

Ditransitive constructions in Teop

Ulrike Mosel

University of Kiel, umosel@linguistik.uni-kiel.de; http://www.linguistik.uni-kiel.de/mosel_publicationen.htm¹

1 Teop

Austronesian, Oceanic, Meso-Melanesian, North-West Salomonic Group (Papua New Guinea, Bougainville)

Corpus: 165 000 Teop words; DoBeS-Programme, Volkswagen Foundation.

2. The coding of three participant events in Teop

In Teop, three participant events can be expressed by two kinds of constructions:

1. Secundative ditransitive constructions: syntactically ditransitive: R= primary object, T = secondary object
2. Indirective applicative constructions: syntactically transitive, R = Adjunct

Table 1: Secundative and Indirective constructions

construction type	prototypical example	
simple secundative construction	hee R _{primary obj.} T _{secondary obj.}	give s.o. s.th.
simple indirective construction	dee T (R _{adjunct})	carry, bring s.th. (somewhere)
derived secundative construction	dee ki R _{primary obj.} T _{secondary obj.}	bring s.o. s.th.
derived indirective construction	hee ni T (R _{adjunct})	give s.th. (to s.o.)

Table 2: Secundative constructions

syntactic function	subject	primary object	secondary object
semantic roles	Agent	Recipient	Theme
	Agent (speaker)	addressee	(message)
	Agent	Location	Theme
	Agent	Patient	(Instrument)
indexing	indexed	indexed	-
flagging	basic article	basic article/ object article	basic article/ object article

Table 3: Indirective constructions

syntactic function	subject	object	adjunct
semantic roles	Agent	Theme	Recipient
	Agent (speaker)	message	addressee
	Agent	Theme	Location
indexing	indexed	indexed	----
flagging	basic article	basic article/ object article	preposition

¹ Here you find downloadable papers and the Sketch Grammar of Teop

3. Coding properties of the ditransitive secundative construction

3.1 Basic constituent order

- (1) A_{subject} VC $R_{\text{prim.obj}}$ $T_{\text{sec.obj}}$
 [Me Toko] [paa hee] [bene Sookara] [bona overe].
 and.ART Toko [TAM give] [ART Sookara] [ART coconut]
 'Toko gave Sookara the coconut.' [Sia 1.68E]

Table 4: Constituent order in basic ditransitive clauses with *hee* 'give'

TOPIC	VC	non-topical arguments		number of hee -clauses
A_{subj}	VC	$R_{\text{prim.obj}}$	$T_{\text{sec.obj}}$	9
$R_{\text{prim.obj}}$	VC	A_{subj}	$T_{\text{sec.obj}}$	2
$T_{\text{sec.obj}}$	VC	A_{subj}	$R_{\text{prim.obj}}$	1
			TOTAL	12

- (2) $T_{\text{sec.obj}}$ VC A_{subj} $R_{\text{prim.obj}}$
 [O paku bona ve] [pasi hee ri vu]- [e] [bona banoasinae].
 ART feast DEM PART TAM give OBJ:3PL IM 3SG.SUB ART his relatives
 This feast he would give his relatives. [MLV 2.21R]
- (3) $T_{\text{sec.obj}}$ VC $R_{\text{prim.obj}}$ A_{subj} (R=1SG)
 [a inu] [na hee] [anaa] [e gavaman]
 ART house TAM give 1SG.OBJ ART government
 'The house was given to me by the government. [Pur. 2.28R]

3.2 Indexing

The verb complex:

NEG TAM ADV₁ V N SERIAL VERBS ADV₂ NEG APP / PREP ADV₃ OBJ DIR IM ADV₄ IMPF

NEG bipartite negation;

TAM tense, aspect mood marker;

ADV adverb;

V nucleus;

N incorporated noun;

APP applicative that promotes an adjunct or a secondary object to the position of the (primary) object;

OBJ object marker indexing the object or primary object;

DIR directional particle ('hither', 'thither');

IM clitic expressing that the event is of immediate relevance for what follows;

IMPF imperfective aspect marker, inflecting for person and number, cross-referencing the subject unless the primary object is a speech act participant and the subject a third person.

- (4) VC $R_{\text{prim.obj}}$ $T_{\text{sec.obj}}$
 ... me [paa hee ri] [bono vahara beiko] [bona booboo].
 ...and TAM give OBJ:3PL ART.PL little.PL child ART booboo
 '... and (he) gave the children the booboo-fish.' [pr. 5:23]

With 1SG and 1PL.EXC pronouns, the object marker can be extracted from the VC and prefixed to the pronoun (example 3, 5, 6).

3.3 Flagging

Basis article vs object article

Table 5: Flagging

SUBJECT	PRIMARY OBJECT	SECONDARY OBJECT
1 st or 2 nd person	1 st or 2 nd person	3 rd person/ basic article NP
1 st or 2 nd person	3 rd person/ basic article NP	object article NP
3 rd person/ basic article NP	1 st or 2 nd person	object article NP
3 rd person/ basic article NP	object article NP	object article NP

- (5) **Ean** [toro hee] **anaa** **a moon.**
 2SG.SUBJ must give 1SG.OBJ ART girl
 'You must give me the girl.' [Vae. 1.198R]
- (6) **Eori** [na hee roho] **anaa** **bona meha kiu.**
 3PL TAM give before 1SG.OBJ ART other job
 'They gave me another job.' [Rum. 1.234R]
- (7) **Meori** **paa hee** **bene Sookara** **bona peha kiu.**
 and.3PL TAM give ART Sookara ART one job
 'And they gave Sookara a job. [Sia. 1.185E]

4 Pronominal Recipients and Themes in ditransitive constructions

4.1 The third and the fourth person object pronouns

Table 6: third and fourth person object pronouns

	sg	pl
3 rd pers.	ee, i	ori
4 th pers.	bona, bari	bari

- (8) A VC R T
bean [hee komana nao nom] **ee** **bona**
 when.2SG give self thither IMPF:2SG 3SG.OBJ 4SG.OBJ
 'when you yourself give it to him.' (lit. 'give him it') [Aro. 5.134R]; cf. (33, 40)
- (9) A VC R T
me **subuava** [paa hee] **bona** **bona kehaa**
 and old.woman TAM give 4SG ART shell
 'and the old woman gave her a shell' [Aro. 4.51E]

- (10) R T
 *? **E**naa **p**asi **h**ee **vu-** **a**n **e**e.
 1SG.SUBJ TAM give OBJ:2SG 2SG 3SG.OBJ
 'I'll give it to you.'

See ellipsed secondary objects below.

4.2 The distinction between fourth person singular and plural forms

- (11) A VC R T
Me **r**au **m**e **r**oosuu [**p**aa **h**ee **ri**] **ba**ri **b**ono **a**vuin,
 and- so and.ART giant TAM give OBJ:3PL 4PL OBJ.ART *avu*in
 'And so the giant gave **them** the *avu*in.' [Aro. 10.81E]
- (12) A VC R T
Erau, **m**eori **p**aa **dao**² **ba**ri **b**ene **A**velaua.
 so and.3PL.SUBJ TAM call 4SG/PL OBJ.ART Avelaua
 'And so they called **her** Avelaua.' [Sta. 1.40E]

Table 7: Agreement patterns of the fourth person pronoun

	4 th pers. sg. primary object	4 th pers. pl. primary object
with 3 rd person <u>singular</u> subject	bona (4SG) 'him/her/it'	bari (4PL) 'them'
with 3 rd person <u>plural</u> subject	bari (4SG/PL) 'him/her/it'	bari (4PL) 'them'

4.3 Construction split: pronominal themes as primary objects

- (13) S VC T_{prim.obj} R_{sec.obj}
Ean [**p**aa **p**ahin **h**ee **k**oa] **i** **b**ene **c**aptain.
 2SG TAM immediately just 3SG.OBJ OBJ.ART captain
 You just immediately give it to the captain [Pur. 2.18R].
- (14) ***bona** **a** **c**aptain
 *4SG.OBJ BASIC.ART captain
- (15) S VC T_{prim.obj} R_{sec.obj}
eori **r**e- [**p**aa **h**ee] **ba**ri **b**ene **t**ama-**r**iori.
 3PL then- TAM give 4SG/PL ART father-their
 'Then they give it to their father.' [MLV 2.18R]

Selection of **bona** vs **bari** for secondary objects solely depends on the number of the secondary object. See below (38, 40)

² For lack of an example with **hee** 'give s.o. s.th.', we chose a clause with **dao** v.dt. 'call s.o. s.th.' in which the recipient of a name is the primary object and the name the secondary object.

5. Behavioral properties of ditransitive constructions

5.1 Ellipsis

- (16) 'The next day, the woman went down and saw that one fish was missing, (she) only saw four. And (she) said, "Where did the other one go?"
The woman went back. The man, in turn, went down to spear another one. (He) carried it home.'

Taembona, a otei [paa hee ovosi vakavara koa- u] bona iana.
 time DEM ART man TAM give whole completely just IM ART fish

'This time, the man just gave (her) the fish completely whole. [Ata. 1.63-71R]

Table 8: Ellipsis

ellipsed argument	clause structure	number of ex.	clause structure	number#of ex.
A	hee R T	1	-----	-
R	hee S T	3	S hee T	3
T	hee S R	-	S hee R	8
T			R hee S	1

Ellipsis of topical $R_{\text{prim.obj}}$

- (17) ADJUNCT VC A T
Nomana hee maa ri- ori bona taba an
 today give hither IMPF:3PL 3PL.SUBJ OBJ.ART food

(Sookara belongs to two clans³, to Varosi's and Rigamu's side.)

Today they give (him) food.. [Sia. 1.199-200E]

Ellipsis of non-topical $T_{\text{sec.obj}}$

- (18) "Ehe! O avuin mataa ta haa!" PAUSE

eh ART avuin good EMPH ha

A V $R_{\text{prim.obj}}$

O- re hee bona meha,
 3SG then give OBJ.ART other

"Eh! The avuin is good!" Then he gave (it) to another one, ...' [Aro. 10.75-77]

Ellipsis of A and non-topical $T_{\text{sec.obj}}$

- (19) **Erau, e subunae paa kovata bona maa muu**
 and.so ART old.woman TAM roast OBJ.ART PL taro

VC R

me- paa hee bona.
 and TAM give 4SG

'And so, his grandmother roasted taro and gave him (them).' [San. 1.93R]

³ Lit. 'is in the care of two clans'.

5.2 Relativisation

Wordorder with a relativised object: REL_{object} VC SUBJECT OBJECT

(20) relativised T_{sec.obj}

	T _{sec.obj}	VC		A _{subj}		R _{prim.obj}			
...	o	konobo	teve	vai	to	hee roho	e	subunae	bona.
...	ART	oil	her	DEM	REL	give before	ART	grandmother	4SG

'her oil (container) that her grandmother had given her.' [Nah. 2.35-36E]

Change in wordorder with 1SG/2SG Recipients: REL_{object} VC OBJECT SUBJECT

(21)

		T _{sec.obj}	VC		R _{prim.obj}		A _{subj}			
...	bona	maa	si	taba	vai	to	heehee	amaraara ⁴	ori	ei.
...	OBJ.ART	PL	litte	thing	DEM	REL	RED.give	1PL.INC.OBJ	3.PLSUBJ	here

'... the little things that they give us here.' [Vos. 1.95-96R]

Focus construction

(22)

		T _{sec.obj}		VC		R _{prim.obj}		A _{subj}
	Bero	a	maa	kiu	to	hee	anaa	ori
	many	ART	PL	job	REL	give	1SG.OBJ	3PL.SUBJ

'Many jobs they offered me.' [Pur. 2.376R]

Constituent questions

(23)

		T _{sec.obj}		VC		A _{subj}		R _{prim.obj}
	Tae	to	hee	ri-ori	bari?			
	what	REL	give	IMPF-3PL	4SG/PL			

'What do they give him?' [Kae. 3.219R]

5.3 Reciprocalisation

va-hee-hee ni 'give a.th. to each other; exchange s.th.

(24) **A meha hee bona meha.**
ART other give ART other

		A		VC				T _{obj}
Me-	ori	[vaheehee	petepete	bata	ni	nao]	bari.	
and-	3PL	REC.give	continuously	along	APP	thither	4SG/PL	

'One gave (it) to another one. And they passed it from person to person.' [Aro. 10.33E]

(25) **Eori vaamahaka maa-ri bono paku vai**
3PL cook DIR-IMPF:3PL ART feast DEM
to kahi ma vaheehee ni ri- ori.
REL TAM come REC.give APP IMPF:3PL 3PL

They cook this feast that they bring and exchange;
(lit. ... that come give each other they') [Vos. 2.356R]

⁴ PRONOUN *amaraara* = a-maa-ra-ara, ara = OBJ: INC, maa = DIR, -ara = PRON: INC.

5.4 Incorporation of T_{sec.obj}

- (26) R_{prim.obj} VC-T_{incorporated} A
Ei a tavaan vaarii to [hee hena nao] ori.
 DEM ART people DEM REL give name thither 3PL
 That is the people whom they give the names. [Kae. 3.351R]

5.5 Quantifier float

post-verbal **vakavara** 'all' quantifies T_{sec.obj}

- (27) **Me- paa heehee va- kavara anaa bona marasin.**
 and TAM give ADV⁵-all 1SG.OBJ ART medicine
 And (he) gave me all the medicine. [Pur. 2.193R]

pre-verbal **kavara** 'all' quantifies A_{subj}

- (28) **Me- ori [paa kavara nao].**
 and 3PL.SUBJ TAM all go
 'And they all went.' [Mor. 2.25]

6 The indirective applicative construction of *hee ni* 'give'

No specific recipient:

- (29) T_{obj} VC A
[A maa iana bara maa meha taba] [hee ni nao nom] [nam]
 ART PL fish and PL other thing give APP DIR IMPF 1EXC.PL
 'Fish and other things we gave' [Pur. 2.272R]

Pragmatic function: Theme= second Topic

In an interview about a ceremony which requires the people to exchange pigs:

- (30) A_{subj} VC T_{obj} R_{adjunct}
E Davita [na hee ni nao] bene guu teve te Vivite.
 ART David TAM give APP DIR ART pig PREP.3SG PREP.ART Vivite.
 'David gave his pig to Vivite.' [Vos. 2.100R]

In an interview about the food for the boys during the initiation rituals:

- (31) A_{subj} VC T_{obj} ADJUNCT_R
eroi to [hee ni nao- ri] [bona tabaani] [vo kuri riori],
 3PL REL give APP DIR IMPF ART food GOAL hand- their
 (... our mothers,) it is them who give the food into their hands [Bua. 1.221-222R]

Secundative **hee**-construction: 73

Indirective **hee-ni** construction: 35 with 17 **hee-ni** construction + R_{adjunct}

⁵ va- prefix deriving adverbs from verbal and adjectival bases.

7 Secundative constructions with other verbs than *hee* 'give'

Table 9: Ditransitive verbs

verb			semantic role of OBJ1	semantic role of OBJ2
dao	ditr.	'call s.o. s.th.'	recipient	theme
koa	ditr.	'pour s.o. s.th. (to drink)'	recipient	theme
hivi	ditr.	'ask s.o. s.th.'	addressee	question
bana	ditr.	'spread s.th. on s.th.'	place	theme
havi	ditr.	'rub s.o./s.th. with s.th.'	place	theme
koma	ditr.	'pour s.th. on s.th.'	place	theme
ramana	ditr.	'sprinkle s.th. with s.th.'	place	theme
tasu	ditr.	'throw s.th. at s.o./s.th.'	place	theme
asun	tr., ditr	'hit, kill s.o. with s.th.'	patient	(instrument)
nahu	intr., tr., ditr.	'cook s.th. with s.th.'	patient	(instrument)
paku	tr., ditr.	'make s.th. from s.th.'	patient	(instrument)
gono	tr., ditr.	'get s.th. with s.th.'	theme	(instrument)

- (32) VC R_{prim.obj} T_{sec.obj}
me paa koa ri bari bona pidaa a huun a hihivaa.
 and TAM pour OBJ:3PL 4PL ART water.from.cooked.potatoes ART hot
 'and served (lit. poured) them the – the hot water from cooked sweet potatoes.' [Aro. 3.7R]

- (33) A VC R_{prim.obj} T_{sec.obj}
Pesu ta veraka. Ean re tasu nao e bona.
 pick NSPEC.ART ripe.breadfruit 2SG.SUBJ then throw thither 3SG.OBJ 4SG.OBJ
 'Pick a ripe breadfruit. Then you throw it at him.'
 (lit. 'Then you throw him it.') [Jen. 1.69E]

- (34) A VC P_{prim.obj} I_{sec.obj}
Me- ori asun bari bona maa ipoana te- ori.
 and 3PL kill 4SG/PL ART PL stone.axe PREP-3PL
 And they hit him with their weapons. [Sii. 6.508R]

- (35) A VC P_{prim.obj} I_{sec.obj}
a- re [ma nahu] [a guu vai] [bona tahii].
 1INC.PL so.that come cook ART pig DEM ART saltwater
 '(You must fetch some saltwater
 so that we can cook this pig (with) the saltwater.' [Mat. 1.68R]

8 Applicative constructions with ditransitive verbs other than *hee*

- (36) VC P_{prim.obj}
a beiko vai to [paa tasu ni ma- u] bona veraka.
 ART childqDEM REL TAM throw APP DIR- IM ART overripe.breadfruit.
 '... that child that had thrown an overripe breadfruit.' [Jen. 1.66E]]

- (37) OBJ instrument VC SUBJ
a - maa meha nahu to [nahu- nahu ni] e
 ART PL other pot REL RED- cook APP 3SG
 'the other pots that she cooked with' [Iar. 2.8R]

9 Derived secundative constructions

9.1 Causative constructions

- (38) Causee_{prim.obj} VC A P_{sec.obj}
[A- maa tobara subuava] he [kahi vaa- ani ri ri]- ori bona.
 ART PL group old.woman but TAM CAUS eat OBJ IMPF 3PL.OBJ 4SG
 The old women, they would make them eat it. [Bua. 1.24R]
- (39) **me- ori paa vaa-penapena bari bona hio te- o kasuana.**
 and- 3PL TAM CAUS-forbidden 4SG/PL ART sit PREP-ART ground
 'and they forbid him (the chiefly child) to sit on the ground.' [Kor. 1.5R]

9.2 Ditransitive constructions with incorporated prepositions

Table 10: Ditransitive verbs with incorporated prepositions

incorporated preposition		simple VC		VC + Prep	
kahi	from	gono v.dt.	get s.th. with s.th. (instrument)	gono kahi v.dt	get s.th. from s.o./s.th.
ki	to	dee v.t.	carry, take, bring s.th.	dee ki v.dt.	bring, give s.th. to s.o.
ki	for	gono v.dt.	get s.th. with s.th. (instrument)	gono ki v.dt.	get s.th. for. s.o.
ki	for	paku v.dt.	make s.th. from s.th.	paku ki v.dt.	make s.th. for s.o.
me	with	verete v.t.	mix	verete me v.dt.	mix s.th. with
suku	following	mosi v.dt.	cut s.th. with s.th.	mosi suku v.dt.	cut s.th. according to s.o's instructions

- (40) recipient/benefactive preposition **ki**

A VC R_{prim.obj} T_{sec.obj}
Me teiee to [paa dee ki ma- u vu]- an bona?
 and who REL tam bring to DIR- IM OBJ:2SG 2.SG.OBJ 4SG
 And who gave it to you? [Aro. 11.66E]

- (41) A VC R_{prim.obj} T_{sec.obj}
Me- ori [paa paku ki-ri] bari bona peha tabaan.
 and 3PL TAM make for OBJ 4SG/PL ART some food

And they made some food for them, the young men, [Sii. 6.481-482R]

- (42) A VC X_{prim.obj} P_{sec.obj}
o- re paa mosi suku maa bari bona
 3SG/PL- so.that TAM cut following DIR 4SG/PL 4SG
 'so that they cut it as he wants it' (lit. 'so that they cut it following him') [Tah. 2.22R]

9.3 Triple transitive constructions with incorporated prepositions

- (43) simple ditransitive construction

Me- paa mono vamataa bona bono karirava.
 and TAM wrap well 4SG ART *karirava*

And wrapped it well into a *karirava* leaf. [Ata. 1.81E]

- (44) triple transitive construction derived by preposition incorporation

VC R P I
me- [paa mono vamataa ki] bene mutanae bono hum teve bono karirava,
 and TAM wrap well for ART his.wife ART piece her ART *karirava*

'and properly wrapped a piece for his wife into a *karirava* leaf,' [Ata. 1.53-54E]

9.4 Secundative constructions derived by verb-serialisation

- (45) **E suunano he mee oha koa ri bari bona otei**
 ART chief when lead pass just OBJ 4PL ART man

When the chief was leading the man past them, [Aro. 7.121E]

- (46) **me- ori paa taneo**
 and 3PL TAM start

VC X_{prim.obj} T_{sec.obj}
tea [koma murimurina bata ni nao] bari bona revasin ne guu.
 to pour follow along APP thither 4SG/PL ART blood of.ART pig

'they (followed him and) started pouring the pig's blood behind him.'

'they started to pour following him the pig's blood.' [Aro. 7.122E]