

Why No Double Object Construction in Shupamem

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1 Intro

¹ In Shupamem, the verb ‘fá’ is a ditransitive verb like English verb ‘give’ that always takes two arguments.

- (1) *Mimsha fá gâtô.
Mimsha give cake.
- (2) *Mimsha fá n’ə Raje.
Mimsha give to Raje.
- (3) Mimsha fá gâtô nə Raje.
Mimsha give cake to Raje.
‘Mimsha gave a cake to Raje.’

Shupamem doesn’t allow double object construction (DOC). The verb ‘fá’ can only appear in prepositional dative constructions (PDC) in (3), but not in (4).

- (4) *Mimsha fá Raje gâtô.
Mimsha give Raje cake.
intended: Mimsha gave Raje a cake.

For most of the languages in the world, the dative alternation for the verb ‘give’ is usually available. One question needs to be asked is: Why Shupamem doesn’t allow DOC for the ditransitive verb ‘fá’?

Recent research on dative alternation has concluded that PDC and DOC are not related to each other derivationally (Rappaport Hovav and Levin, 2008, see). The underlying structures for PDC and DOC are still under debate. The most widely accepted two theories on dative alternation can be divided into two categories: semantic decomposition approach and applicative approach. In the following sections, I am going to apply each approach to try to explain why Shupamem doesn’t allow DOC.

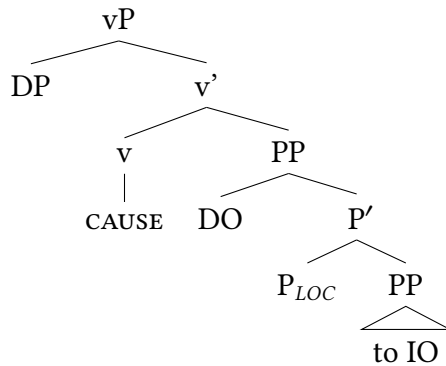
¹I’d like to thank my consultant Abdoulaye Laziz Nchare who is linguist and a native speaker of Shupamem, and my professor Jason Kandybowicz for the comments and help.

2 Previous Accounts

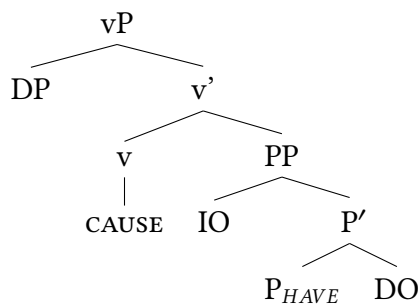
2.1 Harley (2002)

Harley (2002) revised Pesetsky (1995) and proposed two structures for PDC and DOC in (5).

(5) a. PDC



b. DOC



The verb 'give' is decomposed into a CAUSE component and an abstract preposition either encodes location (P_{LOC}) for PDC in (5a) or encodes possession (P_{HAVE}) for DOC in (5b). A language doesn't have DOC because it lacks P_{HAVE} .

Predictions of languages without P_{HAVE}

- (6) If a language lacks P_{HAVE} :
- There is no verbal 'have' to express possession in this language, since there is BE + P_{HAVE} incorporation.
 - Goal/possessor doesn't c-command theme.

Irish Evidence:

- Irish doesn't allow for DOC.
- Irish doesn't have verbal 'have':

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

- Goal/possessor doesn't c-command theme in Irish. (false)

- (8) a. Tá a_i pheann-fhéin ag chuile_i bhuachaill.
 is his pen-self at every boy_i
 intended: 'Every boy has his pen.'
- b. Thug Míleó a_i pheann-fhéin do chuile_i bhuachaill.
 gave Milo his pen-self to every boy.
 'Milo gave every boy his pen.'

Originally these two sentences were judged as ungrammatical in Harley (2002), but these judgements are not replicable and later being corrected.

2.2 Jung, Carnie and Harley (2012)

Revisions²:

- Sentence 8 are grammatical. Goal c-commands theme in Irish.
- Goal also c-commands theme in transfer-of-possession and benefactive:

(9) a. Sgríobh Máiri a bhárdachd gus a h-uile gille.
 Wrote Mary his poem to every boy.
 'Mary wrote every boy his poem.'

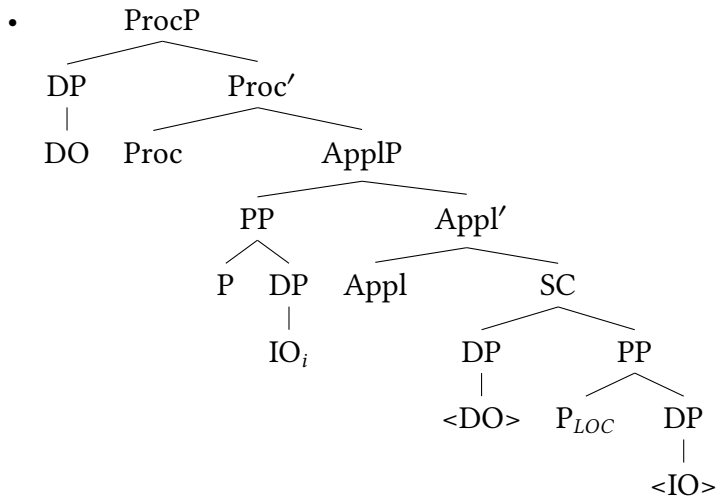
b. Rinn Máiri a chóta(fhéin airson a h-uile gille.
 Made Mary his coat(self) to every boy.
 'Mary made his coat for every boy.'
- The lower Theme cannot bind the Goal.

(10) *Sheall Máiri a a h-uile leabhar dha (h-) úghdar.
 Showed Mary every bookto its author.
 'Mary showed its author every book.'
- There is P_{HAVE} in Irish. P_{HAVE} for transfer-of-possession ('give') and possession ('have'). P_{LOC} for locatives.
- Why no verbal have? – Parameter: Incorporate P
 1. Irish abstract P fails to incorporate
 2. No verbal have
 3. *give* (*Thoir/thug*) also behaves like a light verb, which have different meanings when take different abstract P: give - P_{HAVE}, bring P_{PATH}, take - P_{SOURCE}

²I'd like to express my thanks to Gary Thoms for showing me the paper where Harley made major data correction and revision.

2.3 Ramchand (2009)

- Decomposition of *have* and *give* with ApplP:
 1. Have = APPL + BE
 2. Give = PROC(ess) + APPL + BE



- IO is realized as a High/Mid/Low applicative
- Non-possessive benefactives are high applicatives (Jung, Carnie and Harley (2012))

(11) Cháraich Máiri an coimpiutar airson a charaid.
 fixed Mariri the computer for her friend.
 ‘Mary fixes the computer for her friend.’

3 Interim Summary

1. Decomposition of ‘give’ and ‘have’. Is it can be explained by abstract P (P_{HAVE} , P_{LOC}), or ApplP, or a combination of both? Related Phenomena: Verbal ‘have’
2. Goal c-commands theme in possession and transfer-possession
3. Additional explanation for non-possessive benefactives

4 Shupamem Data

Shupamem doesn’t have DOC for many common ditransitive verbs, such as ‘teach’, ‘tell’ and ‘sell’:

(12) a. Mimsha lét lërwa nó Raje.
 Mimsha teach letter to Raje.
 ‘Mimsha taught a letter to Raje.’

- b. * Mimsha lét Raje lěrwā.
Mimsha teach Raje letter.
intended: ‘Mimsha taught Raje a letter.’
- (13) a. Mimsha sá ngám nó Raje.
Mimsha tell matter to Raje.
‘Mimsha told a story to Raje.’
- b. * Mimsha sá Raje ngám.
Mimsha tell Raje matter.
intended: ‘Mimsha told Raje a story.’
- (14) a. Mimsha fĩ gâtô nó Raje.
Mimsha sell cake to Raje.
‘Mimsha sold a story to Raje.’
- b. * Mimsha fĩ Raje gâtô.
Mimsha sell Raje cake.
intended: ‘Mimsha sold Raje a cake.’

4.1 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 ŋ-gúə.
wine made/have Mimsha laugh.
‘The wine made Mimsha laugh.’
- (18) A pâ jim-pim pim yúó Mimsha nátũo ghět nó.
It is to-dance dance that Mimsha will do COMP.
‘It is dancing that Mimsha will do.’

- Other than ‘ghět’, Shupamem denotes possession with (a) BE + Possessive pronoun ‘yĩ:’, (b) be + Existential prep ‘ŋĩt’

- (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.’

(20) be + Existential prep ‘ $\eta\check{i}t$ ’

$l\check{e}rw\grave{a}$ p\grave{a} $\eta\check{i}t$.
book is there.

‘There is a book.’

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

Detour: Testing P_{HAVE} directly

The verb ‘ $gh\check{e}t$ ’ so far looks like a light verb for CAUSE or DO. If ‘ $gh\check{e}t$ ’ is really a light verb, then it can be inserted back to the structure in (5b) and (5a). In Shupamem, all the expressions that express the meaning of HAVE could be the abstract P_{HAVE} and/or P_{LOC} . One way to test which is the P_{LOC}/P_{HAVE} is to insert the CAUSE word ‘ $gh\check{e}t$ ’ to the three ways to express HAVE (verbal ‘ $gh\check{e}t$ ’, possessive pronoun ‘ $y\check{i}$ ’ and existential preposition ‘ $\eta\check{i}t$ ’). The surface word order is:

(21) Mimsha CAUSE cake P_{LOC} to Raje.

(22) Mimsha CAUSE Raje P_{HAVE} cake.

The essence of this sentence is that Raje has the cake. In the test, we are going to look for the available configuration that has the same meaning.

Testing on (21):

(23) * Mimsha $gh\check{e}t$ $g\grave{a}t\hat{o}$ $gh\check{e}t$ $n\acute{o}$ Raje.

Mimsha CAUSE cake have to Raje.

(24) a. * Mimsha $gh\check{e}t$ $g\grave{a}t\hat{o}$ $y\check{i}$ $n\acute{o}$ Raje.

Mimsha CAUSE cake that of to Raje.

b. Mimsha $gh\check{e}t$ na $g\grave{a}t\hat{o}$ po $y\check{i}$ Raje.

Mimsha make COMPLETIVE cake FOC that of Raje.

‘Mimsha made a cake that is for Raje.’

(25) Mimsha $gh\check{e}t$ $g\grave{a}t\hat{o}$ $\eta\check{i}t$ $n\acute{o}$ Raje.

Mimsha made cake there for Raje.

‘Mimsha made cake there for Raje.’

The test on (21) showed that the existential preposition ‘ $\eta\check{i}t$ ’ could be a realization of the abstract P_{LOC} .

Testing on (22):

(26) Mimsha $gh\check{e}t$ Raje $gh\check{e}t$ $g\grave{a}t\hat{o}$.

Mimsha make Raje make cake.

‘Mimsha made Raje to make a cake.’ (Raje made a cake for Mimsha).

- (27) a. *Mimsha ghět Raje yí gátô.
Mimsha make Raje that of cake.
- b. Mimsha ghět Raje ghět yí gátô.
Mimsha make Raje have/make that of cake.
- i. Mimsha made Raje to possess a cake.
ii. Mimsha made Raje to make Mimsha a cake.
- (28) a. *Mimsha ghět Raje ñít gátô.
Mimsha make Raje there cake.
- b. Mimsha ghět Raje ghět ñít gátô.
Mimsha make Raje have there cake.
'Mimsha made Raje have a cake.'

The test on (22) showed that there is no overt expressions for HAVE corresponds to P_{HAVE}.

4.2 Goal(Possessor)-Theme(Possesee) c-commanding relationship

- In possession, the possessor doesn't c-commands the possesee in [be + yi] structure:

- (29) ñfə mǎn_k ghět ju:ǰá-ǰi_k.
every child_k have dream-his_k.
'Every child_k has his_k own dream.'
- (30) *ju:ǰá-ǰi_k pâ yǐ: ñfə mǎn_k.
dream-his_k is that of every child_k.
intended: 'Every child_k has his_k own dream.'
- (31) Tá a_i pheann-fhéin ag chuile_i bhuachail.
is his pen-self at every boy_i
intended: 'Every boy has his pen.'

The properties of possessive pronoun 'yi' is unclear.

- In transfer-possession, goal c-commands theme, but not theme can also be bound by the subject.

- (32) a. Mimsha fā mkát-i nó ñfəǰə mǎn.
Mimsha_i gave phone-his_{i/k} phone to every child_k.
'Mimsha_i gave his_i own phone to every child.' or
'Mimsha gave every child_k his_k phone.'
- b. Mimsha fā mkát-rap nó ñfəǰə pǎn.
Mimsha gave phone-their_k to every child_k.
'Mimsha gave each child_k their_k phone.'
- c. Mimsha pó Raje_i fā mkáté-rap_{i/k} nó ngû pǎn_k.
Mimsha and Raje_i gave phone-their_{i/k} to all children_k.
'Mimsha and Raje_i gave their_i phone to all children.' or
'Mimsha and Raje gave every child_k their_k phone.'

- (33) Thug Míleó a, pheann-fhéin do chuile, bhuachail.
 gave Milo his pen-self to every boy.
 'Milo gave every boy his pen.' *'Milo gave his own pen to every boy.'

4.3 Non-possessive Benefactives

In Shupamem, the non-possessive Benefactives applicative is introduced through the verbal phrase 'fá nó':

- (34) Mimsha ʃíkět fá nó Raje.
 Mimsha speak give to Raje.
 'Mimsha spoke for Raje.'
- (35) Mimsha sũ: pànm fá nó Raje.
 Mimsha wash bag give to Raje.
 'Mimsha washed the bag for Raje'
- (36) Mimsha ɲɔ̀ùn gátô fá nó Raje.
 Mimsha buy cake give to Raje.
 'Mimsha bought a cake for Raje.'
- (37) Mimsha nóó nzú: fá nó Raje.
 Mimsha drink wine give to Raje.
 'Mimsha drank wine for Raje.'

'fá nó' 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 (34), the static verb in (35), and the consumption verb in (37)

So far, the non-possessive benefactive doesn't fit high/low applicative typology.

The structure of 'fá n'ə'

- 'fá nó' as one lexical unit?

Test of realis marker 'm-':

- (38) Mimsha jóng gátó fá nó Raje, ná Musa pié.
 Mimsha buy cake give to Raje, but Musa take.
 'Mimsha bought a cake for Raje, but Musa took it.'
- (39) Mimsha jóng gátó **m**-fá nó Raje, # ná Musa pie.
 Mimsha buy cake REAL-give to Raje, # but Musa take.
 'Mimsha bought a cake and gave it to Raje, # but Musa took it.'

'fá nó' is a verb phrase.

- 'fá nó' as a serial verb construction?

1. 'nó' can introduce an applicative, but doesn't receive benefactive meaning:

- (40) Mimsha ʃíkět nó Raje.
 Mimsha speak to Raje.
 'Mimsha spoke to Raje.'

- (41) Mimsha gbí wár-i nó Raje.
Mimsha cut body-his to Raje.
'Mimsha is worried about Raje.'

2. If 'fá nó' is only part of a SVC and the applicative is introduced by 'nó', then other verbs that have similar meaning to 'fá' should also be available.

- (42) a. Mimsha jóng gátô fá nó Raje.
Mimsha buy cake give to Raje.
'Mimsha bought a cake to give it to Raje.'
- b. Mimsha jóng gátô fá n óʃɛʃə nə Raje.
Mimsha buy cake transfer to Raje.
'Mimsha bought a cake to transfer it to Raje.'
- c. Mimsha jóng gátô ndét nó Raje.
Mimsha buy cake present to Raje.
'Mimsha bought a cake to present to Raje.'
- d. Mimsha jóng gátô me sadeka nó Raje.
Mimsha buy cake as donation to Raje.
'Mimsha bought a cake as a gift to Raje.'
- (43) a. Mimsha ʃikét fá nó Raje.
Mimsha speak give to Raje.
'Mimsha spoke on behalf of Raje.'
- b. Mimsha ʃikét nəʃɛʃə nə Raje.
Mimsha speak transfer to Raje.
'Mimsha spoke and transfer (it) to Raje.'
(Mimsha spoke and recorded it on a tape and transferred the tape to Raje.)
- c. Mimsha ʃikét ndét nə Raje.
Mimsha speak present to Raje.
'Mimsha spoke and showed it to Raje.' (Mimsha spoke and explained it to Raje.)
- d. Mimsha ʃikét me sadeka nə Raje.
Mimsha speak as donation to Raje.
'Mimsha spoke to donate to Raje.' (Mimsha made money by giving speech.
Mimsha gave that money to Raje.)

When the first verb in the sentence is intransitive, like 'speak', there is a null object being shared by V1 and V2. The SVC hypothesis seems promising that 'fá nó' forms a patient sharing SVC with the main verb when it introduces a BA to the sentence.

However, there are two problems with SVC analysis.

- Although all the sentences in (42) and (43) have recipient and concret beneficiary readings, only the sentences with 'fá' (42a and 43a) have the substitutive reading, suggesting that the the verb 'fá' has a different structure.

- Second, the Benefactive applicative is a high applicative that locates higher above VP. However, the BA is embedded in the VP in the SVC.

5 Conclusion

	Irish	Shupamem
Expressing Possession	P_{LOC} for locative P_{HAVE} for possession and transfer-possession	No locative 'ghet', 'be + yi' for possession ?? for transfer possession
goal<theme c-command	true for locative true transfer-possession	false for 'be+yi' possession optional for transfer possession
Non-possessional benefactives	Introduced by airson 'for' High Applicative	Introduced by 'fa ne' (give to) Doesn't fit the applicative typology

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

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