Give-constructions with final clauses – comparing Haitian and Martinican[*]

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1. Introduction

The present squib examines multi-verb constructions with cognates of the verb GIVE: *ba(y)* in Haitian Creole (HC) (1) and *ba* in Martinican Creole (MQ) (2).[1]

(1) a. M   a   pote liv   la **ba** wou.   (Haitian)
1SG FUT bring book DEF GIVE 2SG
'I will bring you the book.' (Fattier 2013: ex 49-174)
   b. Li   achte savon **bay** Mari lave men   li.
3SG buy   soap GIVE M.   wash hands 3SG
'S/he bought soap and gave (it) to Mary to wash her hands (with it).'

(2) a. Pòl pòté liv-la   **ba** Mari.   (Martinican)
Paul bring book-DET GIVE Marie
'Paul brought the book to/for Mary.'
   b. Mari ay chèché dlo   **ba**   tianmay bwè.
Marie go get   water GIVE child   drink
'Marie est allée chercher de l'eau + donner à boire aux enfants.'
'Marie went to get some water and gave to drink to the children.'
(Jean-Louis 2019: 69, 53)

The constructions in (1) and (2) are also called *GIVE- serial verb constructions* in the literature. Serial verb constructions are characterized by a lack of verbal properties (no negation, no TAM marking) and consequently it is often not clear whether cognate forms of verbs are still synchronically verbal or whether they have been reanalysed as prepositions (see Jansen et al 1978, Sebba 1987, Lord 1993 for grammaticalization of serial verbs, Maurer et al 2013 for

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[1] HC BA(Y) and MQ BA are **main verbs meaning 'to give'** (5)-a/b
(i)   a. Jan **bay** Mari yon liv.   (Haitian)
         b. Jan **ba**   Mari an   liv. (Jean-Louis, 2019, ex 1)   (Martinican)
           J   GIVE M   a   book
           'Jean gave Marie a book.'

GIVE-SVCs). The label serial verb construction therefore often includes constructions that synchronically do not contain two verbs but a verb and a preposition.

The analysis of serial verb constructions has been central in studies of Creole languages (for serial verbs in Creole languages see Jansen, Koopman & Muysken 1978, Sebba 1987, Veenstra & Muysken 2017, for GIVE serial verb constructions in Creole languages see Maurer et al 2013).

Studies of GIVE-serial verbs generally focus on constructions in which GIVE introduces a DP complement. In this squib we contrast the GIVE-constructions with Haitian *ba(y)*/ Martinican *ba* introducing DP complements with GIVE-constructions introducing clausal complements.

Section 2 briefly summarises the contrasts observed between Haitian *ba(y)* and Martinican *ba* introducing DPs. Section 3.1 compares the restrictions on HC *ba(y)* introducing a DP with the restrictions found for HC *ba(y)* introducing final clauses. Section 3.2 examines contexts with final clauses in Martinican. Section 4 compares HC *ba(y)* introducing final clauses with MQ *ba* followed by a clause. Section 5 concludes.

2. Haitian BA(Y) and Martinican BA introducing DP complements

Jean-Louis (2019) shows in detail that Martinican (MQ) *ba* with a DP complement has been reanalysed as a preposition introducing a recipient or a beneficiary. Building on Jean-Louis's work, Cabredo Hofherr (2022) compares Haitian (HC) *ba(y)* with MQ *ba* showing that HC *ba(y)* constructions introducing DPs contrast with MQ *ba*+DP in several respects.

While both MQ *ba* and HC *ba(y)* introduce recipients with verbs of transfer (3) (see also 1a/2a), only MQ *ba* introduces beneficiaries (4).

(3) a. Jan vréyé lèt-la   ba Mari.   (Martinican)
        J. send letter-DET GIVE M.
        'Jean sent the letter to Marie.' (Jean-Louis 2019:33, ex 79g)
    b. Jan voye let la bay   Mari.   (Haitian)
        J. send letter DET GIVE M.
        'Jan sent the letter to Mari.' lit. 'J. sent the letter give M.' (Cabredo Hofherr 2022)

MQ *ba* and HC *ba(y)* differ with respect to beneficiaries. Only MQ *ba* can introduce beneficiaries with verbs that do not imply transfer as in (4), while HC *ba(y)* is rejected in these contexts (5). Beneficiaries in HC have to be introduced by *pou* 'for' (5).[2]

(4) a. Jan ka   chèché an apartèman (ba   Mari).   (Martinican)
        Jean NONP look-for a apartement GIVE Marie
        'John is looking for an apartment {*to/for} Mary.' (Jean-Louis 2019, ex 81g)
    b. Man konstwi an bel kay ba   kò   mwen
        1SG build   a nice house GIVE body 1SG
        'I built a nice house for myself.'

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[2] Martinican also allows *pou* 'for' to introduce beneficiaries - the parallel examples to (4a/b) *ba* with *pou* are also possible.

(5) a. Li   chache apatman ***bay** Mari / **ᵒᵏpou** Mari.   (Haitian)
      3SG look-for flat   GIVE Mari / for   Mari.
       'S/he is looking for a flat for Mari.'

    b. Mwen konstwi yon bel   kay   ***ban** mwen / **ᵒᵏpou** mwen.
      1SG   build   a   nice house GIVE 1SG /   for 1SG
      'I built a nice house for myself.' (Cabredo Hofherr 2022)

In HC *ba(y)* introduces the recipient with verbs of transfer. With verbs that do not imply transfer HC *ba(y)*is available in a distinct construction introducing a **commanding beneficiary** as in (6), implying a command that does not admit contradiction (Cabredo Hofherr 2022).[3] Note that this restriction does not hold in Martinican as illustrated by (4b): MQ *ba* can introduce a neutral beneficiary with a verb like MQ *konstwi* 'build'.

    All the HC speakers consulted accept the commanding beneficiary HC *ba(y)*construction in imperatives (6a), but only some speakers also accept it in declarative clauses (6b).[4]

(6) a. Fè travay la   ban mwen!   (Haitian)
      do work   DET GIVE 1SG
      'Do the work for me!' (ban =[bã])
      (Fattier 1998)[5] [speaker comment: "doesn't accept contradiction"]

    b. %Li   pale ak   Mariz ban mwen.
       3SG speak with M   GIVE 1SG
      'S/he spoke to M. (I forced her/him).' (Cabredo Hofherr 2022)

A particularly clear illustration of the contrast between MQ and HC is provided by sentences with a unique predicate of transfer of possession. While MQ allows uses of *ba* as a sole predicate (7), HC does not (8a). In HC the preposition *pou* has to be used in these examples (8b). This contrast holds for uses as a main possessive predicate (7)/(8) as well as in adnominal uses (9).

(7)   Liv   ta   a   sé **ba**   Mari.   (Martinican)
      book   DEM DET SE GIVE M.
      'The book is for Mari.' (Jean-Louis, 2019, 10, ex 24b)

(8)   a.   *Liv la   **bay** Bouki   (Haitian)
           *Liv la   se   **bay** Bouki
           book DET SE   GIVE B.
           Not: 'The book is for Bouki.'

      b.   Liv   la   **pou** Bouki
           book DET for   B.
           'The book is for Bouki.' (Cabredo 2022)

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[3] Valdman (ed.) (2007: 72) notes about this use: "often emphasizing a command" see https://apics-online.info/sentences/49-261sel
[4] We mark acceptance by some speakers with %.
[5] Example from https://apics-online.info/sentences/49-261

(9)   a.   ^{ok}an liv   ba timanmay   (Martinican)
               a book GIVE children
             'a book for children'
     b.   *yon kado   bay Mari   (Haitian)
               a   present GIVE M.
           Not: 'a present for M.'

The following table summarises the contrasts between HC *ba(y)* and MQ *ba*.

	Haitian ba(y) +DP	Martinican ba +DP
With verbs of transfer: specifying the **recipient**	✓	✓
With other verbs: introducing a **neutral beneficiary**	✗	✓
With other verbs: introducing a **commanding beneficiary**	✓	✗
Functions as sole beneficiary predicate	✗	✓
Functions as adnominal beneficiary predicate	✗	✓

Table 1: Contrasts between Haitian and Martinican GIVE constructions introducing DPs

In the next section we turn to examples with HC *ba(y)* and MQ *ba* introducing final clauses.

3. Haitian BA(Y) and Martinican BA introducing final clauses

In addition to HC *ba(y)* / MQ *ba* introducing DPs, HC *ba(y)* and MQ *ba* may also be followed by final clauses as in (10).

(10)   a.   Li ekri   liv **bay** Mari li   (Haitian)
               3SG write book GIVE M.   read
               'S/he wrote a book and gave it to M. to read/ for M. to read.'
     b.   I   achté en CD ba   Mari kouté (y)   (Martinican)
               3SG buy   a CD GIVE M.   listen (3SG)[6]
               'S/he bought a CD and gave it to Mary to listen to it.' (Vinciane Vauclin p.c.)

We first compare the restrictions on final clauses with the restrictions observed for DP complements in GIVE-constructions for HC *ba(y)* (Section 2.1) and Martinican *ba* (Section 2.2). We then contrast HC *ba(y)* with MQ *ba* (Section 2.3).

3.1 Haitian BA(Y) + final clauses

The HC *ba(y)* introducing a clause can combine with verbs that do not imply transfer like *ekri* 'write' (10a) or *fe gato a* 'make the cake' (11a), contrasting with HC *ba(y)* introducing a DP complement (see (5)).

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[6] The French translations provided by Vinciane Vauclin for these examples are (i) *Il a acheté un CD pour le donner à écouter à Marie* 'S/he bought a CD to give it to Mary for her to listen to it and (ii) *Il a acheté un CD pour que Marie l'écoute* 'S/he bought a CD in order for Mary to listen to it'.

(11)   a.   Li fe   gato a   **bay** Mari vann.   (Haitian)
                 3SG make cake DET GIVE M.   sell
                 'S/he made the cake and give it to M to sell/ for M. to sell.'

       b.   Li achte savon **bay** Mari lave men li.
                 3SG buy   soap   GIVE M. wash hands 3SG
                 'S/he bought soap and gave (it) to Mary to wash her hands (with it).'

In (10a)/(11)a the object of the main predicate is interpreted as coreferential with the object gap of the second predicate. As (11b) shows, the theme of the main predicate can also be interpreted as an instrument in the final clause.

    The semantics of the HC *ba(y)* +final clause construction includes transfer of the theme to the subject of the *ba(y)* clause. This transfer does not have to be material: transmission readings as in (12) are acceptable. However, examples like (13a) with transfer explicitly denied and examples with verbs like *cache* 'hide' that do not entail transfer in (14) are not accepted by the speakers we consulted. Unlike HC *ba(y)* the preposition *pou* 'for' does not impose transfer, as (13b) shows.

(12)   **Abstract transfer**

      Li chante chanson **bay**   Mari koute   (Haitian)
      3SG sing   song   GIVE M.   hear
      'S/he sang a song for M. to hear.'

(13)   **Denial of transfer**

       a.   **Jan$_k$**   fe   gato   a   **bay**   Mari   manje.   (Haitian)
            J.   make   cake   DET   GIVE   M.   eat
            # men finalman   **li$_k$**   manje l   li menm
            but   in-the-end 3SG ate   3SG 3SG-SELF
            'Jan made the cake and gave it to Mary to eat, **#but in the end he ate it himself**.'

       b.   **Jan$_k$** (fin) fè gato a   **pou** Mari manje men finalman **li$_k$** manje l   li menm.
            J   AUX make cake DET for M   eat but in-the-end 3SG ate   3SG 3SG-SELF
            'Jan made the cake to give it to Mary to sell, but in the end he ate it himself.'

(14)   **No transfer**

      *Li cache yon liv   bay Mari chache/   jwenn.   (Haitian)
       3SG hide a   book GIVE M.   look-for/ find
      Not 'S/he hid a book for M to look for/ find.'

Note that the missing object in (12) and (13) is not elliptical or a null prototypical object. As shown in the examples (15a/b) in two independent coordinated sentences only the lexical object pronoun *li/l* '3sg' can be interpreted as coreferential with the object of the first verb (15a-i/b- i). In contrast, the null object (marked [ ]) cannot be coreferential with the object of the main clause (15a- ii/b- ii) but only allows the prototypical object interpretation where available (15b- ii):

(15)   a. i.   Jan achte [**liv la**]$_k$ epi Mari vann **^{ok}li$_k$**.   (Haitian)
        ii.   Jan achte [**liv la**]$_k$ epi Mari vann ***[ ]$_k$**.
            J   buy   book DET   and M   sell   3SG
            'Jan bought **the book** and Mari sold *(**it**).'

b. i. Jan fè   [**gato a**]$_k$ epi   Mari manje ^{ok}**l**$_k$.
    ii. Jan fè   [**gato a**]$_k$ epi   Mari manje *[   ]$_k$
      J.   make cake DET   and M.   eat   3SG
      'Jan made **the cake** and Mari ate *(**it**).'

3.2 Martinican BA introducing final clauses

Martinican allows serial verb constructions with final interpretation (Jean-Louis 2019, Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019).

(16)   a.   **Mari** ay   chaché dlo   **ba**   tianmay   bwè.[7] (Martinican)
          Marie go   get   water GIVE child   drink
          'Marie went to get water to give the children to drink.'
      b.   **Pòl**   tjuïyi mango **fè**   Mari   plézi.
          Paul   pick   mango make Marie pleasure
          'Paul picked mangos to make Mary happy.' (Jean-Louis 2019:53)

Example (16a) combines MQ *ba* with a DP followed by a verb, similar to the result clauses in HC. Other examples of final clauses are found with imperatives (17) and double object verbs (18) (see Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019). As pointed out by Zribi-Hertz et al. (2019), the parallel examples to (17) and (18) are not possible in Haitian.

(17)   Imperatives
      a.   Ouvè   finèt -la   respiré tibren   lè !   (Martinican)
           open   window-DET   breathe a.little air
           'Open the window$_z$ and breathe a little air (through it$_z$).'
      b.   Ay soukwé   kabann-nan   lévé   Léa !
           go shake   bed-DET   wake.up Lea
           'Go shake the bed$_z$ and wake up Lea (in it$_z$)!'
           (Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019 ex. 39a/40a)

(18)   Double object verbs
      a.   I   **prété** mwen   an chapo mété an tèt mwen.   (Martinican)
           3SG   lend 1SG   a   hat   put LOC head 1SG
           '(S)he lent me$_k$ a hat$_z$ and (I$_k$) put (it$_z$) on my head.'
      b.   I   **ba**   mwen savon lavé   lanmen mwen.
           3SG give 1SG   soap   wash hand   1SG
           '(S)he gave me$_k$ (some) soap$_z$ and (I$_k$) washed my hands (with it$_z$).'

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[7] Examples of this type have to be examined more in detail in future research. The verb *bwè* allows a prototypical object like *li* 'read', unlike *reparé* 'repair'. Notice that the following examples contrast for the second author.
    (i)   a. ^{ok}Mari   ay chachè liv   mwen   **ba**   tianmay li. (Martinican)
           Marie go get   book 1SG   GIVE child   read
           'Marie went to get my book and gave it to the children to read it.'
       b. *Mari   ay chachè békann   li   **ba**   tianmay réparé.
           Marie go get   bicycle   3SG GIVE child   repair
           Not: 'Marie went to get her bike and gave it to the children to repair it.'

c. I **ofè** Léa flè anbéli kay li.
3SG give Lea flower make. pretty house 3SG
'(S)he gave Lea$_k$ (some) flowers$_z$ and (she$_k$) smartened up her house (with them$_z$).' (Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019, ex. 46a/47a/48a)

As is well-known, non-standardised languages show a wide range of variation for speaker judgements. The examples in (16)-(18) are also acceptable to the speakers we consulted. However, for our informants, the examples in (18) are not representative of double object verbs in general. Jean-Louis (2019) gives a list of double object verbs in Martinican covering three classes. The examples using other verbs from the classes of double object verbs namely (i) transfer of possession (19), (ii) transfer of speech (20) and (iii) transfer of information (21) do not allow final clauses for our informants.

(19) Transfer of possession

ba, 'give', ofè (an kado) 'give a present', fè (an kado) 'give a present', prété 'lend', rann 'give back', rimet `give', konfié 'entrust'

a. * Jann konfié mwen békann li réparé (Martinican)
    J entrust 1SG bike 3SG repair
    Not 'Jann entrusted me her bike so I'd repair it.'

b. *Jann rimet fwè'y békann li ay o travay
    J. gave brother'3SG bike 3SG go to work
    Not 'Jann gave his borther her bike so he'd go to work (with it).'

(20) Transfer of speech

Di 'say', pwomèt, 'promise', anonsé 'announce', swété 'wish, prefer'

a. *Direktè-a anonsé nou an nouvel partajé épi koleg nou (Martinican)
    director-DET announce 1PL a piece-of-news share with colleague 1PL
    Not 'The director announced sth to us so we share it with our colleagues.'

b. *Direktè-a pwonmet nou an dotasion achté an nouvo machin
    director-DET promise 1PL a budget buy a new machine
    Not 'The director promised a budget to us so we buy a new machine.'

(21) Transfer of information

Montré, 'show', prézanté 'present'

*I prézanté nou an pwojé diskité épi Mariz (Martinican)
3SG show 1PL a project discuss with M.
Not 'S/he showed us a project to discuss with M.'

Furthermore, the following examples are acceptable to the speakers reported in Zribi-Hertz et al. (2019) but not to the speakers we consulted.[8]

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[8] The second author finds the following example acceptable adding a possessive on the direct object.
(i) I pran/ ay chèch*é* koutla'**y** koupé zèb. (Martinican)
    3SG take / go get machete'**3SG** cut grass
    'S/he took/ got his/her machete and cut grass with it.' (adapted from ex 37a in Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019).

(22)   a.   *I   pran   lèt -la   jété   (Martinican)

                3SG   take   milk-DET   throw-away

                'S/he took the milk and threw it away.' ([ok] in Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019: ex 36a)

      b.   [??] I   achté zanm fè   moun pè.[9]

                 3SG buy arms make persons fear

                'S/he bought fire arms and frightened people with them.'

                ([ok] in Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019: ex 37a)

4. Comparing HC BA(Y) and MQ BA introducing final clauses

HC *ba(y)* and MQ *ba* introducing final clauses do not have the same grammatical status. For the MQ speakers we consulted, final clauses introduced by MQ *ba* are much less acceptable than final clauses with HC *ba(y)*.

    Example (23) is acceptable for one and marginally acceptable for two of the 5 speakers we consulted. For the speakers that accept (23a) transfer is obligatory: the example cannot be felicitously followed up with a continuation as in (23b) denying that transfer was initiated.

(23)   a.   **%Jòj tjuiyi mango ba vandèz vann**   (Martinican)

                (i) Jòj picked the mangos and gave them to the sales-person to sell.

                (ii) Not : Jòj picked the mangos to give them to the sales-person to sell.

      b.   #men an final-di-kont   i   manjé yo tout li   menm

                 but   in the end   3SG   eat   3PL all 3SG SELF

                'but in the end he ate them all himself'

Three out of four speakers consulted allow the example (24a) with a transmission reading, all speakers allow (24b) with the preposition *pou* 'for':

(24)   a.   I   chanté an chanté **[%]ba**   Mari kouté.   (Martinican)

      b.   I   chanté an chanté **[ok]pou** Mari kouté ('y).

                3SG   sing   a song   GIVE/ for M. hear (3SG)

                'She sang a song for Mary to hear (it).'

It seems that even for speakers that find (24a) marginal examples improve if the first verb is a verb of taking possession like *pran* 'take' (25), *achté* 'buy' (10b), *tjuiyi* 'pick' (23).

(25)   a.   I   pran an salad **ba**   Mari gouté(y).   (Martinican)

                3SG   take a salad   GIVE M.   taste (3SG)

                'S/he took a salad and gave it to M. to taste.'

      b.   I   pran an salad **pou**   Mari gouté(y).

                3SG   take a salad   for M.   taste (3SG)

                b. 'S/he took a salad for M. to taste (so that M. taste it).'[10]

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[9] Zribi-Hertz et al. 2019 stress that the parallel examples in HC are not possible:

   (i) a.   I   achté   zanm **fè** moun pè   (Martinican)

       b. *Li achte   zam   **fè** moun pè.   (Haitian)

          3SG buy   gun   make people scared

          'S/he bought guns[k] and got people scared (with them[k]).' (Zribi-Hertz et al 2019:92, ex 38)

[10] French translations by Vinciane Vauclin 25a. [Il a pris une salade et l'a donnée à goûter à Marie]

26.b [Il a pris une salade pour que Marie la goûte]

As in HC, examples in which no transfer is implied are impossible in MQ.

(26) I   séré   an liv *ba   Mari   chèché/touvé.   (Martinican)
      3SG   hide   a book GIVE   M.   look-for/ find
      Not 'S/he hid a book for M to look for/ find.'

All five MQ speakers, even those that accept (23) - (25), reject MQ *ba*+final clause with a verb of transfer as in (27a), contrasting with HC *ba(y)*+final clause in (28). The only acceptable form for our Martinican informants is as in (27b) with *pou* 'for' introducing a full clause with a pronominal object *yo* '3pl'.

(27) a.   I **vréyé** sé   mango-a   ***ba**   machann-lan vann   (Martinican)
      b.   I vréyé   sé   mango-a   ^{ok}**pou** machann-lan vann yo
           3SG send DEM mango-DET GIVE /for sales-person sell (3PL)
           'He sent the mangos to the sales person to sell.'
(28)   Li   voye let   la   bay   Mari li   (Haitian)
            3SG   send   letter DET   GIVE   M.   read
            'S/he sent the letter to Mary (for her) to read.'

5. Conclusion

The data discussed here show clearly that GIVE-constructions in Haitian and Martinican have very different syntactic and semantic properties.

With a DP-complement, the *ba*+DP construction of Martinican is more widely applicable than the HC *ba(y)* +DP construction in Haitian (see Table 1), allowing both recipients and benefactives. In addition, *ba* in Martinican has been reanalysed as a preposition (Jean-Louis 2019) while in Haitian the construction shows ambivalent behaviour between verbs and prepositions with respect to predicate doubling constructions and DP extraction constructions (Cabredo 2022).

Here we have shown that HC *ba(y)* followed by a final clause is not subject to the semantic restriction to verbs of transfer observed for HC *ba(y)* introducing a DP. It is therefore not plausible to reduce both constructions to a single underlying syntax.

Surprisingly, while MQ *ba* with DP complements is available in a wider range of contexts than HC *ba(y)*, and even though MQ allows a wider range of final constructions with other verbs, MQ *ba* followed by a final clause is much more restricted than HC *ba(y)* introducing a final clause. In particular MQ *ba* followed by a final clause strictly excludes verbs of transfer.

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