

## Ditransitives in Hawaiian

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### Aims

- (1) a. To show that Hawaiian ditransitive constructions are potentially analytically ambiguous: direct objects look superficially like prepositional phrases, so indirect objects might be either syntactic objects or prepositional phrases.
  - b. To argue that Hawaiian ditransitives appear to be structurally unambiguous, but to involve a category that is somewhere between a DP and a PP.
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### The problem

- (2) **Typical transitive verbs**—note the *i*-marked objects

- a. Ua pe‘e ‘o pāpā i ke kinipōpō  
PAST hide NOM father *i* the ball  
‘Father hid the ball’
- b. Ua pani ‘o pāpā i ka puka  
PAST close NOM father *i* the door  
‘Father closed the door’
- c. Ua heluhelu ka wahine i ka puke  
PAST read the woman *i* the book  
‘The woman read the book’
- d. Ua kākau ‘o māmā i nā leka  
PAST write NOM mother *i* the.PL letter  
‘Mother wrote the letters’
- e. Ua kīloi ke kanaka i nā kinipōpō  
PAST throw the man *i* the.PL ball  
‘The man threw the balls’

- f. Ua ho‘iho‘i ka wahine i ka puke  
 PAST return the woman *i* the book  
 ‘The woman returned the book’

(3) **Typical prepositional phrases**—note the *i*-marked location

- a. Ua ala ka wahine i ke kakahiaka  
 PAST awake the woman *i* the morning  
 ‘The woman awoke in the morning’ temporal
- b. Ua mohala nā pua i ke aumoe  
 PAST opened the.PL flower *i* the sleep-time  
 ‘The flowers opened in the night’ temporal
- c. Ua ho‘i ka pēpē i ka hīamoe  
 PAST return the baby *i* the sleep  
 ‘The child went [lit.: returned] to sleep’ direction
- d. Ua hele ka ‘īlio i ka hale  
 PAST go the dog *i* the house  
 ‘The dog went to the house’ direction
- e. Ua noho ka pōpoki i ka hale  
 PAST sit the cat *i* the house  
 ‘The cat sat/stayed in the house’ location
- f. Ua hīmeni nā manu i nā māla  
 PAST sing the.PL bird *i* the.PL garden  
 ‘The birds sang in the gardens’ location

(4) **Typical ditransitive verbs**—note the *i*-marked indirect and direct objects

- a. Ua hā‘awi ‘o pāpā i ke kinipōpō i ke keiki  
 PAST give NOM father *i* the ball *i* the child  
 ‘Father gave the ball to the child’
- b. Ua hō‘ike ‘o pāpā i ka puka i ke keiki  
 PAST show NOM father *i* the door *i* the child  
 ‘Father show the door to the child’
- c. Ua heluhelu ka wahine i ka puke i ka luahine  
 PAST read the woman *i* the book *i* the old woman  
 ‘The woman read the book to the old woman’
- d. Ua ho‘ouna ‘o māmā i nā leka i ka hoaloha  
 PAST send NOM mother *i* the.PL letter *i* the friend  
 ‘Mother sent the letters to the friend’
- e. Ua kīloi ke kanaka i nā kinipōpō i nā keiki  
 PAST throw the man *i* the.PL ball *i* the.PL child  
 ‘The man threw the balls to the children’

- f. Ua ho‘iho‘i ka wahine i ka puke i nā luahine  
 PAST return the woman *i* the book *i* the.PL old woman  
 ‘The woman returned the book to the old women’

(5) ( **All three can cooccur**

- a. Ua hā‘awi ‘o pāpā i ke kinipōpō i ke keiki i ke kakahiaka  
 PAST give NOM father *i* the ball *i* the child *i* the morning  
 ‘Father gave the ball to the child in the morning’
- b. Ua kīloi ke kanaka i nā kinipōpō i nā keiki i nā māla  
 PAST throw the man *i* the.PL ball *i* the.PL child *i* the.PL garden  
 ‘The man threw the balls to the children in the gardens’ )

(6) **Problem**

- a. *i* DP = ACC DP  
*i* DP = PP
- b. Therefore two parses of ditransitives are conceivable:
- c. V + ACC DP + ACC DP  
 Ua ho‘iho‘i ka wahine i ka puke i nā luahine  
 PAST return the woman ACC the book ACC the.PL old woman  
 ‘The woman returned the book to the old women’
- d. V + ACC DP + PP  
 Ua ho‘iho‘i ka wahine i ka puke i nā luahine  
 PAST return the woman ACC the book P the.PL old woman  
 ‘The woman returned the book to the old women’

(7) **Claim**

- a. The properties of Hawaiian ditransitives are intermediary between a double object and a prepositional construction. However, positing both structures over generates. Instead, Hawaiian appears to possess only one ditransitive construction, but its properties are mixed.
- b. (Note: we’ve used English DP+PP to mimic the Hawaiian word order, not to imply a claim about the Hawaiian structures.)

## Evidence

(8) **Construction I: passivization in ditransitives**

a. Hawaiian has a passive:

- (i) Ua nahu ka ‘īlio i ke keiki ~ Ua nahu ‘ia ke keiki (e  
 PAST bite the dog *i* the boy PAST bite PASS the child (by  
 ka ‘īlio)  
 the dog)  
 ‘The dog bit the child’ ~ ‘The child was bitten (by the dog)’
- (ii) Ua pe‘e ‘ia ke kinipōpō (e pāpā)  
 PAST hide PASS the ball (by father)  
 ‘The ball was hidden (by father)’ cf (2a)
- (iii) Ua pani ‘ia ka puka (e pāpā)  
 PAST close PASS the door (by father)  
 ‘The door was closed (by father)’ cf (2b)

b. As in English, both direct and indirect objects of transitives can be subjects of passives:

- (i) Ua hō‘ike ‘o pāpā i ka ‘īlio i ke keiki  
 PAST show NOM father *i* the dog *i* the child  
 ‘Father showed the dog to the child’  
 (also ‘Father showed the child to the dog’)
- (ii) Ua hō‘ike ‘ia ka ‘īlio i ke keiki  
 PAST show PASS the dog *i* the child  
 ‘The dog was shown to the child’  
 (also ‘The dog was shown the child’)
- (iii) Ua hō‘ike ‘ia ke keiki i ka ‘īlio  
 PAST show PASS the child *i* the dog  
 ‘The child was shown the dog’  
 (also ‘The child was shown to the dog’)

c. Similarly (note the allomorph of *i* that occurs before pronouns and proper names is *iā*):

- (i) Ua ho‘olauna ‘o pāpā iā Pua iā Lani  
 PAST introduced NOM father *i* Pua *i* Lani  
 ‘Father introduced Pua to Lani’  
 (also ‘Father introduced Lani to Pua’)
- (ii) Ua hō‘ike ‘ia ka ‘īlio i ke keiki  
 PAST show PASS the dog *i* the child

‘The dog was shown to the child’

(also ‘The dog was shown the child’)

- (iii) Ua hō‘ike ‘ia ke keiki i ka ‘īlio  
PAST show PASS the child *i* the dog  
‘The child was shown the dog’

(also ‘The child was shown to the dog’)

d. But this is not possible with prepositional *i*:

- (i) Ua pepehi ‘o Pua i ka ‘īlio i ke aumoe  
PAST kill NOM Pua *i* the dog in the night  
‘Pua killed the dog in the night’

- (ii) Ua pepehi ‘ia ka ‘īlio i ke aumoe  
PAST kill PASS the dog in the night  
‘The dog was killed in the night’

- (iii) \*Ua pepehi ‘ia ke aumoe i ka ‘īlio  
PAST kill PASS the night *i* the dog  
‘The dog was killed in the night’

(Only possible as #‘The night was killed in the dog’)

e. ( Note: this isn’t because of temporal phrases cannot be subject of passive verbs. That they can be is shown below:

- (i) Ua pailani ‘o Pua i ke kakahiaka  
PAST praise NOM Pua *i* the morning  
‘Pua praised the morning’

- (ii) Ua pailani ‘ia ke kakahiaka  
PAST praise PASS the morning  
‘The morning was praised’

(9) **Construction II: passivization with NP objects**

a. Instead of using a full DP as the direct object, one can omit case marking and the definite article (*i ka/ke/nā*). This yields VOS, instead of VSO order:

- (i) Ua pe‘e kinipōpō ‘o pāpā  
PAST ball hide NOM father  
‘Father ball-hid’ cf (2a)

- (ii) Ua pani puka ‘o pāpā  
PAST close door NOM father  
‘Father door-closed’ cf (2b)

- (iii) Ua heluhelu puke ka wahine  
PAST read book the woman  
‘The woman book-read’ cf (2c)

- (iv) Ua ‘ōlelo hawai‘i ke keiki  
 PAST speak Hawaiian the child  
 ‘The child spoke Hawaiian’
- b. NP behaves as if constituent with the verb (*i.e.*, one can capture the distribution by supposing that Hawaiian has VP-movement and that NPs must, while DPs cannot, stay within VP). (Note: sentences (iii)/(v) are provided for comparison with (ii)/(iv), to illustrate the placement of adverbs/GER when the object is a full DP.)
- (i) E heluhelu (\*nei) puke nei ka wahine  
 PRES read (\*PROG) book PROG the woman  
 ‘The woman is book-reading’
- (ii) Ua pepehi (\*wikiwiki) nene wikiwiki ka wahine  
 PRES killed (\*quickly) goose quickly the woman  
 ‘The woman quickly goose-killed’
- (iii) Ua pepehi wikiwiki ka wahine i ka nene  
 PRES killed quickly the woman *i* the goose  
 ‘The woman quickly killed the goose’
- (iv) ‘O ka heluhelu (\*‘ana) puke ‘ana kā ka wahine e hana  
 NOM the read (\*GER) book GER POSS the woman PRES do  
 nei  
 PROG  
 ‘It is book-reading that the woman is doing’
- (v) ‘O ka heluhelu ‘ana i ka puke (\*‘ana) kā ka wahine e hana nei  
 NOM the read GER *i* the book (\*GER) POSS the woman PRES do PROG  
 ‘It is reading the book that the woman is doing’
- c. No objects are permitted with ditransitives:
- (i) Ua heluhelu ke kumu i ka puke i ka papa  
 PAST read the teacher *i* the book *i* the class  
 ‘The teacher read the book to the class’
- (ii) Ua heluhelu puke ke kumu i ka papa  
 PAST read book the teacher *i* the class  
 ‘The teacher book-read to the class’
- (iii) Ua ho‘ouna leka ‘o māmā i ka hoaloha  
 PAST send letter NOM mother *i* the friend  
 ‘Mother letter-sent to the friend’ cf (4d)
- (iv) Ua kīloi kinipōpō ke kanaka i nā keiki  
 PAST throw ball the man *i* the.PL child  
 ‘The man ball-threw to the children’ cf (4e)

- d. Interestingly, the remaining *i*-marked argument, the indirect object, can still be made the subject of the passivized verb-cum-NP-object. In this case, the indirect object loses its *i*:
- (i) Ua heluhelu puke ‘ia ka papa  
PAST read book PASS the class  
‘The class was book-read to’
  - (ii) Ua ho‘ouna leka ‘ia ka hoaaloha  
PAST send letter PASS the friend  
‘The friend was letter-sent’ cf (4d)
  - (iii) Ua kīloi kinipōpō ‘ia nā keiki  
PAST throw ball PASS the.PL child  
‘The children were ball-thrown’ cf (4e)
- e. By contrast, prepositional *i* in the same position cannot be so passivized:
- (i) Ua heluhelu ke kumu *i* ka puke *i* ka pō  
PAST read the teach *i* the book *i* the night  
‘The teacher read the book in the night’
  - (ii) \*Ua heluhelu puke ‘ia ka pō  
PAST read book PASS the night  
‘There was book-reading in the night’  
(Only as #‘The night was book-read to’)
  - (iii) \*Ua heluhelu puke ‘ia ka hale  
PAST read book PASS the house  
‘The house was book-read in’

(10) **Construction III: clefting and resumption**

- a. In argument clefts, the argument occurs in a copula-like construction with *ka mea* ‘the thing’ modified by a possessive-like relative clause ( $\bar{a}$ ), in the presence of the subject, containing a postverbal resumptive (*ai*). (Note that the constituent order in the relative clause is SV, if the subject is present.)
- (i) ‘O ka wahine ka mea *i* heluhelu *ai* *i* ka puke *i* ka  
NOM the woman the thing PAST.REL read RES *i* the book *i* the  
luahine  
old woman  
‘It’s the woman that read the book to the old woman’ cf (4c)
  - (ii) ‘O ka puke ka mea  $\bar{a}$  ka wahine *i* heluhelu *ai* *i*  
NOM the book the thing POSS the woman PAST.REL read RES *i*  
ka luahine  
the old woman  
‘It’s the book that the woman read to the old woman’ cf (4c)

- b. Indirect objects behave just like other arguments:
- (i) ‘O ka luahine ka mea ā ka wahine i heluhelu  
 NOM the old woman the thing POSS the woman PAST.REL read  
 ai i ka puke  
 RES *i* the book  
 ‘It’s the old woman that the woman read the book to’ cf (4c)
- (ii) ‘O ke keiki ka mea ā pāpā i hō‘ike ai i ka puka  
 NOM the child the thing POSS father PAST.REL show RES *i* the door  
 ‘It’s the child that father show the door’ cf (4b)
- (iii) ‘O ka hoaaloha ka mea ā māmā i ho‘ouna ai i  
 NOM the friend the thing POSS mother PAST.REL send RES *i*  
 nā leka  
 the.PL letter  
 ‘It’s the friend that mother send the letters to’
- c. However, this type of cleft is not possible with the complements of prepositional *i*:
- (i) E hele nei ka ‘īlio i Pua  
 PRES go PROG the dog to Pua  
 ‘The dog went to Pua’
- (ii) ??‘O Pua ka mea ā ka ‘īlio i hele ai  
 NOM Pua the thing POSS the dog PAST.REL go RES  
 ‘It’s Pua that the dog went to’
- (iii) \*‘O nā māla nā mea ā nā manu i  
 NOM the.PL garden the.PL thing POSS the.PL bird PAST.REL  
 hīmeni ai  
 sing RES  
 ‘It’s the gardens that birds sang in’ (but fine with *wahi* ‘place’ for *mea* ‘thing’) cf (3f)
- (iv) \*‘O i nā māla nā mea ā nā manu i  
 NOM *i* the.PL garden the.PL thing POSS the.PL bird PAST.REL  
 hīmeni (ai)  
 sing (RES)  
 ‘It’s in the gardens that birds sang’ cf (3f)

(11) **Construction IV: prepositional *ma***

- a. Prepositional *i* varies with *ma*
- (i) Ua ala ka wahine ma ke kakahiaka  
 PAST awake the woman P the morning  
 ‘The woman awoke in the morning’ temporal, cf (3a)

- (ii) Ua hīmeni nā manu ma nā māla  
 PAST sing the.PL bird P the.PL garden  
 ‘The birds sang in the gardens’ location, cf (3f)
- (iii) Ua ho‘i ka pēpē ma ka hīamoe  
 PAST return the baby P the sleep  
 ‘The child went [lit.: returned] to sleep’ cf (3c)
- (iv) Ua hele ka ‘īlio ma ka hale  
 PAST go the dog P the house  
 ‘The dog went to the house’ cf (3d)
- b. Such variation is impossible with indirect objects
- (i) \*Ua hā‘awi ‘o pāpā i ke kinipōpō ma ke keiki  
 PAST give NOM father *i* the ball P the child  
 ‘Father gave the ball to the child’ cf (4a)
- (ii) \*Ua ho‘ouna ‘o māmā i nā leka ma ka hoaaloha  
 PAST send NOM mother *i* the.PL letter P the friend  
 ‘Mother sent the letters to the friend’ cf (4d)
- (iii) \*Ua hō‘ike ‘o pāpā i ka puka ma ke keiki  
 PAST show NOM father *i* the door P the child  
 ‘Father show the door to the child’ cf (4b)  
 (cf, #‘Father showed the door, located on the child’)
- (iv) \*Ua heluhelu ka wahine i ka puke ma ka luahine  
 PAST read the woman *i* the book P the old woman  
 ‘The woman read the book to the old woman’ cf (4c)  
 (cf, #‘The woman read the book, located on the old woman’)

(12) **Construction V: fronting**

- a. With respect to front, indirect objects pattern with PPs:
- (i) Ua hā‘awi ‘o pāpā i ke kinipōpō i ke keiki i ke kakahiaka  
 PAST give NOM father *i* the ball *i* the child *i* the morning  
 ‘Father gave the ball to the child in the morning’
- (ii) I ke kakahiaka ua hā‘awi ‘o pāpā i ke kinipōpō i ke keiki  
*i* the morning PAST give NOM father *i* the ball *i* the child  
 ‘In the morning, the father gave the ball to the child’
- (iii) I ke keiki ua hā‘awi ‘o pāpā i ke kinipōpō i ke kakahiaka  
*i* the child PAST give NOM father *i* the ball *i* the morning  
 ‘(To) the child, the father gave the ball in the morning’
- b. Other arguments behave differently in requiring the cleft construction discussed above:

- (i) \*I ke kinipōpō ua hā‘awi ‘o pāpā i ke keiki i ke kakahiaka  
*i* the ball PAST give NOM father *i* the child *i* the morning  
 ‘The ball, the father gave to the child in the morning’
- (ii) ‘O ke kinipōpō ka mea ā pāpā i hā‘awi i ke keiki  
 NOM the ball the thing POSS father PAST.REL give *i* the child  
*i* ke kakahiaka  
*i* the morning  
 ‘It’s the ball that father gave to the child in the morning’
- c. To reiterate: when indirect objects exploit the cleft construction, they behave like argument DPs (losing *i* and being resumed by *ai*):
- (i) ‘O ke keiki ka mea ā pāpā i hā‘awi i ke kinipōpō  
 NOM the child the thing POSS father PAST.REL give *i* the ball  
*i* ke kakahiaka  
*i* the morning  
 ‘It’s the child that father gave the ball to in the morning’
- (ii) \*‘O i ke keiki ka mea ā pāpā i hā‘awi i ke  
 NOM to the child the thing POSS father PAST.REL give *i* the  
 kinipōpō i ke kakahiaka  
 ball *i* the morning  
 ‘It’s to the child that father gave the ball in the morning’

(13) **Conclusion**

- a. If Hawaiian ditransitives are uniformly  $V + \text{ACC DP} + \text{ACC DP}$ , we can account for Constructions I, II, III, IV, but not V.
- b. If Hawaiian ditransitives are uniformly  $V + \text{ACC DP} + \text{PP}$ , we can account for Construction V, but not I, II, III, IV.
- c. Note, though, that the preponderance of evidence favors the double object construction. Furthermore, if there were a PP construction, we would actually predict the opposite facts from IV: *ma* should be acceptable, at least with more obviously directional indirect objects (‘throw’, ‘send’).
- d. The evidence suggests, then, that we are not dealing with a fully prepositional dative, but that the dative is preposition-like enough to permit some P-like behavior.
- e. We see this as supporting a view in which PPs are not derived simply by addition of P to DP, but by addition of several distinct elements. We hypothesize that addition of a subpart of the full P-structure is pronounced identically to the full PP, but is syntactically intermediary between a PP and DP, hence its mixed behavior.