The Typology of Double Object Constructions in Guadeloupean Creole

Erin Karnatz University at Buffalo ekkarnat@buffalo.edu

April 15, 2024

This paper offers a typological take on the kinds of constructions that obtain with ditransitive verbs in Guadeloupean Creole. There is significant crosslinguistic variation in how ditransitive verbs are expressed in different languages [2]. They can either be used within (1) Double Object Constructions (DOC), (2) Indirect Object Constructions (IOC) and/or (3) Serial Verb Constructions (SVC). English-based Creoles of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans unsurprisingly feature DOCs given the constructions availability in the lexifier. However, other English-based creoles, such as those spoken in Indonesia or Melanasia, do not utilize DOCs. Similarly, DOCs are available in French-based Creoles, like Guadeloupean (1), even though only IOCs are licensed in French (2)-(3).

- GC. I ba Mari on kado 3sG give Mary IND gift
 'S/he gave Mary a gift'
- (2) Fr. *Il a donne Marie un cadeau 3SG.M AUX give IND Mary INDF gift 'He gave Mary a gift'
- (3) Fr. Il a donne un cadeau à Marie
 3SG.M AUX give IND gift PREP Mary
 'He gave a gift to Mary'

Guadeloupean Creole additionally presents the typical IOC where the indirect object is introduced by a preposition (4); a construction that may alternate with a DOC (5) as in English.

- (4) I fè sa pou mwen 3sG make that PREP 1sG 'S/he made that for me'
- (5) I fè mwen sa 3sg make 1sg that 'S/he made me that' or 'S/he did this to me'

Along with these two constructions, Guadeloupean also inherits SVCs from its African roots. SVCs occupy a special class within ditransitive constructions since they constitute a linguistic strategy to integrate an additional argument (6). As such, non-give verbs participating in Guadeloupean SVCs are not necessarily ditransitive initially. They may be intransitive or transitive integrating a recipient into its internal arguments. Indeed only a semantically defined class, namely animate recipients and beneficiaries, are generally integrated within the *bay*-SVCs in Guadeloupean.

(6) I fè sa ban mwen 3sG make that give 1sG 'S/he made that for me' Our take here differs from previous analyses where bay is assumed to have grammaticalized into a preposition in Guadeloupean Creole [1, 3]. The existence of (5) vs (6) supports the SVC analysis where ban mwen in (5) is semantically a recipient or a beneficiary while in (5) pou mwen can be read as a causee. In fact, the preposition pou can select other kinds of arguments including non-animates and temporal. Syntactic operations that usually determine monoclausality of (5) like fronting or cliticization, are either not sufficient or do not provide a clear diagnosis. TAM marking, on the other hand, provide a better diagnostic for monoclausality. As such Guadeloupean patterns with English in being a mixed type language [2] where both DOCs and IOCs are possible while also featuring African-like SVCs, highlighting its hybrid nature.

References

- [1] Hector Poulet Danièle Bernini-Montbrand Ralph Ludwig and Sylviane Telchid. Dictionnaire Créole/Francais; avec un lexique francais-créole et un abrégé de grammaire (4th ed). Orphie, 2012.
- [2] Susanne Michaelis and Martin Haspelmath. "Ditransitive constructions: Creole languages in a cross-linguistic perspective". In: *Creolica* (2003), pp. 1–16.
- [3] Susanne Maria Michaelis et al., eds. *APiCS Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, 2013. URL: http://apics-online.info.