced to an oblique vs. direct distinction, or totally lost yielding to adpositions taking over the task of marking dative functions (however, now with a different distribution).

The data for this study were gathered mostly from descriptive grammars. In those cases where grammars did not provide sufficient information on the status of the datives, we used either corpus analysis (for Kurmanji) or interviews (for Ossetic and Wakhi). Interviews were carried out with native speakers via two experienced linguists working on Wakhi and Ossetic,[1] which increases the validity of the data. The interview included a questionnaire with 11 clauses, each featuring one possible use of the dative marker.

The under-investigated languages for their dative polysemy include New Persian, Gilaki, Balochi (Turkmenistan), Taleshi, Tati (Chāli dialect), Northern Kurdish, Central Kurdish, Hawrami, Gorani, Zazaki, Wakhi, Pashto, Ormuri, Ossetic, and Yaghnobi. Among these, New Persian belongs to the Southwestern branch of Iranian. Wakhi, Pashto, and Ossetic belong to Northeastern Iranian, and Ormuri to the Southeastern sub-group. The others are classified under the northwestern branch of Iranian languages (Windfuhr 2009: 12–15).

2.1 New Persian

The variety of Persian discussed here is the one spoken in Iran. In new Persian, the preposition *be* encodes dative functions including recipient (1a), direction (1b), purpose (1c), and experiencer (1d):

(1) a. *ketāb-i* *rā* *ke* ***be*** ***man*** *dāde* *bud-id* *xānd-am*
book-INDF OBJ REL to 1SG give.PST COP.PST-2PL read.PST-1SG

1 We are grateful to Jaroslava Obrtelova and Arseniy Vydrin for working with native speakers of Wakhi and Ossetic respectively.

'I finished reading the book you gave me.'
[Windfuhr and Perry 2009: 455]

b. *mamulan mā har ruz bā otobus* ***be madrase*** *mi-rav-im*
usually 1PL every day with bus to school IND-go.PRS-1PL
'We usually go to school every day by bus.'
[Windfuhr and Perry 2009: 480]

c. *raft dar-e xāne-ye Mehrān* ***be gele-o šekāyat***
go.PST.3SG door-EZ home-EZ PN to complain-and complain
'He went to Mehrān's home to complain.'
[Najafi 1999 [1378]: 184]

d. *dišab* ***be man*** *bad gozašt*
last night to 1SG bad pass.PST
'Last night, it didn't go well (lit. It passed badly to me).'
[Natural speech]

Functions of *be* in New Persian are as shown in Figure 4:

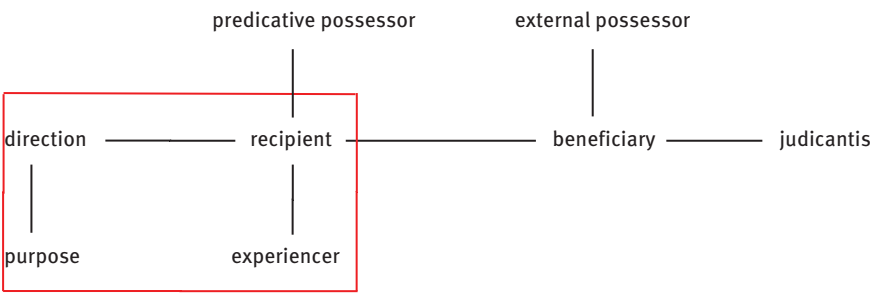

Figure 4: Functions of *be* in New Persian.

Be covers contiguous areas on the map, thus it observes connectivity.

2.2 Gilaki

The Gilaki language is spread along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea in one of the northern provinces of Iran known as Gilan (Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 1). In Gilaki, the postposition *-(r)a* encodes recipient (2a), direction (2b), experiencer (2c), and patient (2d). Beneficiary is indicated by *-re* in Gilaki (2e):

(2) a. *čand fa=d-i unə čəkmə=ya*
how much VPFX=give.PST-2SG 3SG.GEN.DIST boot=ACC/DAT

ta-ra *fa=Ø-d-əm*
2SG-ACC/DAT VPFX=SBJV-give.PRS-1SG
'How much will you give me if I give you his boots?'
[Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 358]

b. *Huseyn Raštə-ǰa* ***Tehrån-a*** *bušo*
PN PN-GEN-from PN-ACC/DAT go.PST.3SG
'Husein travelled from Rasht to Tehran' [Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 62]

c. *tu az rå b-amo-i* ***ta-ra***
2SG.NOM from road PFV-come.PST-2SG 2SG-ACC/DAT
višta=yə
hungry=COP.PRS.3G
'You have [just] come from a journey. You are hungry. (lit. there is hunger to you)' [Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 317]

d. *zud båš* ***səmavər-a*** *åtəš bu-kun-Ø*
early be samovar-ACC/DAT fire IMP-do.PRS-2SG.IMP
'Hurry up! Put on the samovar!' [Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 302]

e. *xa-yəm bə-š-əm uyə ipič* ***zak-an=əre***
want.PRS-1SG SBJV-go.PRS-1SG there a.bit child-PL=BEN
čiz=o miz bi-hin-əm
thing=and thing SBJV-buy.PRS-1SG
'I want to go there and buy something for the children.'
[Rastorgueva et al. 2012: 299]

Figure 5 below demonstrates functions of *-(r)a* in Gilaki.

Functions of *-(r)a* are connected, but *-(r)a* encodes patient as well, and it does not comprise a connection on the map.

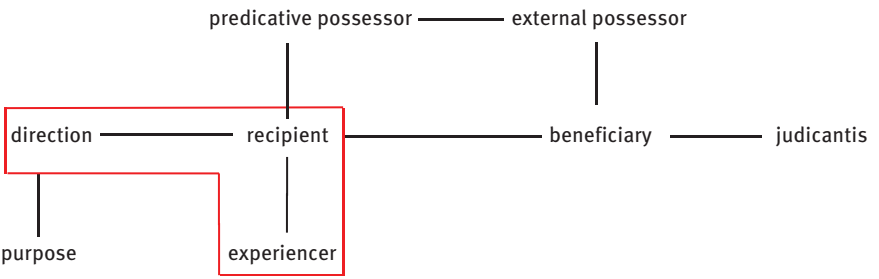

Figure 5: Functions of *-(r)a* in Gilaki.

2.3 Balochi

The data are from the variety of Balochi spoken in the Mary region in Turkmenistan. The Balochi variety spoken in this area belongs to the western branch of Balochi (Jahani and Korn 2009: 637). In this variety, *-ā* and *bi* encode dative functions; *-ā* encodes recipient (3a), direction (3b), patient (3c), and location (3d), while *bi* encodes recipient (3e), direction (3f), and location (3g). When the recipient is definite, it takes the form of *bi.....ā* (3h):

(3) a. *man* ***wat-ī*** ***zāg-ā*** *nān u āp-ē b-da-īn*
1SG REFL-GEN son-OBJ bread and water SBJV-give.PRS.1SG
'Let me give food to my son.' [Axenof 2006: 76]

b. *man* ***wat-ī*** ***gwār-ay*** ***gis-ā*** *šut-un*
1SG REFL-GEN sister-GEN house-OBJ go.PST-1SG
'I went to the house of my sister.' [Axenof 2006: 120]

c. *āp āwurt u* ***mnī*** ***dast u dēm-ā*** *šušt*
water bring.PST.3SG and 1SG.GEN hand and face-OBJ wash.PST.3SG
'He brought water and washed my hands and face.' [Axenof 2006: 58]

d. ***ǰanakk-ay*** ***ǰāga-ā*** *bālištēr int u ǰīnd=i*
woman-GEN place-OBJ pillow down COP.PRS.3SG and self=3SG
na-int
NEG-COP.PRS.3SG
'On the woman's place there is a pillow, but she herself is not there.'
[Axenof 2006: 123]

e. *mnī piss mnā* ***bi ganōk-ē*** *dāt*
1SG.GEN father 1SG.OBJ to fool-INDF give.PST.3SG
'My father gave (i.e. married) me to a fool.' [Axenof 2006: 77]

f. *yak mardum-ē* ***bi bāzār-ā*** *sad durānd āwurt*
once man-IND to market-OBL hundred ram bring.PST.3SG
'A man brought a hundred rams to the market.' [Axenof 2006: 63]

g. ***bi yak šār-ē*** *yakk drōghburr-ēn mardum-ē at*
in one town-INDF one lying-ATTR man-IND COP.PST.3SG
'In a town there was a liar.' [Axenof 2006: 130]

h. *ukm-ā* ***bi nōkar-ān-ī*** ***dast-ā*** *dāt=ī*
order-OBJ to servant-PL-GEN hand-OBL give.PST=3SG.CLC
'He gave an order to the servants (lit. to the servants' hand).'
[Axenof 2006: 76]

Functions of *-ā* and *bi* are shown in Figure 6 below:

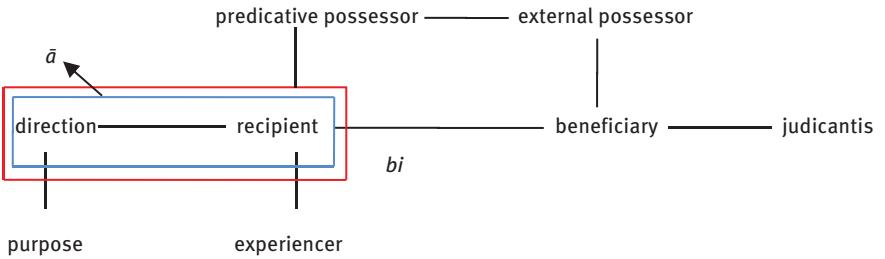

Figure 6: Functions of *-ā* and *bi* in Balochi.

As it can be seen, functions of *bi (bi....ā)* and *-ā* overlap, but they are not completely synonymous; contrary to *bi, -ā* encodes patient. On the other hand, both of them encode location, and location and patient do not form connections on the map. The presence of *bi* as a preposition shows that the language is becoming analytical by using a preposition alongside a case marker for encoding recipient and related functions. The use of a dative marker for encoding location can also be seen in the Middle Western Iranian language of Parthian:

(4) *andar* 4 *sarδ* *Aršak* *Wālaʏš* *šāh-ān* *šāh* *puhr* *Mihrdād* *šāh*
in 4 year PN PN king-PL king son PN king
kōšād ***ō*** ***mēšān*** *bē* *Mihrdād* *šāh* *puhr* *pākōr* *šāh-ān* *šāh*
fight.PST in PN against PN king son PN king-PL king
'In year 4, Aršak Wālaʏš, King of kings, son of king Mihrdad fought against king Mihrdad, son of Pakor, King of King in Mēšān.'
[Rezaei Baghbidi 2006: 141]

2.4 Taleshi

Taleshi is spoken along the southwestern coast of the Caspian Sea The Talesh region is commonly divided into three general dialect areas: Northern, Central, and Southern (Paul 2011: 18). The data show that dative marker encodes different functions in these three dialects, so they will be treated separately.

2.4.1 Southern Taleshi

In Southern Taleshi, the oblique marker *-i* is the dative marker. It functions as recipient (5a), patient (5b), possessor (5c), and past transitive agent (5d). Direction is encoded by *bə* (5e) and beneficiary by *rā* (5b).

(5) a. *agar xərdan ma-bəram-ə* ***a-i*** *šət ma-da*
If child PHB-cry-3SG 3SG-OBL milk PHB-give
'If the child does not cry, do not give him milk.' [Paul 2011: 121]

b. *mard az tə=rā* ***āstəmun-I*** *gard-im*
human 1SG 2SG=for sky-OBL go-IPFV.1SG
'Human, I have been searching the heavens for you.' [Paul 2011: 414]

c. ***maamud-i*** *žen*
Mahmud-OBL wife
'Mahmud's wife.' [Paul 2011: 76]

d. ***šal-i*** *a-i bard=a*
jackal-OBL 3SG-OBL took=TR
'Jackal took it.' [Paul 2011: 95]

e. *čerâ* ***bə de*** *š-ira?*
why to village go.PST-2SG
'Why did you go to the village?' [Paul 2011: 173]

Functions of *-i* and *bə* are as shown in Figure 7:

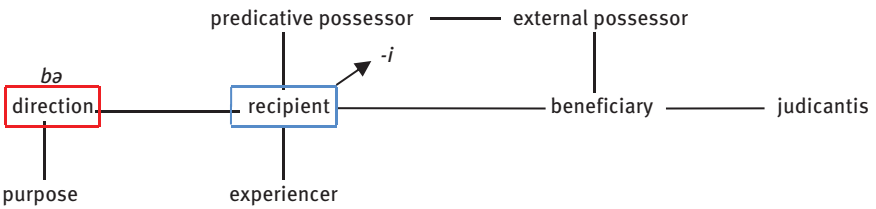

Figure 7: Functions of *-i* and *bə* in Southern Taleshi.

As said, *-i* also encodes patient, agent, and possessor. These functions are not included in the map. Encoding adnominal possessor via the dative case is also attested in Old Persian where there existed syncretism of the genitive and dative cases:

(6) ***dārayavahauš xšhayā*** *viθiyā*
PN.GEN/DAT king.GEN/DAT house.LOC
'In the house of king Darius.' [Dpi, Skjærvø 2009: 108]

The use of dative case to encode agent is also attested Young Avestan. The construction has been named dative of agent by some authors (see Haig 2008: 71, Luraghi 2016):

(7) *Miθrō yō nōit **kahmāi** aißi.draoxδō*
PN who.NOM.SG NEG REL.DAT.SG deceived.NOM.SG
'Miθra, who (is) not to be deceived by anybody.'
[Yt.10.17, Skjærvø 2009: 111]

2.4.2 Central Taleshi

In Central Taleshi, *ba* encodes recipient (only in combination with pronouns; 8a), direction (8b), and beneficiary (only in combination the reflexive pronoun; 8c). However, for the beneficiary function, generally *-rā* (8d) is used. *-i* marks patient and recipient (8e), possessor (8f), and ergative agent (8g):

(8) a. *čan gəla=i du=a **bamun***
some CLF=IND gave=TR 3PL.IO
'He gave some to them.' [Paul 2011: 72]
b. *av-ə i-la səğ **ba cul** având=e*
3SG-OBL a-CLF stone to well dropped=TR
'He dropped a stone down the well.' [Paul 2011: 94]
c. *i-la=š bumun=kā pe-gat=a ki **baštanna***
one-CLF=3SG 3PL.IOP=LOC PVB-pick up.PST=TR COMP for self
b-ar-u
SBJV-eat-3SG
'He took one of them to eat for himself.' [Paul 2011: 164]
d. *nā=šun-a ča-rā düčarxa sar-i-kā*
put=3PL-TR POSS.3SG=for bicycle head-OBL-LOC
'They put them on the basket for him.' [Paul 2011: 376]
e. *a kâr=a **pul-i** **i** **nafar-i** â-du-e*
3SG PROG=3SG money-OBL a person-OBL PVB-give-INF
'He is giving the money to someone.' [Paul 2011: 76]
f. ***maamud-i** žen*
Mahmud-OBL wife
'Mahmud's wife.' [Paul 2011: 76]
g. ***pis-i** ca sar da-bast=a*
baldy-OBL POSS.3SG top PVB-closed=TR
'The baldy closed its top.' [Paul 2011: 93]

Functions of *ba*, and *-i* are shown in Figure 8:

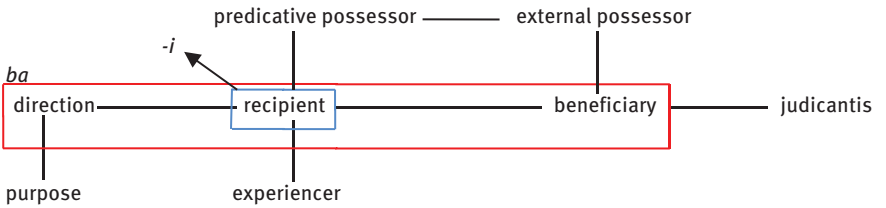

Figure 8: Functions of *ba* and *-i* in central Taleshi.

Comparing Figure 8 to Figure 7, it is evident that by using *ba* for recipient, Central Taleshi becomes more analytical than Southern Taleshi. We have thus seen functions of *-i* which do not form a connection on the map.

2.4.3 Northern Taleshi

The dialect we describe here is that of Anbarān in the north of Iran (see Figure 9). In Northern Taleshi, *ba* (*ba....ə* when recipient and direction are definite) encodes dative functions including recipient (9a), and direction (9b):

(9) a. *av pül-ə* ***ba i kas-ə*** *du=na=yə*
3SG money-OB to a person-OBL give=LOC=3SG
'He gives money to someone.' [Paul 2011: 76]

b. *čəmân yud=anda=y əštân piadada=nda* ***ba***
POSS.1SG memory=LOC=COP.3SG self grandfather=LOC to
kâfšan *a-š-im*
desert AUG-go-IPFV.1SG
'It is in my memory: I would go to the desert with my grandfather.'
[Paul 2011: 85]

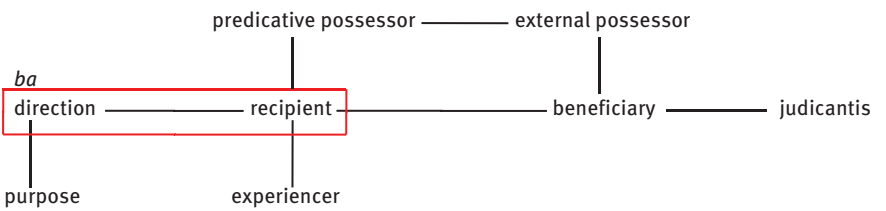

Figure 9: Functions of *ba* (*ba.....ə*) in Northern Taleshi.

By having *ba* as the sole dative marker, Northern Taleshi has become even more analytical than Central and Southern Taleshi. Taleshi examples clearly illustrate the fact that we can trace dialectal variation in the uses of markers on semantic maps.

2.5 Tati

Tati is a Northwestern Iranian language which is mainly spoken in some parts of the provinces of Qazvin, Zanjan, and East Azerbaijan in Iran. Note that there is a separate Southwestern Iranian language named Tat, which is spoken across the border, in Azerbaijan. The variety being analyzed here for dative polysemy is Chāli, a dialect of Southern Tāti (Yar-Shater 1969). In Chāli, *-(r)ā* encodes recipient (10a), and beneficiary (10b) functions. In addition, the oblique marker, which differs according to the gender, marks recipient (10c), (ergative) agent (10d), possessor (10e), and patient (10f):

(10) a. ***asban-ā*** *či* *undi*
horse-DAT something give.IMP
'Give something to the horses.' [Yar-Shater 1969: 117]

b. *da: man raz* ***ma:rié=š-ā*** *m-ašin-öm*
ten unit vineyard marriage portion=3SG-DAT IND-throw.PRS-1SG
'I grant (lit. throw) ten *mans (a unit of weight)* of vineyard as (for) her marriage portion.' [Yar-Shater 1969: 123]

c. *alaf undi* ***čuār-ē***
grass give.IMP sheep-OBL.M.SG
'Give grass to the sheep.' [Yar-Shater 1969: 104]

d. ***čuār-ē*** *alaf bexord*
sheep-OBL.M.SG grass eat.PST
'The sheep ate grass.' [Yar-Shater 1969: 76]

e. ***Hasan-ē*** *pia apara bemard*
PN-OBL.M.SG father last year die.PST
'Hasan's father died last year.' [Yar-Shater 1969: 61]

f. *em* ***qoč-ē*** *berxin*
DEM ram-OBL.M.SG buy.IMP
'Buy this ram!' [Yar-Shater 1969: 105]

Some functions of the oblique marker, including (ergative) agent, patient, and possessor, are not included in Figure 10.

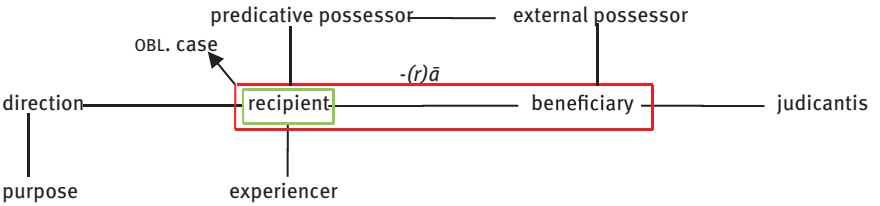

Figure 10: Functions of *-(r)ā* in Chāli.

2.6 Kurmanji (Northern Kurdish)

Kurdish is a cover term for the largest group of closely-related Western Iranian dialects. There are three main subgroups of Kurdish: (1) Northern Kurdish is the most widely spoken variety of Kurdish, also known as Kurmanji; (2) Central Kurdish has two main subgroups, Sorani in Northern Iraq up to the Little Zab River, and Mukri in the adjacent Iranian province of Kurdistan. (3) Southern Kurdish is found in the abutting areas of Iraq and Iran, from Khaneqin in Iraq over to Kermanshah in Iran and down to the north of al-Amara, Iraq, as well as in the Bijar region of Iran (McCarus 2009: 587).

In Kurmanji, the circumposition *ji...re* encodes dative functions, including recipient (11a), beneficiary (11b), and experiencer (11c).

(11) a. *herkesī* ***ji*** ***min*** ***re*** *di-got*
everybody ADP 1SG.OBL ADP IND-tell.PST.3SG
'Everybody was telling me.' [Thackston 2006a: 88]

b. *ez* ***ji*** ***te*** ***re*** *şivantiyi di-k-im.*
1SG ADP 2SG.OBL ADP herding IPFV-do-1SG
'I will do sheep herding for you.' [Haig 1999–2001]

c. *nav-ē* *kēzek-ē* ***ji*** ***min*** ***re*** *bū* *mereq*
name-EZ.M bug-OBL ADP 1SG.OBL ADP be.PST curious
'I became curious about the name of the bug.' [Thackston 2006a: 116]

Also, the oblique marker, which differs depending on the gender, encodes dative-related functions, including recipient and (ergative) agent (11d), possessor (11e), direction (11f), and patient (11g):

d. *ev* *erd* ***hukumet-ē*** *da-ye* *me*
DEM.DIR land.DIR government-OBL.F give:PST-PTCP.3SG 1PL:OBL
'The government gave this land to us.' [Haig 2008: 216]

e. ***gund-ēn*** ***kurd-an***
village-EZ.PL Kurd-PL.OBL
'villages of Kurds' [Thackston 2006a: 9]

f. *ez* *di-ç-im* ***Parīs-ē***
1SG.DIR ind-go.prs-1sg Paris.OBL.F
'I am going to Paris.' [Natural speech]

g. *ez* ***jín-ē*** *di-bīn-im.*
1SG woman-OBL.F IND-see.PRS-1SG
'I see the woman.' [Thackston 2006a: 9]

The map for Kurmanji is as shown in Figure 11:

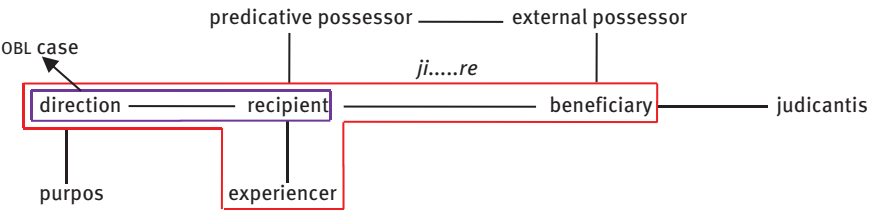

Figure 11: Functions of *ji.....re* and oblique marker in Kurmanji.

In Kurmanji, we see once again functions of the oblique case which do not comprise connections on the map.

2.7 Sorani (Central Kurdish)

The dialect described here is that of Sulaymaniyya, spoken in the northeast of Iraq. In Sorani, the preposition *ba* encodes recipient (12a), direction (12b), and experiencer (12c). In addition, the preposition *bō* encodes dative functions, including direction (12d), beneficiary (12e) and recipient (12f). It should be noted that *bō*[2] seems to be a beneficiary marker in origin, and its functions later extended to recipient and direction in Soleymaniyya Kurdish. *Ba* also encodes instrumental-related functions, including instrumental (12g), passive agent (12h) and manner (12i). These three functions can be seen on Narrog's instrumental semantic map (see Narrog 2010 for a map of instrumental-related functions). In Sorani, *ba* can form circumpositions with *-dā*, and *-awa*.

2 The proof for treating *bō* as a beneficiary marker comes from the neighboring Sorani varieties, to the south-east of Central Kurdish speech zone, in which it functions as beneficiary marker, not as a recipient.

(12) a. *šit-ēk* ***ba*** ***suālkar-ak(a)-ān*** *bí-dā-t*
something-INDF to begger-DEF-PL SBJV-give.PRS-2SG
'Let him give something to the beggers.' [Thackston 2006b: 68]

b. *ču-n-**a(=ba)*** *bāzār*
go.PST-3PL-to market
'They went to market.' [McCarus 2009: 605]

c. ***pē=m*** *xoš* *bū* *hāt-ī*
to=1SG glad COP.PST come.PST-2SG
'I'm glad you came (lit. It was nice to me that you came).'
[Thackston 2006b: 199]

d. *hāt-ū-tà* *sar=im* *bi-č-im* ***bō*** ***šār***
come.PTCP-COP head=1SG IPFV-go.PST-1SG to town
'It has come to my mind to go to town.' [Thackston 2006b: 223]

e. *dargā=**m*** ***bō*** *bi-kan-awa*
door=1SG.CLC for IMP-open-ASP
'Open the door for me.' [Thackston 2006b: 23]

f. *a-y-da-m* ***bō*** *to*
IPFV=3SG-give.PRS-1SG to 2SG
'I'm giving it to you.' [McCarus 2009: 600]

g. *dwēnē* *la* *māl-awa* ***ba*** ***dast*** *mār-ēk=ī* *kušt*
yesterday at home-ADP with hand snake-INDF=3SG kill.PST
'He killed a snake by hand at home yesterday.' [McCarus 2009: 612]

h. *hič=**ət*** ***pē*** *nā-kər-ē*
nothing=2SG by NEG-do-PASS
'Nothing can be done by you.' [Thackston 2006b: 167]

i. ***ba*** ***pala*** *hāt*
with haste come.PST.3SG
'He came hastily.' [Thackston 2006b: 178]

Figure 12 shows the map for Central Kurdish:

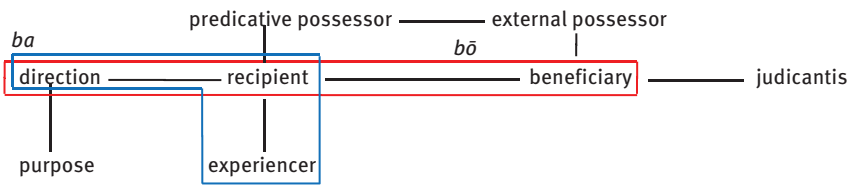

Figure 12: Functions of *ba* and *bō* in Sorani.

Functions of *ba* and *bō* partially overlap. As noted, *ba* marks both instrumental and dative functions. In this case, we can consider *ba* the general oblique marker since a range of functions, both dative-related and instrumental-related, can be encoded by it. We might also note the extension of functions of *bō* to recipient and direction.

2.8 Hawrami

Hawrami is spoken in the heart of the Kurdish-speaking area in Iran and Iraq. It is a Gorani dialect and probably the most archaic and best preserved of the group (MacKenzie 1966: 4). In Hawrami, two circumpositions encode dative functions. *Ba*....*-i* (*pana*[3], *pə*) marks recipient (13a) and direction (13b). It encodes the instrumental function as well (13c). The second one is *pay*....*-i*, which has the functions of recipient (13d), direction (13e), beneficiary (13f), and purpose (13g). *Pay*....*-i* does not encode recipient in 'give' constructions, rather it is used in 'tell' constructions. We consider addressee, the oblique argument in 'tell' constructions, a subtype of recipient. In both cases, the person receives something, either varbally or physically, via a transfer event.

(13) a. *dā=š* ***ba hama-y u ad=eš***
give=3SG to PN-OBL and mother=3SG
'She gave it to Hama and his mother.' [MacKenzie 1966: 63]

b. *panj šīš suār=em di-e ru* ***ba ega-y*** *ene*
five six horseman=1SG see.PST-3PL face to here-OBL come.IPFV.3PL
'Five or six horsemen coming in this direction.' [MacKenzie 1966: 61]

c. ***ba fot-ew-i nāyāb*** *asari-ē=š*
by towel-INDF-EZ rare dry.PST-3PL=3SG
'He dried them with a fine towel.' [MacKenzie 1966: 68]

d. *hakāyat-ak-e we=t=****īm*** ***pay*** *bayān kára*
story-DEF-EZ REFL=2SG=1SG to diction do.IMP
'Tell me your own story.' [MacKenzie 1966: 54]

e. *tāt=am na-š-t=iš bi-l-u* ***pay sinama-y***
father=1SG NEG-let-EP=3SG SBJV-go-1SG to cinema-OBL
'My father would not let me go to the cinema.' [MacKenzie 1966: 51]

3 *pana* and *pə* are the absolute prepositions of *ba*. They are used when the complement of *ba* is a dependent person markers ex. clitic.

f. *Jil-e pādšā-yānē=**š** **pay** asā-Φ*
cloth king-like=3SG for buy.PST-3SG
'He bought regal clothes for him.' [MacKenzie 1966: 53]

g. *garak=šā be bilā **pay** **rāw-ē***
want=3PL COP go to hunting-OBL
'They wanted to go to hunting.' [MacKenzie 1966: 36]

Functions of *ba* (*pana, pə*), and *pay....i* are as shown in Figure 13:

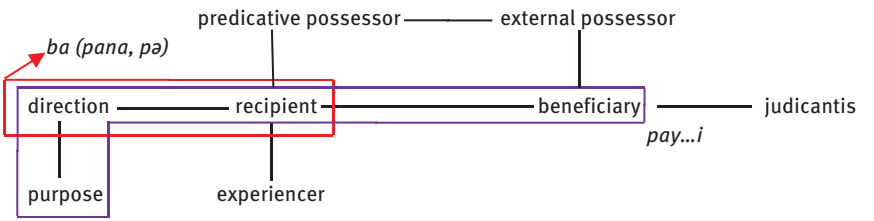

Figure 13: Functions of *ba (pana, pə)* and *pay...i* in Hawrami.

The situation we see in Hawrami is partly like the case with Sorani. Here, one marker *-ba-* encodes both instrumental- and dative-related functions, and another marker, *-pay*, encodes dative functions. However, unlike Sorani Kurdish, what is probably a beneficiary marker in origin does not encode the recipient in 'give' constructions but instead it does so in 'tell' constructions. In other words, an purportedly beneficiary marker seems to be in the process of turning into a core dative marker.

2.9 Gorani

Gorani is spoken in the western part of the Kermanshah Province, in the west of Iran (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 1). While it is nowadays spoken in a small number of villages, it is assumed that it was formerly prevalent in a larger area. The variety of Gorani that is investigated here is Gawrajui (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012). In Gorani, two prepositions mark dative functions: *arā* encodes addressee (14a), direction (14b), beneficiary (14c), and purpose (14d). *Wa* (or *wa.....y*) encodes recipient in 'give' constructions (14e), direction (14f), and experiencer (14g). It also encodes instrumental-related functions including the instrumental (14h), location, together with *-ya* (14i), manner (14j), point in time, and companion (14k):

(14) a. *īna=m=a* ***ařā=t*** *na-wāt*?
this=1SG=NA for=2SG NEG-say.PST
'I didn't tell you this.' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 26]

b. *řaft-yām* ***ařā ka=y*** ***lālo=m***
go.PST-1PL to house=EZ uncle=1SG
'We went to my uncle's house.' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 39]

c. *ūrdū-yī* ***ařā=š*** *ma-kar-in*
camp-INDF for=3SG IND-do.PRS-3PL
'They make a camp for him.' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 15]

d. ***ařā če*** *kyās-yām=it* *ařā īnā*?
for what send.PST-1PL=2SG to here
'What did you send us here for?' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 39]

e. *min* ***wa Alī*** *nān* *ma-t-im*
1SG to PN bread IPFV-give.PRS-1SG
'I give Ali the bread' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 52]

f. *pīyā=y(č)* ***ma-š-u=wa*** *bān* *āsyāw-aka*
man=ADD IND-go.PRS-3SG=DRCT up mill-DEF
'The man also goes up on the mill' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 58]

g. *xāw* *ma-kat-ī=ya* ***wan***[4]***=šān=ay***
sleep IND-fall-EP=DRCT to=3PL=ADP
'They fall asleep (lit. sleep falls on them)' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 96]

h. ***wa ča*** *ma-š-ī*?
with what IND-go.PRS-2SG
'With what (Kind of transportation) do you go?'
[Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 52]

i. ***wa ka=ya*** *ma-w-in*
at house=POST IND-COP-3PL
'They are at home' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 52]

j. ***wa lafz-e*** ***šīrīn*** ***wa merabānī*** *mard* *kam*
with speech-EZ sweet with kindness man less
ni-ma-w(u) *či* *mērd-ān*
NEG-IND-become.PST like man-PL
'Through sweet speech, with kindness, a man does not make less of his manhood. [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 111]

k. ***wa šaw wa šawdīz*** *biya*, *asp-aka-š* *ānakay* *xasraw*
in night with PN come.PST horse-DEF=3SG belong PN

4 When *(w)a* is used with pronominal complements, it may take on a special form, *wan* (Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 56).

wa *dizīwa*
in secret
'(It was) night time (and) she was with Šabdiz, her horse, which belongs to Xasraw. (She goes) in secret.' [Mahmoudveysi et al. 2012: 109]

Boundaries of *wa* and *arā* are shown in Figure 14:

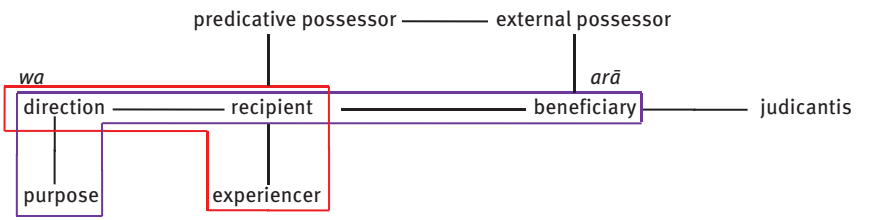

Figure 14: Functions of *wa* and *arā* in Gorani.

In Gorani, as in Hawrami, one marker encodes both instrumental and dative functions, and another marker, here *arā*, is becoming a dative marker.

2.10 Zazaki

Zazaki is a Northwestern Iranian language, more closely related to Gorani than to Kurdish. It is spoken in eastern Turkey on the northwestern border of Kurdish-speaking areas. Zazaki is divided into three major dialects; Northern, Southwestern, and Southeastern (Paul 2009: 546). The dialect we investigate here is the Southwestern dialect spoken in Siverek, described in Todd (2008). In Zazaki, the postposition *-rē* has the functions of recipient (15a), beneficiary (15b), and experiencer (15c). Direction in the sense of going to a specific place is indicated by the oblique case *-i* (15d). With non-specific referents *-i* is not used (15e):

(15) a. ***min*** ***rē*** *pirtok-i* *bi-d-i*
1SG.OBL to book-OBL IMP-give-2SG
'Give me the book.' [Todd 2008: 109]

b. *ma* *do* *roj-ē* ***to-rē*** *virazē*
1PL FUT day-a 2SG.OBL-for make.PRS
'We will make it for you one day.' [Todd 2008: 42]

c. *gošt-ē* *biz-er* ***min-rē*** *wəš-o*
meat-EZ.M goat-OBL 1SG.OBL-to good-COP
'I like goat meat.' [Todd 2008: 98]

d. *o* *suk-ra* *vīeyno* *šīno* ***dew-ī***
3SG.DIR city-from come out.PRS.3SG go.PST.3SG village-LOC
'He comes out of the city and goes to the village.' [Todd 2008: 37]

e. *o-yo* *šin-o* ***sūk***
3SG.DIR-PROG go.PRS city
'He is going to town.' [Todd 2008: 37]

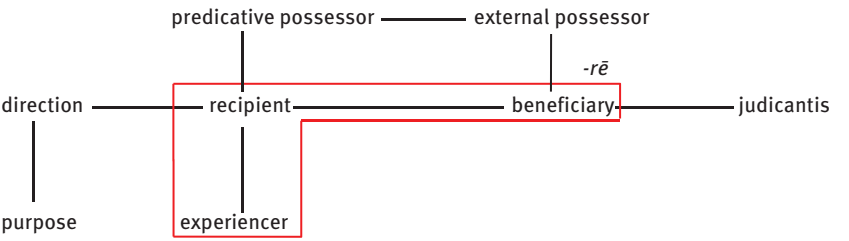

Figure 15: Functions of *-rē* in Zazaki.

Functions of *-rē* are connected, hence Zazaki observes connectivity.

2.11 Wakhi

Wakhi is an Eastern Iranian Pamir language. It is spoken in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, China, and Pakistan (Bashir 2009: 825). The dative marker of Wakhi[5], *ər/rək*, encodes recipient (16a), beneficiary (16b), purpose (16c), experiencer (16d), and judicantis (16e):

(16) a. *maze* *ni* *xū* *kitob* ***kuy-ər*** *δet*
must perhaps self book someone-to give.PST
'I must have given my book to someone (lit. 'perhaps I gave').'
[Bashir 2009: 848]

b. *waxti* *tukn* *pətok* ***tarək*** *goxən*
when 2SG leave 2SG.DAT bake.PRS.1PL
'When you leave, we'll bake you some rich flatbread.'
[Pakhalina 1975: 125]

5 The data come from a 30-year-old male native speaker of Wakhi, from the Western Wakhan region in Tajikistan. He has lived all his life in this region where Wakhi is still spoken by the inhabitants.

c. *wuz-əm yow* ***bar višin-ər*** *wezgi xənetk*
come-1SG 3SG.POSS door sweep-DAT 3SG say.PST.3SG
'I have come [to sweep his door], she said.' [Bashir 2009: 853]

d. ***ma-rək*** *xuš nā-st*
1SG-to like NEG-COP
'I don't like it (lit. 'to me it's not liked').' [Pakhalina 1975: 125]

e. *Yəm ǰya* ***mar*** *garm.*
this very to me.DAT warm
'That is too warm for me.' [Interview]

Figure 16 displays the map for Wakhi:

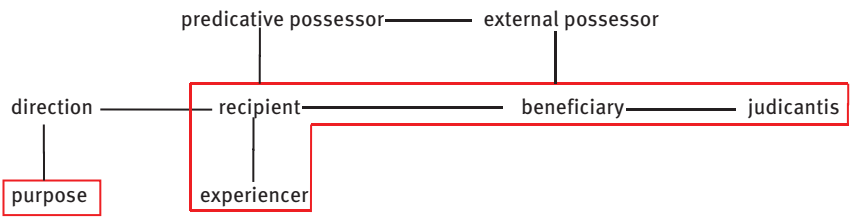

Figure 16: Functions of *ər/rək* in Wakhi.

As shown in Figure 16, *ər/rək* encodes recipient and purpose, but not direction, which is between these two functions. Direction is indicated by the preposition *tə*:

(16) f. *ar ruz-əš* ***tə ku=š*** *reɣd-əy*
every day=3SG to mountain=3SG would go
'He would go to the mountain every day.' [Bashir 2009: 838]

The situation we see for Wakhi is reminiscent of Old Avestan where the dative case marks recipient and purpose, but not direction:

(17) a. *dāidī tū* ***Vištāspāi*** *išəm* ***maibiiācā***
give 2SG PN.DAT invigorant 1SG.DAT
'Give enablement to Vishtaaspa and to me.' [Y. 28.7, West 2011: 31]

b. *ā mōi* ***rafəərāi*** *zauuəng jasatā*
PVB 1SG.CLC.DAT.GEN support.DAT call come.IMP
'Come to my calls, for (=to give) support.' [Y. 28.3, West 2011: 32]

c. ***ašəm*** *jasō*
right.ACC go.IMP
'Go (to) right.' [Y. 43.12, West 2011: 20]

2.12 Pashto

Pashto is an Eastern Iranian language, spoken mainly in Afghanistan and Pakistan. There are also some Pashto speakers in Iran (Robson and Tegey 2009: 721). In Pashto, the postposition *ta* encodes dative functions including recipient (18a), direction (18b), and beneficiary (18c):

(18) a. ***ahmad-Ø*** ***ta*** *kitāb-Ø* *wârkəṛ-a*
PN-M.OBL to book-M.DIR give.AOR-IMP.SG
'Give the book to Ahmad.' [Anne 2014: 326]

b. *muẓ* ***ṣowəndz-I*** ***ta*** *ʤ-ú*
1PL.STR.DIR school-M.OBL to go.CONT.PRS-1PL
'We are going to school.' [Anne 2014: 326]

c. *dā* *rup-əy* *w-ā́xl-a* ***dzān-a*** ***ta***
this.DIR rupee-F.DIR AOR-take.PRS-IMP.SG self-M.OBL for
tsapl-əy *ham* *w-ā́xl-a*
sandals-F.DIR also AOR-take.PRS-IMP.SG
'Take the money and buy some sandals for yourself.' [Anne 2014: 326]

The map for Pashto will thus be as follows below (see Figure 17).

In Pashto, as in most languages we have seen so far, connectivity is observed.

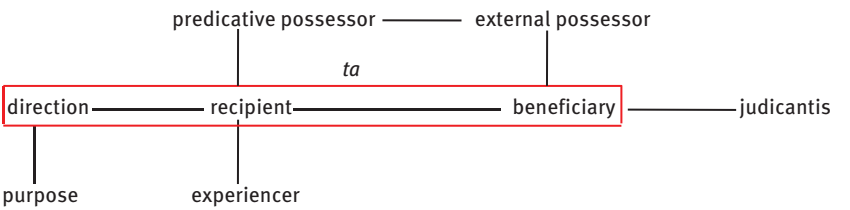

Figure 17: Functions of *ta* in Pashto.

2.13 Ormuri

Ormuri, is an Eastern Iranian language spoken in the city of Kaniguram in South Waziristan, Pakistan, by the Burki people. It may also be spoken by a few people in Baraki Barak in Logar, Afghanistan. The dialect spoken in Kaniguram is more archaic than the one in Logar (Efimov 2011: 1–2). The dative marker *-ki* marks recipient (19a), direction (19b), experiencer (19c), beneficiary (19d), and purpose (19e):

(19) a. *a* *rupye* *fa* ***saṛay-ki*** *řeri*
DEM.PROX money DEM.DIST man-to give.IMP
'Give this money to that man.' [Efimov 2011: 159]

b. *az* *ahmad-girad* ***bāzār-ki*** *tsek-am*
1SG PN-with market-to go.PST.1SG
'I went to the bazaar with Ahmad.' [Efimov 2011: 129]

c. ***ku-mun-ki*** *maalum* *na-k-e*
PART-1SG-to evident NEG-do.PRS-3SG
'It is unknown to me.' [Efimov 2011: 144]

d. *še* *qala-wa* ***kere-ki*** *banok*
a fort-INDF 3SG-to built
'He built a fort for her.' [Efimov 2011: 216]

e. *sa* *tolay* *ye* *ta* ***bārān*** ***zestan-ki*** *rawān* *byuk*
one group PTC DEF rain pray-to set go.PST.3PL
'A group [of people] set off to pray for rain.' [Efimov 2011: 217]

Boundaries of *-ki* are as shown in Figure 18 below:

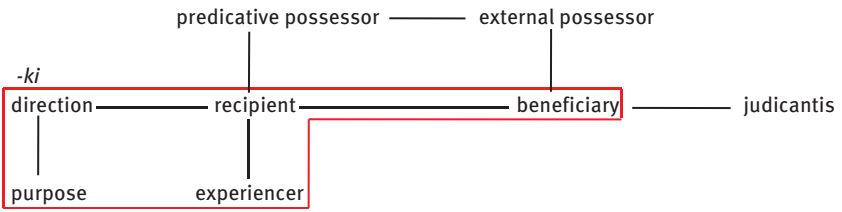

Figure 18: Functions of *-ki* in Ormuri.

As Figure 18 shows, Ormuri observes proximity.

2.14 Ossetic

Ossetic is an Eastern Iranian language spoken by approximately 650,000 people, mainly in Republic of North Ossetia-Alania, the South Ossetic region of Georgia, in various other parts of the Russian Federation, and in scattered settlements in Turkey (Job and Schäfer 2006: 109). The data for Ossetic were collected via a questionnaire.[6] The informant is a speaker of the Iron dialect,

6 The data were collected from a 31-year-old female native speaker of Ossetic who is a permanent resident of North Ossetia.

which is the basis for standard Ossetic. Ossetic is known for its rich case system. The dative case in Ossetic marks recipient (20a), beneficiary (20b), purpose (20c), external possessor (20d), and judicantis (20e):

(20) a. *wəj rad-t-a činəg* ***džek-æn***
3SG give-TR-PST.3SG book PN-DAT
'She gave the book to Jack.' [Interview]

b. *mæ uš* ***džek-æn*** *kæn-ə saj*
POSS.1SG wife PN-DAT do-PRS-3SG tea
'My wife is making tea for Jack.' [Interview]

c. *læyštæ* ***kæn-ən-æn*** *ægær fæ-karžən dæ*
supplication do-INF-DAT too NOM-old be.PRS.2SG
'You are too old to beg.' [Vydrin 2011: 119]

d. ***Aslan-æn*** *jæ* ***k'ax*** *a-šašt-oj*
PN-DAT POSS.3SG leg PVB-break.PST-3PL
'They broke Aslan's leg.' [Interview]

e. *ægær tævd* ***džek-æn*** *u*
too hot PN-DAT be.3SG
'It is too hot for Jack.' [Interview]

Boundaries of *-æn* in Ossetic are shown in Figure 19:

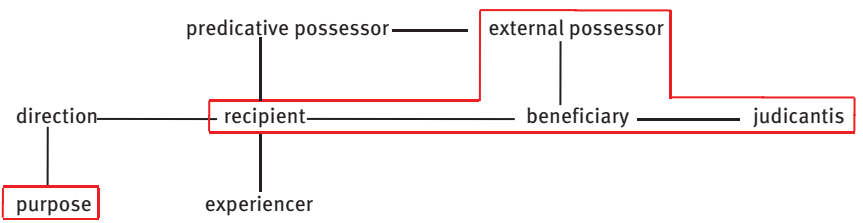

Figure 19: Functions of *-æn* in Ossetic.

Functions of *-æn* are not contiguous; the situation is like the one seen in Avestan and Wakhi, in which the dative marker encodes recipient and purpose, but not direction.

2.15 Yaghnobi

Yaghnobi is a Northeastern Iranian language spoken by approximately 12,500 people in Tajikistan. It is believed to be a descendant of Sogdian, a Middle Eastern Iranian language (Sims-Williams 1989). In Yaghnobi, the oblique marker

-i encodes dative-related functions, including recipient (21a), direction (21b), possessor (21c), location (21d), and patient (21e). Note that agents are marked via the oblique case in transitive clauses with progressive aspect (21f), but not in clauses with non-progressive aspect (21g); that is, depending on the perfectivity of the verb, there is a split in marking agents.

(21) a. *man bist somon* ***safar-i*** *tifar-ak-I baxʃa maktab-i*
1SG twenty PN PN-OBL give-PAR-OBL for school-OBL
a-ʃav-im
PST-go-1SG
'I went to the school to give twenty Somoni to Safar.' [Bird 2007: 63]

b. *ʁaiḵ-t* ***maktab-i*** *a-ʃav-or*
girl-PL school-OBL PST-go-3PL
'The girls went to school.' [Bird 2007: 27]

c. *safar* ***karim-i tup*** *a-nos*
PN PN-OBL ball PST-take
'Safar took Karim's ball.' [Bird 2007: 16]

d. *malim* ***kat-i*** *na xast*
teacher house-OBL not be
'The teacher isn't in the house.' [Bird 2007: 92]

e. *ʤuma vo-tʃ i ki* ***malim-t-i*** *ʃuk kun-im-iʃt*
PN say-3SG.PRS that teacher-PL-OBL silent do-1PL-PRS
'Juma says, we will silence the teachers.' [Bird 2007: 80]

f. ***safar-i*** *xar-i ʁor-ak-ʃ ast*
PN-OBL donkey-OBL look-PTCP-3SG have
'Safar is taking care of the donkey.' [Bird 2007: 98]

g. ***kut*** *safar-I a-xiʃoi:*
dog PN-OBL PST-bit.3SG
'a dog bit Safar.' [Bird 2007: 99]

Dative functions of *-i* are given in Figure 20. *-i* encodes functions which are not represented on the map.

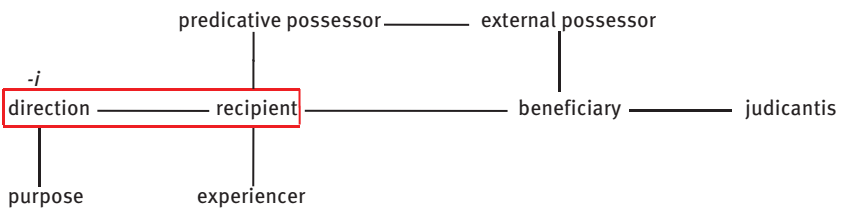

Figure 20: Functions of *-i* in Yaghnobi.

Table 1: Functions of dative markers in Iranian languages.

Function	Language
recipient	all languages
beneficiary	Tati (*-rā*), Kurmanji (*ji…re*), Sorani (*bo*) Hawrami (*pay…î*), Gorani (*arā*), Zazaki, Wakhi, *Pashto*, Ormuri, Ossetic, Yaghnobi
direction	Gilaki, Balochi (*-ā, bî*), Northern and Central Taleshi (*ba*), Kurmanji (OBL), Sorani (*ba, bo*), Hawrami (*ba…i, pay…î*), Gorani (*wa, arā*), Pashto, Ormuri, Yaghnobi
experiencer	New Persian, Gilaki, Kurmanji (*ji…re*),Sorani (*ba*), Gorani (*wa*), Zazaki, Wakhi, Ormuri
purpose	Old and Young Avestan, New Persian, Hawrami (*pay…î*), Gorani (*arā*), Wakhi, Ormuri, Ossetic
ex. possessor	Ossetic
judicantis	Ossetic
Patient	Gilaki, Balochi (*-ā*), Central and Southern Taleshi, Tati (OBL), Kurmanji (OBL), Yaghnobi
Agent	Young Avestan, Central and Southern Taleshi, Tati (OBL), Kurmanji (OBL), Yaghnobi
adnominal possessor	Old Persian, Central and Southern Taleshi, Tati (OBL), Kurmanji (OBL), Yaghnobi
Location	Parthian, Balochi *(-ā, bî*), Yaghnobi
instrumental-related	Sorani (*ba*), Hawrāmi (*ba…î*), Gorani (*wa*)

The functional range of dative markers shows similarities as well as differences across Iranian languages. These points will be discussed in detail in the next section.

3 Results and findings

Like any work in typology, this article started with the observation of the attested types. Table (1) shows the functions encoded by dative markers in each language. For languages with more than one dative maker, it has been specified in the parenthesis which marker encodes the function in question.

In Sorani (2.7), Hawrami (2.8), and Gorani (2.9), of the two adpositions for marking dative functionality, one has instrumental functions as well, which is at the same time the one encoding the recipient in 'give' constructions. We consider this adposition the general oblique marker since it expresses both instrumental and dative polysemy. The other adposition, which seems to be a beneficiary marker in origin, is transforming into a dative marker. In Sorani,

its functions have extended to encode recipient in 'give' constructions, but in Hawrami and Gorani, this development has not happened yet, rather the marker expresses the addressee, which we consider a subtype of recipient. Gorani, Hewrami, and some varieties of Sorani, offer a clear example that addressees and recipients do not need to be treated in the same way. We may hypothesize that we are dealing with a grammaticalization cycle in these languages, in which functions of the general oblique marker and the purportedly beneficiary marker coexist and overlap, and the seemingly beneficiary marker is transforming into a dative marker.

The dative marker in other languages expresses functions such as agent, adnominal possessor, location, and patient. These functions do not form a connection in Haspelmath's map. Moreover, we saw that in Old Avestan, Wakhi (2.11), and Ossetic (2.14), connectivity is violated in that the dative marker expresses recipient and purpose, but not direction.

A semantic map is a model of attested variation (Cysouw 2007: 228). That is, through further cross-linguistic study, either some connections assumed in previous maps can be violated or some new connections can be added to them. We propose that some connections should be added to Haspelmath's map (Figure 21), in order for it to account for all dative functions in Iranian languages:

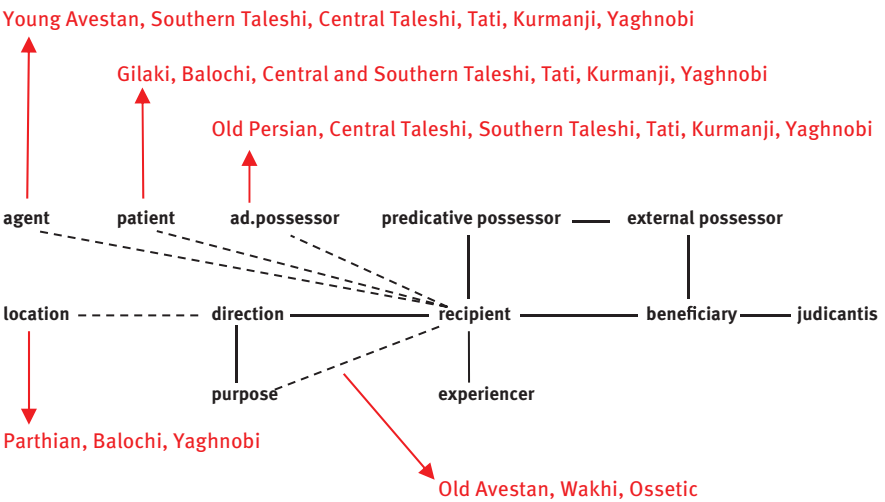

Figure 21: Proposed map of dative functions with evidence from the Iranian family.

Figure 21 shows the proposed map for dative functions in Iranian languages. Dashed lines are the connections that we added to the map. These five connections are confirmed by their presence in at least three languages within the

Iranian language family. The new connections, which are represented in more languages (patient, agent, adnominal possessor), occur in those languages where the inherited oblique marker, itself derived from the original genitive case in Old Iranian (Stilo 2009: 701), encodes dative functionality.

The map Haspelmath proposed for datives is mainly based on its functions in some European languages. His map focuses on non-spatial uses of the dative marker, and does not include spatial uses such as location and source. The proposed map in Figure 21 is also different from Lambert's map (Figure 3) in that it includes patient and adnominal possessor. Next, we propose a connection between recipient and purpose; data from three languages confirm this link. In addition, a connection between recipient and adnominal possessor is assumed here which could account for the syncretism between the dative and genitive cases.

In other words, Iranian languages show much of the syncretism in the dative domain attested in other languages: dative-accusative syncretism for languages with differential object marking (see Kittilä and Malchukov 2009) which is also a feature of Iranian languages (Bossong 1985). Among studied languages, Balochi, Tati, Kurmanji, Yaghnobi, and Taleshi have differential object marking, and dative-accusative syncretism as well. In French and Korean, when recipient aligns with direction, it can further extend to location (see Balochi and Yaghnobi in Iranian languages). Moreover, dative-genitive polysemy is attested in Australian and Austronesian languages (Malchukov and Narrog 2009), which we observe in Old Persian, Central and Southern Taleshi, Tati, Kurmanji, and Yaghnobi.

The diachronic map of goal-recipient domain confirms the proposed connections:

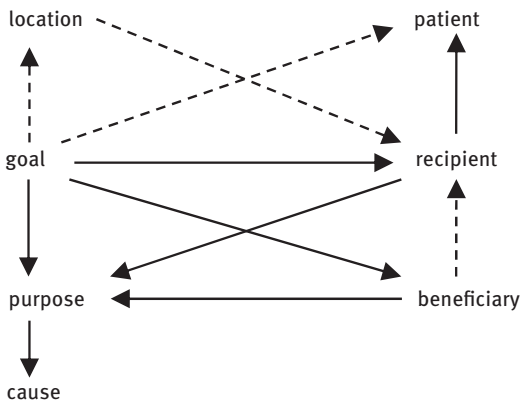

Figure 22: Map of goal-recipient domain (Narrog 2010: 251).

The map in Figure 22, confirms three connections we propose, namely, recipient to patient, direction (goal) to location, and recipient to purpose. However, we also assume a connection between recipient and possessor, which is further confirmed by Armenian, Swedish, Diyari, Baka, Aranda, French, and German (Haspelmath 2003: 234). Finally, we assume a connection between (ergative) agent and recipient, which is a straightforward link in Lehmann (1995 [1982]: 112), where also the accusative is assumed to have a separate link deriving from the dative.

Figure 23 shows the dative semantic map based on the evidence from Iranian languages. The connection from recipient to patient and from recipient to agent has also been taken in Narrog (2014: 89).

Now we turn to the questions posed in Section 1. We saw in various parts of this paper that functions of dative markers overlap in Iranian languages. In the languages with adpositions encoding dative functionality, e.g. New Persian,

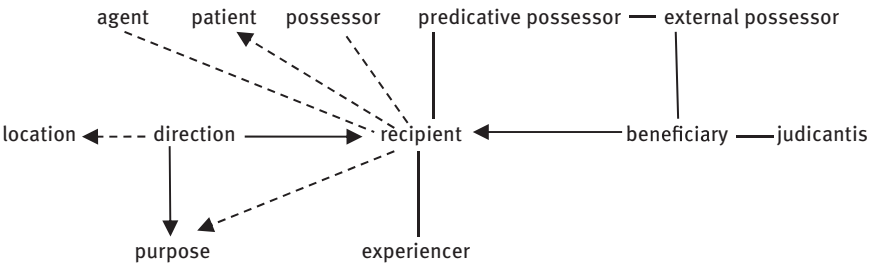

Figure 23: Proposed map of dative functions for Iranian languages.

Central Kurdish and Ormuri, there was a tendency toward observing connectivity, and the map was capable of displaying dative polysemy in general. In languages with case markers realizing dative functions, e.g. Taleshi, Yaghnobi and Tati, however, we saw that dative markers encode some additional functions not being represented in Haspelmath's map. This is not, of course, surprising from an Iranian perspective since the oblique marker in New Iranian languages is derived from the original genitive case (and or genitive/dative syncretism) in Old Iranian languages.

We also see a tendency among some Northeastern Iranian languages (e.g. Ossetic, Wakhi) along with Avestan to behave the same way in the dative domain; in both groups the dative marker encodes recipient and purpose, but not direction while this does not happen in most Iranian languages.

We found some areal patterns in the functionality of dative markers as well. This is the case with languages spoken on both sides of the Iran-Iraq border, namely Central Kurdish, Hawrami, and Gorani. Here, a grammaticalisation cycle takes place depending on which supposedly beneficiary markers in origin are becoming dative markers, while the general oblique marker still marks recipients in 'give' constructions. In fact, this area is also problematic in its instrumental-comitative domain as well (see Mohammadirad and Rasekh-Mahand 2017), as a result of which, the general oblique marker marks the instrumental (and recipient), but not the comitative, the other core function of the instrumental domain. Thus, nearly the same phenomenon is observed in the instrumental domain of these languages, and a new marker encodes the comitative function.

4 Summary

This study aimed at representing dative polysemy in a selected number of Iranian languages. The data proved further extensions, some of them in line with previous studies, to the already existing map of dative functions. The basic function of datives in most Iranian languages shared with the languages of Europe is that of indirect affectedness. This is especially the case for Ossetic in which the dative marker does not encode any spatially-based functions. Only three Iranian languages showed the extension of the dative marker to the 'location' function. The distribution of dative functions is mainly explained by the preservation of the oblique case and the areal distribution. In the languages with the oblique case as the dative marker (e.g. Tati, Kurmanji), we saw the use of this case for encoding patient, adnominal possessor, and agent. In Central Kurdish, Hawrami, and Gorani, a grammaticalization path was attested, according to which a beneficiary marker – which is turning into a dative marker – coexists with the general oblique marker encoding both dative and instrumental-related functions.

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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
ADD	additive
ADP	adposition
ADVLZ	adverbilizer
AOR	aorist
ASP	verbal aspectual particle
ATTR	attributive
AUG	augment
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CLC	clitic
CLF	classifier
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIMIN	diminutive
DIR	direct
DIST	distal
DRCT	directional
EP	epenthesis
EVID	evidentiality
EZ	ezafeh
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NA	not analyzed
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PC	personal clitic

PHB	prohibitive
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive
POST	postposition
PPRF	pluperfect
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal deixis
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PST	past
PTC	particle
PTCP	participle
PVB	preverb
RCH	relative clause head marker
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relativizer
REFL	reflexive
SBJV	subjunctive
STR	strong
SG	singular
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
VPFX	verbal prefix

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