Chapter 4

The Transitive Constructions in Assamese

4. Introduction

The present chapter deals with the Transitive constructions in Assamese. The Transitive construction encodes events, which involve two central salient participants. The two participants are encoded in the Transitive construction as the subject and the object, marked by different grammatical markers. The current chapter discusses the extensions of the basic Transitive construction, as well as the non-canonical transitive constructions found in the language. The Ditransitive construction is often regarded as the 'extended transitive', hence the Ditransitive construction is also dealt with.

The prototypical Transitive construction in Assamese involves an agentive subject (A) which is marked by the ergative marker '*-e*'. The object (O) may be marked by the marker *-k*, but it is not an accusative case marker as is often shown. As mentioned in Chapter 1, it is rather an animacy and specifity marker (see Borah 2011; Saikia 2022). In (1), the object '*xap'*(snake) is not marked by *-k* as it is [-human]; in (2) the object *'lora'* (boy) is marked as it is [+human]. In the same way, in (3) the object *'manuhjon'* (the man) is marked by *-k* as it is a [+specific]; in (4) the object NP *'bohut manuh'* (many men) is left unmarked as it is [-specific]. The marker *-k* is thus used for Differential object marking.

1. *rame xaptu dʰorile*
   ram-e xap-tu dʰor-il-e
   Ram-ERG snake-CLF catch-PERF-3
   '*Ram has caught the snake.*'

2. *rame loratuk dʰorile*
   ram-e lora-tu-k dʰor-il-e
   Ram-ERG boy-CLF-OBJ catch-PERF-3
   '*Ram has caught the boy.*'

3. *rame biyaloi manuhjonok matise*

ram-e biya-loi manuh-jon-ok mat-is-e

Ram-ERG marraige-DAT man-CLF-OBJ call-ING.PROG-3

'*Ram is inviting the man for the marriage.*'

4. *rame biyaloi bohut manuh matise*

ram-e biya-loi bohut manuh mat-is-e

Ram-ERG marraige-DAT many man call-ING.PROG-3

'*Ram is inviting many people for the marriage.*'

In (5) and (6) below, we find extensions of the Transitive construction.

5. *rame garik^{h}on bozaroloi nibo*

ram-e gari-k^{h}on bozar-oloi ni-b-o

Ram-ERG car-CLF market-ALL take-FUT-3

'*Ram will take the car to the market.*'

6. *marye johnoloi sithi lik^{h}ile*

mary-e john-oloi sithi lik^{h}-is-e

Mary-ERG John-DAT letter write-ING.PROG-3

'*Mary is writing a letter for John.*'

In (7) and (8) below, we have two non-canonical transitive constructions, where the subject is, respectively, on the genitive and the dative case.

7. *ramor dukhon gari ase*

ram-or du-khon gari as-e

Ram-GEN two-CLF car exist-3

'*Ram has two cars.*'

8. *ramoloi biar nimontron ahise*

ram-oloi bia-r nimontron ah-il-e

Ram-DAT marriage-GEN invitation come-PERF-3

'*Ram has received a marriage invitation.*'

The current chapter is structured in the following way. Section 4.1, discusses the typical Transitive construction in Assamese and the types of verbs that interact with it. Section 4.2, discusses various extensions of the Transitive construction, which includes an oblique phrase. Section 4.3., deals with the non-canonical transitive constructions in Assamese. Section 4.4 deals with the network of the transitive constructions discussed in the chapter. Section 4.5. discusses the Assamese Ditransitive construction.

4.1. The Transitive construction in Assamese

The Transitive construction encodes events which involves two central salient participants. The two salient participants are the subject and object. The subject (A) is marked by '*-e*', while the object (O) may be marked by *-k* for differential object marking as noted above. Thus, the structure of the Transitive construction in Assamese is '*S-e O(-k) V'*. The prototypical meaning associated with the '*S-e O(-k) V'* is agency, i.e. 'an agent intentionally acts on a patient, due to which the patient undergoes some physical changes', (see, e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1980; Slobin 1985; Dowty 1991; Langacker 1991, Radden and Dirven 2007), as in examples (9) and (10) below:

9. *rame bottletu b^{h}angile*
   ram-e bottle-tu b^{h}ang-il-e
   Ram-ERG bottle-CLF break-PERF-3
   '*Ram broke the bottle.*'

10. *rame xap edal marile*
    ram-e xap e-dal mar-il-e
    Ram-ERG snake one-CLF kill-PERF-3
    '*Ram killed a snake.*'

In each of the above examples, we have an instance of a prototypical transitive action that includes two participants, a volitional agent, and an affected patient, which undergoes a change of state. However, the Transitive construction also accommodates verbs which are less agentive, i.e. either the subject (A) is not fully volitionally acting on the object (O), as in (11), or the object (O) has not undergone any changes at all as in (12) below:

11. *rame minak b^{h}al pai*

ram-e mina-k b^{h}al pa-i

Ram-ERG mina-OBJ good get-PERS

'*Ram loves Mina.*'

12. *rame kitapk^{h}on porhile*

ram-e kitap-k^{h}on porh-il-e

Ram-ERG book-CLF read-PERF-3

'*Ram has read the book.*'

Hence the transitive construction accommodates verbs of varying degrees of agency, i.e. high agency as in (9) and (10), and comparatively low agency as in (11) and (12).

We discuss below different categories of verbs that are used with the Transitive construction, in Assamese.

4.1.1. The change of state verbs (CoS verbs)

The participants of CoS verbs include an intentional agent that volitionally acts on a patient/theme due to which it undergoes a physical change of state, as in (9) and (10) above. Levin (1993) considers the CoS verbs as the prototypical transitive verbs. Haspelmath (2011) considers the verb the CoS verb 'break' as the best candidate for the transitive construction, which, according to him, is also applicable for cross linguistic analysis (see (9) above, where *'b^{h}ang'* (break) occurs).

The test which defines the status of CoS verbs as highly transitive is their ability to occur in the passive construction.

13.

(a) *aji bohut k^{h}alu*

aji bohut k^{h}a-l-u

today many eat-PERF-3

'*Today I ate a lot.*'

(b) *aji bahut k^{h}uwa hol*

aji bahut k^{h}u-a ho-l

today much eat-NF COP-PERF

'*Today, I/we ate a lot.*'

14.

(a)	*xi bag^{h}tu marile*	(b)	*bag^{h}tu mora hol*
	xi bag^{h}-tu mar-il-e		bag^{h}-tu mor-a ho-l
	he tiger-CLF kill-PERF-3		bagh-CLF die-NMZ COP-PERF
	'*He has killed the tiger.*'		'*The tiger was killed by someone.'*

Verbs which denote less agentive events cannot occur in the passive construction. Thus, (15a) with a less agentive verb *'jan'* (know) cannot be subjected to passivization, so that (15b) is ungrammatical.

15.

(a)	*xi kothatu jane*	(b)*	*kathatu jona hoisil*
	xi kotha-tu jan-e		katha-tu jon-a ho-isil
	he fact-CLF know-3		fact-CLF know-NMZ COP-PST
	'*He knows the fact.*'		

4.1.2 The verbs of creation (VoC)

Actions that lead to the creation of a new object also involve high agency. Such verbs can be termed as verbs of creation (VoC), and they are exemplified in the following examples:

16. *rame sithi lik^{h}ile*
ram-e sithi lik^{h}-il-e
Ram-ERG letter write-PERF-3
'*Ram has written some letters.*'

17. *rame b^{h}at rand^{h}ile*
ram-e b^{h}at rand^{h}-il-e
Ram-ERG rice cook-PERF-3
'*Ram has cooked rice.*'

Note that these examples can be subjected to passivization as in (18) and (19) below:

18. *sithik^{h}on lik^{h}a hol*
sithi-k^{h}on lik^{h}-a ho-l
letter-CLF write-NMZ COP-PERF
'*The letter was written.*'

19. *b^{h}at rondha hol*
b^{h}at rondh-a ho-l
rice cook-NMZ COP-PERF
'*The rice was cooked.*'

Another feature of the verbs of creations is that they can occur on the Cause Transfer Construction (see section 4.2.3), which includes a beneficiary as in:

20. *rame johnoloi sit^{h}i lik^{h}ile*
ram-e john-oloi sit^{h}i lik^{h}-il-e
Ram-ERG John-DAT letter write-PERF-3
'*Ram has written a letter for John.*'

21. *johne ramoloi b^{h}at rand^{h}ile*
john-e ram-oloi b^{h}at rand^{h}-il-e
John-ERG Ram-DAT rice cook-PERF-3
'*John cooked rice for Ram.*'

Here, the recipient with the dative marker '*loi*', denotes the beneficiary of the created entity. This is expected as such verbs, in their semantic frames, include a recipient-like (beneficiary) of the created entity.

4.1.3 Verbs of change of location (CoL)

Verbs which denote change of location of an entity, i.e. CoL verbs, occur in the Transitive construction as in (22) and (23) below:

22. *rame jabork^{h}ini pelale*
ram-e jabor-k^{h}ini pela-l-e
Ram-ERG garbage-CLF throw-PERF-3
'*Ram has thrown the garbage.*'

23. *rame garik^{h}on t^{h}elile*
ram-e gari-k^{h}on t^{h}el-il-e
Ram-ERG car-CLF push-PERF-3
'*Ram has pushed the car.*'

Such verbs can be used with the Caused Motion construction, where the element of path is expressed syntactically (see section 4.2.1).

4.1.4. Verbs of impact (VoI)

Verbs of impact (VoI) denote an agent directing its force into an object. Such verbs highlight the force applied, in contrast to verbs of change of state.

24. *rame johnok guliale*
ram-e John-ok gulia-l-e
Ram-ERG John-OBJ shoot-PERF3
'*Ram has shot John.*'

While the shooting action in (24) may ultimately leads to John's change of state (he might be killed), the primary focus is on the act of shooting itself. In (25), a multi-clausal expression, the focus is on John's transition from alive to dead, with the shooting being the means to that end.

25. *rame johnok guliai marile*

ram-e	john-ok	gulia-i	mar-il-e
Ram-ERG	John-OBJ	shoot-NF	kill-PEF-3

'*Ram shot John dead.*'

4.1.5. Verbs of mental events (VoME)

Verbs of mental events (also known as experiencer verbs) describe mental actions. These verbs often involve a subject experiencing a mental action, rather than performing a physical action. Agency is often less clear-cut in verbs of mental actions compared to physical actions.

26. *rame eta adb^{h}ut xabda xunile*

ram-e	e-ta	adb^{h}ut	xabda	xun-il-e
Ram-ERG	one-CLF	strange	sound	hear-PERF-3

'*Ram heard a strange sound.'*

27. *rame sitak dek^{h}ile*

ram-e	sita-k	dek^{h}-il-e
Ram-ERG	Sita-OBJ	see-PERF-3

'*Ram has seen Sita.*'

In these cases, the object does not undergo a change of state; instead, it serves as a stimulus. The subject is compelled to focus attention on this stimulus, which is perceived as requiring some form of active engagement. Consequently, these verbs are used in transitive constructions. In (26), the verb *'xun'* (hear) resists passivization, for the sound, in the context involved, is reaching the listener. The same is true of *'dek^{h}'* in (27) because it does not imply a deliberate action of looking in the context involved. Note that when the verb *'xun'* (hear) implies active attention to some sound, it does not resist passivization as in (28) below. In the same way, when the verb *'dek^{h}'* (see) implies a deliberate act of looking, it can be subjected to passivization as in (29) below:

28. *gantu xuna hol*

song-tu xun-a ho-l

song-CLF listen-NMZ COP-PERF

'The song was listened to.'

29. *bohut dek^{h}a hol*

bohut dek^{h}-a ho-l

many see-NMZ COP-PERF

'*A lot has been experienced in life.*'

4.1.6. Verbs of knowledge (VoK)

Verbs of knowledge exhibit the least agency. Unlike other verb classes as discussed above, the subject does not exert effort as in the following examples. From a cognitive perspective, knowing something can be seen as a mental act, even if it does not involve physical effort. The brain is actively engaged in processing and storing information, which implies a relation between two participants (i.e. the person performing the mental act and the target of the act) might contribute to the use of the transitive construction.

30. *rame kot^{h}atu jane*

ram-e kot^{h}a-tu jan-e

Ram-ERG fact-CLF know-3

'*Ram knows the fact.*'

31. *rame kot^{h}atu pahorile*

ram-e kot^{h}a-tu pahor-il-e

Ram-ERG fact-CLF forget-PERF-3

'*Ram has forgotten the fact.*'

As agency is not clear-cut in these verbs, they cannot be passivized as can be seen from the following examples:

32. *$kat^{h}atu\ jana\ hol$

kat^{h}a-tu	jan-a	ho-l
fact-CLF	know-NMZ	COP-PERF

33. *$kat^{h}atu\ pahora\ hol$

kat^{h}a-tu	pahor-a	ho-l
fact-CLF	forget-NMZ	COP-PERF

Causativization is yet another test to test high and low agentively in transitive verbs. Thus, the high-transitivity verb *'mar'* (kill) as used in (14 a.) can be causativized as in (34) below.

34. $bag^{h}tu\ marua\ hol$

bag^{h}-tu	mar-ua	ho-l
tiger-CLF	kill-CAUS	COP-PERF

'*The tiger had been killed.*'

On the other hand, the low-transitivity verb *'pahar'* (forget) as used in (31) resists causativization so that (35) is ungrammatical.

35. *kathatu pahar-ua hol

Katha-tu	pahar-ua	ho-l
fact-CLF	forget-CAUS	COP-PERF

As observed in section 3.1.1, the verb '*de'*, when used as a V2 in a CV, denotes volitionality, hence those verbs which involve low or no volitionality cannot be used with '*de*'. Consider the following examples, where we have the volitional *'$t^{h}el$'* (push), in (36) and the non-volitional *'mor'* (die), in (37).

36. *xi thela-k^{h}on t^{h}eli dile*

xi thela-k^{h}on t^{h}el-i di-l-e

he cart-CLF push-CP give-PERF-3

'*He has pushed the cart.*'

37. **xi mori dile*

xi mor-i di-l-e

he die-CP give-PERF-3

4.1.7. The interaction of the verbs with the Transitive construction

The argument roles of the Transitive construction involves an 'Agent' and a 'Theme'. The 'Agent' is encoded as the ergative subject, 'S-e', and the 'Theme' is encoded as the object, 'O(-k)'. The semantics associated with the Transitive construction is 'X affects Y'.

The form-meaning pair of the Transitive construction is represented in 4.1 below:

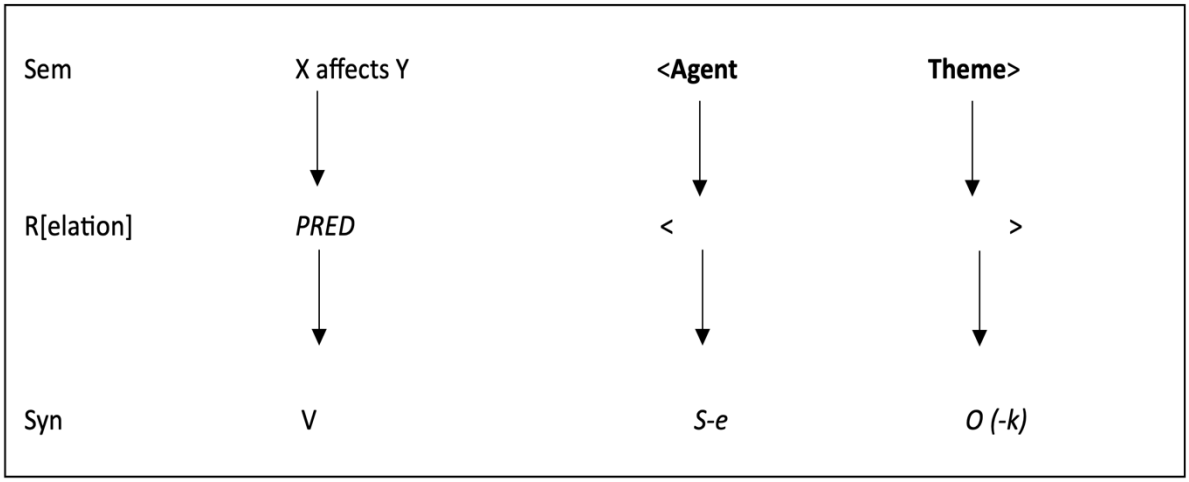

Fig. 4.1. The form-meaning pair of the Transitive construction

The change of state verbs are the prototypical class of verbs that are used in this construction. The participant roles of such verbs include an 'agent' or 'agent-like' participant, and a 'theme'

or ‘theme-like’ participant. The interaction of ‘break’ with the Transitive construction, as used in (9), is represented in 4.2. below:

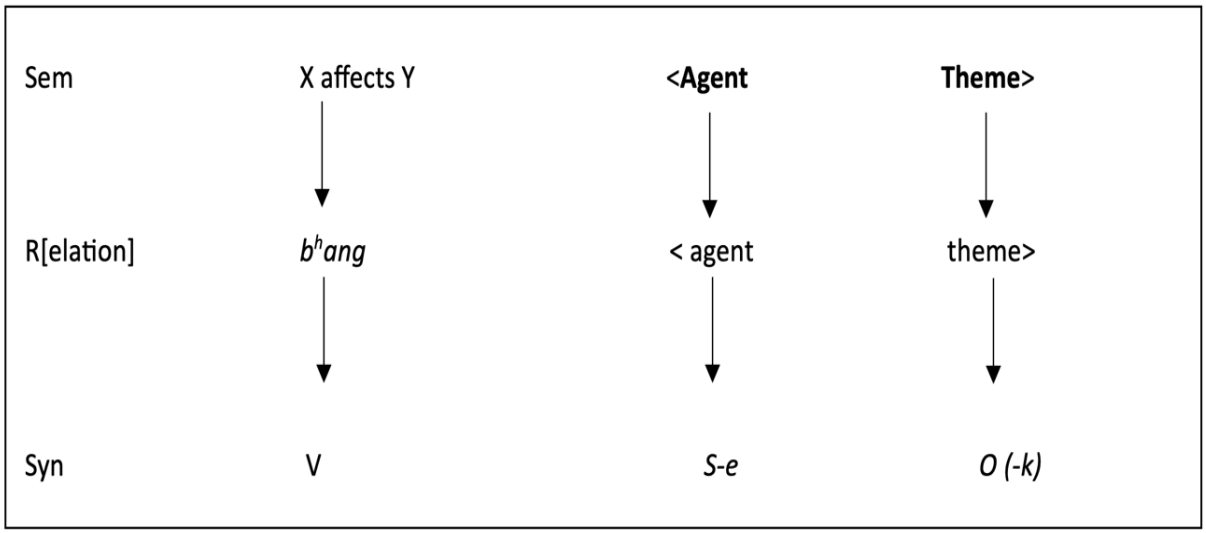

Fig.4.2. ‘bʰang’ (break) + Transitive construction

Here, participant role of the verb ‘bʰang’ (break) includes an ‘agent’ and a ‘theme’, which are in one-to-one correspondence with the two argument roles of the construction.

The second class of verbs that are used with the Transitive construction is the verbs of creation. The interaction of verbs of creation, ‘likʰ’ with the Transitive construction, as used in (16) is represented in fig. 4.3 below:

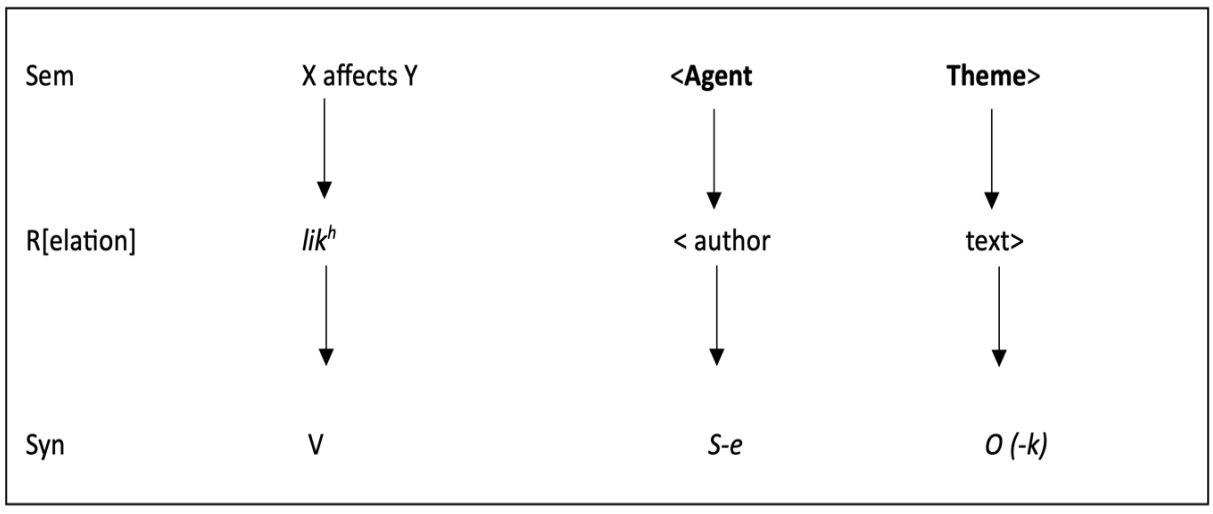

Fig.4.3. ‘likʰ’ (write) + Transitive construction

The participant role of the verb 'lik^{h}' involves an 'author' and a 'text'. The participant role 'author' is an instance of the argument role 'Agent', as the 'author' volitionally acts on a 'theme'. The participant role 'text' is an instance of 'Theme', as the 'text' is affected by the action.

The third category of verbs used with the Transitive construction are the verbs of change of location. The interaction of these verbs, such as, pela (throw) with the Transitive construction, as used in (22) is represented in fig. 4.4. below:

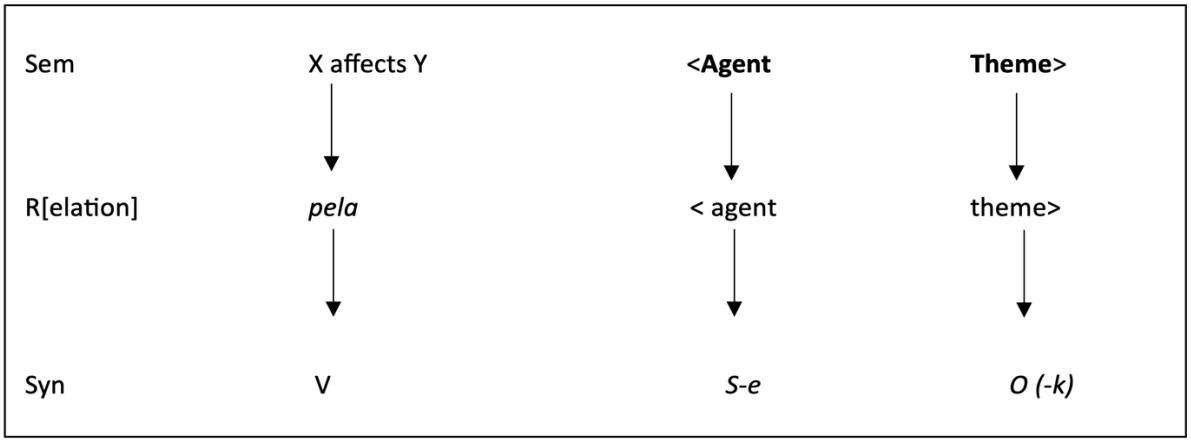

Fig.4.4. 'pela' (throw) + Transitive construction

The participant role of the verb 'pela' (throw) involves an 'agent' and a 'theme'. The participant roles of the verb and the argument roles of the construction are in one-to-one correspondence with each other.

The fourth category of verbs used with the Transitive construction are the verbs of impact. The interaction of these verbs, such as, 'gulia' (shoot) with the Transitive construction, as used in (24) is represented in fig. 4.5. below:

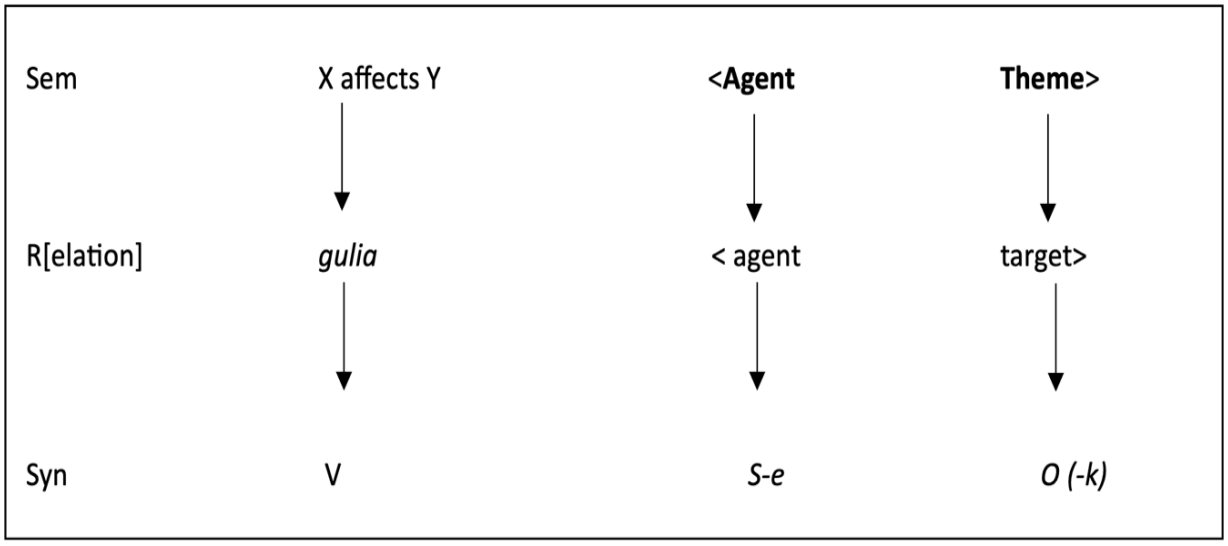

Fig.4.5. 'gulia' (shoot) + Transitive construction

The participant role of the verb 'gulia' (shoot) includes an 'agent' and a 'target'. The participant role 'agent' is in one-to-one correspondence with the argument role 'Agent'. The participant role 'target' is an instance of the argument role 'Theme'. However, it should be noted that when the referent of the 'Theme' is a non-animate entity, the conative construction is used (see section 3.2.4).

The fifth category of verbs used with the Transitive construction are the verbs of mental events. The interaction of these verbs, such as, 'dek^{h}' (see) with the Transitive construction, as used in (27) is represented in fig. 4.6.

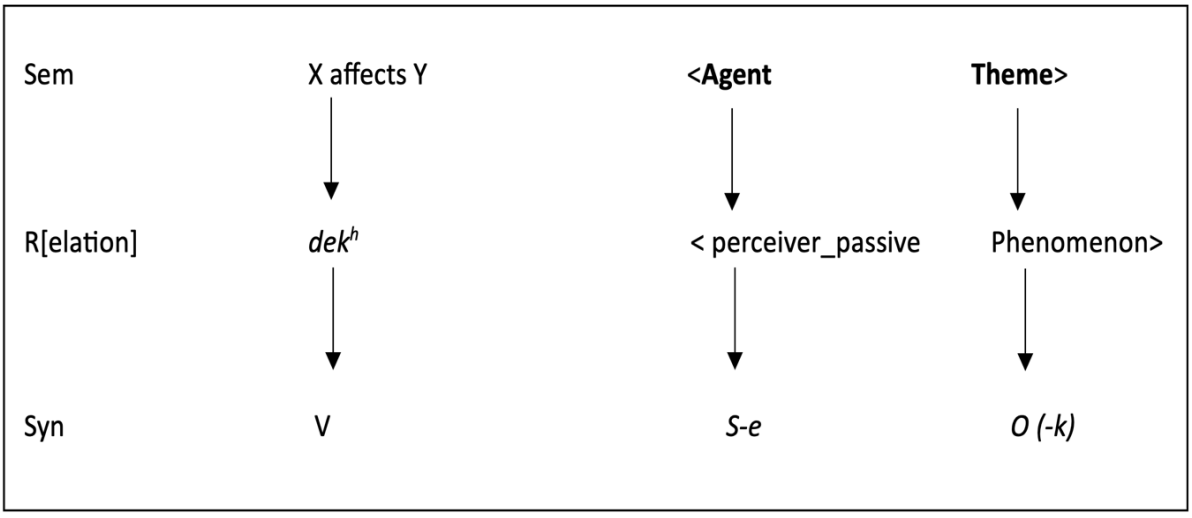

Fig. 4.6. 'dek^{h}' (see) + Transitive construction

The participant role of the verb 'dek^{h}' (see) includes a 'perceiver_passive' and a 'phenomenon'. The participant role 'perceiver_passive' is an instance of the argument role 'Agent' (see section 4.1.5). The participant role 'phenomena' is an instance of the argument role 'Theme'.

The sixth category of verbs used with the Transitive construction are the verbs of static knowledge. The interaction of these verbs, such as, 'janu' (know) with the Transitive construction, as used in (30) is represented in fig. 4.7 below:

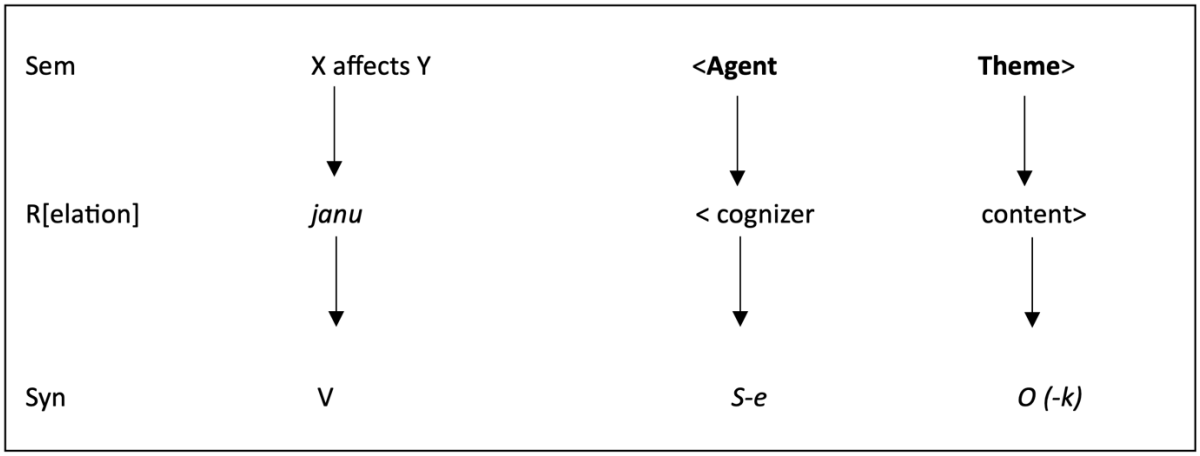

Fig.4.7. 'janu' (know) + Transitive construction

The participant role of the verb 'janu' (know) includes a 'cognizer' and a 'content'. The participant role 'cognizer' is an instance of the argument role 'Agent' (see section 4.1.6). The participant role 'phenomena' is an instance of the argument role 'Theme'.

4.1.8. The constructional polysemy

ASCs are schematic, i.e. generalized, representations of different types of events. The CCG approach challenges the traditional strict division between lexicon and syntax, viewing the relationship as a continuum. Thus, ASCs can also exhibit multiple related meanings like the polysemy of lexical items. To quote Goldberg (1995: 31): "Constructions are typically associated with a family of closely related senses rather than a single, fixed abstract sense. Given the fact that no strict division between syntax and lexicon is assumed, this polysemy is expected."

As observed, the Transitive construction in Assamese, i.e. *S-e O(-k) V,* can accommodate verbs with varying degrees of agency. While it has a core meaning of 'X effects Y', it can be extended for verbs that express different levels of agency and causation. This extension of senses is what is called constructional polysemy, where a construction is associated with a family of related senses rather than a single, fixed meaning. However, this extension has its limits. Thus, verbs with extremely low agency require non-canonical transitive constructions (see section 4.3). The constructional polysemy as exhibited by the Transitive construction in Assamese is schematically presented in Fig 4.8. below.

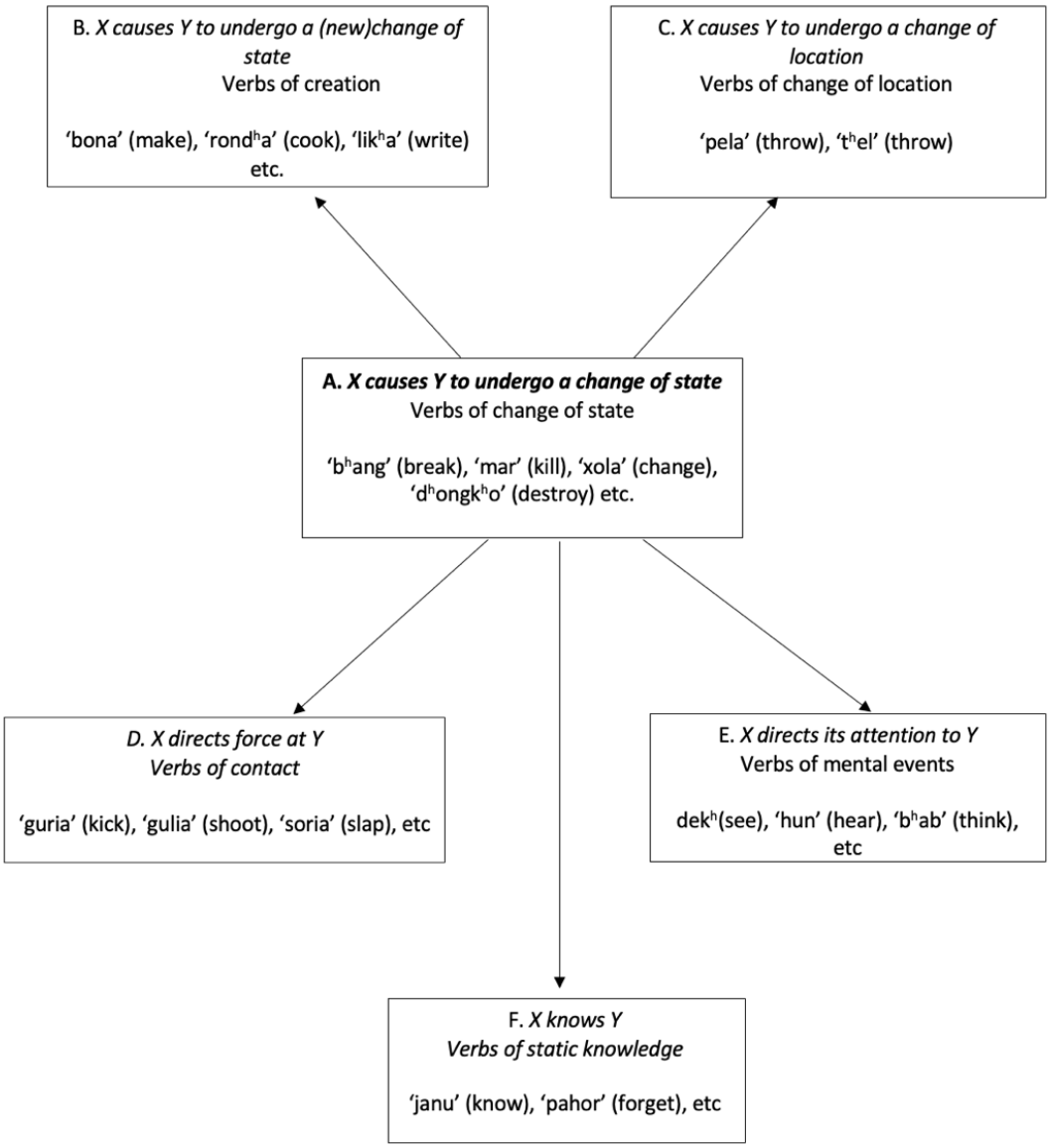

Fig. 4.8. The constructional Polysemy of the Transitive construction

Fig. 4.8. represents the polysemous extension of the Transitive construction in Assamese, i.e., *S-e O(-k) V.* The prototypical meaning is at the center of the figure in 'A'. The other extensions are based on the different verb classes that can be accommodated in the Transitive constructions. In other words, the same form is paired with different but related senses.

In the following sections, we discuss the extensions of the Transitive construction.

4.2. The Transitive Subject Oblique Constructions

This section discusses events which involves two salient participant, similar to the Transitive construction and another less salient participant. These ACSs have oblique arguments besides the core arguments (i.e. Subject and Object), e.g., *He pushed the cart towards the market*, which has an oblique argument, i.e. *towards the market*.

The less salient participant is not actively involved in the event, i.e., not instigating or affected by the event, but its presence is required to compete the event denoted by the construction. Hence, the less salient participant is marked differently form the S, A and P, often marked by oblique case markers.

4.2.1 The Caused Motion Construction (CMC)

The Caused Motion construction is a subtype of the Transitive construction which includes a syntactically expressed Path marked by an oblique marker, e.g. a postposition. Thus, this construction uses cause + motion verbs that involve a change of location. In Assamese, the CMC is syntactically expressed as *S-e O(-k) Obl $_{(path)}$ V*. Here, the subject and the object play the role, respectively, of an agent and a theme, a typical feature of the transitive construction, and, then, an oblique argument denoting the Path[1] (the concept of Path is closely tied to motion) that the object has undergone due to the agent's action. Thus, the core semantics of the CMC is 'an agent acts on an object due to which the object changes its location' as illustrated in the following examples:

[1] Goldberg (1995) uses the term 'Goal' in place of 'Path'.

38. *rame t^{h}elak^{h}on bozarorloike t^{h}elile*

ram-e t^{h}ela-k^{h}on bozar-or-loike t^{h}el-il-e

Ram-ERG cart-CLF market-GEN-till push-PERF-3

'*Ram has pushed the cart till the market.*'

39. *rame sokik^{h}on bahirorloi anile*

ram-e soki-k^{h}on bahir-or-loi an-il-e

Ram-ERG chair-CLF outside-GEN-ALL bring-PERF-3

'*Ram has taken the chair outside.*'

40. *rame sobik^{h}on roomorpora otorale*

ram-e sobi-k^{h}on room-or-pora otora-l-e

ram-ERG painting-CLF room-GEN-ABL remove-PERF-3

'*Ram has removed the painting from the room.*'

41. *rame Johnok bozaor-or-fale pot^{h}aise*

ram-e John-ok bozaor-or-fale pot^{h}a-l-e

ram-ERG JOHN-OBJ market-GEN-TOWARDS send-PERF-3

'*Ram has sent John towards the market.*'

42. *rame ghoritu puk^{h}uriloi doliyale*

ram-e ghori-tu puk^{h}uri-loi doliya-l-e

ram-ERG watch-CLF pond-ALL throw-PERF-3

'*Ram has thrown the watch into the pond.*'

Sentences (38)-(42) demonstrate the CMC in Assamese, profiling distinct aspects of the path element under different motion event construals. While the motion verbs (e.g. *run*) in the IMC

(Intransitive Motion Construction) as discussed in Chapter 3, describe the movement of the Subject *itself*, the caused-motion verbs (e.g. *push*) used in the CMC describe the action of the Subject causing something *else* to move. Thus, the Subject of the CMC is the Causer (Ca) while the Object is the Figure (F), changing its Ground (G) along a Path (P).

In each of the examples in (38)-(42), the verb indicates a movement initiated by the agent (Ca) due to which the figure (F) undergoes a change of location (G) along a path (P).

In the following examples, the motion is not strictly entailed, yet their underlying construction is the CMC. To quote Goldberg (1995: 161): "If the motion is not strictly entailed, it must be presumed as a *ceteris paribus* implication." Thus, if the invitee in (43)-(44) satisfies the condition, then the motion will be completed.

43. *rame johnok ghoroloi matile*

ram-e john-ok ghor-oloi mat-il-e

ram-ERG John-OBJ house-ALL call-PERF-3

'*Ram has called John to his home.*'

44. *rame Johnok bialoi [nimontron joanaise]*

ram-e John-ok bia-loi [nimontron joana-l-e]

ram-ERG JOHN-OBJ marriage-ALL [invitation know-PERF-3]

'*Ram has invited John for the marriage.*'

4.2.1.1 The interaction of verbs with the CMC

The argument roles of the construction includes a 'Cause', a 'Theme' and a 'Path'. The syntactic realization of the 'Cause' is similar to the subject of the Transitive, 'S-e', the 'Theme' is syntactically realised as the object of the Transitive 'O(-k)' and the path is realised as an oblique phrase. Thus, the *S-e O(-k) V* denotes the semantics of 'X causes Y to move to Z'.

The form-meaning pairing of the CMC is represented in Fig. 4.9. below.

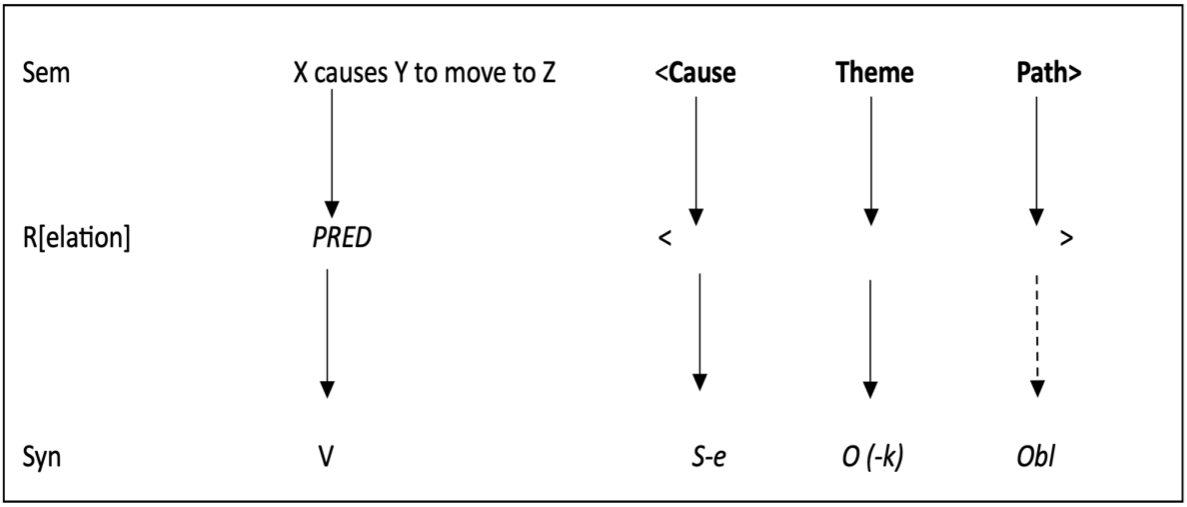

Fig. 4.9. The form-meaning pair of the CMC

In Fig 4.9, the subject and the object are denoted by solid lines as they are the obligatory salient participants. The oblique (i.e. expressing the Path and the Ground) is a non-salient participant, hence denoted by the dotted line.

The interaction of the verb '*an*' (bring) in (39) above with the CMC is represented in Fig. 4.10.

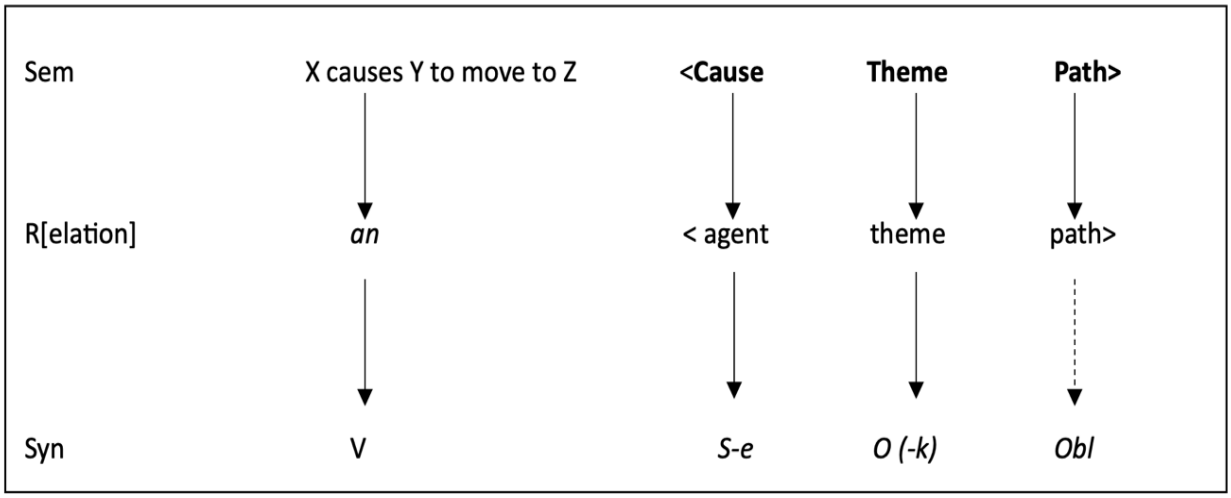

Fig. 4.10. '*an'* (bring) + CMC

The participant roles of the verb *'an'* (bring) typically include an 'agent', 'theme' and 'path'. The participant role 'agent' is an instance of the argument role 'Cause'. The participant role 'theme' and 'path' is in one-to-one correspondence with each other. Thus, this verb is compatible CMC.

The second class of verbs that are used in the CMC is the force dynamic verbs of communicative acts as in example (43).

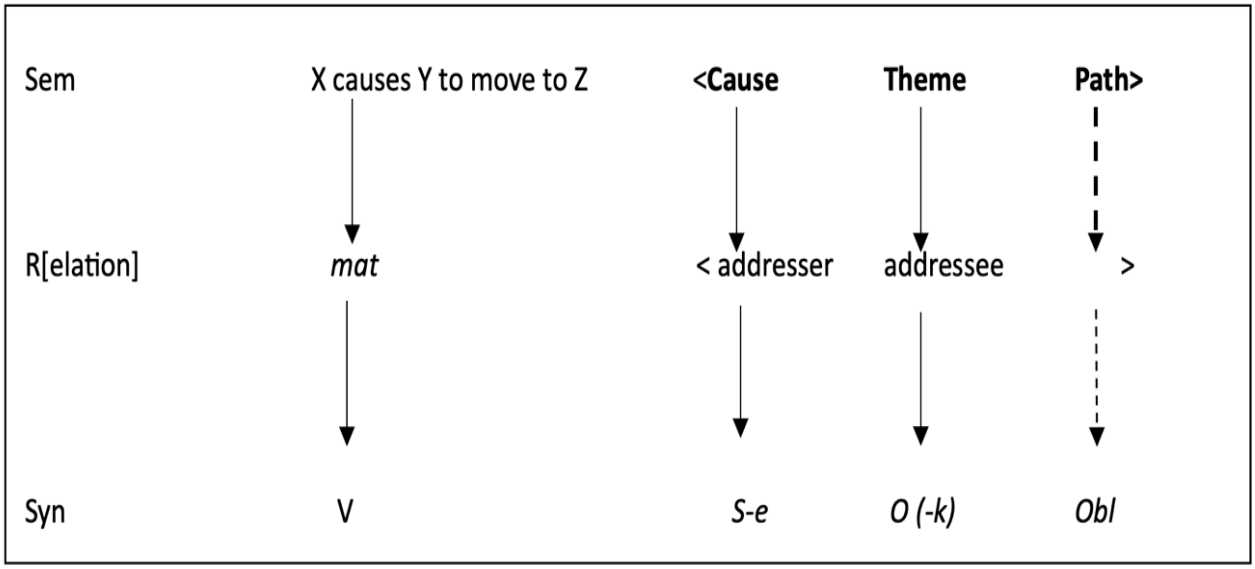

Fig. 4.11. '*mat'* (call) + CMS

The transitive verb *'mat'* (call) involves two primary participant roles: addresser and addressee. But a third element, realized as an oblique phrase (i.e. *ghoroloi* in (43) above), is introduced by the CMC itself. This oblique phrase, which implies a possible movement on the part of the addressee (i.e. in response to the addresser's call the addressee might come to his place), is not integral to the core meaning of the verb *'mat'* (call). In other words, within the context of the CMC and under conditions of satisfaction, the addresser aligns with the argument role 'Cause' and the 'addressee' corresponds to argument role 'Theme' (Figure) caused to move to a Ground along a Path (here, the addresser's house).

Thus, the semantic frame of such force-dynamic communicative acts subsumes a notion of movement, which the CMC actualizes by adding the oblique phrase. This process, termed 'constructional coercion', is represented by a bold dotted line in Fig. 4.101. The boldness signifies the construction's capacity to introduce an additional argument, while the dotted line indicates the oblique nature of the added phrase.

4.2.2 The Resultative Construction (RC)

The resultative construction in Assamese is represented by the structure *S-e O(-k)* O_{comp} *V*. Semantically, this construction conveys the idea of 'X causes Y to become Z.' Here, *'S-e'* represents the agent who causes a change, *'O(-k)'* denotes the object affected by the action, and *'*O_{comp}' signifies the resulting state of the object, as illustrated in the following examples:

45. *ami ramok hovapoti patilu*

ami	ram-ok	hovapoti	pat-il-u
we	ram-OBJ	president	made-PERF-1

'*We made Ram President.*'

46. *dadahote ramok dangor-dighol korile*

dada-hot-e	ram-ok	dangor-dighol	kor-il-e
brother-ASSO.PL-ERG	Ram-OBJ	big-tall	do-PERF-3

'*Brother has brought up Ram.*'

In (45) and (46) above, the agent subjects, respectively, *'ami'* and *'dada'* exert an action upon the object 'Ram'. As a consequence of these actions, the object undergoes a transformation, resulting in new states represented by the adjectival phrases *'hovapoti'* (Presdent) and *'dangor-dighol'* (big-tall).

4.2.2.1. The interaction of verbs with the Resultative construction

This Resultative construction is restricted to a specific set of verbs. The argument roles of the resultative construction includes an 'Agent', 'Theme' and a 'Result', which encodes the semantics of 'X causes Y to become Z'. The 'Agent' is syntactically encoded as the subject of the Transitive construction, 'S-e'; similarly the 'Theme' is encoded as the Transitive object 'O(-k)' and the 'Result' is encoded by an adjectival phrase or a noun phrase.

The representation of the form-meaning pair of the resultative construction is represented in Fig. 4.12. below:

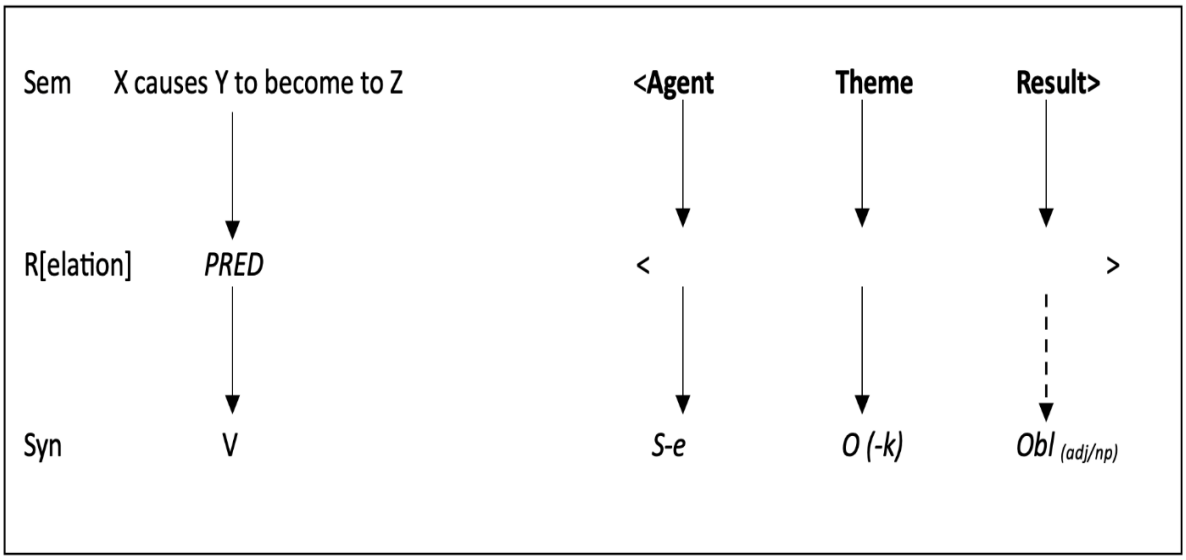

Fig. 4.12. The form-meaning pair of the Resultative Construction

The interaction of the verb *'pat'* (make) as used in (45) with the resultative construction is presented in Fig. 4.13 below:

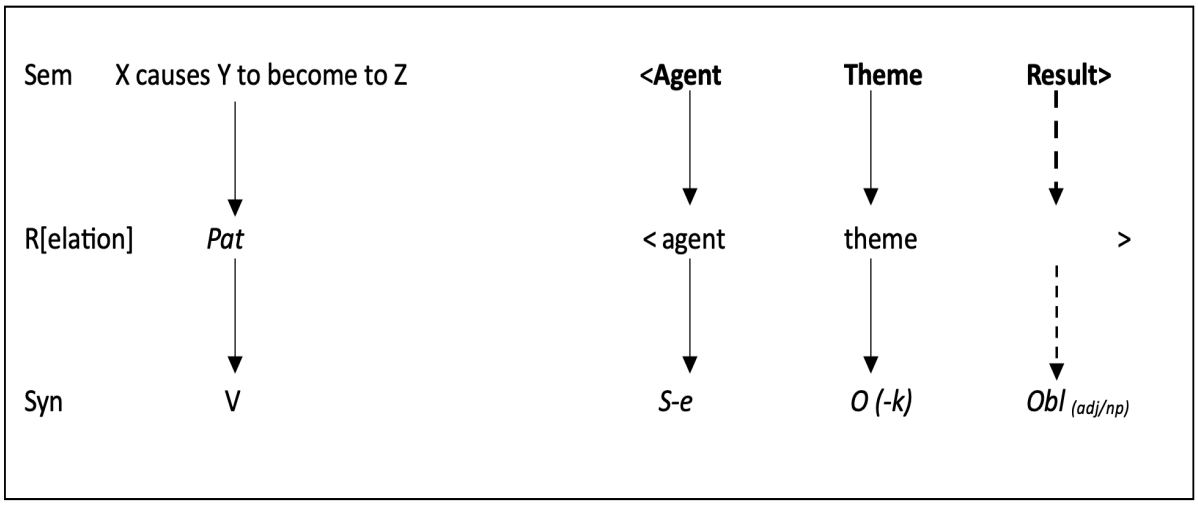

Fig. 4.13. '*pat*' (make) + Resultative Construction

In example (45) the verb *'pat'* (make) interacts with the Resultative construction. The participant role of the verb 'pat' includes an 'agent' and a 'theme', the resultative phrase 'hovapoti' (president) is a case of 'constructional coercion', i.e. it is added by the construction. The transitive verb 'pat' involves two participants, an 'agent' and a 'theme'. The result phrase,

denoted by the NP is introduced by the resultative construction. Thus, it is not integral to the core meaning of the verb 'pat'.

While each verb in the examples inherently involves an Agent and a Theme, the resultative phrase ('*savapati'* (the President) and *'dangar-dighol'* (Raise), respectively) is a constructional addition. This extra element, i.e. the oblique phrase, realized as an adjective or noun phrase, is not a direct participant in the core meaning of the verbs but is introduced by the construction itself. It is represented by a bold dotted line to indicate that the oblique phrase is a constructional addition.

4.2.3. The Cause Transfer Construction (CTC)

The Cause Transfer Construction is similar to the CMC (see section 4.2.1), but differs in terms of the position of the oblique phrase. The CTC in Assamese is expressed as *S-e Obl O(-k) V,* while the CMC is expressed as *S-e O(-k) Obl V*. The semantics of the construction is 'X intends Y for Z'. Verbs of creation that are prototypically used in the Transitive construction (see section 4.1.2.) are accommodated in the CTC. as illustrated in the examples below:

47. *rame montriloi sit^{h}i lik^{h}ise*

ram-e	montri-oloi	sit^{h}i	lik^{h}-is-e
Ram-ERG	minister-DAT	letter	write-ING.PROG-3

'*Ram has written a letter for John.*'

48. *marye johnoloi b^{h}at rad^{h}ise*

mary-e	john-oloi	b^{h}at	rad^{h}-il-e
Mary-ERG	John-DAT	rice	cook-PERF-3

'*Mary has cooked rice for John.*'

However, the primary focus of the CTC with the semantics 'X intends Y for Z' is on the attempt itself, rather than the successful completion of the action, i.e. the intention of the action may not be successful. This is evident in the sentence (49) below.

49. *rame johnloi kitap 3khon pot^{h}ale, kintu xi nepale*

ram-e john-loi kitap 3-khon pot^{h}a-l-e, kintu xi ne-pa-l-e

Ram-ERG John-DAT book 3-CLF send-PERF-3, but he NEG-get-PERF-3

'*Ram has sent 3 books to John, but he did not receive them.*'

As noted, the CTC has the semantic structure: 'X intends Y for Z'. In example (48), 'Mary' functions as the X, 'John' as the Z, and *'sit^{h}i*' (letter) as the Y.

4.2.3.1 The interaction of verbs with the CTC

The argument roles of the construction include a 'Cause', manifested as '*S-e*', a 'Theme' manifested as '*O(-k)*' and a 'Recipient', manifested by the oblique phrase marked by '*loi*'[2].

The form-meaning pairing of the construction is represented in Fig. 4.14.

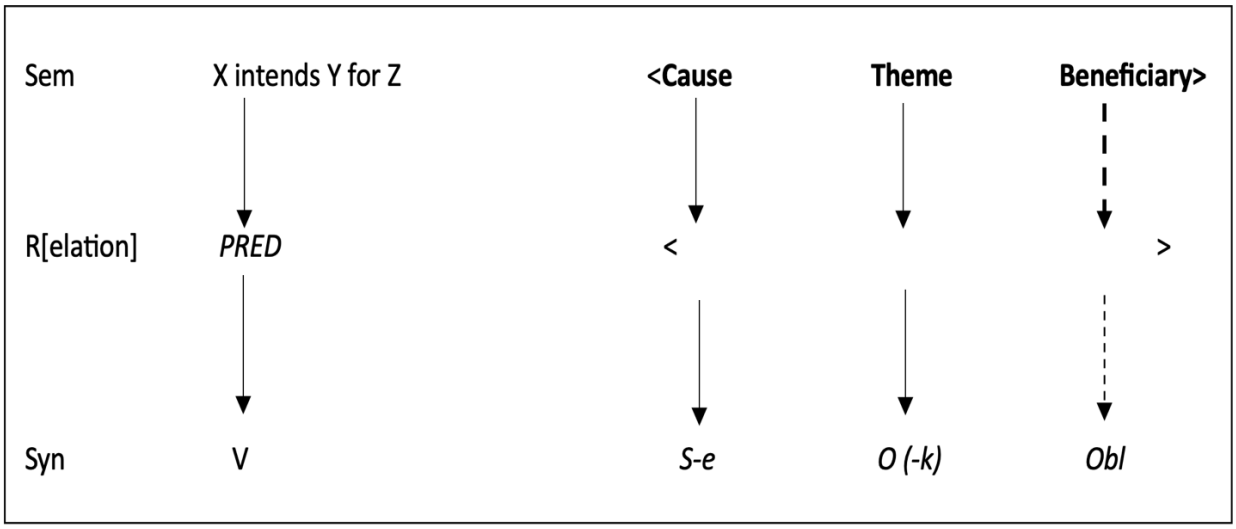

Fig. 4.14. The form-meaning pair of the CTC

The verb *'likh*' (write) typically operates within an author-text transitive frame (cf. Fig. 4.3) However, when used in this construction, it undergoes 'coercion' to accommodate a

[2] The dative case is used to mark the beneficiary of a transfer event, while the allative case is used to the mark the goal of a motion event. The post-position '-loi' in Assamese is polysemous used.

beneficiary, reflecting the underlying meaning of the verb, i.e. creating something for another person (or self).

The interaction of the verb *'lik^{h}'* with the CTC is represented in Fig. 4.15 below:

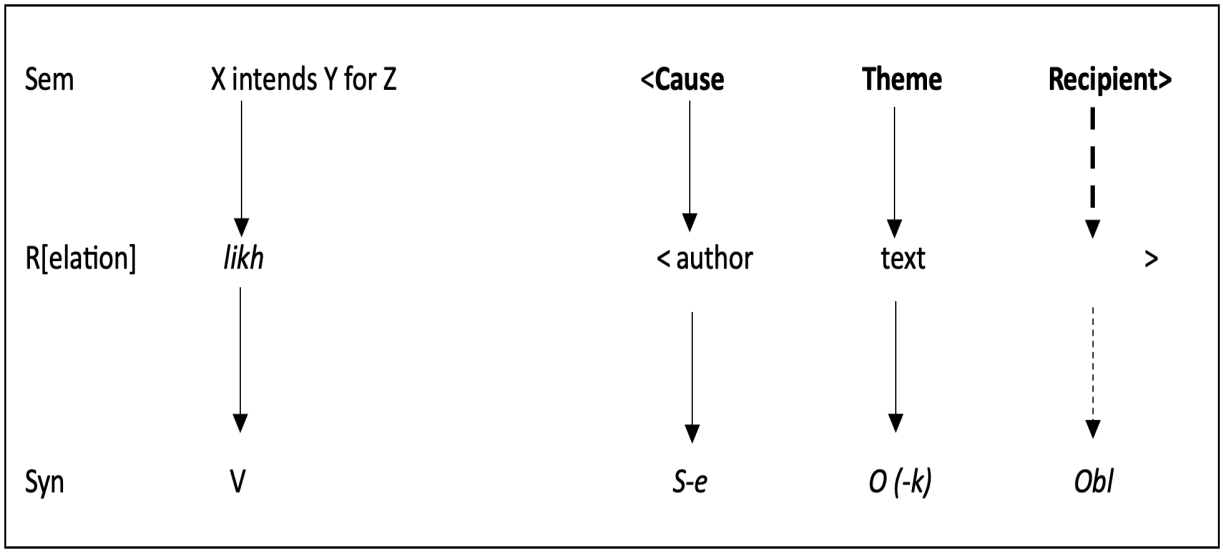

Fig. 4.15. Interaction between '*lik^{h}*' (write) and CTC

4.3. Non-canonical transitive constructions

This section deals with the non-canonical transitive constructions, where oblique case markers mark either the subject, object, or both, as in the following examples.

50. *ramor duk^{h}on gari ase*

ram-or du-k^{h}on gari as-e

Ram-GEN two-CLF car exist-3

'*Ram has two cars.*'

51. *ramor sitakloi sinta hoise*

ram-or sita-k-loi sinta ho-is-e

Ram-GEN Sita-OBJ-DAT worry happen-ING.PROG-3

'*Ram is being worried about Sita.*'

52. *ramoloi biar nimontron ahise*

ram-oloi bia-r nimontron ah-il-e

Ram-DAT marriage-GEN invitation come-PERF-3

'*Ram has received marriage invitation.*'

53. *halltut 500 manhu dhore*

hall-tu-t 500 manhu dhor-e

Hall-CLF-LOC 500 people hold-3

'*The hall holds 500 people.*'

54. *ramok dukhon kitap lage*

ram-ok du-khon kitap lag-e

Ram-OBJ two-CLF book want-3

'*Ram wants two books.*'

In (50), the subject is marked by the genitive case *'-r'*, constituting a non-canonical subject. Recall that canonical subjects in Assamese are typically marked by the ergative marker *'-e'* or are unmarked, in case of the simple Intransitive construction. The example in (50) exemplifies a possessive construction in Assamese, where the subject is non-canonical while the object remains canonical and usually unmarked. In (51), both the subject and object deviate from the canonical form, with the subject marked by the genitive case *'-r'* and the object by the dative case *'-loi'*. The subject in (53) is a locative subject, indicated by the locative case *'-t'*. The subject in (54) is once again non-canonical, marked by the DOM.

4.3.1 The Genitive Subject Construction

The genitive construction is expressed in Assamese as '*S-r O V*'. Here, the subject is marked by the genitive case *'-r'* while the object is unmarked. The semantic of the construction is 'X possesses Y'. Here the X is encoded as the genitive subject, 'S-r' and the Y is encoded as an object, 'O', however, unmarked for the DOM, as illustrated in the following examples below:

55. *mur/tumar/ramor duta lora ase*

mur/tumar/ram-or duta lora as-e

My/your/Ram-GEN two boy exist-3

'*I/your/Ram have/has two boys.*'

56. *mur/tumar/ramor duta kukur ase*

mur/tumar/ram-or duta kukur as-e

My/your/Ram-GEN two dog exist-3

'*I/your/Ram have/has two dogs.*'

57. *mur/tumar/ramor duta kukur asil*

mur/tumar/ram-or duta kukur as-il

My/your/Ram-GEN two dog exist-PERF

'*I/your/Ram had two dogs.*'

58. *mur/tumar/ramor duta lora hobo*

mur/tumar/ram-or duta lora ho-bo

My/your/Ram-GEN two boy COP-FUT

'*I/your/Ram will have two boys.*'

59. *garikhonor duk^{h}on dorza ase*

gari-khon-or du-k^{h}on dorza as-e

Gari-CLF-GEN two-CLF door EXIST-3

'*The car has two doors.*'

In (55)-(58), the subject '*Mur/tumar/ramor*' is the 'X', *'lora'/kukur'* is the 'Y'. The verb used in the construction is '*as*' (exist), but in the future tense the verb '*ho*' (COP) is used as in (58). Recall that an animate object is marked by DOM in Assamese (see section 1.3), but in the

construction this is not the case, i.e. the animate (+human) object is left unmarked as in (55)–(58).

4.3.1.1 Interaction of verbs with the Genitive Subject Construction

As observed, the verb that is used with the construction is the *'as'* copula; the *'ho'* copula is used in the case of future tense. The argument role of the construction includes a 'Possessor' and a 'Possession'. The 'Possessor' is syntactically realised as the genitive subject, 'S-r', while the 'Possession' is syntactically realised as 'O'. The typical function of the copula verb is to relate an entity with a property. When the copula verb is used in this construction with a genitive subject, it relates an object with the subject as its possessor. Note that the person agreement does not co-indexed with the subject, which implies that the owner argument role is just a participant of the event of possession, it does not initiate the action of possession.

The form-meaning pair of the construction is represented in Fig. 4.16 below.

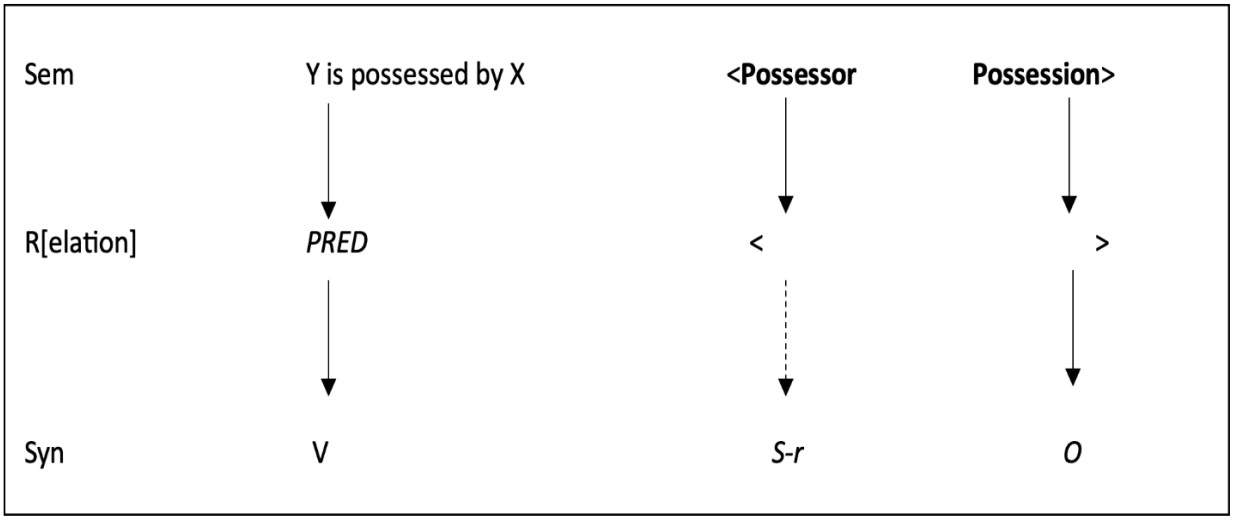

Fig. 4.16. The form-meaning pair of the Genitive Subject Construction

Note that the participant role of the verb '*as*' involves a 'theme' and a 'location'. It is thus generally referred to as the locative copula (Nath 2009). Thus, the verb '*as*' locates a 'theme' with respect to a 'location' or ground. When used in this construction the 'Possessor' argument role is conceptualized as the 'location', as the possessor, marked by the genitive *'-r'*, is the location of the 'theme'. The participant role 'theme' is an instance of the 'Possession' argument role, hence manifested as the object syntactically.

The interaction of the copula verb *'as'* with the construction for the example (55) can be represented as in Fig. 4.17 below:

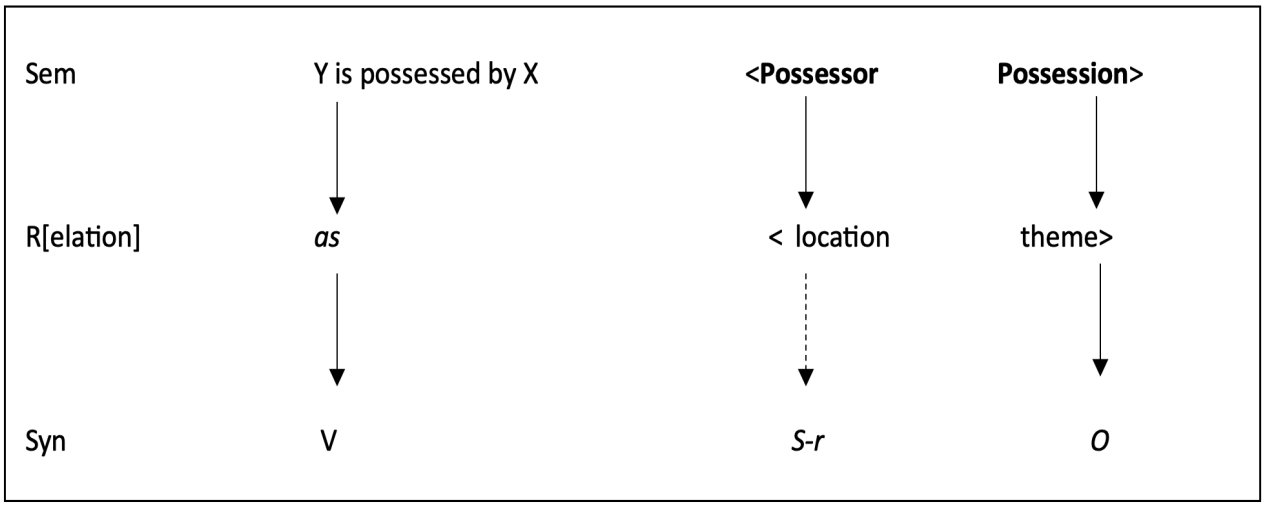

Fig. 4.17. '*as'* + Genitive Subject Construction

4.3.2 The Genitive Subject Dative Object Construction

In the genitive subject dative object construction is expressed in Assamese as *S-r O(-k)-loi [CjV]*. Here, the subject and object are non-canonically marked. The semantic of the construction is 'Y mentally affects X', i.e., the stimulus (Y) causes a change of mental state of the experiencer (X). Here, X is encoded as the genitive subject, 'S-r', and Y is encoded as oblique object 'O-loi'. Although the encoding of the subject is similar to the earlier construction, but semantically the subject differs. The subject, here, is an experiencer.

The construction underlies the following examples (the square bracketed elements are CjVs, i.e. conjunct verbs, which are made of a noun and a verb).

60. *ramor johnokloi [sinta hoise]*

ram-or john-ok-loi [sinta ho-is-e]

Ram-GEN John-OBJ-DAT [sinta happen-ING.PROG-3]

'*Ram is worried about John.*'

61. *ramor kot^{h}atuloi [ok^{h}anti paise]*

ram-or kot^{h}a-tu-loi [ok^{h}anti pa-is-e]

Ram-GEN fact-CLF-DAT [uncomfortable get-ING.PROG-3]

'*Ram is uncomfortable about the fact.*'

62. *ramor kukuroloi [b^{h}oi lage]*

ram-or kukur-oloi [b^{h}oi lag-e]

Ram-GEN dog-DAT [fear attach-3]

'*Ram is afraid of dogs.*'

Note that in Assamese most experiences are expressed by conjunct verbs, i.e. complex predicates.

4.3.2.1 The interaction of complex predicates with the Genitive Subject Dative Object Construction

The argument role of the construction includes a 'Experiencer' and a 'Stimulus'. The 'Experiencer is syntactically realised as the genitive subject, 'S-r' and the 'Stimulus' as the 'O-loi', the dative object.

The form-meaning pair of the construction can be represented as in Fig. 4.18. below.

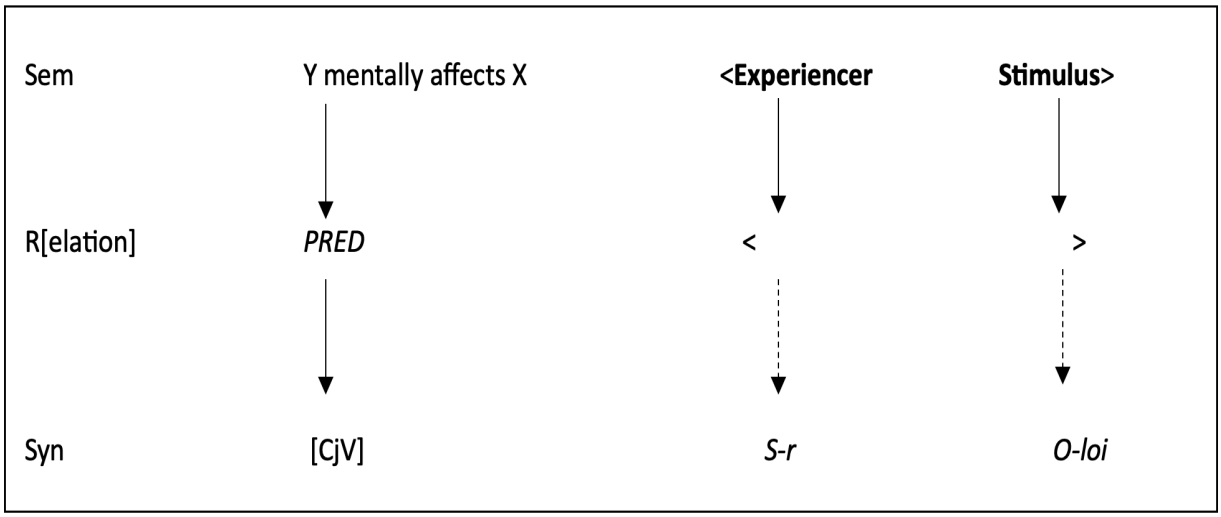

Fig. 4.18. The form-meaning pair of Genitive Subject Dative Object Construction

The dotted line represents the oblique status of the genitive subject and the dative object.

In experiencer events, the subject does not initiate the event, but plays the role of a passive undergoer, i.e. the Subject is merely taking part in the event involitionally. Hence, verbs of experience involving an 'experiencer' and a 'stimulus', as its participant role are used in this construction. These two participant roles are compatible with the argument roles of the construction.

The interaction between of the conjunct verb [*b^{h}oi lag*] and the construction can be represented as in Fig. 4.19 below.

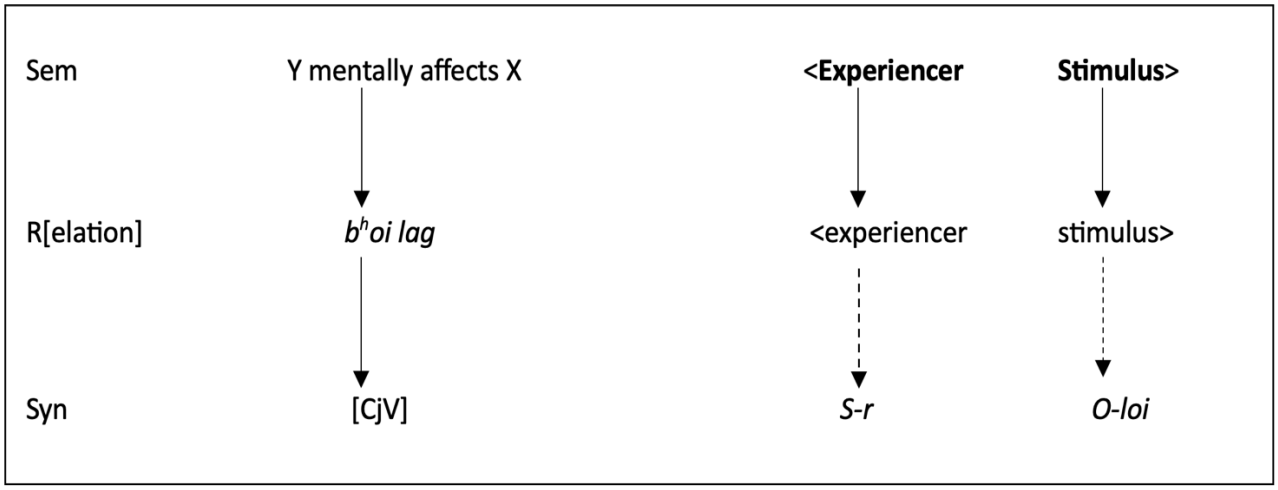

Fig. 4.19. '*b^{h}oi lag'* (be afraid) + Genitive Subject Dative Object Construction.

In Fig. 4.19, the participant role of the verb *'b^{h}oi lag*' includes an 'experiencer' and a 'stimulus' which are in one-to-one correspondence with the argument roles of the construction.

4.3.3 The Dative Subject Construction

The dative subject construction is expressed in Assamese as *S-loi O V*. Here, the subject is marked by the dative case '*loi*' to denote a recipient or recipient-like participant. The entity to be received is meant by the Object of the construction, which remains unmarked. The semantics associated with the dative subject construction is 'Y arrives for X'.

The dative construction differs from the Transitive construction in terms of only the markedness of the subject, which the following examples exemplify.

63. *moloi biar nimontron ahile*

moloi	bia-r	nimontron	ah-il-e
moi-DAT	marriage-GEN	invitation	come-PERF-3

'*A marriage invitation has come to me.'*

64. *tumaloi kitap duk^{h}on ahise*

tuma-oloi	kitap	du-k^{h}on	ah-is-e
you-DAT	book	two-CLF	come-ING.PROG-3

'*Two books have arrived for Ram.*'

In both examples above, the verb '*ah*' (come) is used, a motion verb, to mean that the theme is approaching the Subject, i.e. the beneficiary. Thus, in the examples, the person agreement is not co-indexed with the Subject, which implies that the subject is not actively instigating the event, but merely a beneficiary of the Theme (note that the person agreement markers in Assamese are: *-u* (1P); *-a* (2P), and *-e* (3P)).

4.3.3.1 The interaction of the verb '*ah*' with the dative subject construction

This construction is a partially filled construction as only the verb 'ah' occurs in this construction. Thus, the argument role of the construction includes a 'Beneficiary' and a 'Theme'. The argument role 'Beneficiary' is encoded as the dative subject, 'S-loi' and the theme is encoded as the unmarked object 'O'. The form-meaning pair of the Dative subject construction is presented in Fig. 4.20 below.

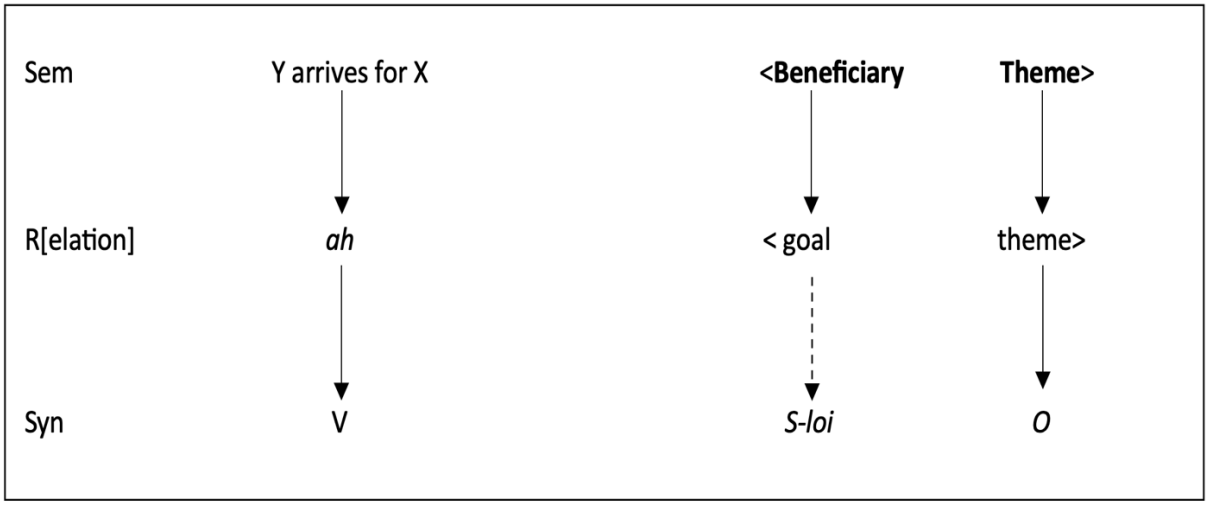

Fig. 4.20. The form-meaning pair of the Dative subject construction

The participant role of the verb 'ah' consists of a 'Theme' and a 'Goal'. The argument role 'beneficiary' is an instance of the participant role 'Goal'. Hence, both the roles are marked by the '-loi' post-positon.

When the verb *'ah'* (come) is used in this construction, it denotes an arriving event. An arriving event denotes a theme moving to a goal. When the verb *'ah'* (come) is used in this construction, it indicates an arriving event, where a Theme moves to a Goal. When the Goal is an animate entity (or some personified inanimate object), it is conceptualized as a Recipient or recipient-like and marked with the dative case (indicated by a dotted line). Note that in the construction, the Recipient is not in control of the event, differentiating it from constructions expressing direct reception meaning 'X receives Y'.

4.3.4 The Locative Subject Construction

The locative subject construction consists of a non-canonical subject which is marked by the locative case, *'-t'*, and a theme that is located at the referent denoted by the subject. The semantic of the construction is 'X locates Y'. Here, the subject is inanimate, in contrast to the subject in the dative subject construction.

The locative subject construction in Assamese underlines the following examples:

65. *halltut 500 manhu dhore*

hall-tu-t 500 manhu dhor-e

hall-CLF-LOC 500 people hold-3

'*The hall holds 500 people.*'

66. *puk^{h}uri-tu-t mas ase*

puk^{h}uri-tu-t mas as-e

Pond-CLF-LOC fish exist-3

'*The pond has fish.*'

In the examples, *halltu*, and *pukhuri* function as Subjects and are marked by the locative marker '*-t*' in their respective sentences. These correspond to 'X' in the semantic of the construction. Conversely, *500 manhu* and *mas* serve as Objects and lack any overt marking. They align with 'Y' in the semantic structure of the construction, i.e. 'X locates Y'.

4.3.4.1 Interaction of the verbs with the locative subject construction

The argument roles of the construction includes a 'Location' and a 'Theme'. The argument role 'Location' is denoted by the locative subject, 'S-t', while the 'Theme' is denoted by the object 'O'.

The form-meaning pair of the locative subject construction is presented in Fig. 4.21. below:

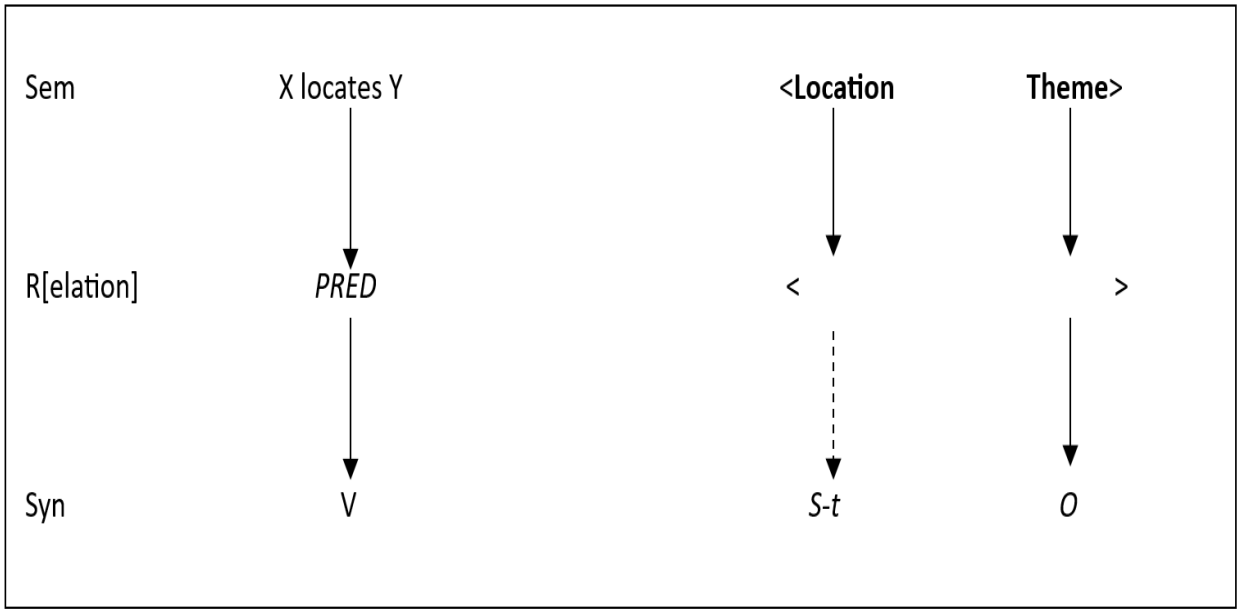

Fig. 4.21. The form-meaning pair of the locative subject construction

Note that the verbs that are used in this construction are typically static verbs. As pointed out by Nath (2009) the copula '*as*' (exist) in Assamese is also a locative copula, hence the integration of '*as*' is unproblematic, as both the argument role and the participant role are in one-to-one correspondence, as used in (66).

The participant role the verb '*dʰor*' (hold) consists of a 'container' and 'contents'. In this case the 'container' is an instance of the 'Location' argument role, while the 'contents' is an instance of the 'Theme' argument role.

The interaction of the verb *'dʰor'* and the locative subject construction is represented in Fig. 4.22.

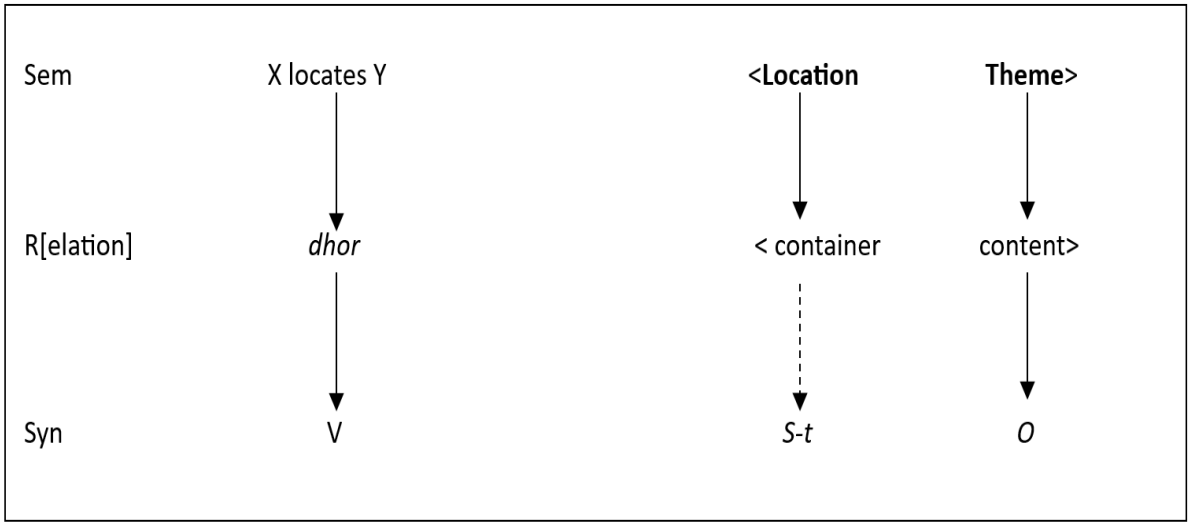

Fig. 4.22. *'d^{h}or'* (hold) + the locative subject construction

4.3.5. The Object Subject Construction

The semantic structure of this construction is 'Y affects X', which is syntactically manifested as '*S-k O lag'*. Thus, the construction involves two arguments, both syntactically resembling Themes in the transitive construction. However, one argument, occupying the subject position, is marked by DOM, *i.e. '-k'*[3], while the other remains unmarked. The DOM-marked argument is always human. Due to these differences, both arguments cannot be categorized as Themes. Consequently, the subject argument is termed 'Pivot'. VerbNet defines a Pivot as a "Theme that participates in an event with another Theme unequally, with a more central role." This aligns with the semantic structure of the construction, where the DOM-marked argument. The Pivot is not agentive, as indicated by the absence of person marker co-indexing. Thus, it functions as a passive undergoer.

[3] Note that in the passive construction in Assamese, where the Object of the Active construction functions as the Subject, it may be marked by the DOM, i.e. *–'k*' as in *'John-k hatya kora hol'* (John was murdered). In both the passive and Object Subject constructions, the Subject is the sufferer. But the sufferers in them are not of the same kind in terms of affectedness. The passive construction subject is a typical sufferer while the Object Subject construction subject is not a sufferer. Thus, verbs in the passive construction exhibit higher agentivity, whereas those used in the Object Subject construction tend to have low agentivity.

This construction is a partially-filled construction as only the verb ‘lag’ is used with this construction, as in (67) below:

67. *ramok dukhon kitap lage*

ram-ok	du-khon	kitap	lag-e
Ram-OBJ	two-CLF	book	want-3

‘*Ram wants two books.*’

4.3.5.1 Interaction of verbs with the construction

The argument roles of the construction include a ‘Pivot’ and a ‘Theme’. The ‘Pivot’ is manifested as ‘S-k’, and the ‘Theme’ is manifested as the object ‘O’, and only the verb ‘lag’ is used in this construction.

The form-meaning pair of the construction with the verb ‘lag’, as used in (67) is represented in Fig. 4.23 below:

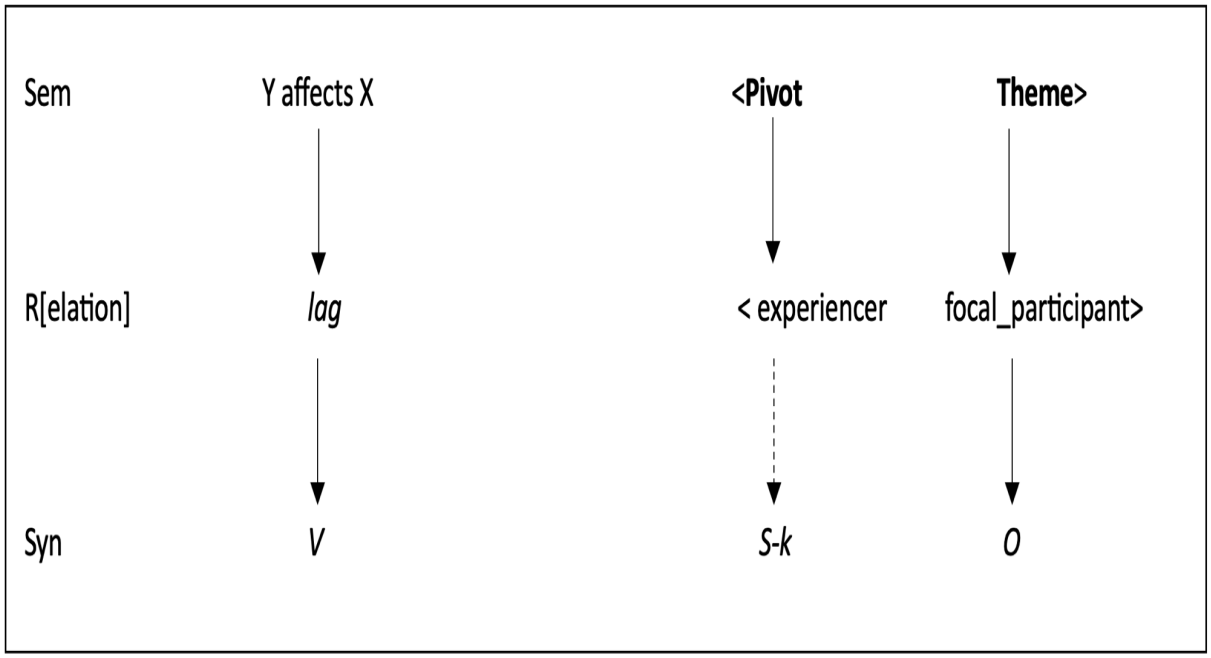

Fig. 4.23. The form-meaning pair of the Object Subject Construction

The participant roles of the verb ‘lag’ (want) involve an ‘experiencer’ and a ‘focal_participant’. The participant role ‘experiencer’ is an instance of the ‘Pivot’ argument role, while the ‘focal_particiapnt’ is an instance of the ‘Theme’ argument role.

4.4. The relationship between the construction

As discussed in section 3.4, the constructions form a network across different levels of abstraction, termed ‘tiers’, connected by metaphorical and metonymic relationships. The Transitive construction serves as the most abstract level, with all other constructions linked to it through these two links.

Thus, the organizational structure of the Transitive construction in Assamese is shown in Fig. 4.24 below:

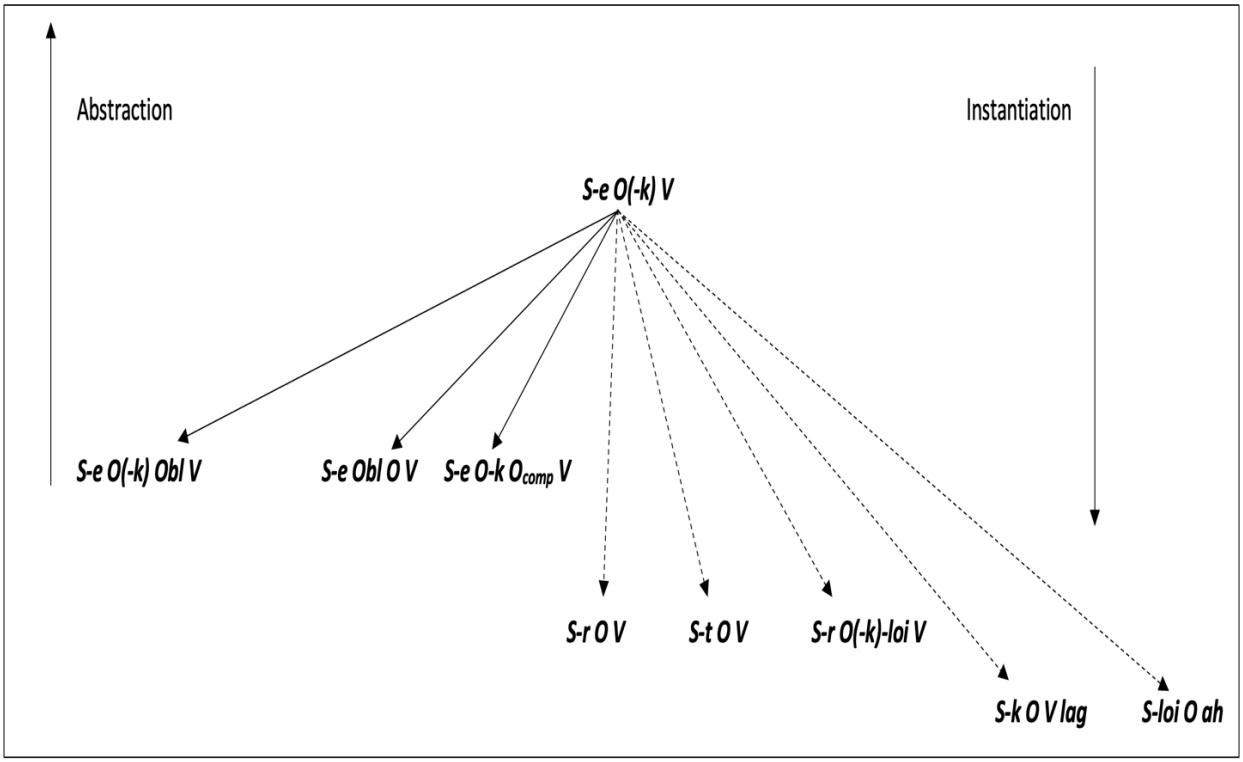

Fig. 4.24. The network of the Assamese Transitive construction

Figure 4.24 above presents a network of constructions centered around the Transitive construction, across four tiers. This prototypical construction occupies the first tier, representing the highest level of abstraction. All other constructions are connected to the Transitive construction through metaphorical or metonymic relationships.

The second tier encompasses constructions linked to the Transitive construction via metonymical link, indicated by solid arrow lines. These include the Cause-Motion, Cause-Transfer, and Resultative constructions. The presence of an oblique phrase connects these constructions to the Transitive construction via the metonymical link.

The third tier consists of non-canonical transitive constructions connected to the Transitive construction through metaphorical link. This connection arises from the substitution of canonical markings for non-canonical ones. Thus, the non-canonical markers replace the canonical markers which connects these constructions to the Transitive construction via the metaphorical link.

The fourth tier consists of two constructions, i.e. object subject construction, *S-k O lag* and the transitive dative subject construction, *S-loi O ah*. The construction is placed at the lowest tier among the other transitive constructions is because the *S-k O lag* and the *S-loi O ah* are a partially filled construction, which are least schematic.

4.5. The Ditransitive construction

This section deals with the Ditransitive construction, which involves three salient participants. Syntactically, these participants are encoded as an agent, marked by the ergative *'-e'*, and two objects, one distinguished by the DOM marker and the other unmarked. While the agent's role is consistent between Transitive and Ditransitive constructions, the encoding of the theme and recipient can vary both within and across languages. This results in diverse alignment strategies for Ditransitive constructions based on the encoding of the transitive patient (P), and the theme (T) and recipient (R).

Hespelmath (2011, 2015) extensively studied the Ditransitive construction and proposed three basic alignment systems to categorize different encodings of the Patient (P), Theme (T), and Recipient (R). These systems are schematically represented below:

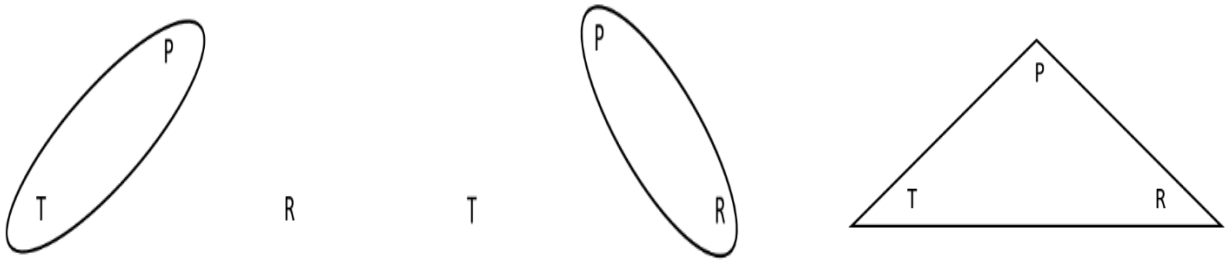

Fig. 2.25. (i) indirective (ii) Secundative (iii) Neutral

The indirective alignment, as shown in (i), characterizes languages where the Patient and Theme share a similar encoding, while the Recipient has a distinct marking. Assamese is one example of a language exhibiting this alignment system. This is clear from the following examples:

68. *rame*[A] *k^{h}irkik^{h}on-ø* [P] *b^{h}angile*
ram-e k^{h}irki-k^{h}on-ø b^{h}ang-il-e
Ram-ERG tiger-CLF beat-PERF-3
'*Ram has broken the window.*'

69. *rame*[A] *kitapk^{h}on-ø* [T] *johnok* [R] *dile*
ram-e kitap-khon-ø Johnok di-l-e
Ram-ERG book-CLF John-OBJ give -PERF-3
'*Ram has killed the tiger.*'

Here, the encoding of [P] in (68) aligns with the encoding of [T] in (69), i.e. unamrked, while [R] remains distinct. However, this alignment pattern can shift to a secundative alignment when the patient becomes animate. In cross-linguistic comparisons, a prototypical category is often considered. For the ditransitive construction, the most typical theme is an inanimate entity, as noted by Malchukov et al. (2015).

Secundative alignment, as depicted in (b), is characterized by a similar encoding for the Patient and Recipient, while the Theme receives a distinct marking. English exemplifies this alignment type, which is clear from the following example.

70. The boy$_{[A]}$ broke the window$_{[P]}$

71. The bank$_{[A]}$ provides us $_{[R]}$ with fresh money $_{[T]}$ (Hespalmath, 2005)

In the Neutral alignment the P, R, and T are encoded in the same way as in the following examples again from English.

72. Ram$_{[A]}$ killed John$_{[P]}$

73. Ram$_{[A]}$ gave John$_{[R]}$ a book$_{[T]}$

However, the alignment may vary within the same language according to different constructions used as can be seen from the following examples:

74. Ram$_{[A]}$ gave John$_{[R]}$ a book$_{[T]}$

75. Ram$_{[A]}$ gave a book$_{[T]}$ to John$_{[R]}$

Examples (74) and (75) use the same verb in different constructions with the same arguments yet they vary in their alignment strategies.

4.5.1. The Assamese Ditransitive Construction

The Assamese Ditransitive construction follows the structure *'S-e O(-k) O-ø V'*, conveying the semantics of transfer. Often termed a double object construction (Goldberg, 1995; Kittila, 2005; Bhattacharya, 2007), it includes two objects. The subject, marked by the ergative 'S-e', functions as the agent. The indirect object, 'O(-k)', assumes the role of the recipient, while the direct object, 'O-ø', represents the theme. Consider the following examples from Assamese.

76. *rame johnok kitapk^{h}on dile*

ram-e john-k kitap-k^{h}on di-sil-e

Ram-ERG John-OBJ book-CLF give-PST-3

'*Ram gave John the book.*'

77. *rame johnok garik^{h}on bikile*

ram-e john-ok gari-k^{h}on bik-il-e

Ram-ERG John-OBJ car-CLF sell-PERF-3

'*Ram has sold the car to John.*'

78. *rame johnok kot^{h}atu kole*

ram-e john-ok kot^{h}a-tu ko-l-e

Ram-ERG John-OBJ word-CLF say-PERF-3

'*Ram has told the words to John.*'

79. rame kukurtuk pani dile

ram-e kukur-tu-k pani di-l-e

Ram-ERG dog-CLF-OBJ water give-PERF-3

'*Ram has given the dog water.*'

80. *khobortue johnok ag^{h}at dile*

khobor-tu-e john-ok ag^{h}at di-l-e

news-CLF-ERG john-OBJ hurt give-PERF-3

'*The news has hurt John.*'

81. *rame johnok dangorjoni dibo*

ram-e john-ok dangor-joni di-b-o

Ram-ERG John-OBJ big-CLF give-FUT-3

'*Ram will give the elder one to John.*'

The agent is syntactically encoded as 'S-e' in examples (76)-(81). The recipients in these examples, marked by the DOM as 'O-k', are humans, or perceived as a human (e.g. *kukurtu*

in (79)) with the capacity to receive the theme. Notably, even non-human recipients can be marked by the DOM if they are specific or perceived with human qualities, as in example (79). The theme, 'O-ø', is prototypically inanimate, hence unmarked. However, when the theme refers to a human participant, it still remains unmarked, as illustrated in (81). This is a constraint by the Assamese Ditransitive construction. This contrasts with other constructions where human participants typically require DOM marking. Thus, in the Ditransitive construction, the theme position is restricted to the unmarked object.

Examples (76)- (79) illustrate prototypical physical transfer. In example (76) and (77), ownership is transferred as the agent surrenders possession of the theme to the recipient. Example (78) demonstrates the transfer of communication, where the recipient passively receives information from the agent. Example (80) involves the transfer of an emotional state from agent to recipient. Despite these variations, a core notion of transfer from agent to recipient underlies all examples.

4.5.1.1 The interaction of verbs with the ditransitive construction

'All languages have far fewer ditransitive verbs than transitive verbs, and the ditransitive verbs of a language do not necessarily behave uniformly' (Malchukov et.al , 2007). Thus, a verb which can be used in the ditransitive construction in one language may not use in the same construction in another language. For instance in English the verb 'allow' can be used in the ditransitive construction as in 'Joe allowed Billy a popsicle' (Goldberg, 1995:32) but the same verb is not used in the ditransitive construction in Assamese.

The argument role of the Ditransitive construction includes an 'Agent', 'Recipient' and a 'Theme'. The 'Agent' is encoded as the ergative subject, 'S-e', and the 'Recipient ' is encode as the marked object, 'O-k', while the 'Theme' is encoded as the unmarked object, 'O'.
The form-meaning pair of the Ditransitive construction is represented in 4.26. below:

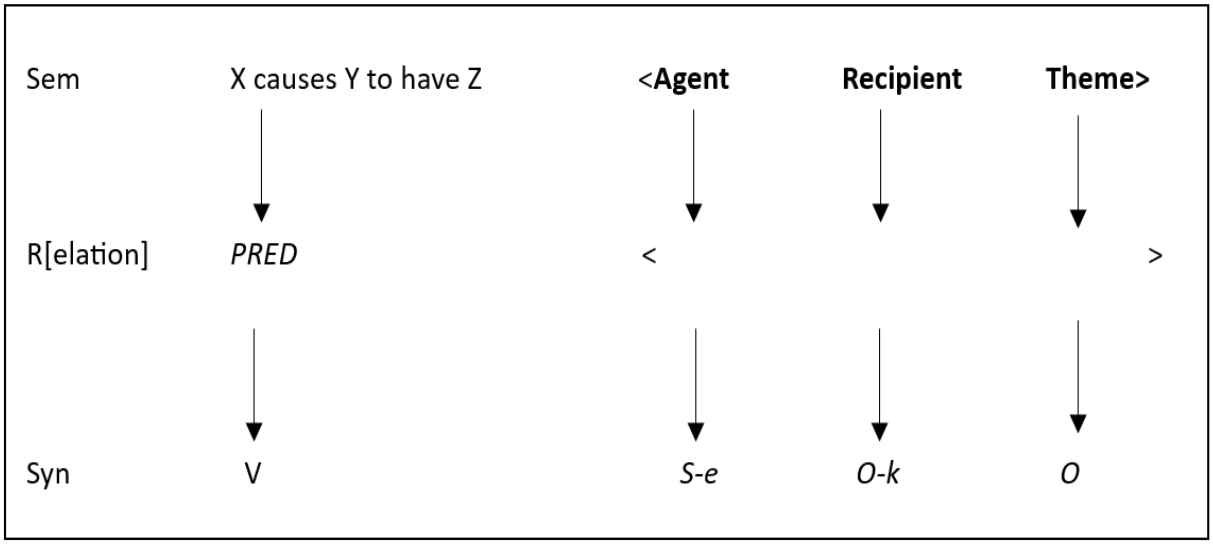

Fig. 4.26. The form-meaning pair of the Ditransitive construction

In figure 4.26. the argument role and its syntactic realization are denoted by solid lines as it represents core grammatical relations, hence salient. Thus, verbs which has three salient participants are used in the Ditransitive construction.

The interaction of the verb 'de' (give) in (76) is represented in the figure 4.27 below:

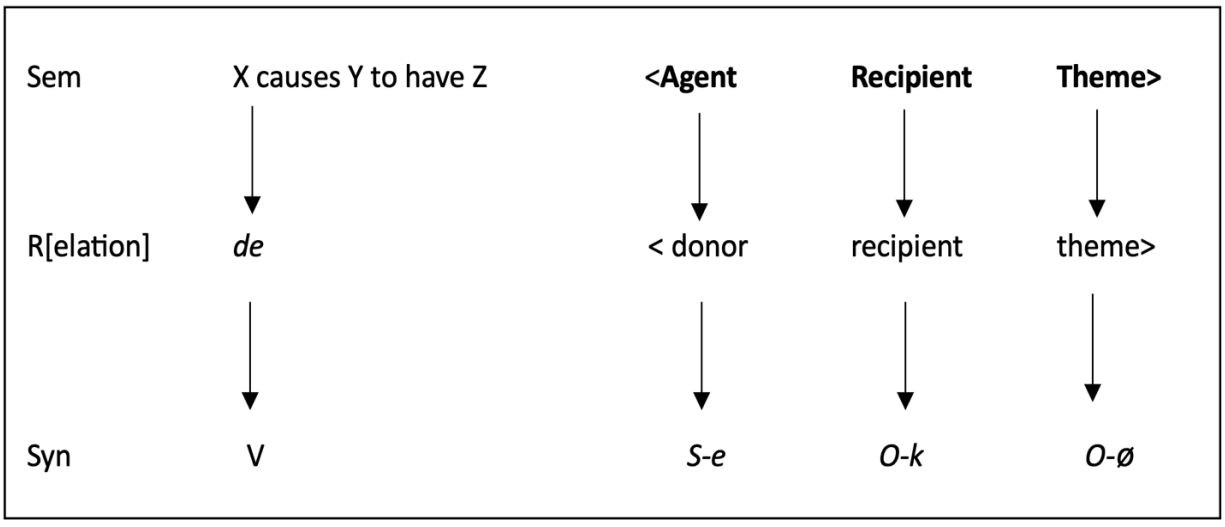

Fig.4.27. '*de*' (give) + Ditransitive construction

The participant role of the verb 'de' (give) includes a 'donor' which donates an entity, a 'recipient' which receives the donated entity and a 'theme', the entity that is being donated.

The ‘donor’ participant role is an instance of the ‘Agent’ argument role, it carries out the action volitionally. While the participant role ‘recipient’ and ‘theme’ is in one-to-one correspondence with the ‘Recipient’ and ‘Theme’ argument role.

In case of the verb ‘bik’ (sell), in (77), the participant roles include a ‘seller’, ‘buyer’ and ‘goods’. The participant role ‘seller’, i.e., ‘Ram’ is fused with the ‘Agent’ argument role because of the volitional initiator of the event, thus is an instance of the ‘Agent’. The ‘buyer’, i.e., ‘Jhon’ is fused with the ‘Recipient’ argument role as the buyer is in the possession of the sold entity, and the participant role ‘goods’, i.e. ‘gari’ (car) is fused with the ‘Theme’ argument role as it is the entity that changes its possession, now possessed by the ‘buyer’.

In case of the verb ‘ko’ (tell) in example (78), the participant role includes a ‘speaker’, an ‘addressee’ and a ‘message’. The ‘speaker’ role is fused with the ‘Agent’ role as the volitionally initiator of the event, thus is an instance of the ‘Agent’. The ‘addressee’ role is fused with the ‘Recipient’ role as the addressee is in possession of the entity-like ‘kotha’ (word) and the ‘message’ is fused with the ‘Theme’ role as it changes its possession; now the addressee is in possession.

4.5.2 The Allostruction

An *allostruction* is a term used in Construction Grammar to describe two or more constructions that have distinct syntactic forms but share a core semantic meaning. The term, i.e. ‘allostruction’ was introduced by Cappbelle (2006).

The ditransitive construction, i.e. *S V* O_{ind} $O_{d,}$ (e.g., *‘Ram gave John a book’*), and the prepositional dative construction, i.e. *‘S V* O_d *Obl’* (e.g., *‘Ram gave a book to him’*), are considered allostructions because they both express the same act of giving but differ in their syntactic structure. The prepositional dative construction is termed here as cause-transfer construction (see section 4.2.3).

However, the constructionist approach adopts a monostral (non-derivational) approach to syntax. Thus, the example, *‘Ram gave a book to John’* is not seen as a result of a derivational output but rather an independent construction. The ‘Principle of no synonymy’ (Haiman, 1985; Clark, 1987; Goldberg, 1995) states that any change in grammatical or syntactic form

will entail a lesser or greater degree of difference in meaning (see Goldberg 1995: 91- 95); Perek (2015:157-58); see 4.9 below).

4.5.3 The Assamese Ditransitive Construction and the Cause-Transfer Construction

The ditransitive construction, *S-e O-k O V* encodes the semantics of 'X causes Y to receive Z', 'Cause-receive', in short. A Cause-transfer construction, *S-e Obl O V*, on the other hand, encodes a similar meaning, i.e. 'X intends (transfers) Y for Z', 'Cause-transfer', in short. The verbs that are used in these constructions inherently convey a sense of intended transfer. For instance, verbs associated with cause-transfer constructions, such as 'create', 'send', and 'bring', explicitly denote a transfer or anticipated change in possession of the theme. In both constructions, the agent's action is directed towards effecting a change in possession of the theme.

However, syntactically, the two constructions differ in their encoding of the recipient while maintaining identical encoding for the agent '*S-e*' and the unmarked theme *'O-ø*'. Both the construction imposes the constraint that the recipient must be animate. In the Ditransitive, the theme assumes the role of the direct object, while the recipient is relegated to the indirect object position. This is clear from the examples below:

82. *rame*[A] *johnok*[IO] *dangorjoni*[DO] *dibo*
    ram-e John-ok dangor-joni di-b-o
    Ram-ERG John-OBJ big-CLF give-FUT-3
    'Ram married his elder daughter to John.'

We have identified the theme as the direct object in the ditransitive construction due to its saliency or prominence. Compare (84) with (85) below:

83. **rame johnok dibo*
    ram-e John-ok di-b-o
    ram-ERG JOHN-OBJ give-FUT-3

84. *rame dangorjoni dibo*

ram-e	dangor-joni	di-b-o
Ram-ERG	elder-CLF	give-FUT-3

'Ram will marry his elder daughter (to someone)'.

In example (84), the syntactic omission of the recipient does not yield an ungrammatical sentence. This implies that the role of the recipient encoded in the indirect object is less prominent so its omitting has no bearing on the grammar. However, this does not apply to (83), where the omitting of the theme results in an ungrammatical sentence. This implies that the role of theme is more prominent and cannot be recovered from context or pragmatics. Thus, the theme argument in the ditransitive construction is encoded as the direct object which is aligned with the direct object of the Transitive construction.

In the case of the cause-transfer construction, the theme is also encoded as the direct object while the recipient-like argument is marked by an oblique case marker, i.e. the dative *-loi*, as is clear from the following examples:

85. *rame*$_{[A]}$ *johnloi*$_{[R]}$ *sit^{h}i*$_{[T]}$ *lik^{h}ise*

ram-e	john-loi	sit^{h}i	lik^{h}-is-e
Ram-ERG	John-DAT	letter	write-PERF-3

'*Ram has written a letter to John.*'

86. *rame*$_{[A]}$ *johnoloi*$_{[R]}$ *kitapk^{h}on*$_{[T]}$ *anise*

ram-e	john-oloi	kitap-k^{h}on	an-is-e
Ram-ERG	John-DAT	book-CLF	bring-PERF-3

'*Ram has brought a book for John.*'

In (85) and (86) above, the subject (Ram) is marked by the ergative case, i.e. *-e*; the theme ('*sit^{h}i*'/'*kitap*') is left unmarked and the recipient-like argument, the theme (i.e. John) is marked by the oblique case marker, i.e. the dative *-loi*.

While the Ditransitive and cause-transfer constructions share similarities in their use of subjects and objects, they differ in how they treat the recipient. In the ditransitive construction,

the recipient is marked as an object, but in cause-transfer construction, the recipient is marked with an oblique case, which denotes a beneficiary. This difference in grammar means that this role in these constructions are not the same. Instead of calling the third role in cause-transfer constructions a 'recipient', we should call it a 'beneficiary'. The different grammatical markings indicate different roles, so it seems logical not to label both as 'recipient'.

A recipient receives the theme as a direct result of the agent's actions. In other words, the recipient now possesses the theme. However, a beneficiary may or may not receive the theme as a result of the agent's actions. Consider the examples below:

87. **rame johnok kitapkʰon dile, kintu johne nepale*

ram-e john-ok kitap-kʰon di-l-e, kintu john-e ne-pa-l-e
Ram-ERG John-OBJ book-CLF give-PERF-3, but john-ERG NEG-get-PERF-3
'*Ram has given a book to John, but John did not receive the book.*'

88. *rame joholoi kitapkʰon potʰale, kintu johne nepale*

ram-e john-oloi kitap-kʰon potʰa-l-e, kintu john-e ne-pa-l-e
Ram-ERG John-DAT book-CLF send-PERF-3, but John-ERG NEG-get-PERF-3
'*Ram has sent John a book, but John did not receive it.*'

In both examples, the theme is a concrete object, i.e. a book. In (87), we have a ditransitive construction, which means the transfer is successful and cannot be negated because the recipient has received the theme. However, in the cause-transfer construction, only the agent's role is implied, not the recipient's act of receiving. Therefore, the transfer can be negated as in (88).

In a ditransitive construction, the recipient is a willing recipient. While the ditransitive and cause-transfer constructions differ in their third participant both semantically and syntactically, they are similar in terms of the subject and theme. Both constructions involve a sense of transfer, which connects them and makes them 'allostructions'.

The network of the two constructions is schematically formulated in Fig. 4.28. below:

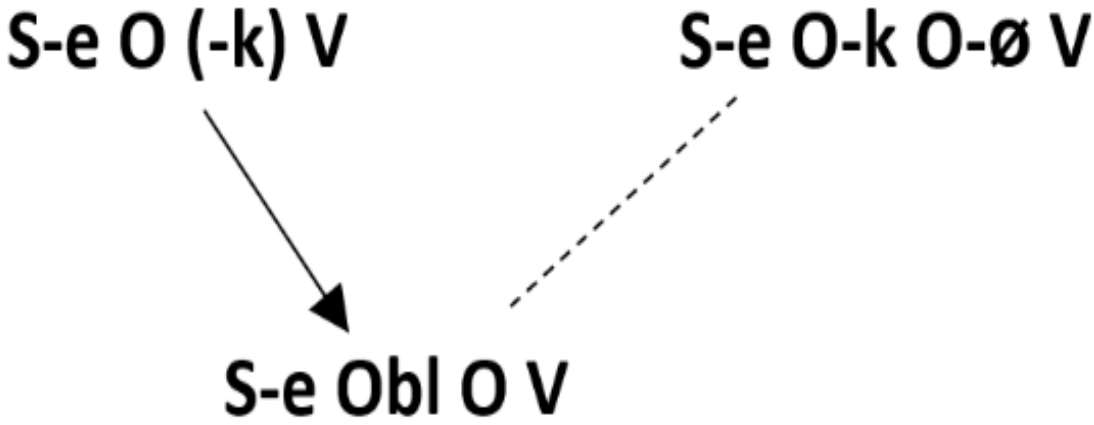

Fig. 4.28. the allostructional relation between the Ditransitive and the CTC

Figure 4.28 shows the relationship between ditransitive and cause-transfer constructions. As discussed in the previous chapter, the cause-transfer construction is an extension of the transitive construction, as indicated by the solid arrow line. The relationship between ditransitive and cause-transfer constructions is one of 'allostruction', which is shown by the dotted line. This relationship exists because both constructions involve an 'agentive transfer' of the theme, which is, in the terminology of Goldberg's (1995:91), 'semantic synonymy', i.e. semantic similarity.

The next chapters deals with the Argument Structure Constructions in Assamese and it's relation to different event schemas.