

**Nathaniel Dorgbetor**

**A Comparative Investigation into The Syntax of Double Object Constructions  
in English and Ewe: A Minimalist Approach**

Master's thesis in English Linguistics and Language Acquisition

Trondheim, June, 2016

Supervisor: Professor Christopher Wilder

**Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)  
Faculty of Humanities  
Department of Language and Literature**



**NTNU – Trondheim**  
Norwegian University of  
Science and Technology



## **ABSTRACT**

An alternative realization of the sub-categorization of ditransitive verbs is the Double Object Construction (DOC). English and Ewe are part of the few languages that permit the DOC pattern. Per the asymmetric relationship between the internal arguments in the DOC; variants of the shell structure, originally proposed by Larson (1988), has been assumed nowadays in the analyses of the structure of the English DOC. The standard view on the English DOC has been that it can only have the V-GO-TH order pattern, where as Ewe DOCs have both V-GO-TH and V-TH-GO patterns. Using assumptions of the Minimalist Program (MP) within the Principles and Parameters (P&P) Theory, this thesis investigated the syntax of the two patterns of Ewe DOCs comparing them to the English DOC. The study, following Bruening (2010), discovered that DOCs in English, under certain conditions, can have both V-GO-TH and V-TH-GO orders similar to what occurs with the basic DOC verbs in Ewe. The study also showed that, contrary to Essegbey's (2010) claim, the basic DOC pattern in Ewe is the V-GO-TH pattern just like the basic DOC pattern in English. Consequently, this thesis indicated a unified structural account for the V-GO-TH orders in English and Ewe DOCs. Concerning the V-TH-GO orders, it became apparent that English derives its V-TH-GO order by rightward shifting of heavy GOAL with GOAL still c-commanding THEME, while Ewe derives its V-TH-GO order by leftward movement of THEME across GOAL without heaviness requirement and with THEME c-commanding GOAL.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To God be the Glory!

This work wouldn't have been this successful without the varied contributions of the following people.

My utmost appreciation goes to my indefatigable supervisor Professor Christopher Wilder without whom, probably, there wouldn't have been a thesis. Indeed, Prof. Chris (as I normally call him) was not just a supervisor to me, he was a father, a teacher, a mentor, and a counsellor whose guidance, comments and corrections helped in molding me into a better linguist than I was when I first entered NTNU.

My appreciation also goes to the entire teaching and non-teaching staff at Department of Language and Literature of NTNU, especially Professor Terje Lohndal, Professor Mila Dimitrova Vulchanov, Associate Professor Anne Dahl, Associate professor Andrew Weir, Mona Overvik, Silje Nes Skrede and Stine Krogh Hagen, who through their various capacities have contributed to the success of my graduate studies.

I will like to thank the entire staff at the International Office of NTNU especially, Annette and Arild for the good work they did and are still doing for those on scholarship from the Quota Scheme.

I express, with all sincerity, my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Jemima Anderson, Dr. David A. Odoi, Dr. Paul Agbedor, Dr. Margaret Ansre and Dr. Vera Arhin all of University of Ghana for their support and motivation in diverse ways.

To Mr. Elvis Yevudey of Aston University and Mr. Sampson Korsah of Leipzig University, I say thank you for your encouragement and support.

I thank my colleagues and friends alike especially Nicole, Edzordzi, Simon, Samuel, Kadjita, Portia, John, Kojo, Raph, Jeff and Ike for their various roles and contributions towards the successful completion of my Masters degree and this thesis.

Finally, I appreciate my family; mom (Comfort Avadzi), dad (Ben Dorgbetor), siblings (Lucy, Ivy, Gordon, Berlinda and Solomon) uncle Kingsley and wife, and Aunty Celestine Avadzi whose prayers and support, I believe, kept me sane and sound throughout the process of writing this thesis.

May the Almighty God bless you all!!!

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS	V
ABBREVIATIONS	VII
1. INTRODUCTION	1
<b>1.1 BACKGROUND</b>	<b>1</b>
1.2 INTRODUCING DOC	1
<b>1.3 ABOUT THE EWE LANGUAGE</b>	<b>3</b>
1.3.1 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON EWE	4
1.3.2 BASIC PHONOLOGY	5
1.3.3 BASIC GRAMMAR	6
<b>1.4 DATA SOURCE</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1.5 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND</b>	<b>9</b>
1.5.1 MERGE THEORY	10
1.5.2 ARGUMENT STRUCTURE	11
1.5.2.1 Thematic Roles	11
<b>1.6 MOTIVATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.7 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.8 THESIS LAYOUT</b>	<b>13</b>
2 THE STRUCTURE OF DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS	15
<b>2.1 INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.2 DATIVE SHIFT</b>	<b>15</b>
2.2.1 SYNTACTIC VIEW	16
2.2.2 LEXICAL VIEW	17
2.2.2.1 Evidence in support of the Lexical View	17
2.2.3 EWE	18
<b>2.3 ALTERNATIVE WORD ORDERS FOR THEME AND GOAL</b>	<b>19</b>
2.3.1 ENGLISH DATIVE-VARIANT AND HEAVY SHIFT	19
2.3.2 ENGLISH DOC: V-GO-TH ORDER ONLY	19
2.3.3 EWE DOC: BOTH ORDERS POSSIBLE	20
2.3.4 ENGLISH AGAIN – BRUENING 2010	21
<b>2.4 STRUCTURE OF DOC</b>	<b>22</b>
2.4.1 THE FLAT STRUCTURE	23
2.4.2 THE LAYERED STRUCTURE	24
2.4.3 THE SHELL STRUCTURE	25
2.4.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	26
<b>2.5 SOME FACTS ABOUT EWE DOC</b>	<b>26</b>
2.5.1 QUANTIFIER SCOPE	27
2.5.2 NOMINALIZATION	28
2.5.3 OBJECT PREPOSING	29
2.5.4 NYA- CONSTRUCTION	31

<b>2.6</b>	<b>THE STRUCTURE OF THE EWE DOCS</b>	<b>32</b>
2.6.1	POSSIBLE PROPOSALS	33
2.6.1.1	Proposal 1	33
2.6.1.2	Proposal 2	37
2.6.1.3	Proposal 3 Shell structure + movement of THEME	40
<b>2.7</b>	<b>DISCUSSION SO FAR</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>2.8</b>	<b>REFLEXIVE ASYMMETRY</b>	<b>44</b>
2.8.1	CLAIMS	45
2.8.2	IS THE REFLEXIVE GOAL OR THEME?	45
2.8.3	STRIPPING (ELLIPSIS) IN COORDINATION	47
2.8.3.1	Stripping pattern	48
2.8.3.2	Support for the ellipsis analysis	50
2.8.4	STRIPPING AS A DIAGNOSTIC FOR THE STRUCTURE OF DOCS WITH REFLEXIVES	52
2.8.5	ANALYSIS OF REFLEXIVE ASYMMETRY	53
3.	DATA ON ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT TEST OF EWE DOC ORDER PATTERNS	
	57	
<b>3.1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>3.2</b>	<b>OBJECTIVES</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>3.3</b>	<b>DESIGN OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>3.4</b>	<b>SAMPLING METHOD</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>3.5</b>	<b>THE INFORMANTS</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>3.6</b>	<b>THE SENTENCES</b>	<b>60</b>
3.6.1	GLOSSES AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE SENTENCES	60
<b>3.7</b>	<b>THE RESULTS</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>3.8</b>	<b>BRIEF DISCUSSION</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>3.9</b>	<b>THE ICV AND THE THEME-GOAL ORDER</b>	<b>63</b>
4.	ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF DOUBLE OBJECTS IN EWE: SVC	65
<b>4.1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>4.2</b>	<b>SVC IN THE LITERATURE</b>	<b>65</b>
4.2.1	SVC IN EWE	66
<b>4.3</b>	<b>TYPES OF SVC IN EWE</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>4.4</b>	<b>SVC: AN ALTERNATIVE TO DOC IN EWE</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>4.5</b>	<b>THE STATUS OF THE VERBS IN SVC</b>	<b>67</b>
4.5.1	'tso' AS MAIN VERB ('COME FROM, ORIGINATE IN'; 'FROM')	68
4.5.1.1	'tso' as Preposition	68
4.5.2	'de' AS MAIN VERB ('REACH/ARRIVE AT'; 'TO, AGAINST')	69
4.5.2.1	'de' as a preposition	69
4.5.3	'na' (AS 'GIVE' IN MAIN VERB CONSTRUCTION) = NP1_NP2 NP3 / NP1_NP3 NP2 AND NP1 V1 NP2_NP3	70
4.5.3.1	'na' (as 'for' or 'to' in BENEFACTIVE or GOAL construction) = NP1 V NP2 ___ NP3	71
<b>4.6</b>	<b>PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>4.7</b>	<b>THE STATUS OF V2 IN SVCs WITH A DOC VERB AS V2</b>	<b>72</b>
5.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	77
<b>5.1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>5.2</b>	<b>MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>5.3</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>5.4</b>	<b>RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH</b>	<b>78</b>
REFERENCES		81

## ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First Person Singular Pronoun
3SG	Third Person Singular Pronoun
ACC	Accusative Case
AG	Agent
AUX	Auxiliary
DEF	Definite Marker
DET	Determiner
DO	Direct Object
DOC	Double Object Construction
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
FOC	Focus
GG	Generative Grammar
GO	Goal
HAB	Habitual Marker
ICV	Inherent Complement Verbs
MOD	Modal
NEG	Negation Marker
NOM	Nominative Case
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
PIAH	Predicate Internal Argument Hypothesis
POSS	Possessive Marker
POST	Posterity Marker
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PROG	Progressive Marker
REF	Reflexive
S	Subject
SVC	Serial Verb Construction
TH	Theme
UG	Universal Grammar
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
VPISH	Verb Phrase Internal Subject Hypothesis



# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

Human languages are characterized by sets of properties that could all be classified under syntactic, semantic, morphological, phonological properties et cetera (Bickerton,1995). Linguists, over the years, rely on the superficial understandings of these properties for their primary data. Quite often, initial findings regarding a given phenomenon in a particular language A will appear to be totally unrelated to language B, nevertheless, succeeding studies pursuing a unified account, with a robust theoretical base, may dismantle the pillars of the observed differences to make an argument for a subtler natural class than previously understood. If successful, such studies come out naturally as more desirable since they offer more insights into the intricacies of human languages in general. In this thesis, I attempt one such unified account by examining some aspects of the syntactic and semantic relationship between the two post verbal arguments of Double Object Constructions (DOCs) in English and Ewe in bid to adopt or propose a unified structural account for DOCs in English and Ewe.

## 1.2 Introducing DOC

A double-object construction (DOC) is a construction in which a verb takes three NP arguments with two of them in the post verbal position. This construction occurs in few languages including English and Ewe. The double-object pattern is possible with just a hand full of verbs within the languages that have DOCs (O'Grady 2001). In English, normally when a verb takes double objects, the word order seems fixed in such a way that the indirect object must immediately follow the verb before the direct object. In Ewe, the word order seems to be flexible in one set of verbs that take double objects and fixed, but in the reverse way to the English word order, in the other set of verbs that take double objects (In other words, in the second set of verbs that take double objects, the direct object must immediately succeed the verb before the indirect object).

In English, verbs such as give, send and cook among others can take double objects. When they do, the pattern seems to be V - GO – TH as seen in (1) below. English seems not to have a DOC pattern of V-TH-GO.

- (1) a. John gave Mary a book  
AGENT VERB GOAL THEME  
b. \* John gave a book Mary  
AGENT VERB THEME GOAL

The English verbs that permit this construction often have an alternative argument realization with prepositional complements (to/for) in which case the THEME appears in the immediate post verbal position and the GOAL appears as a complement to the preposition ‘to’ as seen in (2a) or as a complement to the preposition ‘for’. The relationship between (1) and (2) is popularly known as dative alternation which has received a lot of scholarly attention and which shall be discussed further (but in brief) in chapter 2. If the preposition is 'for', the alternation is usually called the ‘Benefactive Alternation’ and the theta-role is often called 'Beneficiary’ (Fellbaum, 2005).

- (2) a. John gave a book to Mary.  
AGENT THEME GOAL  
b. \*John gave Mary to a book  
AGENT GOAL THEME

In Ewe there are two groups of verbs that take two complements based on the order of the two internal arguments – GOAL, THEME. The first group is made up of just three verbs, *ná* ‘give’, *fiá* ‘teach, show’ and *biá* ‘ask’. This group of verbs seems to have a flexibility in terms of the word order of the two internal arguments. In other words, members of this group takes the GOAL-THEME as well as the THEME-GOAL argument order patterns as seen in (3). The second group, usually referred to as Inherent Complement Verbs, seems to have a fixed word order with the internal arguments which is contrary to the English order. Thus, the verbs in this group takes only the THEME-GOAL order pattern as seen in (4) (Ameka, 2006, Essegbey, 2010).

- (3) a. Kofi ná Ama ga  
V GO TH  
NAME GIVE NAME money
- b. Kofi ná ga Ama  
V TH GO  
NAME GIVE money NAME  
“Kofi gave money to Ama”
- (4) a. \*Kofi da Ami kpé  
V GO TH  
NAME THROW NAME stone  
“Kofi threw stone at Ami”
- b. Kofi da kpé Ami  
V TH GO  
NAME THROW stone NAME  
“Kofi threw stone at Ami”

### 1.3 About the Ewe Language

Ewe is a West African language classified under the broader Niger-Congo language family, the narrower Kwa language family and a member of the Gbe cluster of languages (Ameka, 1991, 2006, Capo, 1991 Duthie, 1996). The Gbe languages include Ewe (about 3 million speakers), Fon (about 1.7 million speakers), Aja (about 1.3 million), Gen (Mina) (about 4 hundred thousand), and Phla–Pherá (about 4 hundred thousand) (Capo, 1991). These languages are located in the south-eastern part of Ivory Coast, across southern Ghana, in central Togo, southern Benin and south-western Nigeria (Capo, 1991: 1, Duthie 1996). Figure 1 shows the geographical distribution of the Gbe cluster of languages.



Figure 1: Map showing the location of Ewe and the Gbe cluster (cf. Capo1991)

In Ghana, the Ewe language is spoken predominantly in the Volta Region (The administrative region located at the eastern part of Ghana, sharing border with Togo). In the Volta region where the language is spoken prominently, it has many dialectal varieties. These varieties include but not limited to Anlo, Tongu, Ve, Peki, Ho, Gbi, Adaklu, Akpini, and Avenor. The Anlo and the Tongu dialects are mainly spoken at the coastal (southern parts of the volta region) area while the other dialects (collectively called the vedome cluster of dialects) are spoken in the inland area. The sentences used in this thesis are mainly from the Tongu and the Anlo dialects. Though the language has many dialects, a standardize orthography comprising of a mixture of the various dialects was developed in the middle of the nineteenth century (Duthie, 1996, Ameka 1991). As at 1996 (that is two decades ago) over 200 publications, by native speakers, written entirely in Ewe exists while there is equally a sizeable amount of translations of books originally written in other languages (including the Bible) into Ewe, numbering over 200 as well (Duthie, 1996).

### 1.3.1 Previous studies on Ewe

Ewe is privileged to be one of the few Ghanaian (or even African) languages to have received scholarly attention with the earliest work on the language dating as far back as 1857 (Duthie, 1996). Most of the earlier works (in fact current works too) on the language are not written in Ewe

primarily because the authors are not native speakers of the language or, in the case of current native speakers, there aren't enough resources available to write in Ewe. Consequently, about half of studies on Ewe are written in English and sizeable amounts in French and German with a negligible amount in the Ewe language itself (Ibid). This fact was made more evident in the search of literature for this thesis. That notwithstanding, there has been great works on various aspects of the language. For example, in the areas of syntax and semantics works by Ansre (1966) Ameka (1991, 1995, 2006), Collins (1993), Pasch (2002) Aboh and Essegbey (2010b), and in the areas of phonetics, phonology and morphology works by Ansre (1961), Duthie (1996) and Stahlke (1971) are stand-out references.

Even with all these great works specifically in the syntax and semantics areas, a comparative study, particularly involving English and Ewe syntax, is hard to come by. Not to talk of a unified account of the English DOCs and the Ewe DOCs.

### 1.3.2 Basic Phonology

Ewe has forty-four sounds in total. The sounds are made up of thirty consonant sounds shown in table 1 and fourteen vowel sounds shown in table 2. The fourteen vowel sounds are made up of seven oral and seven nasal vowel sounds.

*Table 1 (cf. Ameka, 1991 chapter 2 :1)*

	<b>bilabial</b>	<b>Labio-dental</b>	<b>dental</b>	<b>Apical alveolar</b>	<b>Alveolo palatal</b>	<b>palatal</b>	<b>velar</b>	<b>Labial velar</b>
plosives	p b		t d	ɖ			k g	kp gb
nasals	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
approximant						j	ɣ	w
trill				r				
lateral				l      ɭ				
fricatives	ɸ β	f v		s z			x ɸ	
affricates				ts dz	tʃ dʒ			

Table 2 (cf. Ameka, 1991)

	<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>
<u>Close</u>	i, ĩ	u, ũ
<u>Close-mid</u>	e, ě	o, õ
<u>Open-mid</u>	ɛ, ĕ	ɔ, ɔ̃
<u>Open</u>	a, ǎ	

Majority of the verbs in the Ewe lexicon are monosyllabic. The syllable structure of Ewe is mainly CV – open syllable however there are other types of syllables such as the V, a restricted CCV, CVC where the coda is a nasal and CVV known as the ‘double nucleus’ (see Ameka, 1991:4 -7 for more details on the phonotactics of Ewe). Each syllable in Ewe must be spoken with its own tone – every syllable corresponds to a tone-bearing unit (Duthie,1996). Like most African languages, Ewe is a tonal language with a distinction between ‘marked’ high and ‘unmarked’ non-high tone, the non-high tone can be realized as mid or low (Ameka 1991, Aboh & Essegbey 2010). For the most part of this thesis, there is no overt marking for tone. This is because tone does not interfere with the main analysis of the Ewe examples.

### 1.3.3 Basic Grammar

When it comes to the grammar of Ewe, word order is crucial for indicating grammatical relations in the language with the basic word order being SUBJECT – (AUXILLIARY) – VERB – OBJECT (SVO) just like the English language as shown in (5).

- (5)      Kofi      ɖu      mɔlu  
           NAME EAT    rice  
           S        V        O  
           ‘Kofi ate rice’

The basic word order, however, can be altered in the formation of the progressive and the prospective aspects resulting in S O (AUX) V order as shown in (6).

- (6)        Kofi        le        mɔlu        ɖu-m  
 NAME        BE        rice        EAT-PROG  
 S            AUX        O            V  
 ‘Kofi is eating rice’

Focus fronting can also apply resulting in O S (AUX) V order as shown in 7.

- (7)        Mɔlu        ye            Kofi        ɖu  
 rice        FOC            NAME        EAT  
 O                            S            V  
 ‘Kofi ate **rice**’

There is no overt tense marking in Ewe (see Aboh & Essegbey, 2010a: 43 for a detailed discussion on tense in Ewe). Clausal negation is marked by bipartite or discontinuous elements ‘me .....o’ which functions like the French negative markers ‘ne.....pas’ (Agbedor, 1994a:55, Collins, Postal & Yevudey, 2015). There is no inflectional case marking on lexical NPs in Ewe but pronouns show case marking with tone (Aboh & Essegbey 2010a). The high tone marks nominative case and the low tone marks accusative case as shown in (8).

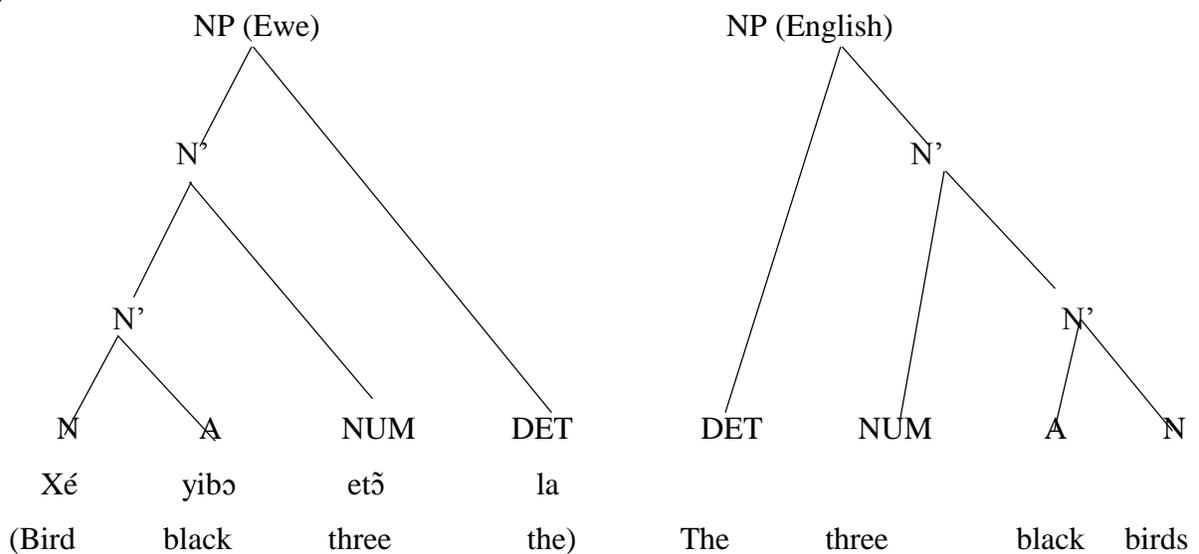
- (8) (a.)    É-                    fò            ɲutsu    la.  
           3SG: NOM        beat        man        the  
           S/he beat the man.
- (b.)    É-                    fò            -è.  
           3SG: NOM        beat        3SG: ACC  
           S/he beat him/her.

That is, high tone shows Nominative Case (NOM) on subject pronouns and low tone shows Accusative Case (ACC) on object pronouns, while lexical NPs have the same form for NOM and ACC. It is worth noting that, unlike German, there is no case distinction between the two NP objects in Ewe DOCs. Most languages that have DOCs distinguishes between the two object NPs either by a fixed order for the two NPs (as in English) or with a Dative Case and an Accusative

Case for the Goal NP and the Theme NP respectively (as in German) (Butt, 2006). Ewe, however, does not have a Dative Case and as such makes no distinction between the two object NPs in DOCs.

Complex noun phrases in Ewe have a noun-initial structure as opposed to the noun-final structure of English as seen in (9).

(9).



#### 1.4 Data Source

The data presented in this work comes from varied sources. Much of the data used in this work comes from published works on the languages involved (Ewe and English). As a native speaker of Ewe, I included my own original examples based on my native-intuition. In addition, interpretations from other native speakers of the Ewe language were included in the analysis of the data. My supervisor being a native speaker of English was instrumental in the interpretation of the English data.

## 1.5 Theoretical Background

This thesis adopts the minimalist approach to syntax which is deeply rooted within the broader generative grammar framework (GG). The minimalist framework dwells a lot on the Principles and Parameters (P&P) Theory also known as the Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). Particularly, this thesis follows the minimalist syntax approach as outlined in Radford (2004). The fundamental assumption motivating GG which this thesis follows from is that some (vital) aspects of human language are common to any normal human being with the capacity to acquire language. The aspect of language that is common to humans is said to be made up of 'Principles'. One such principle is the '**Locality Principle**'. The locality principle, as stated in Radford (2004: 15), is that 'Grammatical operations are local'. This means grammatical operations such as auxiliary inversion in English, A-movement and case-assignment are conditioned on this principle of attracting the 'most local (closest) relevant expression' (Ibid). These principles make it possible for an English orphan (orphaned at birth), for example, who is raised in an Ewe speaking community by Ewe foster parents to acquire Ewe as his or her native language. The individual linguistic differences exhibited by languages, for example, as shown in (9) above, in English NPs the determiner, the numeral and the descriptive adjective all precedes the noun (head-word) where as in Ewe NPs the head-word in the NP precedes its modifiers, are referred to as the 'Parametric variations'. All of these 'Principles' and 'Parametric Variations' are said to be part of the innate abilities of human beings. This innateness can be linked to the Universal Grammar (UG) proposed by Chomsky (1965). UG assumes that the grammar of every human language is organized within components in the brain one of which is the **Lexicon** (Radford, 2004:9). The Lexicon serves as the storage facility of the 'language faculty' in the brain and as such contains, as Radford put it, 'a list of all the lexical items/words in the language and their linguistic properties' (Ibid). The Lexicon works with the other components namely, the syntactic component which serves as the computational component, the semantic component and the phonetic component to derive a particular grammatical expression. The relationship between these components is shown in figure 2.

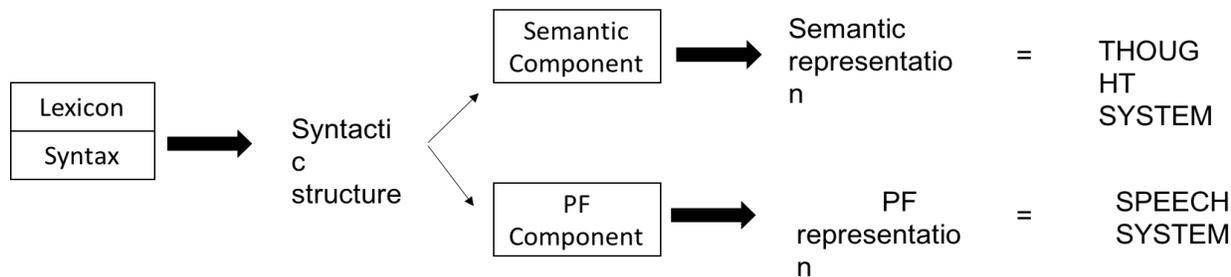


Figure 2 (cf. Radford , 2004:9)

Since Chomsky (1993), there have been efforts within GG to describe grammar in the simplest way possible. These efforts, led by Chomsky himself, are set to ‘minimize the theoretical and the descriptive apparatus used to describe language’ (Radford 2004:9). This became known as the minimalist program. This thesis is fashioned along the same line by using the minimum possible ‘apparatus’ to describe the observed phenomena.

### 1.5.1 Merge Theory

The merge theory is one of the major cornerstones of the minimalist program (Boeckx, 2006). Merge is the operation responsible for combining smaller syntactic items into larger syntactic structures. Prior to the minimalist program, approaches to the derivation of syntactic structures such as phrases and sentences have always assumed that there is first an ‘initial representation’ (the initial phrase structure tree) which serves as the Deep-structure from which the new ‘transformation’ (the Surface structure) emerges through (series of) ‘movement’ operations. In the minimalist framework, however, there is no already-made initial representation (Radford, 2004). The initial representation itself is derived by the same merger operations. That is, in this paradigm, structures are built from the bottom to the top by series of merger and movement operations. A notable observation about merger operations, as opposed to previous approaches, is the property of ‘**recursion**’ (Radford 2004:69). Recursion allows for a repetition of the same category within a single structure. For example, we can have two VPs in one syntactic projection. Merge, as an offspring of P&P, operates on two major principles. These are the ‘**Headedness**’ (‘every syntactic structure is a projection of a head-word’ therefore: every structure must have a head) principle and the ‘**Binary**’ (every syntactic structure is binary branching’) principle (Radford 2004:70). For a detailed discussion of the merge theory including example structures see Radford 2004 chapter 3.

## 1.5.2 Argument structure

Argument structure is a semantic notion that refers to the number and the type of arguments required by a given predicate, usually verbs (but other categories such as predicative adjectives are predicates too). A verb will normally require specific participant (s) to complete its meaning. These participants are the arguments of the verb. For example, by just mentioning the verb ‘give’ in a sentence, the listener/hearer will automatically expect to hear three participants in the act of giving – the giver, the entity that is given and the receiver of the entity. Works in minimalist syntax make extensive use of the notion of VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis (VPISH). VPISH assumes that the subject of a sentence originates from the VP hosting the verb V before moving up to spec TP (courtesy the EPP feature) (Boeckx 2006). Radford (2004) claims the VPISH assumption can be broadened to a more general claim of ‘Predicate –Internal Argument Hypothesis (PIAH) which means ‘All arguments of a predicate originate within a projection of the predicate’ (Ibid :249). This newly modified assumption, according to Radford, creates a better link between the syntactic structure and the semantic argument structure of predicates – thus, the (syntactic) merging position of an argument determines its semantic function with respect to the predicate word.

### 1.5.2.1 Thematic Roles

Thematic roles are the semantic functions that an argument can perform in a given structure. Depending on the meaning requirements of a predicate various roles can be assigned to the required arguments. Table 3 below shows a list of roles played by arguments which is often assumed.

Table 3 (cf. Radford 2004:251)

<b>ROLE</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>EXAMPLE</b>
THEME	Entity undergoing the effect of some action	<i><u>Mary</u></i> fell over
AGENT	Entity instigating some action	<i><u>Debbie</u></i> killed Harry
EXPERIENCER	Entity experiencing some psychological state	<i><u>I</u></i> like syntax
LOCATIVE	Place in which something is situated or take place	He hid it <i><u>under the bed</u></i>
GOAL	Entity representing the destination of some other entity	John went <i><u>home</u></i>
SOURCE	Entity from which something moves	He returned <i><u>from Paris</u></i>
INSTRUMENT	Means used to perform some action	He hit it <i><u>with a hammer</u></i>

### 1.6 Motivation and Significance of the study

The importance of Grammar for language teachers, learners and linguists at large cannot be overemphasized. Indeed, grammar has long been at the core of linguistic enquiries. The idea of developing cross-linguistic hypotheses that cuts across languages has been the motivation behind works within the broader generative grammar framework. Double Object Construction (DOC) in English has been well studied from different perspectives (Kayne 1983; Larson, 1988, Jackendoff 1990, Beck & Johnson, 2004; Hovav & Levin, 2008 among others) unfortunately; the DOC in Ewe language has not received that much scholarly attention to the best of my knowledge. The few researchers that have touched on the DOC in Ewe (Ameka, 2006 and Essegbey, 2010) did not really make claims about the structure of the verb phrases VPs in the DOC. A comparative study of Double Object Construction in English (a Germanic language) and Ewe (a Niger-Congo, Kwa branch) will not only be helpful to teachers and learners of the two languages but also add to the ever expanding literature on the Double Object Construction within the Generative Grammar framework. To the extent that this study entails a linguistic description of a relatively understudied language, it follows that the study will facilitate the teaching and learning of Ewe. Finally, the study will have implications for theory by lending credence to the VP shell structure and the merge theory.

## 1.7 Research Aims and Questions

Generally, the Ewe language remains relatively under-researched. That notwithstanding, it can be fairly asserted that some strides have been made in some areas of the language, (Westermann, 1930; Duthie, 1996; Ameka 1991, 1995, 2006; Aboh, 1999, Aboh & Essegbey 2010 etc). With regard to syntax-semantics interface, however, the only study that appears to stand out is Aboh & Essegbey (2010b) work on aspects of Kwa syntax. Besides, the view that DOCs, in particular, have not been extensively explored in Ghanaian languages is largely corroborated by the extant literature. While some few scholars have studied some aspects of the DOCs in Ewe, there is no study, to the best of my knowledge, dedicated to the structure of the DOC in Ewe. In a bid to fill this gap in the literature, as well as attempt a unified account of English and Ewe DOCs, the present study sets out to explore the structure of DOC in Ewe in light of claims made on the literature about the structure of the DOC in English within the P&P theory. Specifically, the questions I seek to find answers to are as follows:

1. Is there a distinction between DOC structure in English and DOC structure in Ewe?
2. Which of the proposed structures of DOC in English could adequately account for the DOC in Ewe?
3. What alternative realization(s) of arguments of three-place predicate verbs are found in Ewe and how do these realizations affect the structural hypotheses?
4. What symmetries and asymmetries are found between the NP complements in Ewe DOCs and are these the same with English DOCs?

## 1.8 Thesis Layout

The remainder of the thesis is structured in this order:

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the structure of DOCs with, background to Dative alternation, survey of the hypothesis concerning the structure of DOCs, zooming in on Ewe DOCs and providing evidence for deciding between the two order of argument in Ewe DOCs. Chapter 3 discusses the special case of DOCs with pronouns and presents data on acceptability judgment test conducted on orders involving pronouns in Ewe DOCs. Chapter 4 discusses alternative realization of three

place argument verbs in Ewe, specifically SVCs comparing them to the dative constructions in English. Chapter 5 concludes the work and presents a summary of the research findings, implications and recommendations for further research.

## 2 THE STRUCTURE OF DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter we explore the literature on the structure of Double Object Constructions in English in a bid to find a possible uniform structure that can account for the various Double Object Constructions in Ewe as well as the English DOC. Generally, the discussion of the structure of double object constructions falls under the broader discussion of Dative Shift.

### 2.2 Dative Shift

The sub-categorization of ditransitive verbs in English can pattern in two alternative forms. In the Dative Shift alternation, these two alternative forms are the Dative form and the DOC form. In the dative form the verb takes an NP argument and a PP complement in its internal constituent as in (1). In the DOC form, the verb takes two NP internal arguments as in (2).

(1) John gave some money to Mary = Dative construction

(2) John gave Mary some money = Double Object construction (DOC)

There have been two main approaches to the analysis of dative shift in English. The syntactic approach, proposed by Larson (1988) assumes that the verb involved in (1) and (2) has exactly the same meaning and that (2) is derived from (1) with some movement operations responsible (In other words, (1) and (2) have the same Deep Structure but two different Surface Structures). The lexical approach, spearheaded by Pinker (1989), Harley (2003) and Beck and Johnson (2004), on the other hand, assumes that the verb in (1) and (2) has different/multiple meaning and that both meanings are derived from separate sources (In other words, (1) and (2) have two different Deep structures resulting in two different Surface structures).

### 2.2.1 Syntactic View

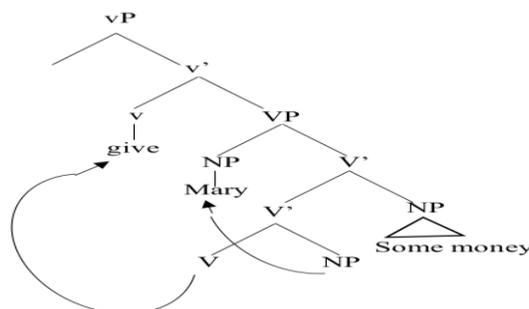
As mentioned earlier, this view assumes that (1) and (2) have the same D-Structure and that both (1) and (2) are surface representations of the same Deep structure consequently having the same meaning. In Larson's (1988) analysis of dative shift, Larson adopts a structure with an 'inner VP' where the two complements are specifier and complement of the verb. He proposes that the verb then moves out of the 'inner VP' to a higher verb position (I shall discuss the VP-shell structure in more detail in section 2.4.3.). In this view, the sentences in (1) and (2) have the D-structure like (3) and the dative variant in (1) is derived from (3) by the extra position V as shown in (4).

(3) John [<sub>VP</sub> some money [<sub>V</sub> gave to Mary]] (D-Structure)

(4) John gave [<sub>VP</sub> some money [<sub>V</sub> t to Mary]] (S-Structure)

The DOC variant is derivationally analyzed, in this approach, as deriving from the Deep structure in (3) with some movement operations as shown in (5). Larson argues that the derivational approach involved in deriving DOC from dative construction is similar to passive formation in English. To start with, he argues that the two internal arguments 'some money' and '(to) Mary' have the status of subject and object in relation to the verb respectively. To derive the DOC sentence such as (2) from the Deep structure in (3), the subject of the inner VP (some money) undergoes 'argument demotion' leaving the subject position vacant, in addition, the preposition 'to' together with the accusative case it assigned to the GOAL 'Mary' is absorbed allowing the 'caseless' 'Mary' to move to the subject position of the VP the verb V then moves up to a higher position as shown in (5).

(5)



## 2.2.2 Lexical view

Contrary to Larson (1988), holders of the lexical view ((Pinker 1989, Harley 2003, Beck & Johnson 2004) approach the dative alternation with the assumption that the verb in the DOC and the verb in the dative construction, underlyingly, do not have the same meaning and as such their Surface-Structures are not derived from the same Deep-Structure. According to this view, the dative construction in 1 has the meaning of ‘caused motion’ while the DOC in 2 has the meaning of ‘caused possession’ as illustrated in (6) and (7) below.

(6) John gives some money to Mary = Dative construction (Caused motion)  
‘John caused some money to go to Mary’

(7) John gives Mary some money = DOC (caused possession)  
‘John caused Mary to have some money’

The lexical approach, therefore, dwells more on the semantics of the construction rather than the purely syntactic approach by Larson. There are some evidences in the literature supporting the lexical view. Some of these evidences are elaborated below.

### 2.2.2.1 Evidence in support of the Lexical View

The evidence for the Lexical approach to the relationship between the dative construction and the DOC is found in the grammaticality of the a-sentences and the ungrammaticality of the b-sentences in (8) and (9) (Pinker, 1989).

(8) a. John threw the ball to the floor = Dative  
‘John caused the ball to move to the floor’

b. \*John threw the floor the ball = DOC  
‘John caused the floor to have/possess the ball’

As we can see from (8), the meaning of ‘throw the ball to the floor is only compatible with ‘caused motion’ because the ball can move to the floor but the floor can not possess or own the ball. Therefore, this meaning of ‘caused motion’ can only be expressed using the Dative.

(9) a.      The noise gives me a headache                      =      DOC  
               ‘The noise caused me to have/possess a headache’.

              b.      \*The noise gives a headache to me      =      Dative  
                       ‘The noise caused a headache to move to me’

In (9), the meaning of ‘give x a headache’ is only compatible with ‘caused possession’ because you can have a headache but a headache can not move to you. Therefore, this meaning of ‘caused possession’ can only be expressed by a DOC.

Regarding their syntactic structures, the lexical approach posits that the two variants namely the Dative and the DOC have different underlying structures. The Dative has the structure in (10) while the DOC has the structure in (11).

(10)                      [NP<sub>AG</sub> [v [NP<sub>TH</sub> [ V [to NP<sub>GO</sub>]]]]]      =      Dative  
                               where v = ‘cause’ and V = ‘go or move’

(11)                      [NP<sub>AG</sub> [v [NP<sub>GO</sub> [V NP<sub>TH</sub>]]]                      =      DOC  
                               where v = cause and V= ‘have or get’

### 2.2.3 EWE

In Ewe, just like in English, there are at least two alternative ways of expressing three-participant events. These alternative ways are the Double Object Construction (DOC) as shown in (12) and the Serial Verb Construction (SVC) as shown in (13).







In (19), there is no rightward shift of the GOAL hence the prepositional phrase (PP) is low in the inner VP shell as complement of V. The THEME NP is the specifier of the inner VP and as such asymmetrically c-commands the GOAL PP. Bruening claims that the structure of (17c) is not the same as the structure of (19) but (20).

(20) a. give a headache to everyone in the room

b. give [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> t<sub>V</sub> a headache]<sub>PP</sub>]

In (20), the GOAL PP is the specifier of the inner VP shell and the THEME NP is the complement. This relative position amongst the arguments means that the GOAL PP asymmetrically c-commands the THEME. The GOAL c-commanding the THEME has been the cross-linguistic analysis of the DOC (Pylkkänen, 2008).

If Bruening's claims are correct then the standard view on order in English DOCs (as only the V-GO-TH order is possible) is probably wrong. Going by Bruening, both the V-GO-TH and the V-TH-GO orders are possible in English DOCs. The basic unmarked order of English DOC is still V-GO-TH and in the derived order of English DOC, V-TH-GO, the preposition 'to' is added to the GOAL.

#### 2.4 Structure of DOC

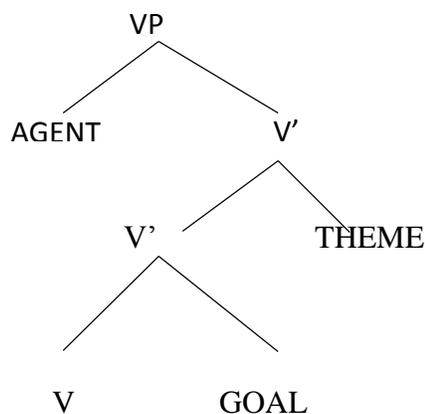
Some form of the shell is being assumed nowadays for the structure of the basic DOC order (V-GO-TH) in English with no overt justification given for it. Based on Barss & Lasnik (1986) and Larson (1988), we chronologically review the asymmetric c-commanding facts about the structure of the DOC which has evolved from being assumed as a flat structure (where the two arguments are both daughters of V' and sisters of V) through to the layered structure (where only the GOAL is a sister to V and the THEME is right adjoined to V') and finally the currently modified shell structure (where there has been an introduction of two Vs which makes it possible for the GOAL to asymmetrically C-command the THEME).



We can observe from the data above that a structure that will be able to correctly predict the grammaticality of the a-sentences and the ungrammaticality of the b-sentences should have a C-commanding relation in which the GOAL asymmetrically C-commands the THEME. Clearly the structure in (21) fails to meet this requirement and as such over-generates (it predicts grammaticality of sentences which are in fact ungrammatical).

#### 2.4.2 The Layered Structure

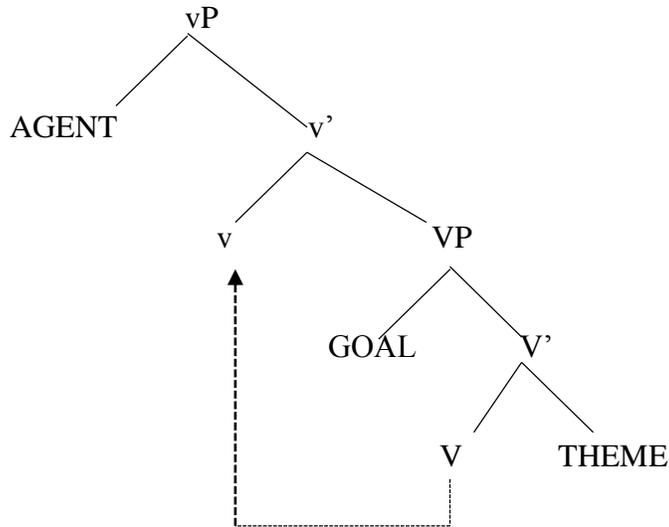
(24)



The layered structure has an analysis in which only the GOAL is the sister of V with the THEME argument being right-adjoined to V'. In this structure, the THEME asymmetrically C-commands the GOAL. Per this structure, the a-sentences in (22) and (23) should be ungrammatical and the b-sentences should be grammatical. However, since this is not the case in English, we can safely posit that the layered structure is not the right structure for English DOC. This structure both under-generates and over-generates.

### 2.4.3 The Shell Structure

(25)



Some kind of shell structure as shown in (25) is commonly assumed nowadays based on the proposal originally made by Larson (1988). Note that (25) is not Larson's original proposal but one of the many variants developed since Larson (1988). This particular structure is discussed in chapter 9 of Radford (2004). The structure in (25) assumes that the verb hosting the arguments is made up of two internal verbs that can actually be decomposed with each of the internal verbs introducing a specifier position. In terms of the merge approach to generating structure, the lower verb *V* merges with the *THEME* as its complement and the *GOAL* merges as its specifier. The higher verb *v* is regarded as an abstract unpronounced CAUSATIVE (phonetically null) verb (Radford, 2004). This structure has a C-commanding relationship in which the *GOAL* asymmetrically C-commands the *THEME*. The C-commanding relation between the *GOAL* and the *THEME* within this structure rightly predicts the grammaticality of the a-sentences in (22) and (23) and also rightly predicts the ungrammaticality of the b-sentences.

Another feature of the shell structure is that it provides the possibility of the *GOAL* and the *THEME* forming a constituency without the verb. This additional possibility is important in the analysis of ellipsis in DOC. The sentence in (26) below can be analyzed as VP coordination in which only the *GOAL* and the *THEME* are coordinated in both clauses (Larson, 1988: 345).



Essegbey's, the basic DOC order in Ewe is V-GO-TH (where GO c-commands TH) and that the V-TH-GO (where TH c-commands GO) is derived from the basic.

### 2.5.1 Quantifier Scope

Essegbey (2010) claimed that the two variants of DOC in Ewe, namely V-GO-TH and V-TH-GO, do not have the same underlying structure. One of the points Essegbey used to support his claim is the quantifier scope relationship amongst the two internal arguments. He asserted that regardless of the order of the arguments the first argument to come after the verb, if it is a quantified expression, will have scope over the second if the second argument contains a pronominal. In a sentence like "Kofi gave everyone his salary", the pronoun *his* can be bound by the quantifier *everyone*, or it can refer to an independent person (e.g. Kofi himself or someone else). If *his* is bound by the quantifier, *his* does not refer to one particular person but has a variable meaning. It means that Kofi gave John's salary to John, Bill's salary to Bill, and so on. This meaning of the pronoun shows that the quantifier (GOAL) has scope over the NP containing *his* in (27a). The main point in this argument is that the THEME can have scope over the GOAL if the THEME is a quantified expression and occurs as the first post-verbal argument (as in 27b) and the GOAL argument contains a pronominal. In the same manner, the GOAL will have scope over the THEME if the GOAL precedes the THEME and it is a quantified expression as shown in (27a) below. In his argument, Essegbey claim that the nature of the argument (being GOAL or THEME) does not play a role in determining the scope relationship among arguments but the determining factor is purely the position of occurrence of the arguments (Essegbey, 2010:179).

- (27) a. Kofi na amesiamɛ ɛfɛ fetu  
 NAME GIVE everyone his salary  
 'K. gave everyone<sub>j</sub> his<sub>j</sub>/her<sub>j</sub> salary'
- b. Kofi na fetu ɔɛsiade e-ɔla  
 NAME GIVE pay every 3SG.POS-collector  
 'K. gave (out) every salary<sub>j</sub> to its<sub>j</sub> collector'

This fact about the quantifier scope relationship between the two arguments could mean that when the THEME precedes the GOAL in Ewe DOC it is not just on the linear level but the THEME also

moves to a structurally higher position in order to have scope the GOAL. Our assumption here is that semantic scope reflects syntactic c-command (Radford, 2004). We are guided by this fact in exploring a structural hypothesis that could account for the Ewe DOC type V-TH-GO. However, it is also possible to assume that there is a different mechanism responsible for the DOC involving quantified expressions. Nonetheless, this second possibility is not explored in this thesis.

## 2.5.2 Nominalization

Nominalization in broader terms refers to the process of making nouns/nominals from other word classes especially verbs. In Ewe nominalizations, the verb and the object in a simple transitive sentence can be nominalized by preposing the object to the front of the verb and reduplicating the verb. In DOC, where we have two objects after the verb, it is interesting to see if both objects can nominalize with the verb or which of the objects can and which can not. Essegbey (2010: 181) discovered that only the THEME argument (direct object) can nominalize as seen in (28) below. In (28) the DOC verb ‘na’ and the Inherent Complement Verb (ICV) ‘da’ can both nominalize with the THEME argument but not the GOAL argument.

- (28) a. Kofi    je       ga       na - na    Ama  
           K.    POSS    money   GIVE-GIVE    A.  
           ‘Kofi’s giving of money to Ama’
- b.       \*Kofi    je       Ama       na - na       ga  
           K.    POSS       A.           GIVE-GIVE    money  
           \*‘Kofi’s giving of Ami money’
- c.       Kofi    je       kpe               da - da               Ama  
           K.    POSS       stone       THROW-THROW               A.  
           ‘Kofi’s throwing of stone at Ama’
- d.       \*Kofi    je       Ama               da – da               kpe  
           K.    POSS       A.           THROW-THROW               stone  
           \*‘Kofi’s throwing of Ama stone’

On the surface, it is possible to assume that, in Ewe DOC, nominalization is derived from the V-TH-GO order where the THEME is already closer to the verb, and to nominalize, the THEME and the verb undergoes switching of sisters to derive TH-V-GO. When we put this assumption in perspective (having in mind the structural implications), after V-raising the node hosting the verb *v* and the THEME will not be sisters, meaning an analysis that is hinged on switching of sisters might not hold. A second possible idea is that nominalization is a movement operation. This idea, might require the THEME to move across the verb to a higher position than the verb could move to. If this is the right analysis then the landing site of the THEME then needs to be investigated.

### 2.5.3 Object Preposing

In Ewe, just like in other Gbe languages, the object is brought to the front of the verb in forming the progressive and the prospective aspects as shown in (29) below. Once again, when the sentence is a DOC, it is only the THEME argument that gets preposed as seen in (29c) and (29d) (Essegbey, 2010: 180).

- (29) a. Kofi    ɖu    mɔlu  
           K.    EAT    rice  
           ‘Kofi ate rice’
- b. Kofi    le    mɔlu    ɖu-m  
           K.    is    rice    EAT-PROG.  
           ‘Kofi is eating rice’
- c. Kofi    le    mɔlu    na-m    Ama  
           K.    is    rice    GIVE-PROG    A.  
           ‘Kofi is giving rice to Ama’
- d. ??Kofi    le    Ama    na-m    mɔlu  
           K.    is    A.    GIVE-PROG    rice  
           ‘Kofi is giving rice to Ama’

In (29c) the THEME argument “mɔlu” is preposed while the GOAL argument remains at post verbal position and the sentence is naturally grammatical. In (29) where the GOAL argument ‘Ama’ is preposed leaving THEME “mɔlu” in post verbal position, the sentence is at best

unnatural. Again just as in nominalization, the word order of object preposing might suggest that the THEME and the verb V undergo switching of sisters from the DOC order of V-TH-GO. Interestingly, there are related patterns from English nominalizations and compound formation (of so-called 'synthetic compounds') that correspond to the Ewe object-preposing patterns as shown in (30) and (31) respectively (Baker,1997).

- |      |    |  |   |                |
|------|----|--|---|----------------|
| (30) | a. | They gave money to the beggars                                   | = | Dative         |
|      | b. | <b><u>Their giving of money to the beggars</u></b> was illegal   | = | Nominalization |
|      | c. | They gave the beggars money                                      | = | DOC            |
|      | d. | * <b><u>Their giving of the beggars money</u></b> was illegal    | = | Nominalization |
|      | e. | * <b><u>Their giving of the beggars of money</u></b> was illegal | = | Nominalization |
|      |    |  |   |                |
| (31) | a. | It is illegal to sell houses to foreigners                       | = | Dative         |
|      | b. | <b><u>House-selling to foreigners</u></b> was illegal            | = | Compound       |
|      | c. | It is illegal to sell foreigners houses                          | = | DOC            |
|      | d. | * <b><u>Foreigner-selling of houses</u></b> was illegal          | = | Compound       |
|      | e. | * <b><u>Foreigner-selling houses</u></b> was illegal             | = | Compound       |

In (30), English nominalizations seem to be derived from Dative constructions and not DOCs and from the argument order of V-TH-GO but not V-GO-TH. In this order, the THEME being closer to the verb V gets nominalized with the verb similar to the Ewe pattern. (31) shows a similar pattern with 'synthetic' compound formation. These two processes are derived from the Dative construction (V-TH-GO) (Baker, 1997: 93 - 98). If this is the case, one can assume that it is possible that the object-preposing and the nominalization facts from Ewe are derived from the V-TH-GO as well. Our assumption here is that nominalization and object preposing might be derived from the same process in Ewe DOC (either movement or switching of sisters). As we can see, the preposed object must be the THEME in both nominalization and object preposing in Ewe. Given the data pattern concerning nominalizations and object preposing in Ewe, one might wonder if there is V-raising at all in these constructions. Perhaps an answer to this question might be relevant



is known as A-movement. In constructions such as the Double Object Constructions and other ditransitive constructions where we have two post verbal arguments (internal arguments), languages differ on A-movement in passive construction (Haddican, 2010). Where as some languages (asymmetric passive languages), like English, allow for just one argument- the GOAL argument to undergo A-movement in passive formation, others, like Norwegian (symmetric passive languages) can have either of the two arguments undergo A-movement (Baker, 1988, Marantz, 1993, Anagnostopoulou, 2003). The data from (32) indicates that Ewe behaves like an asymmetric (passive) language with regards to ‘nya-construction’ but, not in the same way languages like English do in passive construction. In Ewe, it is rather the THEME that moves to the subject position. If this is the case, it is only plausible to assume that, in order not to violate the locality principle, the THEME must be structurally higher (for that matter closer to the external argument position –subject). Alternatively, of course, we can assume that unlike English passive, there is a different operation responsible for ‘nya-construction’ (perhaps, there is no movement involved).

## 2.6 The structure of the Ewe DOCs

The availability of the V-GO-TH and the V-TH-GO orders in Ewe DOC poses the question of which of the two orders is the unmarked one and which one is derived. Citing (Bars and Lasnik, 1986) and (Marantz, 1993), Pylkkanen (2008 :14) remarked that cross linguistically ‘the applied argument’ (GOAL) asymmetrically C- commands the ‘direct object’ (THEME), thus in analyzing the structure of Ewe DOCs we will be pursuing a structure that will be in line with this universally accepted asymmetry. We follow this cross linguistic analysis of DOCs as having the basic structure with the GOAL c-commanding the THEME. We assume that this structure corresponds to V-GO-TH order in Ewe DOCs. Then, the unmarked DOC order of Ewe is V-GO-TH (= the basic structure) and the V-TH GO order of Ewe DOC is derived from the basic structure. This claim shall be established in the next few sections. That being said, we are going to explore possible proposals to deriving the V-TH-GO taking into accounts the above facts about the Ewe DOC.

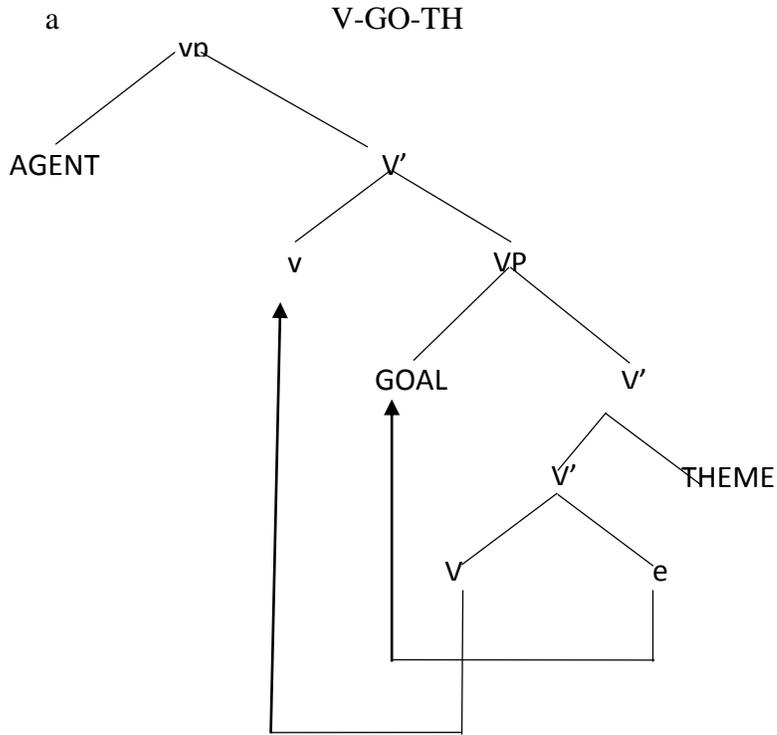
### 2.6.1 Possible proposals

The claim in this thesis is that the shell structure can uniformly account for both English and Ewe basic DOCs. In that regard, we entertain three possible structural hypotheses in deriving the V-TH-GO order in Ewe. In exploring the hypotheses, we look out for the structure that could provide an avenue for the THEME to either have semantic scope over the GOAL (syntactically speaking, the THEME asymmetrically C-commands the GOAL) or provides for the GOAL to be linearized to the right to have a V-TH-GO order. These two assumptions, when tested, could capture the basic facts about Ewe DOCs.

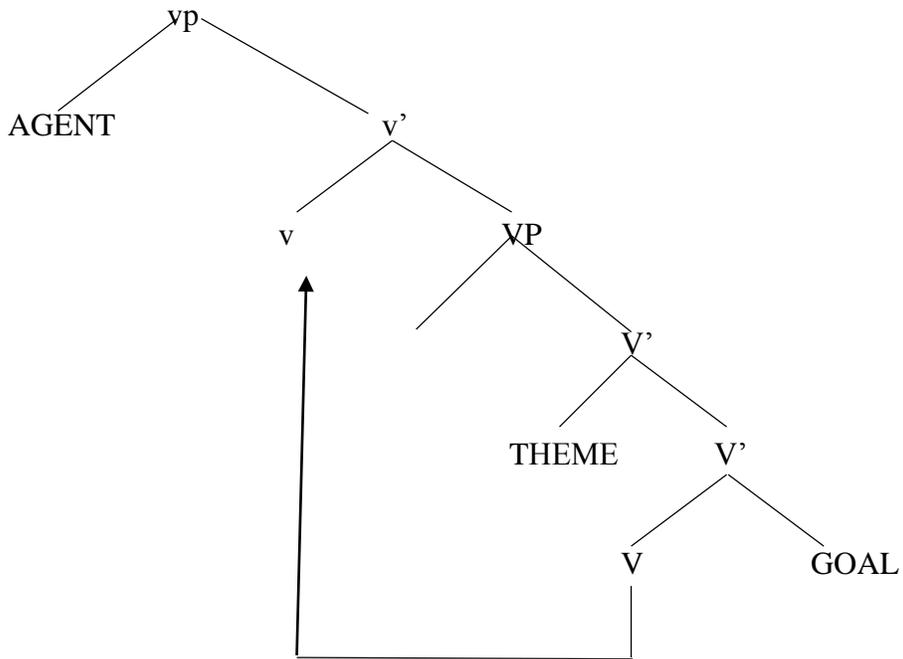
#### 2.6.1.1 Proposal 1

Since Larson's (1988) proposal has been credited as the foundation of the shell structure analysis, in analyzing DOCs syntactically, one can not overlook Larson's original proposal for the VP of DOCs. Larson (1988) original analysis of the structure of the VP of DOCs assumes that "the VP consists of an empty *v* taking a VP complement" (:342). This assumption has been the genesis of the various versions of the shell structure analysis of the VP of DOCs in particular. However, in his original proposal, the GOAL starts as merging with the verb as its complement before moving up to its specifier position of the verb as seen in (33a). In (33) we can see that the GOAL starts at a position that is being asymmetrically C-commanded by the THEME and then move up to a position where it (GOAL) asymmetrically C-commands the THEME. It might be possible to assume this structure for the two variant argument orders in Ewe DOC. We can say for example that, from (33), the basic DOC order of V-GO-TH is achieved after the GOAL has moved from the complement position to the specifier position of the V (as in 33a). And from this, we can assume also that the V-TH-GO order is achieved when the GOAL remains in its initial merging position that is a position that makes it to be asymmetrically C-commanded by the THEME as shown in (33b) while the verb moves up in both structures.

(33)



b V-TH-GO



#### 2.6.1.1.1 Implications of Proposal 1

The main reason for entertaining this proposal is the fact that it offers an avenue through which the THEME can asymmetrically C-command the GOAL as in (33b) as this is necessary in order to account for the quantifier scope relationship among the two post verbal arguments in Ewe DOC. However, as we can note from the structure in (33b) the node V forms a constituent with the GOAL that excludes the THEME. We will see below that a structure like (33b) could not account for nominalization in Ewe DOC. Furthermore, adoption of this proposal will imply that the basic DOC order is V-TH-GO and that the V-GO-TH is derived. That is, the structure in (33b) is more basic than the structure in (33a) since there is only one movement in (33b) but two movements in (33a).

#### 2.6.1.1.2 Support for Proposal 1

##### 2.6.1.1.2.1 Quantifier scope relations

Proposal 1 might be compatible with the quantifier scope relationship between the two post verbal arguments as has been expatiated in (27). The data from (27) shows that the seemingly word order flexibility exhibited by the basic Ewe DOC verbs is not just a switch in the word order but has structural implications as well. In (27a), the GOAL gets scope over the THEME and in (27b) the THEME gets scope over the GOAL. The implication is that the THEME can asymmetrically C-commands the GOAL, so a structural proposal that can account for a DOC such as the ones in (27) should provide an avenue for the THEME to have scope over the GOAL and, as we can see, the structure in (33b) allows for the THEME to asymmetrically C-command the GOAL.

##### 2.6.1.1.2.2 Nya-construction

Proposal 1 might also be compatible with the nya-construction data as well. In nya-construction (which behaves like passive construction in English) as seen from the data in (32), the THEME NP moves to the subject position. This movement is known as Argument movement or A-movement. Since A-movement operates on the locality principle, the mechanisms responsible for the movement will attract the closest candidate to fill the vacant position left by the absorbed

subject. In order for the THEME to be able to fill the vacant argument position left as a result of the elimination of the agentive subject by the nya-construction, the THEME needs to be the closest possible argument in terms of the hierarchical structure. This means the THEME must be higher than the GOAL in the structure to make it possible for it to move up to the subject position. When we look at the structure in (33b), the THEME is higher and can therefore move up to the subject position without the GOAL interfering. Note that in (33a) the GOAL is structurally higher than the THEME which means technically, the GOAL can/should move up in nya-construction from (33a) but this is not allowed in Ewe. We are going by the assumption that nya-construction and other such constructions occur in Ewe with a structure that has the THEME higher than the GOAL. That is 'nya'-construction derives from the V-TH-GO order.

#### 2.6.1.1.3 Challenges of Proposal 1

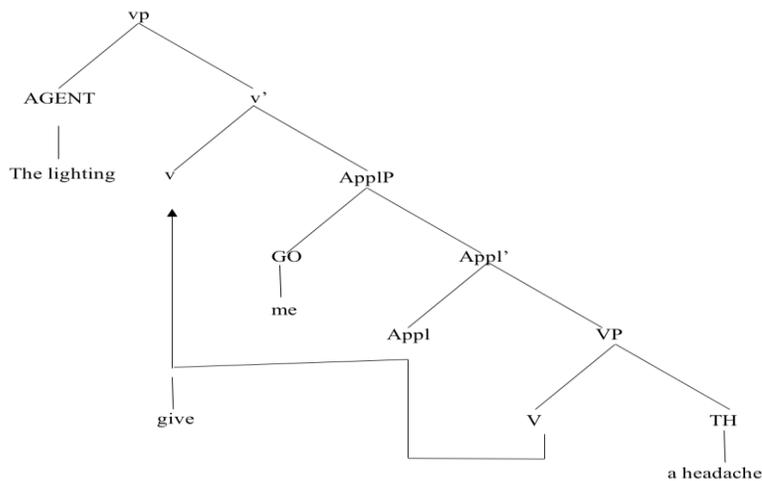
##### 2.6.1.1.3.1 Nominalization and Object Preposing

The nominalization data in (28) might indicate that the node V and the THEME share a closer link than the GOAL with the node V. In one assumption about the derivation of nominalization, the THEME and the verb might be analyzed as switching positions but a look from the structure in (33) shows that the THEME and the node V are not sisters. The THEME is sister to V-bar in both (33a) and (33b) which poses a problem for the switch that should make nominalization possible per the aforementioned assumption. In order for nominalization to have the slightest possibility, under this assumption, the THEME must be sister to the node V and as we can clearly see from (33) this is not the case. In view of this fact we can say that proposal 1 could not account for Nominalization in Ewe DOC. Just like nominalization, a plausible way to account for object preposing in Ewe DOC is to assume that there is a switch of the THEME and the verb V (at its merging position). For this to be easily possible, the THEME and the verb V must be sisters. When we look at the structures in (33), the THEME and the verb V are not sisters, this makes object preposing also a challenge to this proposal.

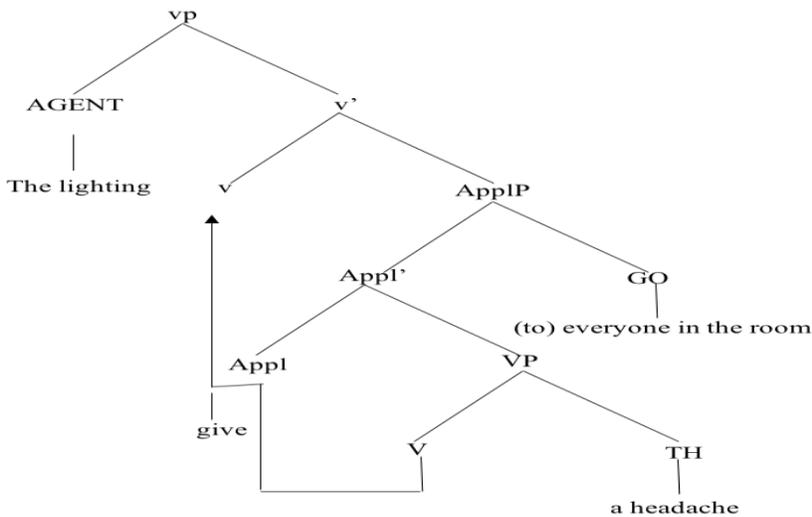
### 2.6.1.2 Proposal 2

The second proposal, we entertain for the Ewe DOC type V-TH-GO, is similar to Bruening (2010). In his bid to argue for a DOC involving heavy shift, Bruening (2010) proposed the structure in (34) below. According to Bruening, some sentences that appear on the surface as prepositional datives are actually DOCs with the argument order of V-TH-GO and because this order is identical with the regular prepositional datives with ‘to’, the DOCs of this type are very often taken to be prepositional datives which, according to him, is a wrong analysis. He proposed the structure in (34) for analyzing the VP structure of such constructions. Comparing (34b) to (34a), we can see that the linear order of the arguments (V-GO-TH) has changed but the C-commanding relationship between the GOAL and the THEME remains the same, thus, the GOAL argument asymmetrically C-commands the THEME in both structures.

(34) a. V-GO-TH (= example (17a))



b. V-TH-GO (= example (17c))



2.6.1.2.1 Implications of Proposal 2

This proposal is potentially interesting because, if Bruening’s account of the English DOC is correct and then, it could account for both DOCs in Ewe as well as DOCs in English. If we adopt this structure in analyzing the V-TH-GO DOCs in Ewe, then we are assuming that the Ewe DOC variant V-TH-GO derives in the same way as the rightward shift (R-shift) of heavy GOAL in English (Bruening,2010), only that the Ewe DOCs of this type do not require any heaviness. This proposal is desirable if successful, since it will give us a unified structural account for both DOC types in English and Ewe, which this thesis sets out to explore. However, as we will see, this proposal is unable to capture the c-commanding facts between the two object NPs in Ewe DOC type V-TH-GO, since the THEME does not c-command the GOAL in (34b).

2.6.1.2.2 Support for Proposal 2

2.6.1.2.2.1 Nominalization and Object preposing

As has been extensively reiterated in the preceding sections, nominalization and object-preposing in Ewe DOC may require the node V (where the verb merges) and the THEME to be sisters to have a possible analysis. The structure in (34) provides for the node V and the THEME to be sisters which might provide a possibility of switching the verb and the THEME to account for the THEME

restriction in object-preposing and nominalization in Ewe DOC. In that regard, proposal 2 might be compatible with object preposing in Ewe DOC. However, if the position of the verb after V-raising to v is what is relevant, then such an analysis might not hold. The verb in its derived position (v), is not the sister of TH in either of the trees – v is the sister of ApplP.

### 2.6.1.2.3 Challenges of proposal 2

#### 2.6.1.2.3.1 Nya-construction

Nya-construction may pose a challenge to this proposal. In our structural analysis of the ‘nya – construction’, we assume locality restriction of A-movement of THEME to subject position. In this regard, in order for the THEME argument to move up to the subject position, the THEME must structurally be the closest argument to the vacant subject position. When we look at both structures in (34) it is rather the GOAL that is in a higher position and not the THEME and as such, the GOAL is structurally closer to the (hitherto vacant) subject position but not the THEME. Since the GOAL does not move to subject position in nya-construction, we can safely conclude that the structure in (34b) is not compatible with nya-construction in Ewe DOC.

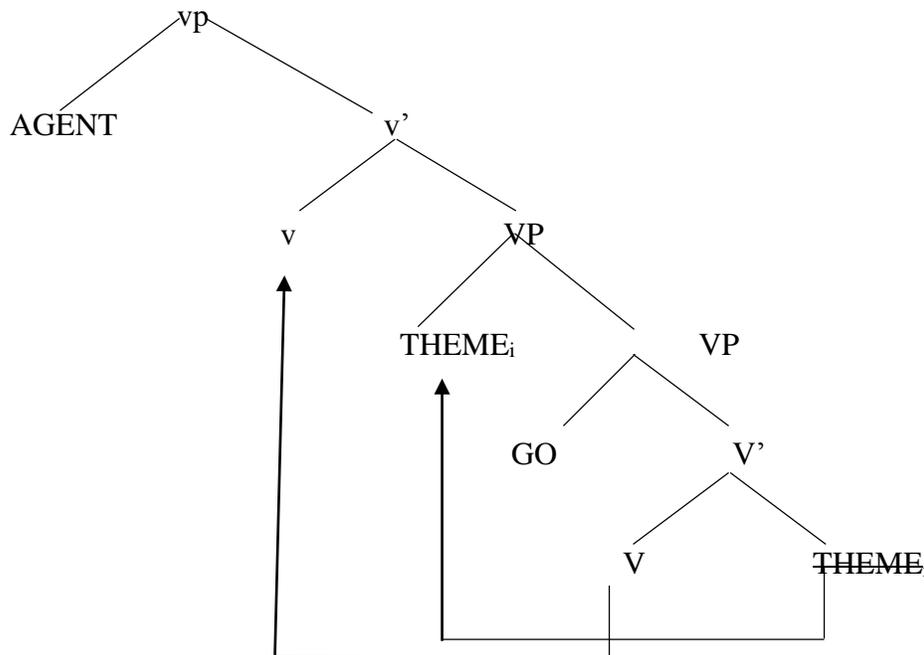
#### 2.6.1.2.3.2 Quantifier Scope

The quantifier scope relationship between the GOAL NP and the THEME NP in Ewe DOC revealed that when the THEME precedes the GOAL in the V-TH-GO order, the THEME gets scope over the GOAL. Syntactically in order for the THEME NP to have scope over the GOAL NP (the THEME asymmetrically c-commanding the GOAL), the THEME must be a sister to a node that contains the GOAL (this means the THEME must be higher than the GOAL in the structure). When we look at the structure in (34b) the THEME is not in a position to have scope over the GOAL. Consequently, the data from the quantifier scope relationship among the internal arguments in Ewe DOCs just as the ‘nya- construction’ pose a challenge to the structure in (34b) – our proposal 2.

### 2.6.1.3 Proposal 3 Shell structure + movement of THEME

The two proposals we have explored so far seem to have fallen short with one or more facts about the Ewe DOC. Proposal 2 which would have been our ideal proposal that could provide us with a unified account (for English and Ewe DOCs) is not able to capture the quantifier scope relationship between the two internal arguments. Moreover, proposal 2 could not account for the ‘nya-construction’ fact about Ewe DOCs. In view of this we explore proposal 3 seen in (35) below. Proposal 3 is a derivation from the shell structure to account for the Ewe DOC type V-TH-GO. In this proposal, the THEME merges with the verb below but moves up to adjoin the big VP at a position where it can asymmetrically C-command the GOAL as seen in (35) below. Note that this movement of THEME is only made in order to derive the V-TH-GO order from the V-GO-TH order. The structure for the basic DOC order V-GO-TH is the shell structure without movement of THEME (as seen in section 2.4.3. example (25)).

(35) THEME moves up







### 2.6.1.3.3 Challenges of Proposal 3

#### 2.6.1.3.3.1 Nominalization and Object-Preposing.

Nominalization may require the verb V and the THEME to be sisters in a structure under a switching of sisters' analysis. Our idea is that the same process responsible for deriving the object-preposing data in Ewe DOCs might be responsible for deriving nominalizations in Ewe DOCs as well. In Ewe Double Object Constructions, where we have two objects after the verb, it is only the THEME NP that gets preposed to the front of the verb. Two possible ideas come to mind about how to account for this data pattern. The first is the idea that there is a movement operation responsible for Object Preposing and Nominalization. This will mean that the object (THEME) moves across the verb to a position higher than where the verb moves to. Alternatively, just as explained under Proposals 1 & 2, there might be switching of sisters involved where the verb stays at its initial merging position without V-raising. Structurally, for this to be possible the THEME NP must be closer to the verb – the verb and the THEME must be sisters. From the structure in (35), the THEME starts as sister of the (verb) node V before moving up to derive the V-TH-GO. This second idea leads us to the question: whether or not there is V-raising in Object-Preposing and Nominalization and by extension to the other observed facts about the Ewe DOC (namely, 'nya-construction' and quantifier scope).

Proposal 3 so far seems the best proposal for Ewe DOCs but as we can see from the discussions, there is no obvious account for the observed facts about Nominalization and Object Preposing (the fact that the preposed object must be THEME, and cannot be GOAL). That is, we adopt proposal 3 for the Ewe DOC order V-TH-GO, but the THEME restriction in Nominalization and Object Preposing in Ewe DOC remains an unresolved issue.

## 2.7 Discussion so far

The discussion in this chapter so far, shows that currently the shell structure is able to adequately account for the c-commanding facts about DOCs, however, the variable word order of the basic Ewe DOC verbs poses a challenge to the shell structure analysis of DOCs. In the sections above we explored the idea (proposal 3) that the basic DOC structure is a shell structure with GOAL c-commanding THEME, V raising to v, and has the order V - GO - TH. The V - TH - GO order is

derived by the THEME moving leftwards to a position higher than the GOAL (but below the derived position of the verb). This proposal is supported by the facts on quantifier scope. It is also compatible with the ‘nya-construction’ paradigm.

In the next section we discuss an asymmetry with reflexive pronouns in Ewe DOCs. As we will see, this asymmetry gives more support to proposal 3.

## 2.8 Reflexive asymmetry

Reflexives such as himself/herself, ourselves, themselves, etc. belong to the group of items that are linguistically labeled as anaphoric expressions or simply anaphors. Generally, an anaphoric expression is an expression whose interpretation is dependent on another expression in the same context known as the antecedent expression. Because the anaphor is dependent on its antecedent for its interpretation, the anaphor is said to be bound by its antecedent. Syntactically, for an antecedent expression to bind an anaphor, the ‘anaphor must be c-commanded by its (appropriate) antecedent’ (Radford, 2004:93). Ewe allows reflexive binding in DOCs, where one object is a reflexive pronoun and the other object is the antecedent of the reflexive. This is similar to English as seen in (1) and (2).

- (1) a. I showed Mary herself (in the picture) = English  
 b. \*I showed herself Mary (in the picture)
- (2) a. Me fia Ama e-dokui (le foto la me) = Ewe  
 1SG SHOW NAME 3SG-REF ( BE picture DET in)  
 ‘I showed Ama herself (in the picture)’  
 b. \*Me fia edokui Ama (le foto la me)  
 1SG SHOW 3SG-REF NAME ( BE picture DET in)  
 ‘I showed herself Ama (in the picture)’

Note that using ‘I’ means that the subject cannot be the antecedent of the reflexive. The data from (2) is even more interesting when we know that Ewe permits both orders of V-TH-GO and V-GO-TH in its DOCs as seen in (3):

- (3) a. Me    fia    Ama   agbale la  
                   V        GO     TH  
          I    SHOW   A.   book   DET  
          ‘I showed Ama the book’
- b. Me    fia    agbale la    Ama  
                   V        TH            GO  
          I    SHOW   book   DET    A.  
          ‘I showed the book (to) Ama’

Even though both the V-GO-TH and the V-TH-GO order patterns of DOCs are possible in Ewe, there is, however, only one possible order of reflexive and antecedent – V-GO-TH. That is, (2a) is possible, (2b) repeated below as (4) is not possible:

- (4)            \* Me    fia    eḍokui    Ama  
                   AG            V            TH            GO  
                   1SG    SHOW    3SG-REF    NAME  
                   \*‘I showed herself Ama’

### 2.8.1 Claims

Based on the facts available on Ewe and its DOCs so far, we make the following claims. The first is that (2a) and (3a) reflect the basic order in Ewe DOCs: the basic order is V-GO-TH. Secondly, the V-TH-GO order in (3b) is derived by movement of TH leftwards across GO. And that (2b) or (4) is impossible because a reflexive NP cannot undergo "movement of THEME". These claims are established in the succeeding sections.

### 2.8.2 Is the reflexive GOAL or THEME?

As seen in (3), there is a variability of the word order arrangements of the two internal arguments in the basic DOC verbs in Ewe. This variability, in principle, creates a problem for determining the structure of (2) "fia Ama e-ḍokui". That is there is nothing to tell us if ‘Ama’ is the GO or the reflexive “e-ḍokui” is the GO. This is because, In Ewe, [ V NP1 NP2] can in principle be V GO TH or V TH GO, as long as meanings of NP1 / NP2 do not conflict with the theta-roles.

Generally, the GO argument of 'show' must normally be [+human]. And the TH argument of 'show' is often [-human], but it can also be [+human]. Thus, if 'show' = 'cause X to see Y', then 'X' = experiencer, who sees, 'Y' = THEME, who is seen. Here, GOAL is used as the label for the 'experiencer who sees' in sentences with 'show'. The GOAL of 'show' may also be [-human] but it must denote an animate being that can see. The meaning of 'show' is a 3-place predicate as seen in (5a). If the TH is a [-human] NP, the sentence has only one meaning. Both (3a) and (3b) mean (5b). Note that (5c), with a [-human] NP as GOAL, is not possible semantically because a book cannot 'see'.

- (5) a. *SHOW*( $x_{AG}, y_{TH}, z_{GO}$ )  
 b. *SHOW*(*speaker*<sub>AG</sub>, *book*<sub>TH</sub>, *Ama*<sub>GO</sub>)  
 c. \**SHOW*(*speaker*<sub>AG</sub>, *Ama*<sub>TH</sub>, *book*<sub>GO</sub>)

(6a) and (6b) are ambiguous in Ewe<sup>1</sup>. There are two [+human] NPs. Both NPs can be GOAL. The GOAL and the THEME can occur in both orders. Therefore, both sentences allow two meanings, (7a) or (7b).

- (6) a. Me    fia    Ama    Kofi  
 1SG    SHOW    NAME    NAME  
 'I showed Ama Kofi'  
 b. Me    fia    Kofi    Ama  
 1SG    SHOW    NAME    NAME  
 'I show Kofi Ama'
- (7) a. *SHOW*(*speaker*<sub>AG</sub>, *Kofi*<sub>TH</sub>, *Ama*<sub>GO</sub>)  
 b. *SHOW*(*speaker*<sub>AG</sub>, *Ama*<sub>TH</sub>, *Kofi*<sub>GO</sub>)

In example (8) (=2a, Ewe: *fia Ama eqokui*), the NPs are both [+human] and denote the same person. [*Ama*] denotes *Ama*, and [*eqokui*] denotes *Ama*.

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<sup>1</sup> especially as there is no case marking, nor strict word order to determine which argument is GOAL and which is THEME

- (8) Me fia Ama e-dokui (le foto la me)  
 1SG SHOW NAME 3SG-REF ( BE picture DET in)  
 ‘I showed Ama herself (in the picture)’ [=2a]

Therefore, we cannot tell from the meaning whether (8) has theta roles as in (9a) or (9b). Both possibilities (9a) and (9b) would mean the same thing as in (10).

- (9) a. I showed *Ama*<sub>TH</sub>, *herself*<sub>GO</sub>  
 b. I showed *Ama*<sub>GO</sub>, *herself*<sub>TH</sub>
- (10) *SHOW* (*speaker*<sub>AG</sub>, *Ama*<sub>TH</sub>, *Ama*<sub>GO</sub>)

An Ewe speaker’s intuition about the sentence in (8), will be that Ama is GO, and herself is TH. However, this intuition is not enough to draw a conclusion. Therefore, this intuition needs to be confirmed empirically in order to ascertain the structure of an Ewe DOC with a reflexive as the second object that is bound by the first object. A possible test to confirm the intuition is the construction known as “Stripping”.

### 2.8.3 Stripping (ellipsis) in coordination

Hankamer and Sag (1976) classified stripping under surface anaphora – the type of ellipsis phenomenon that obligatorily requires a syntactic control. Requiring a syntactic control means that the elided items are analyzed as available in the syntax of the construction in which they occur only that they are not spelled out or pronounced. Hankamer and Sag specifically defined stripping as “a rule that deletes everything in a clause under identity with corresponding parts of a preceding clause, except for one constituent (and sometimes a clause-initial adverb or negative)” (Hankamer & Sag, 1976: 409).

In Ewe, there are two coordinating words that corresponds to the English coordinating word ‘and’. They are ‘kple’-the conjunction which is usually used to coordinate two nouns or noun phrases,



- e. Kofi na **Ama** ga gake me-nye **Abla** o  
 K. GIVE A. money but NEG-BE A. NEG  
 ‘Kofi gave **Ama** money but not **Abla**’

From the coordination pattern in (11), as illustrated by the Ewe sentences in (12), the second conjunct is made up of only NP2 (and adverb like "also" or " but not"). In this way, NP2 seems to be coordinated with NP1. But NP1 is not directly before the coordinator ‘&’. As we can see from the pattern in (11), there is a YP, which is the second object in the DOC, after NP1 before the coordinator &. Also, both **NP1** and **NP2** are 'focused'. NP2 is semantically parallel to NP1. (That is, both NP1 and NP2 fulfill the THEME role of V as seen in (12a) – (12c) or both NP1 and NP2 fulfill the GOAL role of the verb as seen in (12d) and (12e))

#### 2.8.3.1.1 Possible analyses of this pattern

The stripping pattern in Ewe DOC, as shown in (11) and illustrated in (12), could be analyzed in two ways. One way is to assume that the coordination is between just NP1 and NP2 – the NP coordination analysis. Another way is to assume that the coordination is actually a clausal one and that some items were deleted in the second conjunct - the ellipsis analysis.

#### Analysis (i) NP-coordination

In this analysis, NP1 and NP2 are conjoined directly (NP coordination) and “& NP2” is moved to the right as shown in (13).

- (13) a [ SU V [NP1 & NP2 ] YP ] = D-structure  
 [ Kofi na [ **ga** eye **awu** ] Ama] (kpe-ɖe-ŋu)  
 K. GIVE **money** and **dress** A. ( add-to-side)

- b [ SU V [NP1 \_ ] YP ] & NP2 = S-structure  
 [ Kofi na [ **ga** ] Ama eye **awu** kpe-dɛ-ŋu  
 K. GIVE money A. and dress ( add-to-side)

Analysis (ii) ellipsis analysis

In this analysis, the assumption is that the conjuncts are not NPs but clauses or VPs. The conjuncts contain the same verb, the same YP (and the same subject), but different objects NP1 and NP2 (the focused NPs). Everything is 'deleted' except for NP2 in the second conjunct, this is known as 'ellipsis'. NOTE that in Ellipsis, elements that are deleted in the second conjunct are identical to corresponding elements (antecedents) in the first conjunct. This is illustrated in (14) below with the assumption that the conjuncts that are coordinated are VPs.

- (14) a [ SU [ Verb NP1 YP ] & [ Verb NP2 YP ] ] = D-structure  
 [Kofi [na **ga** Ama] eye [ na **awu** Ama]] (kpe-dɛ-ŋu)  
 K. GIVE **money** A. and GIVE **dress** A. (add-to-side)

- b [ SU [ Verb NP1 YP ] & [ ~~Verb~~ NP2 ~~YP~~ ] ] = S-structure (what is pronounced)  
 [Kofi [na **ga** Ama] eye [~~wɔ~~ na **awu** Ama]] (kpe-dɛ-ŋu)

The Ellipsis analysis in (14) is based on the "Stripping" pattern, cf. Hankamer&Sag (1976:409).

### 2.8.3.2 Support for the ellipsis analysis

The claim here is that the Ewe sentences in (12) involve clausal conjuncts or VP conjuncts plus ellipsis. The following section presents evidence in support of this claim.

As stated in section 2.8.3, Ewe has two conjunctions that mean "and" in English. These two conjunctions are "kple" for NP coordination and "eye" for VP coordination/clause coordination (Dzameshie, 1998). (15) is an example of NP coordination using 'and' in Ewe. "Eye" cannot be used in this case.

- (15) a. Kofi kple Ama va suku  
 K. and A. COME school  
 ‘Kofi and Ama came to school’  
 NP kple NP VP
- b. \*Kofi eye Ama va suku  
 K. and A. COME school  
 ‘Kofi and Ama came to school’  
 \*NP eye NP VP

A sentence coordination using ‘and’ in Ewe is given in (16), and a Verb Phrase coordination is given in (17). "Kple" is not used in these cases

- (16) a. Ama ɔ mɔlu **eye** Kofi ɔ bɔbɔ  
 A. EAT rice and K. EAT beans  
 ‘Ama ate rice and Kofi ate beans’  
 clause eye clause
- b. \*Ama ɔ mɔlu **kple** Kofi ɔ bɔbɔ  
 A. EAT rice and K. EAT beans  
 ‘Ama ate rice and Kofi ate beans’  
 \* clause kple clause
- (17) a. Ama ɔ mɔlu **eye** wo ɔ  
 A. COOK rice and 3SG EAT  
 ‘Ama cooked rice and ate’  
 SU VP eye VP
- b. \*Ama ɔ mɔlu **kple** wo ɔ  
 A. COOK rice and 3SG EAT  
 ‘Ama cooked rice and ate’  
 \* SU VP kple VP

The sentence in 18 below (= pattern in (11), (12a) above) has "eye" as its coordinating conjunction and not "kple".



The contrast between (21a) (good) and (21b) (bad) gives evidence that NP1 in (20) is GOAL and cannot be THEME.

(21) a. Me fia Ama e-dokui gake me-nye Afi oo  
 1SG SHOW NAME 3SG-REF but NEG-BE NAME NEG  
 ‘I showed **Ama** herself but not **Afi**.

b. \*Me fia Ama e-dokui gake me-nye evu-a oo  
 1SG SHOW NAME 3SG-REF but NEG-BE CAR-DET NEG  
 ‘I showed **Ama** herself but not **the car**’

The sentences in (21) show that the first argument of DOC involving a reflexive can not contrast with [-human] argument. It is important that NP1 is focused and the reflexive is not focused in the first conjunct. If NP2 (herself) is focused, sentence (21b) is good as we can see in (22).

(22) Me fia Ama e-dokui gake me-nye evu-a oo  
 1SG SHOW NAME 3SG-REF but NEG-BE CAR-DET NEG  
 ‘I showed Ama **herself** but not **the car**’

The fact that 21b is not possible indicates that [Ama] is not THEME in the reflexive DOC. [Ama] is GOAL in 21. The focused NPs that contrast with each other must have the same role. In 27, NP2 = [the car] is [-human]. It must be THEME, so [herself] must be THEME as well. The data confirms that the first NP in a reflexive DOC in Ewe is the GOAL argument and the reflexive NP is the THEME argument.

### 2.8.5 Analysis of reflexive asymmetry

The analysis of the reflexive asymmetry so far has provided evidence in establishing the following claims made in section 2.8.1.

The first of the claims is that (2a) and (3a) reflect the basic order in Ewe DOCs: the basic order is V-GO-TH. It has been established that ‘Ama’ in (2a) is the GOAL and also must come as the first argument after the verb.

(2) a.        Me    fia    Ama   e-dokui (le foto la me)  
                  1SG   SHOW   NAME   3SG-REF ( BE picture DET in)  
                  ‘I showed Ama herself (in the picture)’

(3) a.        Me    fia    Ama   agbale la  
                             V        GO        TH  
                  I    SHOW   A.    book    DET  
                  ‘I showed Ama the book’

If the V-GO-TH is the basic order, it seems only plausible that the V-TH-GO order in (3b) is derived by movement of TH leftwards across GO.

(3) b.        Me    fia    agbale la    Ama  
                             V        TH                    GO  
                  I    SHOW   book    DET    A.  
                  ‘I showed the book (to) Ama’

It follows that (2b) is impossible because a reflexive NP cannot undergo "movement of THEME". That is a reflexive THEME can not move above the GOAL since it remains bound to the GOAL and therefore the GOAL must asymmetrically c-command it.

(2) b.        \*Me    fia    edokui    Ama (le foto la me)  
                  1SG   SHOW   3SG-REF NAME ( BE picture DET in)  
                  ‘I showed herself Ama (in the picture)’

The analysis of the reflexive asymmetry consequently provides support for proposal 3. This is because, in proposal 3, the impossible example (2b) “\*... show TH(reflexive) GO(antecedent)” in Ewe, would result from something happening to the reflexive (THEME), namely leftward movement. It is plausible that the reason why (2b) is impossible is that the reflexive cannot undergo movement.

In proposal 2 (Bruening's rightward specifier theory), the impossible example (2b) “\* ... show TH(reflexive) GO(antecedent)” in Ewe, would not involve anything happening to the reflexive. If something 'happens' in the impossible order under proposal 2, it happens to the GOAL argument (the GOAL is ordered to the right of the Appl-bar constituent, instead of to the left of the Appl-bar constituent). So it is not clear how proposal 2 could account for the reflexive asymmetry.



### 3. DATA ON ACCEPTABILITY JUDGEMENT TEST OF EWE DOC ORDER PATTERNS

#### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we present some data from an experimental study on the acceptability or otherwise of the V TH GO and the V GO TH order patterns involving the two groups of double object taking verbs in Ewe across three different dialect areas of the language which was conducted in the summer of 2014<sup>2</sup>. This data was collected based on Essegbey's (2010) assumption about Double Object constructions in Gbe cluster of languages of which Ewe is a member. According to him, the verbs that take double objects in these languages are in two groups. The first group which consist of only three verbs in Ewe namely; 'ná' – give, 'fiá' – teach or show and 'biá' – ask, is generally considered as the basic Double Object Construction verbs in Ewe. The second class which is a much larger group is made up of verbs referred to as Inherent Complement Verbs (ICVs) example of which is the verb 'da' - "to cause an object to move away". The distinction between the two groups, as far as the DOC is concerned, is the fact that the object positions of the first group (the basic DOC) is variable, whilst that of the second group is fixed to the V TH GO order. that is, the GOAL and the THEME arguments of such verbs can interchange positions in a DOC without faulting the sentence's grammaticality. In other words, this group takes the THEME-GOAL as well as its alternating variant GOAL-THEME argument structures (Essegbey,2010).

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<sup>2</sup>specifically, from the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 2014 to the 12<sup>th</sup> of August 2014

### 3.2 Objectives

Specifically, the questionnaire was designed to find out, among other things; (1) to what extent speakers of the three different dialects (*Anlo, Tongu and Wedome*) agree on the distinction between the two groups of verbs discussed by Essegbey (2010); (2) if there is a preference of a particular DOC pattern by a particular dialect group; (3) if there are alternative ways of expressing three participants (arguments) in a sentence in Ewe apart from DOC.

### 3.3 Design of the questionnaire

The questionnaire was in two parts. The first part consisted of questions that seek to find some background information about the informants (intended to know their linguistic backgrounds). I reckon this can be very useful in detailed analysis of the data collected. The second part consisted of the acceptability judgment test, where Ewe sentences were administered to the participants and their task is to indicate which sentence is acceptable and which is not.

The experimental sentences for the acceptability judgment test were made up of two verbs (one from the basic DOC verbs and one from the ICVs). Each verb was used in 4 similar sentences, making 8 sentences in all. The 4 sentences each were further divided into two. Two of the sentences had proper NAMES in GOAL argument positions. The other two had names in the Agent argument positions but first person singular PRONOUNS in the GOAL argument positions. The main reason for using the pronoun is to recheck the responses in another way. The informants were asked to decide if the sentences were acceptable or not. The participants were also asked to provide alternative ways of expressing the same ideas the experimental sentences expressed.

### 3.4 Sampling method

Although there are many dialects of the Ewe language, three of them are regarded as the main dialects spoken in southeastern Ghana. These three dialects are spoken in three different geographical areas of the Volta region of Ghana. The researcher went to the main or traditional towns associated with these dialects (namely; Anloga for the Anlo dialect, Adidome for the Tongu dialect and Ho for the Wedome dialect) and selected at random 30 informants per town, meaning 90 informants in total. The informants were required to be natives of the town in question.

### 3.5 The Informants

The informants were randomly selected at the various locations. Both males and females participated but the gender ratio was not checked because the researcher did not anticipate gender differences in the responses. The ages of the informants were between 21 and 60, with varied educational background ranging from no formal education at all to tertiary level education. Aside the main questionnaire, the respondents were asked to give a few information about themselves including other languages they speak and the places outside their home regions that they have ever stayed for a period beyond a year<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> in order to ascertain their linguistic background.

### 3.6 The Sentences

Tick ✓ for acceptable and ✗ for unacceptable

Kofi na Ama ga

Kofi na ga Ama

Kofi na-m ga

Kofi na ga-m

Kofi da Ama kpe

Kofi da kpe Ama

Kofi da kpe-m

Kofi da-m kpe

#### 3.6.1 Glosses and translations of the sentences

- (1). Kofi na Ama ga  
v GO TH  
K. GIVE A. money  
“Kofi gave Ama some money”
- (2). Kofi na ga Ama  
v TH GO  
K. GIVE money A.  
“Kofi gave some money to Ama”
- (3). Kofi na-m ga  
v - GO TH  
K. GIVE-1SG money  
‘Kofi gave me some money’
- (4). Kofi na ga-m  
v TH-GO  
K. GIVE money-1SG  
“Kofi gave some money to me”

- (5). \*Kofi da Ama kpe  
       v GO TH  
       K. ICV A. stone  
       “Kofi threw a stone at Ama”
- (6). Kofi da kpe Ama  
       v TH GO  
       K. ICV stone A.  
       “Kofi threw a stone at Ama”
- (7). Kofi da kpe-m  
       v TH-GO  
       K. ICV stone-1SG  
       “Kofi threw a stone at me”
- (8). \*Kofi da-m kpe  
       v- GO TH  
       K. ICV-1SG stone  
       “Kofi threw a stone at me”

### 3.7 The results

Table 4 Key : 1 = 'na' ('give' basic verb) , 2 = 'da' ('throw', ICV)

	Anlo		Tongu		Wedome	
	Acceptable	Unaccept.	Acceptable	Unaccept.	Acceptable	Unaccept.
1 V GO <sub>NAME</sub> TH	09	21	17	13	23	07
1 V GO <sub>PRN</sub> TH	30	00	20	10	28	02
1 V TH GO <sub>NAME</sub>	30	00	30	00	27	03
1 V TH GO <sub>PRN</sub>	30	00	30	00	28	02
2 V GO <sub>NAME</sub> TH	00	30	00	30	09	21
2 V GO <sub>PRN</sub> TH	10	20	11	19	12	18
2 V TH GO <sub>NAME</sub>	30	00	30	00	26	04
2 V TH GO <sub>PRN</sub>	28	02	30	00	29	01

### 3.8 Brief Discussion

A preliminary analysis of the results shows that, to some extent, the informants from the three dialects agree on the distinction made by Essegbey. This is evidenced by the fact that 71% of all the informants accepted the sentence involving group 1 verb (basic) in the V GO TH order whereas, only 23% accepted the sentence involving a group 2 verb (ICV) in V GO TH order. However, when it comes to the V TH GO order, the two classes recorded similar acceptance percentage with the basic DOC verb and the ICV recording 97% and 96% acceptance respectively. The second observation from the data is the preference of the V TH GO order irrespective of the verb involved. There is a clear preference of the THEME-GOAL order over the GOAL-THEME order in DOC especially in the Anlo dialect. This is evidenced from the data concerning the group 1 verb 'na'. When 'na' a basic DOC verb that takes both orders is put to test, a combined total of 45.6% of the informants, including 70% of the Anlo speakers, think the V GO TH order, with a proper name at GOAL argument position, is unacceptable. While this preference might indicate that the basic order of the DOC in Ewe is, not V GO TH but, V TH GO, we argue that this is simply a preference probably due to : (i) the frequency of V TH GO order in constructions such as the SVC with three arguments and (ii) the fact that the verbs that permit the V GO TH order are just three in the language (and even these three verbs have the V TH GO as an alternative order as well) and as such speakers of the language will normally encounter the V GO TH order lesser than the V TH GO. Nevertheless, the grammar, as we have shown in chapter two (with the reflexives), shows that the V GO TH is the basic. The situation is, however, different with the Pronoun. Where as, just 23% of the Anlo speakers for example accepted the V GO TH order involving the basic DOC verb and a proper name at the GOAL argument position, a whopping 100% of the same Anlo speakers accepted the same order with the same verb but with a pronoun at GOAL position. The

other two dialects (Tongu and Wedome) also recorded higher acceptance percentages with the pronoun in GOAL argument position.

The third observation, which is not documented in the table above, is the prevalence of serial verb construction as an alternative of DOC in the Ewe language. When asked to suggest alternative sentence for the experimental sentences most of the informants including 100% of the Tongu speakers provided a serial verb construction equivalent of the sentences provided.

### 3.9 The ICV and the THEME-GOAL order

The second group of verbs that take DOC in Ewe is a subset of a larger group of verbs called Inherent Complement Verbs (with ‘da’- ‘to cause an object to move away’ as a representative of this large group) (Korsah, 2011, 2015, Anyanwu, 2012, Nwachuku, 1985). When ICVs take DOCs they have a fixed word order of V TH GO as seen in (2) and as supported by the results from section 3.7.

(9) a. Kofi da kpé Ami  
           V TH GO  
       NAME THROW stone NAME  
       ‘Kofi threw stone at Ami’

b. \*Kofi da Ami kpé  
           V GO TH  
       NAME THROW NAME stone  
       “Kofi threw stone at Ami”

The V-TH-GO order of the ICV in DOC reflects the second variant order pattern of basic DOC verbs in Ewe.

(10) Kofi ná ga Ama  
           V TH GO  
       NAME GIVE money NAME  
       “Kofi gave money to Ama”



## **4. ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF DOUBLE OBJECTS IN EWE: SVC**

### 4.1 Introduction

In the Ewe language, there are certain constructions that seem to take double objects in a single clause - that is two NPs at object positions in a single clause. Among such constructions is the Serial Verb Construction. A serial verb construction is generally defined as ‘a sequence of two or more verb phrases’ within the same clause, sharing the same subject and in some cases sharing some objects, and ‘without any marker of syntactic dependency’ (Ameka, 2006). There are various forms of SVC in Ewe depending on the argument structure of the verbs involved but the form that is of interest to this thesis is the form illustrated in (I) below:

(1) NP1 V1 NP2 V2 NP3

In the succeeding sections we shall attempt to analyze this form of SVC within the same framework as the DOCs.

### 4.2 SVC in the Literature

Though Serial Verb Construction is a phenomenon that has been extensively associated with Kwa languages in West Africa (of which the Ewe language is a member), some languages in other continents such as Eastern Asia, Central America and the Caribbean have also been reported as having the SVC phenomenon (Baker 1989). In Baker’s words, SVCs in these languages “provide a way of expressing semantic relationships that is different from those used in familiar European languages (including English) thereby presenting an important case of non correspondence in comparative syntax” (Baker 1989: 514). Baker went on further to indicate that the second verb in some SVCs could be analyzed as a preposition, an adverb, or an adjectival predicate (which just happens to have the same orthography and pronunciation as a verb in that language), in a coordination.



- (4) Kofi kɔ ga na Ama = **DOC verb in ICV**  
 Name TAKE money GIVE Name  
 ‘Kofi gave money to Ama’

#### 4.4 SVC: An alternative to DOC in Ewe

SVCs serve as alternative means of communicating situations involving three participants (arguments) in Ewe. It is worth noting that not all SVCs express situations or events involving three participants, however, our focus will be on the SVCs that involve three participants. We shall attempt syntactic analysis of this type of SVC in the same framework as the (single-verb) 3-place predicates used in the DOCs. Specific questions pertaining to the SVC that we seek answers for (I) what is the relationship between the two verbs in an SVC involving two verbs, (II) what is the syntactic relationship between the object NPs and the two verbs in the SVC type shown in (1) above and (III) how do these relationships compare with the English and Ewe DOCs.

#### 4.5 The Status of the Verbs in SVC

According to Ameka (2006), the verb phrases in SVCs in Ewe are symmetrical and have ‘equal status’ in the construction. Ameka’s claim suggests that each verb phrase in an SVC in Ewe can have its own phrasal elements such as modal and aspectual markers. Such a claim, in a way, might seem contradictory to Baker’s assumption that there is usually one tense or aspect specification for all the verbs in a SVC. Nevertheless, as we will see shortly (in section 4.5.3, with example 14b) these two seemingly opposite claims can be fused into one. That is, aspects can be expressed individually on the (two) verbs but it is the same aspectual marker/tense marker that is being expressed twice not different aspects. Baker’s position is further strengthened by Agbedor’s claim that ‘the verbs in SVC form a complex VP’. This leads to the question of the status/nature of verbs in the SVC in Ewe.

Generally, almost all verbs, so far as they describe series of related activities or situations, can occur in an SVC in Ewe. Pasch (2002) identified some groups of verbs that seem to act as main verbs in some constructions and an auxiliary verb or even a preposition in what seems to be an

SVC. These verbs are labeled ‘coverbs’ or ‘verbids’ in the literature. Examples of these verbs are ‘tso’, ‘de’ and ‘na’. What follows is an exploration of these verbs as identified by Pasch (2002)<sup>6</sup>.

#### 4.5.1 ‘tso’ as main verb (‘come from, originate in’; ‘from’)

- (5) e – tso – a                      Lome  
 3SG-ORIGINATE-HAB    L.  
 ‘She/he usually comes from Lome’

In (5), the verb ‘tso’ is used as the only verb in the construction, which takes the habitual marker suffix (a) as well.

#### 4.5.1.1 ‘tso’ as Preposition

- (6) Kofi a – mli    kpe – a    a – tso                      to – a                      dzi  
 K.    POST-roll    stone-DEF    POST-ORIGINATE    mountain-DEF    on  
 ‘Kofi will roll the stone from the mountain’

In (6), ‘tso’ is used as the second verbal element in a seemingly serial verb construction and it takes the future marker (a) as did the first verbal element ‘mli’ – ‘roll’. In (7) and (8) below, the features exhibited by ‘tso’ suggest a prepositional analysis.

‘tso’ can be stranded by focus-fronting its complement in a construction like (7)

- (7)    nutsu    la    gbɔ - e    wo – a - xɔ    dadi    la                      a – tso    \_\_\_\_\_  
       man    DEF    at-    FOC    3PL-POST-get    cat    DEF    POST-originate

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<sup>6</sup> The original version of Pasch’s paper is written in German. I am grateful to my supervisor who, luckily for me, reads and understands German, and who generously and meticulously explained what the author wrote in the relevant sections to me in English

‘tso’ can also be pied-pipe (the complement of ‘tso’ is focus – fronted together with ‘tso’) as seen in (8)

(8) tso e – fe ɖevime ke me – te ŋu kpɔ - a nu o  
 originate 3SG-POSS childhood INTENS NEG-approach side see-HAB thing NEG

#### 4.5.2 ‘ɖe’ as main verb (‘reach/arrive at’; ‘to, against’)

(9) e - ɖe wo - fe ha me  
 3SG-reach 3PL-POSS company in  
 ‘She/he came to be in their company’

In (9) above, the verb ‘ɖe’ is used as the main and only verb in the construction.

##### 4.5.2.1 ‘ɖe’ as a preposition

In (10) and (11) below, ‘ɖe’ is used as the second verbal element in a Serial verb construction but in both cases, ‘ɖe’ can be analyzed as a preposition – thus ‘into’ and ‘at’ respectively.

(10) e – yi (ɖe) k ɔ fe – a me  
 3SG-go (reach) village-DEF in  
 ‘She/he went into the village’

(11) e - nɔ kpe da – m (ɖe) le la (dzi)  
 3SG-stay stone throw-PROG (reach) bridge DEF (on)  
 ‘He/she was throwing stones at the bridge’

##### 4.5.2.1.1 MALEFACTIVE ‘ɖe’

In (12), ‘ɖe’ is used in a malefactive serial verb construction and in this construction too, ‘ɖe’ can be analysed as a preposition either as ‘on’ or ‘to’.

- (12) wo – wu gbɔ ɖe – m / ɖe nye – akɔŋta me  
 3PL-kill goat reach-1SG / reach 1SG-cost in  
 ‘They killed a goat on me / to my cost’

4.5.3 ‘na’ (as ‘give’ in main verb construction) = NP1\_NP2 NP3 / NP1\_NP3 NP2 and NP1 V1 NP2\_NP3

- (13) a. E - na ga ηutsu la  
 3SG-GIVE money man DEF  
 ‘She or he gave the man money’

- b. E - na ηutsu la ga  
 3SG-GIVE man DEF money  
 ‘She or he gave the man money’

- (14) a. E-na-a ga ηutsu la = **DOC**  
 3SG-GIVE-HAB money man DEF  
 ‘He or she usually gives the man money’

- b. E - kɔ-á ga na-á ηutsu la = **SVC**  
 3SG-TAKE-HAB money GIVE-HAB man DEF  
 ‘He or she usually gives the man money’

In (13) and (14a), ‘na’, a trivalent verb, is used as the main and the only verb in the constructions and it takes ‘ga’ – money and ‘ηutsu la’ – the man as its double object complements. In (14), the habitual marker (a) is expressed as a suffix on the main verb ‘na’ which indicates the main verb status of ‘na’ in the sentences. In (14b) where ‘na’ is in V2 position in the SVC it takes a habitual marker as well, which indicates the verbal status of ‘na’ in the SVC as well.

4.5.3.1 'na' (as 'for' or 'to' in BENEFACTIVE or GOAL construction) = NP1 V NP2  
 \_\_\_NP3

- (15) a. E – fi            ga            na – m  
 3SG-STEAL money    GIVE-1SG  
 'S/he stole money for me'
- b. Enye - e        wo        fi        ga        na \_\_\_\_\_  
 1SG-FOC 3SG STEAL money GIVE  
 'S/he stole the money for me'
- (16) a. E - gblɔ - e            na – m  
 3SG-SAY-3SG    GIVE-1SG  
 'S/he said it to me'
- b. Enye - e    wo        gblɔ-e        na \_\_\_\_\_  
 1SG-FOC 3SG    SAY-3SG    GIVE  
 'S/he said it to me'

In (15a) and (16a), 'na' is used in the second verb position in a typical Serial verb construction. In (15), 'na' seems to have the prepositional meaning 'for' in the English translation which corresponds to a benefactive construction and in (16), 'na' can be understood as the preposition 'to' in what seems to be a Dative construction. The NPs that comes after 'na' in this construction can be focus-fronted leaving 'na' stranded as illustrated in the b-sentences. This behavior is typical of prepositions in Ewe as shown in (17) (Ameka in Aboh & Essegbey 2010b).

- (17) a.    ηtsu    la – e        me-wɔ    dɔ    na \_\_\_\_\_  
 man    DEF-FOC    1SG-do    work    GIVE  
 'It is the MAN I worked for'

- b. asi me - e mama na ga Kofi le (Ibid :155)  
 market in-FOC grandma GIVE money K. at  
 “IN THE MARKET grandma gave money to Kofi”

In (17a), again ‘na’ is used as the second verb in a Serial verb construction, but the noun phrase, ‘ɲutsu la’ – ‘the man’, whose original position is after ‘na’ is focus-fronted. In (8b), the object of the prepositional phrase ‘le asi me’ – ‘at the market’ is focus-fronted leaving the preposition ‘le’ stranded. ‘na’ in example (15), (16) and (17a) behaves in this same way indicating a prepositional analysis of ‘na’.

#### 4.6 Putting it all together

The elaborations from Pasch (2002) might suggest that indeed as indicated by Baker (1989) the second verbs in some SVCs in Ewe can in some cases behave like prepositions. The main data from Pasch (2002) that this work is particularly interested in, is the data concerning the DOC verb ‘na’(give) in section 4.5.3. examples (14), (15), (16) and (17a). Whiles the use of ‘na’ in example (14), particularly (14b) indicates that ‘na’ is a verb in the SVC, examples (15), (16), and (17a) seem to indicate that ‘na’ might be performing a ‘benefactive or dative’ prepositional role rather than a ‘verb’ role. What follows is an examination of these two seemingly contradictory indications.

#### 4.7 The status of V2 in SVCs with a DOC verb as V2

The DOC verbs and the relevant ICVs, like most verbs in Ewe, can occur in the SVC type in (1), when they do, they are normally in V2 position as shown in (18) and (19) below. (Note: DOC<sub>1</sub> = basic DOC verb<sup>7</sup>, DOC<sub>2</sub> = ICV in DOC, SVC<sub>1</sub> = SVC which is a ‘pure paraphrase’ of an equivalent DOC, and SVC<sub>2</sub> = an SVC which has no DOC equivalent).

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<sup>7</sup> a basic DOC verb is one of "ná ‘give’, fiá ‘teach, show’ or biá ‘ask’





However, there are cases where ‘na’ can appear as V2 in an SVC with a verb (phrase) as V1 that is not compatible semantically with the meaning "Recipient comes to have/possess Theme" such as example (23).

- (23) a. Me wɔ dɔ-a na ηutsu – a = SVC  
 ISG DO work-DEF GIVE man – DEF  
 ‘I did the work for the man’
- b. \*Me wɔ ηutsu –a dɔ-a = DOC  
 ISG DO man – DEF work-DEF  
 ‘I did the work for the man’

In cases like (23), the Beneficiary/GOAL (ηutsu – a) benefits from the activity, but he doesn't come to 'possess' (dɔ-a) the work in any sense. This behavior of ‘na’ is in tandem with the preposition ‘for’ in the benefactive construction in English as shown in (24).

- (24) a. I did the work for the man = Benefactive  
 b. \*I did the man the work = DOC

The discussions above are indicative that when the Ewe DOC verb ‘na’ occurs in an SVC as V2 it can be analyzed as a verb or a preposition depending on the meaning of the V1.



## 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

### 5.1 Introduction

In this thesis, we have syntactically compared the double object construction in Ewe with the double object construction in English focusing on the properties of the internal arguments of the verb phrases. The study was carried out within the Principles and Parameters Theory. To be precise, the analyses were done using some of the assumptions of the minimalist approach to grammar. The first chapter of this thesis provided the general background of the work, a brief introduction to the Ewe language and explored some theoretical issues within the framework adopted in this work. The succeeding chapters delved into the discussion of the dative alternation, zoomed in on the structure of DOCs, presented data on acceptability judgment test conducted on orders involving pronouns in Ewe DOCs and briefly introduced serial verb construction as an alternative realization of three place argument verbs in Ewe with a focus on a DOC verb at V2 position. This final chapter summarizes the main findings of this work, provides the conclusion and makes recommendations for future research.

### 5.2 Main findings of the study

This research has explicated some evidence in support of the shell structure that has been assumed for the standard English DOC. It is also evident from this study that the shell structure could account for the basic DOC order V-GO-TH in Ewe as well. It became apparent from this research that English and Ewe both have two DOC orders namely; V-GO-TH and V-TH-GO. However, the shell structure as it were, could not account for the V-TH-GO orders in both languages. Instead Bruening's (2010) analysis of rightward shift in of heavy GOAL NP and its resulting structure could account for the V-TH-GO in English. And for Ewe, Bruenings's account could not explain the quantifier scope facts between the two internal NPs, instead, the analysis of leftward movement of THEME across GOAL and its resulting structure seem more appropriate.

From the acceptability judgment data, it was confirmed that there are indeed two order patterns of DOCs in Ewe as previously described by Essegbey (2010). However, contrary to Essegbey's (2010) assertion that the basic DOC order in Ewe is that of V-TH-GO, with the adoption of 'the

leftward movement of THEME proposal' and with support from the reflexive asymmetry in Ewe DOCs, this study has established that the basic DOC order in Ewe is V-GO-TH just as the basic order in English.

Regarding the DOC order (s) in English, it was realized, following from Bruening (2010), that contrary to the standard view of English DOC as having just the V-GO-TH order, English has both the V-GO-TH and the V-TH-GO orders of DOCs just as there are with Ewe DOCs the differences being that the English V-TH-GO order requires a heavy NP GOAL argument in order to be shifted to the right-side of THEME where as Ewe requires no such heaviness with the THEME in order to move left across GOAL, also the GOAL c-commands the THEME in both orders of the English DOCs, however, with the Ewe DOCs the GOAL c-commands the THEME in the order V-GO-TH and the THEME c-commands the GOAL in the order V-TH-GO.

### 5.3 Conclusion

Ewe and English both have two DOC order patterns namely, V-GO-TH and V-TH-GO. The V-GO-TH order is the basic DOC order in both languages. While, English DOC requires a heavy NP as GOAL in order to derive the V-TH-GO order, Ewe DOC does not require such heaviness. The V-TH-GO order in English, has the GOAL c-commanding the THEME, while the V-TH-GO order in Ewe has the THEME c-commanding the GOAL.

The shell structure could account for the V-GO-TH DOCs in Ewe and English. While English derives its V-TH-GO order by rightward shifting of GOAL, Ewe derives its V-TH-GO order by leftward movement of THEME across GOAL.

### 5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

Throughout this work there have been a lot of analyses based on assumptions that could benefit from further probes. For example, the analyses of the facts from Essegbey (2010), namely; the Object-Preposing, Nominalization and the Nya-construction patterns in Ewe adopted assumptions that could benefit from further probing. The verb is assumed move from V to v via V-raising per

our analyses of the simple sentences illustrating the two DOC order patterns, however, it is not clear whether this V-raising applies in any of these (i.e. Object-Preposing, Nominalization and Nya-) constructions. Future work could probe this question. An answer to this question perhaps might be relevant to the Theme Restriction in Object-Preposing and Nominalization.

The question of THEME restriction in Object-Preposing and Nominalizations in itself requires future study to understand why only the THEME can be preposed and not the GOAL.

Also the nature of the ICVs in Ewe DOC requires a further probe to establish the relationship between DOCs of this type and the DOCs involving the three basic DOC verbs in Ewe. When ICVs take double objects the order is fixed at V-TH-GO even though the basic order is V-GO-TH in Ewe. It is not clear whether, a DOC of this type is actually a DOC or a different construction disguised as a DOC.

Similarly, the SVCs in Ewe involving ICVs and basic DOC verbs need more research to reveal the status of these verbs in the Serial Verb Construction form.

The structure of the DOC in English will also benefit from a closer study in light of the indication from Bruening (2010) and Haddican (2010) that the English DOC could have both V-GO-TH and V-TH-GO orders. More data on the V-TH-GO order might show for example that the THEME can sometimes have scope over the GOAL which might provide a cross-linguistic support to our proposal for the V-TH-GO order in Ewe.

Finally, in bid to find a unified account for the structure of DOCs cross-linguistically, comparative studies such as the current work should be encouraged.



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