

Why No Double Object Construction in Shupamem

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ACAL51-52

April 10, 2021

1 Introduction

1.1 The Question

There are no double object constructions (DOC) in Shupamem. Ditransitive constructions must be expressed using a preposition 'né' ('to'/'for') or the verb phrase 'fá né' ('give to').

- (1) a. Mimsha fá gâtô né Raje.
Mimsha give cake to Raje.
'Mimsha gave a cake to Raje.'
b. * Mimsha fá Raje gâtô.
Mimsha give Raje cake.
'Mimsha gave Raje a cake'.
- (2) a. Mimsha lét yūəp-nkē né Raje.
Mimsha teach sing-song to Raje.
'Mimsha taught a song to Raje.'
b. * Mimsha lét Raje yūəp-nkē.
Mimsha teach Raje sing-song.
'Mimsha taught Raje a song'.
- (3) a. Mimsha ɲzùn gâtô fā né Raje.
Mimsha buy cake give to Raje.
'Mimsha bought a cake for Raje.'
b. * Mimsha ɲzùn Raje gâtô.
Mimsha buy Raje cake.
'Mimsha bought Raje a cake.'
- (4) a. Mimsha ghét gâtō Raje.
Mimsha make cake give to Raje.
'Mimsha made a cake for Raje.'

I'd like to thank my professor Jason Kandybowicz and my consultant Laziz Nchare for their help!

- b. * Mimsha ghét Raje gâtō.
Mimsha make Raje cake.
'Mimsha made Raje a cake.'

Questions:

- ⇒ Why is there no DOC in Shupamem?
- ⇒ How are the prepositional dative constructions (PDC) formed through preposition 'nə' and verb phrase 'fā nə'?

1.2 Relevant Theoretical Concerns

Dative alternation: derivational or not derivational?

⇒ Team not derivational: Harley (2002); Bruening (2010); Harley and Jung (2015); Bruening (2015); Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2008, e.g.)

⇒ Team derivational: Collins (2017); Aoun and Li (1989); Larson (2014, e.g.)

If not derivational, then what are the structures?

⇒ P_{HAVE} Analysis: Harley (2002); Harley and Jung (2015, e.g.)

⇒ ApplP Analysis: Bruening (2010, 2015, e.g.)

2 Previous Accounts of Lack of DOC in Irish

2.1 Irish Data

Similar to Shupamem, Irish doesn't allow DOC constructions either. Different from Shupamem, the ditransitive construction is expressed by a preposition only.

- (5) a. Thug Morag leabhar do Ruairi.
gave Morag book to Rory.
'Morag gave a book to Rory.'
- b. * Thug Morag Ruairi leabhar.
gave Morag Ruairi leabhar.
'Morag gave Rory a book.'
- (6) a. Bhácaíl Máire aran do Liam.
baked Maire bread for Liam.
'Maire baked bread for Liam.'
- b. * Bhácaíl Máire Liam aran.
baked Maire Liam bread.
'Maire baked Liam bread.'

⇒ Goal also c-commands theme in DOCs:

- (7) a. Sgríobh Máiri a_i bhárdachd gus a h-uile gille_i.
Wrote Mary his_i poem to every boy_i.
'Mary wrote every boy his poem.'

- b. Rinn Máiri a_i chóta(fhéin airson a h-uile gille $_i$).
Made Mary his coat(self) to every boy.
'Mary made his $_i$ coat for every boy $_i$.'

⇒ There is no verbal 'have' in Irish:

- (8) Tá an pheann ag Maire.
is the pen at Mary.
'Mary has the pen.'

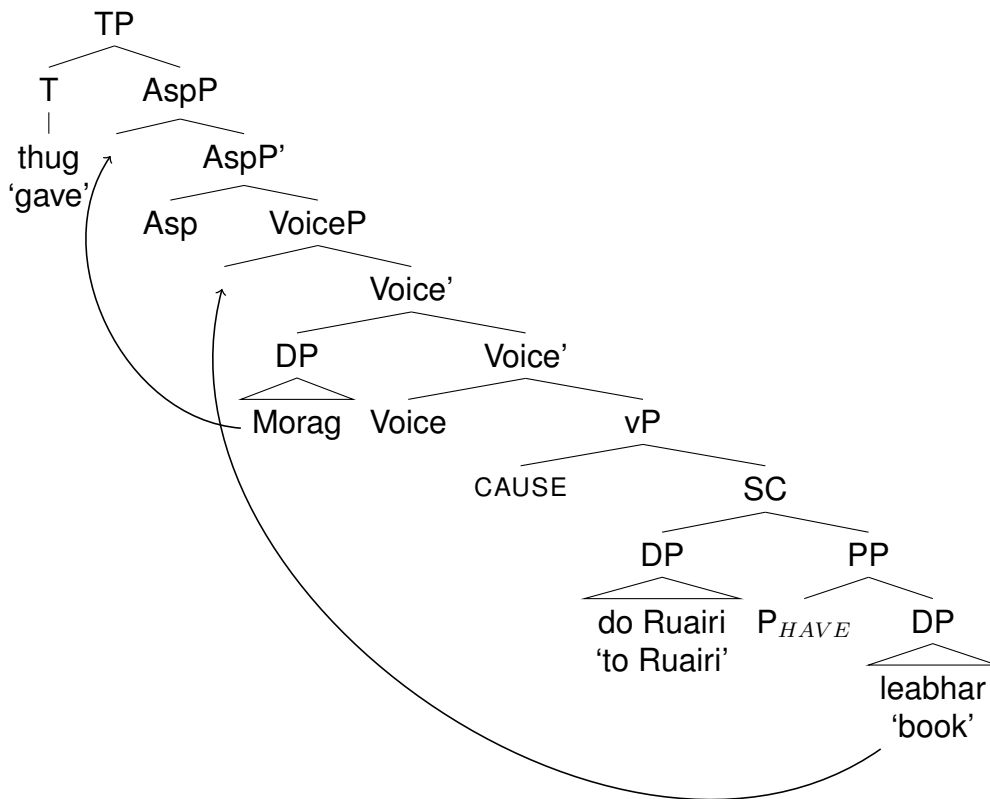
2.2 Harley (2002) and Jung, Carnie and Harley (2012)'s Revision

Harley (2002) revised Pesetsky (1995) and proposed two structures for PDC and DOC. The verb 'give' is decomposed into a CAUSE component and an abstract preposition either encodes location P_{LOC} (for sentence 8) or encodes possession P_{HAVE} for DOC. This analysis was later revised in Jung, Carnie and Harley (2012). In DOCs, there are two types of indirect objects: the one that denotes a transfer of possession and the non-possessional benefactive. To account for the fact that goal c-commands the theme in DOC, they proposed the structure for the two types of DOCs:

- (9) Transfer-of-possession:

Thug Morag leabhar do Ruairi.
gave Morag book to Rory.
'Morag gave a book to Rory.'

(10)

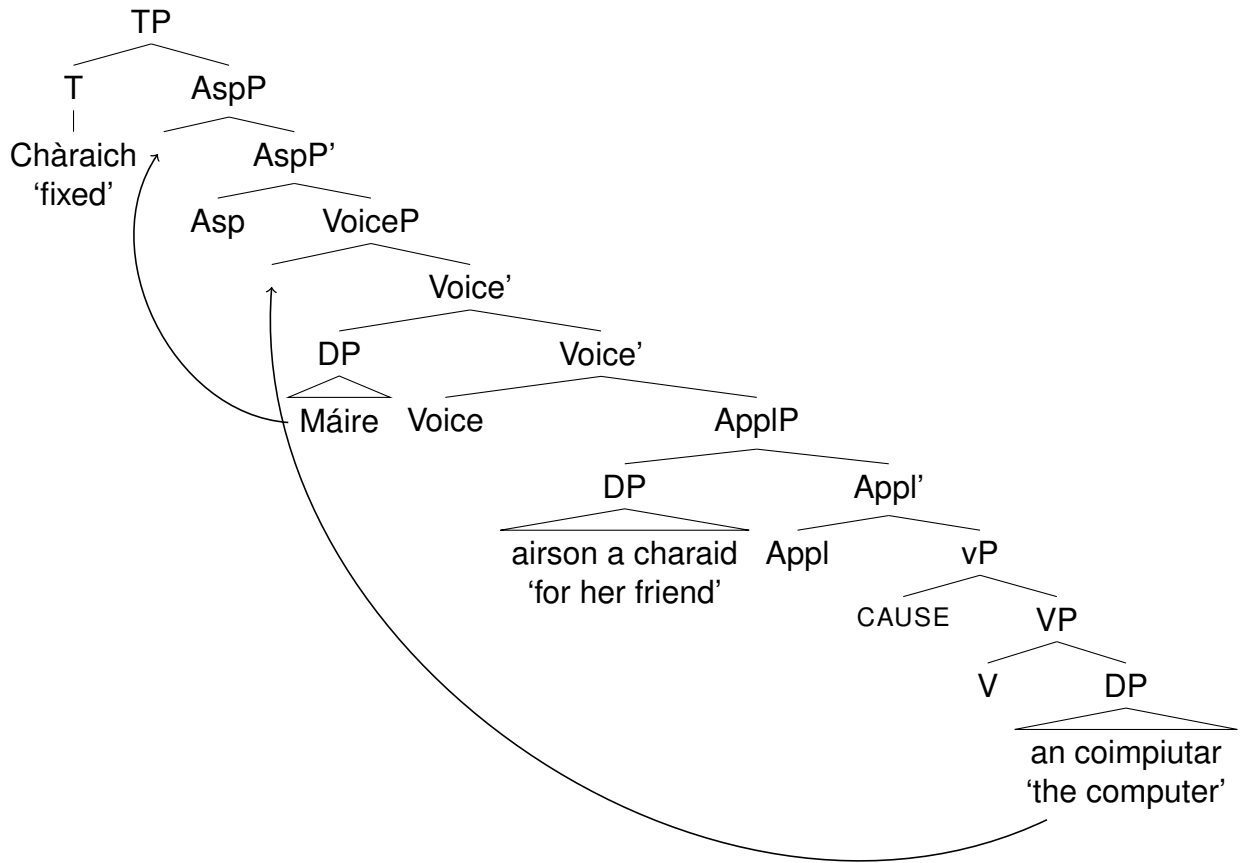


(11) Non-possessional:

Chàraich Máire an coimpiutar airson a charaid.
fixed Maire the computer for her friend.

'Mary fixed the computer for her friend.'

(12)



⇒ **Quirky marked argument:** 'do Ruairi' ('to Ruairi') and 'airson a charaid' ('for her friend') were treated as DP instead of PP because they were argued to be quirky marked arguments. The indirect object in the DOC is inherently marked with 'do' or 'airson'. Therefore, there is no DOC in Irish.

⇒ **P_{HAVE} incorporation:** The verbal 'have' is derived through the incorporation of P_{HAVE} + be. P_{HAVE} in Irish somehow failed to incorporate to a verb. One speculation they made was that the possessor in Irish is inherently marked with 'ag' ('at'), which makes it impossible to surface as a subject.

⇒ **No true verb 'give':** In Irish, 'thug' can mean multiple things, such as 'gave', 'brought', 'took'. They argue that there is no true verbal root for 'thug', instead, the different meanings of 'thug' are assigned by different PP complements.

- give – P_{HAVE}
- bring – P_{PATH}
- take – P_{SOURCE}

⇒ **Non-possessional benefactive as a high applicative:** According to the low-high applicative typology (Pylkkänen, 2008), the non-possessional benefactive (e.g. 'airson a

charaid' or 'for her friend') in Irish is a high applicative, since the ApplP appears above the vP. In addition, a high applicative is expected to appear with unergative verbs.

- (13) Dhanns an duine airson Máire.
Danced the man for Maire.
'The man danced for Maire.'

3 Interim Summary

1. The reason Irish doesn't have DOC is that the indirect object is a quirky marked argument that is inherently marked with 'do' ('to') or 'airson' ('for').
2. When the indirect object is the recipient benefactive, the verb that denotes transfer of possession is decomposed into CAUSE + P_{HAVE}. The indirect object is in the specifier position of the PP.
3. When the indirect object is a non-possessional benefactive, it is introduced by an ApplP that is above the vP, which makes it a high applicative.

4 What about Shupamem

4.1 Shupamem Data

⇒ Goal also c-commands theme in DOCs:

- (14) a. Mimsha fā mkát-_i nḁ nfǎfǎ mǎn_i.
Mimsha gave phone-his_i phone to every child_i.
'Mimsha gave every child_i his_i phone.'
b. Mimsha fā mkát-rap_i nḁ nfǎfǎ pǎn_i.
Mimsha gave phone-their_i to every child_i.
'Mimsha gave each child_i their_i phone.'

⇒ There is a no true verbal 'have':

Shupamem has a verbal way to express 'have':

- (15) Raje ghět gâtô.
Raje have cake.
'Raje has a cake.'

However, the verb 'ghět' is quite complicated. It's a multi-functional verb that can mean 'to make', 'to have' or 'to do'.

- (16) Raje ghět gâtô.
Raje make/have cake.
'Raje made a cake.' or 'Raje has a cake.'

- (17) nzũ: ghět Mimsha η-gúə.
 wine made/have Mimsha laugh.
 ‘The wine made Mimsha laugh.’
- (18) A pâ jim-pim pim yúé Mimsha nátũo ghět né.
 It is to-dance dance that Mimsha will do COMP.
 ‘It is dancing that Mimsha will do.’

In addition, Shupamem also denotes possession with BE + Possessive pronoun ‘yĩ:’:

- (19) BE + Possessive pronoun ‘yĩ:’

cake pâ yĩ: Raje.
 cake is that of Raje.

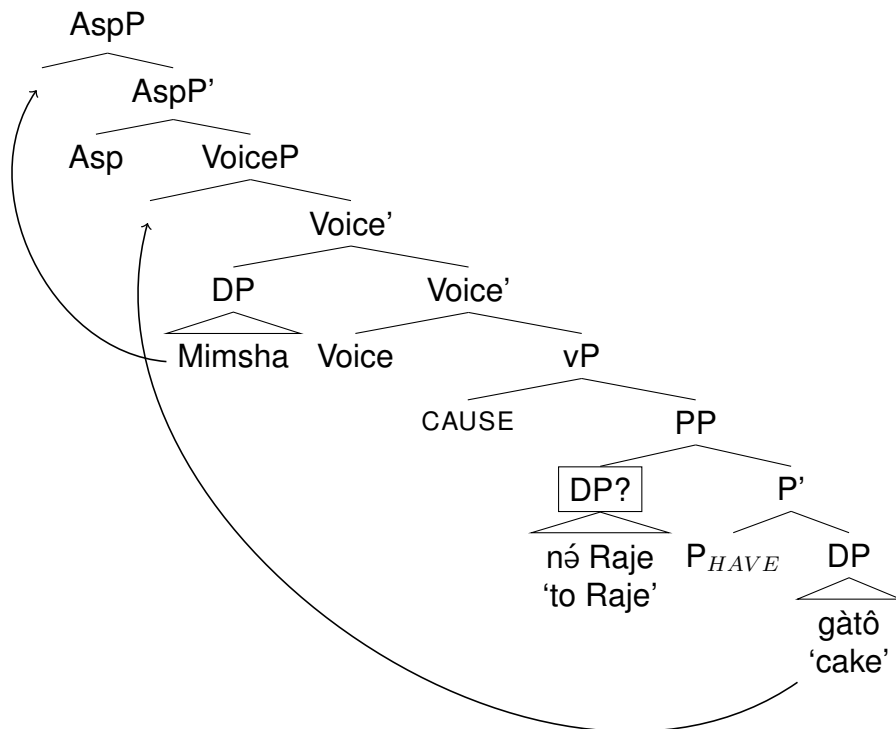
‘Raje has a cake.’ Lit: ‘The cake is it of Raje.’

Unlike Irish, Shupamem doesn’t denote possession with P_{LOC} .

4.2 Transfer of Possession

Since the goal also c-commands the theme in Shupamem, the structure in (10) can be applied to Shupamem.

- (20)



⇒ ‘**né Raje**’: **DP or PP?**

In Irish data, this is DP because preposition ‘do’ (‘to’/‘for’) is a case marker instead of a true preposition. One evidence for this could be found in prepositional pronouns. A pronoun is fused with the preposition when it is the object of the preposition:

	singular	plural
1st	<i>dom (to me)</i>	<i>dúinn (to us)</i>
2nd	<i>duit (to you)</i>	<i>daoibh (to you pl)</i>
3rd	<i>dó (to him)</i> <i>di (to her)</i>	<i>dóibh (to them)</i>

- (21) Thug Morag leabhar dom.
Gave Morag book to-me.
‘Morag gave a book to me.’

In Shupamem, there is no such fusion. The pronouns stay the accusative case in the indirect object position.

- (22) Mimsha fá gâtô né mà.
Mimsha gave cake to me(1sg-ACC).
‘Mimsha gave a cake to me.’

Therefore, ‘né Raje’ is a PP instead of a DP.

⇒ **If PP, why can’t IO move?**

DO moves up to Spec VoiceP because Voice P licenses accusative case on the theme and requires it to move. The probing for IO is inactive because IO already has an inherent case (marked by ‘do’).

However, this doesn’t explain why the IO in Shupamem cannot move to Spec Voice P since ‘né’ is a true preposition. Therefore, this structure fails to explain why DOC is not allowed in Shupamem.

⇒ **Interim Conclusion:**

The structure for Irish DOC that denotes transfer of possession can explain the phenomenon of why goal c-commands the theme in Shupamem. However, since the ‘né’ in Shupamem is a true preposition, the structure fails to account for why Shupamem doesn’t allow DOC.

4.3 Non-possessive Benefactives

In Shupamem, the non-possessive benefactives applicative is introduced through the verbal phrase ‘fá né’:

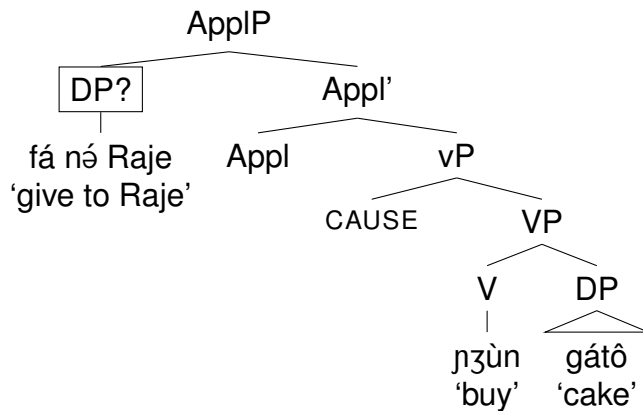
- (23) Mimsha jíkět fá né Raje.
Mimsha speak give to Raje.
‘Mimsha spoke for Raje.’

- (24) Mimsha sǔ: pànm fá né Raje.
Mimsha wash bag give to Raje.
'Mimsha washed the bag for Raje'
- (25) Mimsha ɲʒùn gátô fá né Raje.
Mimsha buy cake give to Raje.
'Mimsha bought a cake for Raje.'
- (26) Mimsha nóé nzú: fá né Raje.
Mimsha drink wine give to Raje.
'Mimsha drank wine for Raje.'

'fá né' can encode a range of different meanings, including recipient, substitutive beneficiary and concrete beneficiary readings (Kittilä, 2005). These readings are all available in Shupamem for the unergative verb in (23), the static verb in (24), and the consumption verb in (26).

⇒ **Apply structure (27)?**

(27)



⇒ **'fá' is a true verb:**

Test of realis marker 'm-':

- (28) Mimsha ɲʒùn gátô fá né Raje, ná Musa pié.
Mimsha buy cake give to Raje, but Musa take.
'Mimsha bought a cake for Raje, but Musa took it.'
- (29) Mimsha ɲʒùn gátô **m-fá** né Raje, # ná Musa pié.
Mimsha buy cake REAL-give to Raje, # but Musa take.
'Mimsha bought a cake and gave it to Raje, # but Musa took it.'

⇒ **Interim Conclusion:** The ApplP analysis for benefactives doesn't not apply to Shupamem.

4.4 Other relevant structures

⇒ **Passives:** There is no passive construction in Shupamem.

⇒ **Depictives and Resultives:**

- (30) Mimsha fá gǎtó né Raje mbí v̄zu:.
 Mimsha give cake to Raje to-be drunk.
 ‘Mimsha_i gave a cake to Raje drunk_i.’ (Mimsha’s drunk).
- (31) Mimsha fá gǎtó né Raje í-pi v̄zu:.
 Mimsha give cake to Raje she-to-be drunk.
 ‘Mimsha gave a cake to Raje when she was drunk.’

5 Conclusion

	Irish	Shupamem
Similarities	No DOC Goal c-commands Theme	
Differences		
Preposition + IO	DP	PP
Benefactive	AppIP (‘airson’)	fa ne
verb ‘have’?	no verb ‘have’	light verb ‘have’
verb ‘give’?	light verb ‘give’	true verb ‘give’

⇒ **P_{HAVE} analysis**: Can’t explain why IO doesn’t move.

⇒ **AppIP analysis**: Can’t explain ‘fá né’ structure.

The current explanations for lack of DOC seem not to be applicable to Shupamem.
 New explanations need to be developed.

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