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Herausgegeben von Agnes Korn, Geoffrey Haig,
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Differential Object Marking in Bactrian¹

Nicholas Sims-Williams

1. Preliminaries

1.1. The Bactrian language

Bactrian is a Middle Iranian language formerly spoken in Northern Afghanistan and attested primarily by inscriptions of the Kushan period (1st-3rd centuries C.E.) and a much more substantial corpus of documents belonging to the Sasanian period and later (4th-9th centuries). Apart from one fragment in Manichaean script, all the known Bactrian texts are written in a local variety of Greek script. In this paper, Bactrian sentences will be cited in an approximate phonetic transcription. Obviously this transcription is somewhat hypothetical, but not, I believe, in any way which affects the argument to be presented here. Bactrian has no direct modern descendant, but it shares significant features, including common innovations, with languages spoken in North-East Afghanistan (and adjacent areas of Pakistan and Tajikistan), in particular Yidgha-Munji, Ishkashmi, Sanglechi and Yazghulami.

The inflection of the Bactrian verb is based on two stems, present and past, whose relationship to one another is not in general predictable. The uninflected past stem functions both as an infinitive and as a 3rd person form of the past tense: this form is often called "3rd person singular", but in fact it quite often agrees with an argument which is logically plural. In all other forms of the past tense (including a marked 3rd person plural and a marked *negative* 3rd person singular) the past stem is accompanied by enclitic forms of the verb "be".

Most of the present paper will be concerned with the form of Bactrian found in the documents of the 4th century onwards. At this period nouns have only two forms: an unmarked form (sometimes referred to, rather inaccurately, as "singular") and a marked plural form in *-ān*.² Some personal pronouns, however, distinguish case as well as number. Specifically, the 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns distinguish nominative and oblique forms (1st person nominative *az*, oblique *man*, 2nd person singular nominative *tu*, oblique *tau*), as well as a special form used after prepositions (1st person *-āmag*, 2nd person *-āfag*, later shortened to *-mag*, *-fag*), while the enclitic forms of the personal pronouns (singular: 1st person *-əm*, 2nd person *-d*, later *-dēi*, 3rd person *-(y)ēi*; plural: 1st person *-mēn*, 2nd person *-dēn*, 3rd person *-(y)ēn*) are exclusively oblique in function.

¹ I am grateful to Frederik KORTLANDT and Ludwig PAUL for drawing my attention to some references which I might otherwise have missed, to many conference participants for helpful and stimulating comments on this paper, and especially to Agnes KORN for her careful reading and many valuable suggestions for improvements.

² In the Bactrian of the Kushan period, which retains remnants of a two-case system of nominal inflection (see Section 4.2), the plural ending *-ān* is exclusively oblique.

1.2. Framework and terminology

1.2.1. Verbs and their arguments³

In the following discussion I will distinguish intr[ansitive], monotr[ansitive] and ditr[ansitive] verbs, using the following terminology and abbreviations for their arguments:

- S = Single argument (or Subject) of an intransitive verb;
 A = Agent of a mono- or ditransitive verb;
 P = Patient (traditionally "direct object") of a monotransitive verb;
 T = Theme (traditionally "direct object") of a ditransitive verb;
 R = Recipient (traditionally "indirect object") of a ditransitive verb.

These syntactic roles can be indicated by flagging of the arguments themselves (e.g. by case-marking or the use of adpositions), by indexing (agreement-marking on the verb), by word-order, or by more than one of these strategies simultaneously. In the case of monotr. verbs one can distinguish accusative, neutral and ergative alignment types according to the treatment of the Agent and Patient in comparison with the Single argument of an intr. verb (Fig. 1):

Accusative alignment: A is treated like S, P is treated differently;

Neutral alignment: A and P are both treated like S;

Ergative alignment: P is treated like S, A is treated differently.

Similarly in the case of ditr. verbs, one can distinguish different alignment types according to the treatment of the Theme and Recipient in comparison with the Patient of a monotr. verb (Fig. 2):⁴

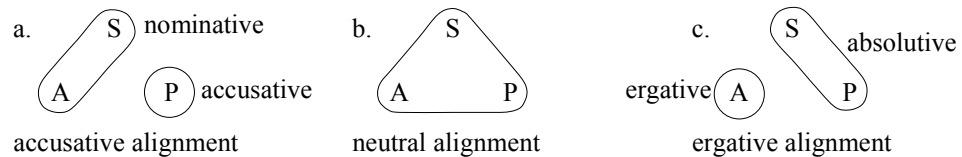
Indirective alignment: T is treated like P, R is treated differently;

Neutral alignment: T and R are both treated like P;

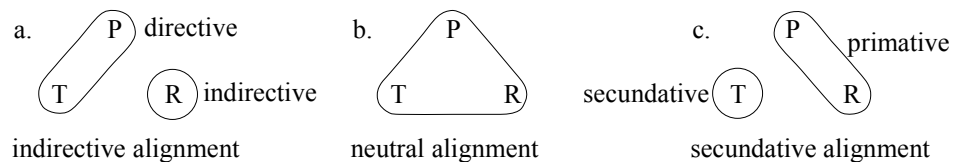
Secundative alignment: R is treated like P, T is treated differently.

Fig. 1-2. Monotransitive and ditransitive alignment types (from HASPELMATH 2005:1-2).

(1) The major monotransitive alignment types



(2) The major ditransitive alignment types



³ The terminology used here is essentially that of the Leipzig "ditransitivity" project (see HASPELMATH 2005; MALCHUKOV / HASPELMATH / COMRIE 2007).

⁴ Note that the treatment of the Agent is not relevant to the distinction made here. So far as I know, no language has been found to treat the Agent of ditr. verbs differently from the Agent of monotr. verbs.

1.2.2. Differential object marking

The expression "differential object marking" (DOM) was coined by Georg BOSSONG to refer to a feature found in many languages of the world whereby objects of transitive verbs may be marked in different ways on the basis of semantic criteria such as animacy or definiteness.⁵ In the case of a language which displays consistent indirective alignment, one would expect any differential object marking to apply not only to the Patient of a monotr. verb but also to the Theme of a ditr. verb, and in fact the literature on DOM does not generally distinguish these two types of argument, both of which are subsumed under the traditional grammatical term "direct object". As we will see below, in Bactrian DOM can also apply to indirect objects, i.e. Recipients.

The best-known instance of DOM in Iranian is that of the Persian object-marker *rā*, whose usage is determined by a subtle interplay of semantic and pragmatic factors (LAZARD 1982). More directly relevant to the case to be discussed here is the use of a preposition to mark certain direct objects in Yidgha-Munji and Sanglechi. These languages are closely related to Bactrian and the preposition *va*, *vo* (etc.) which they use to mark the so-called "definite" direct object is very likely cognate with the comparable Bactrian marker (see below, Section 2.5 with n. 15). The following examples /1-3/ are all from Munji:

/1/ wā ta šk'ūr-in vā mən muškāy xur-ə^y
 that thy camel-OBL PREP my calf eat.PAST-3SG
 "your camel has eaten my calf" (MORGENSTIERNE 1938:140; BOSSONG 1985:94)

/2/ škūra muškāy čə xū-t
 camel calf not eat.PRES-3SG
 "a camel does not eat a calf" (MORGENSTIERNE 1938:140; BOSSONG 1985:95)

/3/ nə lajmōn-ān liy-āt kūyōγ-ī;
 to Lajmon-OBL give.PAST-3PL ox-PL.DIR
 lajmōn-ān γыгыvd-∅ və kūyōγ-āf
 Lajmon-OBL take.PAST-3SG PREP ox-PL.OBL
 "they gave L. (some) oxen; L. took the oxen"
 (SOKOLOVA 1973:179; BOSSONG 1985:95)

In /1/, the object "my calf" is definite and is marked by the preposition *vā*, while in /2/ the object "a calf" is indefinite and is left unmarked. Example /3/ shows a similar contrast: an unmarked indefinite object "(some) oxen" followed by a definite object "the oxen (already mentioned)" marked by the preposition *və*.

2. Intransitive and monotransitive constructions in post-Kushan Bactrian

2.1. Intransitive present

In the intr. present S stands (where possible) in the nominative case. The verb agrees with S.

⁵ See in particular BOSSONG 1985 for a detailed survey of the phenomenon of DOM in the New Iranian languages.

- /4/ tā-kald-az tar ērs-ēm
 then-when-I.NOM thither come.PRES-1SG
 "when I come thither" (cl [line] 9)⁶

2.2. Monotransitive present

In the monotr. present A stands (where possible) in the nominative case, while P is marked in various ways. The verb agrees with A.

- /5/ tā-kald-an az ... as tə-xwadēu *lrūgəstān* ... *nəyah-ān*
 then-when-HYP I.NOM ... from this-lord *health* ... hear.PRES-SUBJ1SG
 "if I might hear from your lordship (news of) (your) health" (xe 12-15)
- /6/ tād-yēn azwēl-ēd
 then-they.OBL lead out.PRES-IMPV2PL
 "then you should lead them out" (ca 10)
- /7/ ut-ēi pādəxšān-ēi ... tu
 and-it.OBL control.PRES-2SG ... thou.NOM
 "and you control it" (L 20')
- /8/ [tād]-əm ranž *frētəg* fəštiy-Ø
 then-I.OBL quickly *messenger* send.PRES-IMPV2SG
 "quickly send me a messenger" (xc 15-16)⁷
- /9/ tād ... *y-asp* *ud* *yal* xōž-ēm
 then ... *the-horse* and *thief* seek.PRES-1SG
 "then I shall seek the horses and the thieves" (cl 9-10)
- /10/ tād *av* *wēšmard* xōž-Ø
 then PREP *Weshmard* seek.PRES-IMPV2SG
 "then seek Weshmard" (cl 7)
- /11/ udal *av-āfag* *vāzānuk* ...
 or PREP-thou *Vazanuk* ...
udal *av* *tōmāx* *vrād* ... *av* *lād* ... wyēl-ām
 or PREP *your* *brother* ... to law ... lead.PRES-SUBJ1PL
 "or (if) we should take you, Vazanuk, or your brothers to court" (L 29-31)
- /12/ tə-xwadēu *av-āmag* zān-ēi ... ud az *av* tə-xwadēu
this-lord PREP-I know.PRES-OPT3SG and I.NOM PREP *this-lord*
 "your lordship should acknowledge me and I (should acknowledge) your lordship"
 (cq 5-6)

⁶ In the examples in Section 2, underlining indicates the (intr.) S or the (monotr.) A, while *italic type* indicates the (monotr.) P. The agreement-marker on the verb is indicated in the same way as the argument with which it agrees. Except where specifically noted, Bactrian texts referred to by sigla consisting of one capital letter (e.g. A) are published in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2001, those referred to by sigla consisting of two lower-case letters (e.g. cl) in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007.

⁷ On *fəštiy-/fəštād* "send" see n. 17 below. Given the restrictive definition of "ditransitive" adopted here, it counts as a monotr. rather than a ditr. verb.

Example /5/ shows A in a distinctive nominative form (which is only possible if it is a 1st or 2nd person singular pronoun). Here P is a noun and therefore bears no case-marking. /6/ shows P in a distinctive oblique form (which is only possible if it is an enclitic 3rd person pronoun). /7/ may be the only example in the whole corpus with distinctive case-marking of both arguments at the same time.⁸

These three examples are already enough to demonstrate that Bactrian displays accusative alignment in the present tense, A being treated like S (in terms of both indexing and flagging) while P is treated differently, but further examples are required in order to show the full range of possible treatments of P. As we have seen, a 3rd person pronominal P can be expressed by an oblique case form, whether the referent of the pronoun is animate, as in /6/, or inanimate, as in /7/. We have also seen that a nominal P can be expressed by a simple noun, without any case-marking. This is the only possibility if the noun in question is non-human, as in /5/, or if it is human but indefinite, as in /8/. But a simple, unmarked noun can also be used in the case of a P which denotes persons who are definite in the sense that they have already been mentioned, as in /9/. The alternative construction which we see in /10-12/, with P marked by the preposition *av*, is found only where P is not only human and definite but also highly individualized, i.e. specifically identified. In most such cases P is a named person as in /10/ or a 1st or 2nd person pronoun as in /11-12/, but an expression identifying the members of a closed class such as "your brothers" (see /11/ again) can also be marked in this way. The rule appears to be absolute: if the person or persons concerned are individualized the preposition *av* is required; if they are not the noun is left unmarked. Thus we can add an important observation to BOSSONG's dossier: DOM is not an exclusively New Iranian development,⁹ but is already solidly attested in at least one Middle Iranian language.¹⁰

2.3. Monotransitive infinitive

The infinitive of a monotr. verb has no expressed A and no verb agreement. P seems to be governed by the same rule as in the monotr. present: if it is a noun or pronoun denoting a highly individualized person or persons it is marked by the preposition *av*, otherwise it stands (where possible) in the oblique case.

/13/ *kuwad-yēn* as šahr wāst na-šiy-ād
 that-*they*.OBL from city lead.INFIN NEG-ought.PRES-SUBJ3SG
 "that he must not lead them out of the city" (be 19-20)

⁸ That the denominative *pādaxšān*- "have authority over, control" is indeed a transitive verb is demonstrated by W 16¹-17¹: *pādaxšān-ēi tu wahrān ... y-ei aṅgāræg* "You, Wahan, control ... this estate".

⁹ BOSSONG 1985:9 describes DOM as "ein exklusives Merkmal der neuiranischen Sprachen". In his important review of BOSSONG's book, SKJÆRVØ (1989:67-68) refers to the facultative use of adpositions as direct object markers in Middle Persian, Parthian and Choresmian (cf. also BRUNNER 1977:135-138, 154-155), but it remains to be investigated what semantic, syntactic or pragmatic factors determine their use. As pointed out by KORN (2008:271 with n. 55), the use of Middle Persian and Parthian *ō* appears not to be dependent on animacy.

¹⁰ The existence of DOM in Bactrian was first noted by SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998:86 (referring to a personal communication by Gilbert LAZARD).

- /14/ az pāp ... av-āfag kānag ... ud-av tāmāx vrād
 I.NOM Pap ... PREP-thou Kanag ... and-PREP your brother
 zādak fərzand-ān āxsād na-pādəxšān-īm
 son descendant-PL fight.INFIN NEG-control.PRES-1SG
 "I, Pap, shall not have authority to fight you, Kanag, and your brothers,
 sons (and) descendants" (R 13-15; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005:14).

2.4. Intransitive past

In the intr. past S stands (where possible) in the nominative case and the verb agrees with S. The construction is thus identical with that of the intr. present.

- /15/ az āγad-īm
 I.NOM come.PAST-1SG
 "I have come" (M 1224 v13; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009a:251)

2.5. Monotransitive past

The usual construction of the monotr. past follows a very different pattern, with A in the oblique case, P in the nominative case, and the verb agreeing with P.

- /16/ kid-dēi parc žundiy ud drūg kird-∅
who-thou.OBL afterwards living and healthy do.PAST-3SG/PL
 "you who afterwards made him living and healthy" (T 4)
- /17/ tā-cāžaman-əm as tə-xwadēu pōstəg līd-∅
then-when-I.OBL from this-lord letter see.PAST-3SG/PL
 "as soon as I saw the letter from your lordship" (bg 16-17)
- /18/ misid-yēn as ōrmuzd ... pus žid-ind lu
moreover-they.OBL from Ormuzd ... sheep take.PAST-3PL two
 "moreover, they took two sheep from Ormuzd ..." (ef 4-5)
- /19/ žišt-∅ man vayfarn as-āfag farwēš ... ei žin
 ask.PAST-3SG/PL I.OBL Vagfarn from-thee Farwesh ... this woman
 "I, Vagfarn, requested from you, Farwesh, ... this woman (who is named Ralik)"
 (A 10-11)
- /20/ ut-əm tu zēr āzād na-hirt-ēi
 and-I.OBL thou.NOM Zer free NEG-let.PAST-2SG
 "and I have not freed you, Zer" (F 15-16)

Examples /16-19/ have been chosen to show the oblique case-marking of a pronominal A. Plenty of examples with a nominal A could also have been cited, but since nouns have no case-marking, such an A is inevitably unmarked. As these examples show, the same construction is attested with many kinds of P: a 3rd person pronoun (expressed by the verbal agreement-marker) in /16/; an inanimate noun in /17/; an animate but non-human noun in /18/; a noun referring to a specifically identified human being in /19/. Finally, /20/ is cited as a rare example of simultaneous case-marking of A and P, both being personal pronouns.

As these examples demonstrate, Bactrian displays ergative alignment in the past tense, P being treated like S (in terms of both indexing and flagging) while A is treated differently. Thus Bactrian, like many other Iranian languages, attests a type of "split ergativity", with accusative alignment in forms derived from the present stem but ergative alignment in finite forms derived from the past stem.¹¹

Two variants of the usual construction of the monotr. past need to be mentioned at this point. The first, illustrated by examples /21-22/, is attested for certain only in a single document dated in 662 C.E. (published and discussed in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a).¹²

/21/ *vrād* pid xaṅgar žid-īm
brother by sword strike.PAST-1SG
 "I struck (your) brother with a sword" (O 10-11)

/22/ tau vrāmarz al-mag yōbig pidlādīg pisagəd-ām
thou-OBL Vramarz with-me Yobig legally agree.PAST-1PL
 "we—you, Vramarz, together with me, Yobig—have agreed legally" (O 11-12)

The characteristic feature of this construction is that the verb does not agree with P as is usual in the monotr. past but with A as in the monotr. present. Nevertheless, A stands in the oblique case (example /22/) as in the standard monotr. past construction.¹³ Such a mismatch between accusative indexing and ergative flagging seems to be fairly rare: in a sample of 100 languages HASPELMATH (2005:14-16) found only four instances (Hyow, Tauya, Epena Pedee, Ika). In the Iranian context, where it is not so unusual, it may perhaps be seen as a consequence of the tensions created by split ergativity and a step on the way to the elimination of the split.¹⁴ In Bactrian it is perhaps a local, dialectal or even foreign feature. (It may be relevant that O is the only text which is known to have been written in Kalif on the River Oxus, on the northern border of Bactria.)

The other variant is more important, since it is found in texts from various parts of Bactria and from all periods of post-Kushan Bactrian:

/23/ aṅgit-Ø-id amāx man vāv ud piduk *av* *ralik* ul
 receive.PAST-3SG/PL-INIT we I.OBL Vav and Piduk *PREP* *Ralik* wife
 "we—I, Vav, and (I), Piduk—have received Ralik (as our) wife" (A 15-16)

/24/ man yōbig *av-āfag* vrāmarz ... āxasād-ēi
I.OBL Yobig *PREP-thou* Vramarz ... fight.PAST-2SG
 "I, Yobig, fought you, Vramarz" (O 9-10; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a:10, 14)

¹¹ The restriction to *finite* forms is necessary because the infinitive (examples /13-14/) is derived from the past stem, but its syntax is aligned with that of the monotr. present rather than that of the monotr. past. — On ergative constructions in Bactrian see now GHOLAMI 2009.

¹² For a dubious instance in **jh** 7 see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007:47.

¹³ The examples do not show the case-marking of P.

¹⁴ Examples are found in several Western Iranian languages, including Vafsi (STILO 2004:243; KORN 2008:271) and some varieties of Western Balochi (KORN 2009:53), as well as in late Middle Persian.

- /25/ kid-*av* *vānzīniy* as larc *vuyd-∅*
 who-*PREP* royal infant from illness save.PAST-3SG/PL
 "(you) who saved the royal infant from (his) illness" (T 4')

This construction, with P marked by the preposition *av*, is restricted, just as in the case of the monotr. present, to sentences where P is a noun or pronoun denoting a highly individualized person or persons. It is notable that A stands (where possible) in the oblique case as in the standard monotr. past construction and that the verb continues to agree with P even though the latter is represented by a prepositional phrase rather than a form in the nominative case. As we have already seen (examples /19-20/), the standard construction with P in the nominative case is perfectly possible and normal even with a P of this type and it is by no means clear what factors govern the choice between the competing constructions. At any rate, examples such as /23-25/ clearly exemplify DOM in combination with the ergative construction of the monotr. past—a combination which seems to be disallowed in many of the New Iranian languages with DOM (SKJERVØ 1989:69-70). Structurally similar sentences are also attested in Middle Persian and Parthian, where P can be marked by the preposition *ō*, even in combination with the ergative construction of the past tense, as in the following Parthian example:

- /26/ dāhīft pad čē-m *ō* *dušmenīn* *īspišt-∅*
 servitude in which-I.OBL *PREP* enemies serve.PAST-3SG/PL
 "... the servitude in which I served the enemies" (M 42 97-98; BRUNNER 1977:137)

As mentioned above (n. 9), this use of *ō* in Western Middle Iranian still awaits a detailed investigation, so that it is not at present clear to what extent it is functionally parallel to the use of *av* in Bactrian. However, it is worth noting that the two prepositions are etymologically identical, since both derive from Old Iranian **abi*. In my opinion, it is probable that the object marker *va*, *vo* (etc.) in Yidgha-Munji and Sanglechi also derives from **abi* rather than from **upa* as generally assumed.¹⁵

3. Ditransitive constructions in post-Kushan Bactrian¹⁶

Since it cannot be taken for granted that a language will treat all double-object verbs in precisely the same way, the following discussion will be limited to three common verbs, all of which belong to the most central category of ditr. verbs, those denoting physical transfer (MALCHUKOV / HASPELMATH / COMRIE 2007:2): *lah-/lād* "give", **parālah-/parālād* "sell" and *tōž-/tuγd* "pay". So far as we can tell from the material available, these three verbs all display the same range of constructions; at any rate, each attests a subset of the same range of constructions, without any irreconcilable differences.¹⁷

¹⁵ E.g. by MORGENSTIERNE (1938:132, 143), LAZARD / GRENET / DE LAMBERTERIE (1984:210) and BOSSONG (1985:92); doubted by SKJERVØ (1989:69). The final vowel of *va*, *vo* (etc.), which is somewhat unexpected, may have originated in combinations such as Sanglechi *va mak* "me", *va tʃak* "thee" = Bactrian *avāmag*, *avāfag* "(to) me, (to) thee". Here the medial *-ā-* is extended analogically from prepositions with final **-ā*, e.g. *as* < **hačā* "from", *asāmag* "from me" < **hačā-mat+kā*, cf. Sogdian *č'm'kh*, Old Persian *hačāma*.

¹⁶ In the examples in Section 3, underlining is used to indicate the Agent (as in the case of monotr. verbs), *italics* to indicate the Theme and **bold type** to indicate the Recipient. As before, the agreement-marker on the verb is indicated in the same way as the argument with which it agrees.

3.1. Ditransitive present

In the ditr. present A stands (where possible) in the nominative case and T (where possible) in the oblique case, while R is marked in various ways. The verb agrees with A.

- /27/ *tād-az* *tēt* *as* *xuv* *tōž-ān*
 then-I.NOM Tet from own pay.PRES-SUBJ1SG
 "then I, Tet, shall pay from (my) own (property)" (**K** 13-14)
- /28/ *tād-yēi* **far-āmag** *lah-ēi*
 then-*it.OBL* **PREP-I** give.PRES-OPT2SG
 "then you should give it to me" (**ci** 6)
- /29/ *tād-əm* *lah-ēd*
 then-**I.OBL** give.PRES-IMPV2PL
 "give (it) to me" (**cj** 11)
- /30/ *ut-yēi* *xar* *al* *xāšig* *parēc* *lah-ād*
 and-**he.OBL** *donkey* *with* *cloth* *back* give.PRES-SUBJ3SG
 "and he shall give back to him the donkey together with the cloth" (**xk** 8-9)
- /31/ *tād* *lah-indēi* *tāwān* **av** **šāgān** **γazn**
 then give.PRES-OPT1/2/3PL *fine* **PREP** **royal** **treasury**
zar-židg *wīst* *dīnār* *ud* *dafrēl* **far** **pādarlōg**
gold-struck *twenty* *dinar* *and* *same* **PREP** **opponent**
 "then we shall give (as) a fine to (= *av*) the royal treasury twenty dinars of struck gold and the same to (= *far*) (our) opponent" (**A** 32-33 and similarly *passim*)
- /32/ *tād-az* ... *tāwān* *tōž-ān* ... *hazār* *dīnār* *zar* **far-āfag** *tak*
 then-I.NOM ... *fine* pay.PRES-SUBJ1SG ... *thousand* *dinar* *gold* **PREP-thou** *Tak*
 "then I shall pay (as) a fine a thousand dinars of gold to you, Tak" (**N** 15¹-17¹)
- /33/ *na-yōg* *kabīz* *yaw* *lah-ind* ... **far** **kuwad** ...
 NEG-*one* *quart* *grain* give.PRES-3PL ... **PREP** **who.OBL** ...
 "not one quart of grain do they give to (one) who (does not bear a document)"
 (**ci** 9-10)

In most examples both A and T (if they are expressed at all) are simple nouns without case-marking, but /27/ and /32/ show A in a distinctive nominative form, while /28/ shows that in principle T stands in the oblique case, at least in the case of a 3rd person pronoun. Unfortunately the corpus does not include any example where T is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, nor indeed any example where T is a noun or pronoun referring to a person, so we do not know whether T was ever expressed by a form governed by the preposition *av*, as the analogy of the monotr. P might lead us to expect. So far as our evidence goes, at any rate, we can say that the ditr. T is treated in exactly the same way as the monotr. P.

¹⁷ An example of a Bactrian double-object verb whose construction clearly differs from the ditr. pattern described here is *fāstiy-/fāstād* "send" (cf. /8/ above). On the various prepositions used with this verb to mark its secondary object (goal/destination or recipient) see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009:283 n. 28.

What is most interesting in these examples is the varied treatment of R. When R is a personal pronoun, the preferred construction is to use an oblique form of the pronoun, as in /29-30/. A possible alternative, in the case of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, is to use a pronominal form prefixed with the preposition *far*. However, this alternative is only used in two specific situations. One is where T is also pronominal, as in /28/, where the presence of two personal pronouns in the oblique case could have led to ambiguity.¹⁸ The other is where the pronoun is immediately followed by a personal name, as in /32/. As we shall see in Section 3.3, this is a feature which seems to favour the use of the preposition also in the past tense. Where R is a noun, it is *always* marked by a preposition. The preposition can be either *av* or *far*, but a very clear distinction is made between the two: if the noun denotes a person one uses *far*; if the noun is inanimate, one uses *av*.¹⁹ This contrast may be seen in /31/, a version of a formula which is extremely common in legal documents from the 4th century onwards.²⁰ In most variants of this formula there are two Recipients, one being inanimate (a treasury), the other a person or persons. In all cases the personal R is indicated by *far* and the inanimate R by *av*—the latter being the very preposition which is used, in the case of a monotransitive verb, to indicate a highly individualized personal P. Throughout the period from the 4th to the late 7th century there is no exception to this distribution of the two prepositions as object-markers, which is summed up in Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. Bactrian prepositions as object-markers (adapted from SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009:283).

	Non-personal	Personal
P [- individualized]	—	—
P [+ individualized]	—	<i>av</i>
R [± individualized]	<i>av</i>	<i>far</i>

Some lack of symmetry may be observed in Fig. 3, in so far as the use of the preposition *far* to mark a personal R, unlike the use of *av* to mark a personal P, is not restricted to instances where the person concerned is highly individualized. This point is clearly demonstrated by /33/, a unique example of *far* governing a relative-indefinite pronoun. Arguably, the legal formula /31/ also attests the use of *far* with a non-specific R, since the reference is to hypothetical future opponents rather than to persons who can be specifically identified. Despite this slight discrepancy between the conditions for the use of *av* to mark a personal P and the conditions for the use of *far* to mark a personal R, the distinction between Recipients marked with *av* and *far* is broadly parallel to that between unmarked Patients and those marked with *av*. These facts clearly justify us in speaking of an extension of DOM from direct objects (Patients) to indirect objects (Recipients). By systematically adopting what might be termed "differential indirect object marking", Bactrian seems to have gone farther than any other Iranian language, though parallels can perhaps be found in some non-Iranian languages, e.g. Finnish (see Section 4.2).

¹⁸ Since the position of enclitic pronouns is in principle fixed, word-order would not have provided a strategy for avoiding ambiguity. — It should be noted that /28/ is the only example of the ditr. present in which T is represented by a distinctive oblique form and also the only one in which R is represented by *far* + pronoun (without a following personal name). Cf. however example /35/ below, which shows a comparable construction with the ditr. infinitive.

¹⁹ Unfortunately, no instance of a non-human but animate R (e.g. "give the horse water") is attested.

²⁰ Regarding this legal formula and its variants see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009:281-282.

3.2. Ditransitive infinitive

The construction of the ditr. infinitive seems to be the same as that of the ditr. present except for the absence of an expressed A.

/34/ cāfrēd-əm mul lād šiy-ēi
 how much-**I.OBL** wine give.INFIN ought.PRES-2SG
 "however much wine you ought to give to me" (cj 10-11)

/35/ tād-ēi far-[āmag] frāmiy-∅ lād
 then-it.OBL **PREP-me** order.PRES-IMPV2SG give.INFIN
 "then please give it to me" (jg 8-9)

3.3. Ditransitive past

The construction of the ditr. past, as exemplified by /36-39/ below, mirrors the ergative construction of the monotr. past, with T taking the place of P. Thus A stands in the oblique case (though of course the case-marking is only visible if A is a personal pronoun as in /36/ and /38-39/); the verb agrees with T, which presumably stands in the nominative case (though no marked nominative forms are attested) or is simply indicated by 3rd person verb-agreement as in /37/.²¹ Once again, R is marked in various ways.

/36/ ut-əm lād-∅ ... av vaylāng ... draxm las
 and-I.OBL give.PAST-3SG/PL ... **PREP** temple ... dirham ten
 "and I gave ten dirhams to the temple" (al 12-13; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2001:163)

/37/ tād-an t̄ə-xwadēu ... far xwadēuwanind lād-ēi
 then-HYP this-lord ... **PREP** Khwadeuwanind give.PAST-OPT3SG
 "then your lordship (supposedly) gave it to Khwadeuwanind" (bg 11-12)

/38/ tād-əm lād-∅ mask nāvixtəg zamīg ... far-āfag yamš
 then-I.OBL give.PAST-3SG/PL herein written land ... **PREP-thou** Yamsh
 "so I have given the land described herein to you, Yamsh" (C 10-11)

/39/ kuwad-mēn far tōmāx n-īst parālād
 that-we.OBL **PREP** you NEG-be.PRES3SG sell.PAST
 "(if we claim) that we have not sold it to you" (L 31-32)

In the examples above, we see that R can be indicated, just as in the ditr. present, by the preposition *av* if it is an inanimate noun (/36/) but by the preposition *far* if it is a noun or pronoun denoting a person (/37-39/). Thus "differential indirect object marking" is attested in the past as well as the present tense; and, to judge from these examples, the past tense, like the present, displays indirective alignment, the ditr. T being treated like the monotr. P while R is treated differently. However, this is not the whole story. Examples such as /38-39/, where a 2nd person pronoun functioning as R is marked by the preposition *far*,²² are in fact exceptional, just as they are in the present. In the past tense this usage is attested in

²¹ No 1st or 2nd person T is attested.

²² No 1st person R is attested.

only two situations. One is where the pronoun is in apposition to an immediately following personal name, as in /38/.²³ As already noted in Section 3.1, the preposition *far* is required in the same context in the present tense. The other is where the verb is negative, as in /39/.²⁴ The reason for the treatment of the latter as a special case, I believe, is that the negative past requires an overt mark of agreement with the T even in the 3rd person singular. Thus "sold it" is expressed by *parālād-Ø*, with zero-marking representing the 3rd person P, but "did not sell it" requires the negated copula, which in this case precedes the main verb: *n-īst parālād*. Since the same verb cannot bear agreement with two arguments simultaneously, this would rule out the alternative construction illustrated by /40-42/, which is used in *all other cases* where T is a noun or 3rd person pronoun and R is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun.²⁵

/40/ *tād-əm* *ōs* *lād-ēi*
 then-I.OBL now give.PAST-2SG
 "so I have given (it) to you now" (V 17)²⁶

/41/ *ud* *māx* *lād-ēd* *ei* *xwēcīyāu*
 and we give.PAST-2PL this undertaking
 "and we gave you this undertaking" (S 12)

/42/ *ut-əm* *lād-ēi* *xwēcāu* *man* *yōbig* ... **far-fag** *vrāmarz*
 and-I.OBL give.PAST-2SG undertaking I-OBL Yobig ... **PREP-thou** Vramarz
 "and I gave an undertaking to you—I, Yobig, to you, Vramarz" (O 12-13)²⁷

The main feature of this construction is that the verb agrees not with T (for which zero-marking would be expected in the simple non-negative past) but with R, and that R is not represented in the sentence by any other surface constituent. T may be represented by a noun as in /41/; but a pronominal T is simply left without any overt expression, as in /40/. This construction, which philologists traditionally refer to as the "indirect affectee" construction, is found occasionally in Middle Persian (MACKENZIE 1964; TAFAZZOLI 1986:483-486) and Sogdian (YOSHIDA 2009:284-285) and more regularly in various New Iranian languages, e.g. in some varieties of Kurdish (MACKENZIE 1964:47-48) and in some of the so-called "Central dialects" of Iran (TAFAZZOLI 1986:486-487). For comparison I cite a Middle Persian example from the *Greater Bundahishn*:

/43/ *u-m* *bowandag-menišnīh* *pahlom* *dād* *h-ēd*
 and-I.OBL right-mindedness best give.PAST be.PRES-2PL
 "and I gave right-mindedness to you (as) the best (virtue)" (TAFAZZOLI 1986:484)

²³ There are many similar examples, e.g. J 15-16, L 17-21, P 4-6. Cf. also example /42/ below, where the personal name is separated from the 2nd person singular verb, standing in what appears to be a separate verbless sentence in which both A and R are resumed by pronouns with accompanying personal names.

²⁴ The only other example is in J 24-25.

²⁵ In fact, none of our three "canonical" ditr. verbs actually attests this construction with a 1st person R, but possible examples with other verbs are found in *Ii* 7 (YOSHIDA 2003:157) and *Y* 6-7 (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2010:207 n. 3).

²⁶ The 2nd person singular past *lād-ēi* in this and similar examples (e.g. O 12-13, R 11, T 6, Tt 12, V 10) is wrongly listed as 3rd person singular past optative in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2001:201; 2007:226).

²⁷ For this text see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a:10, 15.

While the existence of the "indirect affectee" construction in Bactrian has already been noted by YOSHIDA (2003:157) and others (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007:46; GHOLAMI 2009:138), it has not previously been recognized that this is the preferred or default construction for the past tense of ditr. verbs with a 3rd person T and a 1st or 2nd person R. At first glance these specifications may appear to limit the construction to a very narrow range of examples. However, since a ditr. verb such as "give" typically has an inanimate T and a personal R, sentences of this type (e.g. "I have given it to you", as in /40/, or "he gave me the letter") would surely have been extremely common.

In the construction just described, the ditr. verb agrees with R, whereas the equivalent monotr. verb agrees with P; in other words, R is indexed in the same way as P. Thus Bactrian here exemplifies secundative indexing, although in all other contexts it prefers indirective indexing and flagging. Such a mixture of indirective and secundative alignment is rare but by no means unknown: for instance, HASPELMATH (2005:3) cites Hyow, a Tibeto-Burman language of Bangladesh, as displaying a systematic combination of indirective flagging and secundative indexing, and a similar situation is reported for Apurinã II and Ika (ibid.: 16).

4. A diachronic perspective

Since the known Bactrian texts cover a period of more than 700 years it is possible in principle to investigate DOM in Bactrian from a diachronic as well as a synchronic perspective.

4.1. DOM in later Bactrian

In Sections 2.-3., I have described DOM in Bactrian and the verbal constructions with which it is associated as they are attested in Bactrian documents from the 4th to the 7th centuries (though later texts have also been cited occasionally). In the latest Bactrian texts, beginning at the very end of the 7th century, the most significant development is the disappearance of the preposition *far*, the marker of the personal R, which is simply replaced by the preposition *av*.²⁸

/44/ ud mis *lusad draxm* ... **av** **pādarkəg** tōž-āṃ
 and also 200 *dirham* ... **PREP** **opponent** pay.PRES-SUBJ1PL
 "and we will also pay 200 dirhams to (our) opponent(s)" (S 26-27)

Example /44/, from a document dated 693 C.E., shows a later version of the legal formula /31/; many similar examples can be found in documents dated from 700 C.E. onwards. At this period, a personal R is marked by the preposition *av*, just like an inanimate R, so that there is no longer any "differential indirect object marking".

²⁸ After this date the preposition *far* is attested only in one passage (Uu 30, dated 722 C.E., see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2005:20). This is yet another version of the legal formula seen in /31/ and /44/, where *far* is no doubt preserved as a scribal archaism (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009:282 n. 21).

4.2. DOM in Bactrian inscriptions of the Kushan period

An earlier stage of the language is attested in the Kushan inscriptions of the 1st-3rd centuries C.E. At this period, the noun still preserves remnants of at least two distinct cases (direct and oblique), so that we can sometimes observe the case-marking of nominal as well as pronominal arguments. To judge from the limited material available, DOM is already attested at this period in the case of monotr. verbs but "differential indirect object marking" is not yet established.

/45/ tād-an ... *av* *kanēške* ... [...] **-indi**
 then-HYP ... *PREP* *Kanishka-OBL* ... keep(?).PRES-OPT(?)**3PL**
 "May they (= the gods) keep(?) Kanishka ..."
 (Rabatak 17-19; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008:57)

/46/ [kan]ē[ške] *šāi* *ma lizga* **av** **vayān** *lād-∅*
Kanishka-OBL *king-OBL* *the fortress* **PREP** **god-OBL.PL** *give.PAST-3SG/PL*
 "King Kanishka gave the fortress to the gods"
 (Rabatak 22; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008:57)

/47/ at-an ... *far* *kār-ān* *āb* *ma-gaw-ēi*
 that-HYP ... *for* *people-OBL.PL* *water* *PROHIB-lack.PRES-OPT3SG*
 "that water should not be lacking for the people"
 (Surkh Kotal 13-14; GERSHEVITCH 1979:64)

Example /45/ demonstrates the use of the preposition *av* to mark the highly individualized P of a monotr. verb,²⁹ while example /46/ shows that the preposition *av*, rather than *far*, is also used to mark a personal R. The preposition *far* is attested in the Kushan inscriptions (example /47/), but is not used to mark a personal R. At this period, in accordance with its probable etymology from **frādaθāi* "for the benefit (of)" (= Avestan *fradaθāi*, Parthian *frahā*, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009:283-285), *far* indicates a beneficiary; it occurs in nominal, intr. and monotr. sentences and can usually be translated "for". However, the use of *far* in this period does agree with its later usage in one important respect: the noun which it governs is always animate.

The use of the same preposition to indicate both the personal P of a monotr. verb and the R of a ditr. verb is not an uncommon phenomenon, even in languages in which the basic alignment type is indirective. "A well-known example is Spanish, which uses the preposition *a* to code the (nominal) R (*doy el libro a Juan* 'I give the book to Juan'), but also for the animate P (*veo a Juan* 'I see Juan')" (MALCHUKOV / HASPELMATH / COMRIE 2007:18).³⁰ Several recent papers have discussed the potential ambiguity which arises in languages of this kind when T fulfils the conditions for DOM and is therefore expected to be coded in the same way as R. The ambiguity can be avoided in various ways, for instance, by adopting a fixed order of T and R or by leaving T without the expected differential object marker. Another logical possibility is to mark T in the expected way and

²⁹ Unfortunately the verb itself is missing; I would of course have preferred to cite a better-preserved example, but this is the clearest one we have in the very limited material from this period.

³⁰ For a more nuanced analysis of the Spanish data one may consult the classic study by POTTIER (1968).

to find an alternative way of marking R. One language which adopts such a strategy is Kikuyu, where R is flagged in a special way *only* where it is necessary to differentiate it from an animate T (KITILÄ 2006:299-300; MALCHUKOV 2008:218). Finnish may have gone through a similar stage, but, if so, the special flagging adopted for R in such cases has been generalized to mark every animate R, regardless of whether T is animate or inanimate.³¹ As KITILÄ (2006:296) puts it: "the disambiguation has extended to cover all clauses irrespective of ambiguity". The development postulated here for Finnish may also have taken place in Bactrian. As we have seen, the preposition *av* is used in the earliest Bactrian texts to mark both a ditr. R and the personal P of a monotr. verb. We do not know for sure that the personal T of a ditr. verb was marked by the same preposition, but, given that Bactrian generally treats T and P as equivalent, the assumption is plausible. In that case, a potential ambiguity would have arisen in sentences with both a personal T and a personal R. Since Bactrian already had a benefactive preposition *far*, which was apparently restricted to governing animates, it would have been natural to disambiguate such sentences by adopting *far* as the distinguishing mark of the personal R. The situation found in 4th- to 7th-century Bactrian, where *far* is used to mark every personal R, would then result from the generalization of this disambiguation strategy.

Abbreviations

A	Agent	monotr.	monotransitive	PREP	preposition
DIR	direct	NEG	negative	PRES	present (stem)
ditr.	ditransitive	NOM	nominative	PROHIB	prohibitive
DOM	differential object marking	OBL	oblique	R	Recipient
HYP	enclitic hypothetical particle	OPT	optative	S	Single argument/Subject
IMPV	imperative	P	Patient	SG	singular
INFIN	infinitive	PAST	past (stem)	SUBJ	subjunctive
INIT	enclitic sentence-initial particle	PL	plural	T	Theme
intr.	intransitive				

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³¹ In Finnish an animate R stands in the allative case, an inanimate R in the illative (MALCHUKOV 2008:204, citing unpublished work by KITILÄ).

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