Distributed Morphology: *have* in English
March 20, 2003

Most of this is taken from my paper, "Aspects of *have,*" which is available on my website. It appeared in an obscure French book in 1998, in which most of the papers are in French. That may explain why it has so many weird typos in it, although I certainly did have the opportunity to proof it… hmm.

1.0 Introduction: Some uses of *have*

1. a) Getafix had [DP a golden sickle].
   possession (alienable)

   b) The oak tree has [DP many branches].
   possession (inalienable)

   c) The oak tree has [DP a nest] in it.
   location

   d) Asterix had [VP Obelix deliver a menhir to Getafix].
   causative (bare infinitive)

   e) Asterix has [VP Obelix drop a menhir on him].
   experiencer (bare inf)

   f) Asterix had [VP (ppl) Obelix running errands for him].
   causative (prog. ppl.)

   g) Asterix had [Adj Obelix red in the face with rage].
   causative (adjective)

   h) Asterix had [VP (ppl) Obelix locked in his hut].
   causative (passive ppl.)

   i) Asterix had [PP Obelix in a rage]
   causative (PP)

The structure of *have, more or less:*

→ It's a relational element; it usually relates a DP to something else:

   [HaveP DP [Have' have XP]]

   XP = DP: possessive or locative (1a, b, c)
   XP = predication: causative or experiencer (1d-i)
2. a) possessor or location reading

```
PP
  DP
    HAVE
      possess
      possessee
      location
      locatee
```

b) causative or experiencer reading

```
PP
  DP
    HAVE
      Small Clause
        causer
        experiencer
        Embedded subject
          DP
            X=bare infinitive
            passiv participle
            progressive ppl.,
            preposition, adj...
          XP
            ....
            predicative
            material
```

2.0  *Have*: the causative and experiencer readings

Causative reading

3.  a) #Calvin had John trip on the stairs. (except on "director's reading")
    b) #Calvin had the water boil.

Compare:

4.  a) Calvin made John trip on the stairs.
    b) Calvin made the water boil.

*but:*

5.  a) Calvin had Hobbes tripping on the stairs, because he was so flustered.
    b) Calvin had the water boiling in no time at all.

Experiencer reading:

6.  a) Asterix\textsubscript{i} had the Romans capture Obelix on him\textsubscript{i}.
    b) Asterix\textsubscript{i} had Obelix step on his\textsubscript{i} foot.
Not under discussion: 'sexual' have and 'con-man' have

7. a) The hero had the heroine before the movie was half over!
   b) You really had me that time, but I won’t fall for that again.

As we’ll see later, causative and experiencer have cannot be passivized, nor can locative or possessive have. But con-man and sexual have can be:

8. a) The heroine was had by her leading man before the movie was half over.
   b) I thought I was getting a deal on this car, but it turns out I was had!

2.1 **Have and binding: distinguishing the readings for each syntax**

Experiencer have requires a pronominal coindexed with the subject in it:

9. a) Hobbes\textsubscript{i} had the pile of snow fall *(on him\textsubscript{i}).
   b) Hobbes\textsubscript{i} had his\textsubscript{i}/his the stack of books fall.
   c) Hobbes\textsubscript{i} had the tuna fish rot *(on him\textsubscript{i}).

Coindexed pronoun = "ethical dative:

The experiencer reading is marginally available when the consequences are obviously adverse for the subject. Analysis: 'understood' ethical dative

10. a) The provost had all the alumni retract their donations today.
    b) The Speaker of the House had the congressmen walk out yesterday.

More examples:

13. a) **experiencer**
    Pinnochio\textsubscript{i} had Gepetto building other puppets on him\textsubscript{i}
    b) **causative**
    Pinnochio had Gepetto building other puppets on the workbench.

14. a) **experiencer**
    Pinnochio\textsubscript{i} had Gepetto step on his\textsubscript{i} leg.
    b) **causative**
    Pinnochio had Gepetto step on a wood-boring beetle.

The connection with the location and alienable possession readings:

11. a) The slide\textsubscript{i} has 8 children *(on it\textsubscript{i}).
    (only location reading)
    b) Calvin\textsubscript{i} has a bee on his\textsubscript{i} back.
    (location reading)
    c) Calvin has a bee.
    (only alienable possession reading is available)
12.  
   a) Calvin has a pretty blanket on him.
   b) Calvin has a pretty blanket on the table.

16.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DP complement</th>
<th>Predicative structure complement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No binding</td>
<td>Alienable possession interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binding</td>
<td>Locative interpretation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Intentionality, logophors and the experiencer reading

An interesting fact (originally noticed by Andrew Carnie):

17.  
   a) Pinnochio had milk poured on him. causative or experiencer
   b) Pinnochio had milk poured on himself. ONLY causative: *experiencer reading

*himself* is not an anaphor here, as it does not obey principle A
*himself* is a logophor, as in "John fully expected that the queen would invite his wife and himself to tea".

Logophors are normally interchangeable with pronouns. BUT, in 17, it's not! why?

Harley 1997: Reinhart and Reuland distinguish between logophors and pronouns by virtue of a [+R] feature: pronouns are [+R], logophors are [-R].

Hypothesis: the experiencer interpretation is licensed only by a binding relation between the subject and a [+R] element -- a pronoun or understood pronoun. The logophor in 17b is a [-R] element, hence the binding relation in 17b does not allow the experiencer interpretation.

I was wrong:

18.  
   a) (Poor Clinton!) He had the Campaign Finance subcommittee subpoena his vice president today.

   b) (Poor Clinton!) He had the Campaign Finance subcommittee subpoena his vice president and himself today. *experiencer reading

Interestingly, the same thing is true for the locative reading! (support for calling these *self*-elements logophors, not anaphors)

19.  
   a) *The oak tree has a nest on itself.
   b) Calvin has a bee on himself ??locative reading
20. Calvin has a bee on his arm and several more buzzing around him\(^\ast\)(self).

This is not the case when *have* receives an alienable possession interpretation, however:

21. Calvin has a fancy red Porsche which comfortably seats both Mary and himself.

2.3 **Inalienable possession, having colds, etc.**

Inalienable possession: waitaminute! Inanimate things can "have" inalienably possessed elements!

22. a) The slide has rusty steps.
    b) The oak tree has a twisted branch.
    c) Calvin has a large red nose.

(Vergnaud & Zubizaretta): inalienably possessed Ns have an empty category inside them, bound by the inalienable possessor.

Hypothesis: this binding relation, between the subject and the empty category in inalienable possession, licenses a 'locative' interpretation for the 'have' structure.

23. a) John has an large red nose which is exaggerated in the picture of him /??himself hanging in the entrance hall
    b) John has a terrible cold, and everyone is avoiding both his wife and him/??himself.

Inalienably possessed nouns license an experiencer interpretation too:

    c) The tree had a branch break off in the storm.

24. \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{DP complement} & \text{Predicative structure complement} \\
\hline
\text{No binding} & \text{Alienable possession interpretation} & \text{Causative interpretation} \\
\text{Binding} & \text{Locative interpretation} & \text{Experiencer interpretation} \\
& \text{Inalienable possession interpretation} & \\
\end{array}
\]

25. Aside: note difference in interpretation:
    a. John has a 97 Chevy.
    b. John has the 97 Chevy.
3.0  **Causative vs. Experiencer have: event type**

25. 

```
   | PP |
   |    |
   | DP |
   | causer |
   | HAVE |
```

**Small Clause**

```
   | DP |
   | XP |
   | X= bare infinitive |
   | passive participle |
   | progressive ppl., |
   | preposition, adj... |
   | .... |
   | predicative |
   | material |
```

3.1  **Passive**

26.  

- **causative**
  - active: Reynard had Pinnochio trick Gepetto
  - passive: *Pinnochio was had *(to) trick Gepetto by Reynard

- **experiencer**
  - ‘active’: Pinnochio had Gepetto accidentally pour paint on him.
  - passive: *Gepetto was had (to) pour paint on him by Pinnochio.

- **possessive**
  - ‘active’: Pinnochio had six balloons.
  - passive: *Six balloons were had by Pinnochio

- **locative**
  - ‘active’ The oak tree had a nest in it.
  - passive: *A nest was had in it by the oak tree.

27.  

- active: Mary caused John to cry.
  - passive: John was caused to cry by Mary

- active: Mary made John cry.
  - passive: John was made to cry by Mary.¹

---

¹ Interestingly, “get” causatives (which I argued earlier to be similar to the “faire” construction in Romance) do not passivize:

i) John got Mary to bake a cake.
3.2 Pseudoclefts, progressive

28. **bare infinitive**

a) Pseudocleft: What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto step on him].
   (*experiencer reading, causative ok)

b) Progressive: Pinnochio is having [Gepetto step on him].
   (*experiencer reading, causative ok)

**passive participle**
c) Pseudocleft: What Reynard did was have [Pinnochio beaten to a pulp by his henchmen].
   (*experiencer reading, causative ok)

d) Progressive: Reynard is having [Pinnochio robbed by his confederates].
   (*experiencer reading, causative ok)

**progressive participle**
e) Pseudocleft: *What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto stepping on him].

f) Progressive: *Pinnochio is having [Gepetto stepping on him].

**PP**
g) Pseudocleft: *What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto in his bed for days]

h) Progressive *Pinnochio is having [Gepetto in his bed for days]

**AdjP**
i) Pseudocleft: *What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto sick as a dog]

j) Progressive *Pinnochio is having [Gepetto sick as a dog]

---

*Mary was gotten to bake a cake by John
Also, it’s worth noticing that the bare infinitive complement of “make” becomes a full infinitive in the passive, possibly for historical reasons (c.f. Heycock & Santorini 1992).
3.3 True present tense

29. bare infinitive
   a) causative:\n      *Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto carve him a new nose]!

   b) experiencer:
      *Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto step on him]!

passive participle
   c) causative:
      Look! Reynard has [Pinnochio beaten to a pulp]!

   d) experiencer:
      Look! Pinnochio has [paint spilled all over him]!

progressive participle
   e) causative:
      Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto carving him a new nose]!

   f) experiencer
      Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto spilling paint all over him]!

PP
   g) causative:
      Look! After all his escapades, [Pinnochio has Gepetto in bed]!

   h) experiencer
      Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto on his foot]!

AdjP
   i) causative:
      Look! After all his escapades, [Pinnochio has Gepetto sick as a dog]!

   j) experiencer
      ??Look! Just when he’s in trouble, Pinnochio has [Gepetto crazy on him]!

---

2This is actually fine on the “director’s reading”, which we will argue below is universally stative. See discussion in section 4.3.
67. | Eventive? (Pseudocleft, progressive) | Stative? (True present tense) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bare infinitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causative</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>passive ppl</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causative</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td>no</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>progressive ppl</strong></td>
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<td>causative</td>
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<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.0 Representing Eventiveness

30. VP Syntax

```
  vP
   Agent
      v (event-introducer)
        VP
          Internal argument
          Internal argument or complement

  v
```

4.1 PP, AdjP and ProgP Small Clauses
31. a) 

```
VP
  /----
Rocky had Small Clause
  |      |
  |     Apollo PP
  |      on the ropes
```

b) 

```
VP
  /----
the mayor had Small Clause
  |      |
  |      firemen AdjP
  |      AdvP available
  |      constantly
```

4.2 Passive Participle

32. a) Look! The paint is spilled!
   b) Look! The milk is spilled by Gepetto!

33. Look! Reynard has Pinnochio beaten to a pulp by his henchmen!
34.  a)  

```
  VP
 /   \\        \\
Reynard had     Small Clause
   Pinnochio vP (passive)
     v + en    PP
      beat            by his henchmen
       PP
           to a pulp
```

35.  ??Pinnochio had milk spilled all over him by Gepetto.

36.  Pinnochio had [Gepetto step on his arm].

37.  a)  Pseudocleft:

```
What Pinnochio did was have [Gepetto paint his hair black].
```
b) Progressive:
Pinnochio is having [Gepetto paint his hair black]

38. a) Eventive, causative

b) Stative, experiencer

39. **causative:**
*Look! Pinnochio has [Gepetto carve him a new nose]!*

40. a) Pinnochio had the water boil.
b) Reynard had Pinnochio trip on the stairs.

41. a) What John did was have a party.
b) John is having a party.
c) *Look! John has a party!*
Possession and the double object construction: Harley 2002

1. **Introduction**
   
       a. double complement (Larson’s example 13)

       \[
       \begin{array}{c}
       \text{Spec VP} \\
       \vdash \text{V'} \\
       \vdash \text{V} \\
       \vdash \text{V'} \\
       \vdash \text{send} \\
       \vdash \text{DP} \\
       \vdash \text{V'} \\
       \vdash \text{PP} \\
       \vdash \text{a letter} \\
       \vdash \text{t}_i \\
       \vdash \text{t}_i \\
       \vdash \text{t}_i \\
       \vdash \text{to Mary} \\
       \end{array}
       \]

       b. double object structure (Larson’s example 26)

       \[
       \begin{array}{c}
       \text{Spec VP} \\
       \vdash \text{V'} \\
       \vdash \text{V} \\
       \vdash \text{V'} \\
       \vdash \text{send} \\
       \vdash \text{DP} \\
       \vdash \text{V'} \\
       \vdash \text{DP} \\
       \vdash \text{a letter} \\
       \vdash \text{V} \\
       \vdash \text{t}_i \\
       \vdash \text{t}_i \\
       \vdash \text{t}_i \\
       \vdash \text{to Mary} \\
       \end{array}
       \]

       a. double complement structure (Pesetsky’s example 456)

       \[
       \begin{array}{c}
       \vdash \text{V'} \\
       \vdash \text{V} \\
       \vdash \text{PP} \\
       \vdash \text{give} \\
       \vdash \text{DP} \\
       \vdash \text{P'} \\
       \vdash \text{a letter} \\
       \vdash \text{P} \\
       \vdash \text{to} \\
       \vdash \text{DP} \\
       \vdash \text{Mary} \\
       \end{array}
       \]
b. double object structure (Pesetsky’s example 511)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
\ldots \\
\text{V'} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{give} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{P'} \\
\text{Mary} \\
\text{P} \\
\text{G} \\
\text{a letter}
\end{array}
\]

(3) Alternative Projection: \( P_{\text{HAVE}}, P_{\text{LOC}} \)

a. double complement structure

\[
\begin{array}{c}
vP \\
\ldots \\
v' \\
v \\
PP \\
\text{CAUSE} \\
\text{DP} \\
P' \\
a letter \\
P \\
P_{\text{LOC}} \\
to Mary
\end{array}
\]

b. double object structure

\[
\begin{array}{c}
vP \\
\ldots \\
v' \\
v \\
PP \\
\text{CAUSE} \\
\text{DP} \\
P' \\
\text{Mary} \\
P \\
P_{\text{HAVE}} \\
a letter
\end{array}
\]

2. Different structure, different meaning

The relevant version of UTAH is articulated in Larson (1990):

(4) Relativized UTAH

Identical thematic relationships are represented by identical relative hierarchical relations between items at D-Structure.

2.1 Oehrle’s generalization

(5) a. John blamed the accident on Max.
b. John blamed Max for the accident.

(6) a. John blamed his bad luck on the weather.
b. ??John blamed the weather for his bad luck.

(7) a. The editor sent the article to Sue.
b. The editor sent the article to Philadelphia.
c. The editor sent Sue the article.
d. ??The editor sent Philadelphia the article.

(8) a. Susan sent Harry to Max/down the hall/to his room/away.
b. Susan sent Max/*the hall/*his room/*away Harry.
c. Susan kicked the ball to Max/down the hall/out the window/upward.
d. Susan kicked Max/*the hall/*upward/*the window the ball.

(9) a. John taught the students French
b. John taught French to the students

(10) a. I knitted this sweater for our baby.
b. I knitted our baby this sweater.

2.2 **Idiom chunks and the Transform hypothesis**

(11) a. Lasorda *sent* his starting pitcher *to the showers.*
    (“Lasorda took his starting pitcher out of the game”)
b. Mary *took* Felix *to task.*
    (“Mary upbraided Felix”).
c. Felix *threw* Oscar *to the wolves.*
    (“Felix sacrificed Oscar.”)
d. Max *carries* such behavior *to extremes.*
    (“Max goes to the limits with such behavior.”)

(12) Idioms:
    a. John *let* the cat out of the bag.
b. The experimenter stacked the deck against his hypothesis.
   Passive:
c. The cat was let out of the bag.
d. The deck was stacked against the hypothesis.
   Raising:
e. The cat seems to have been let out of the bag.
f. The deck seems to be stacked against the hypothesis.
   *Control
g. *The cat wants to have been let out of the bag.

(13) a. *Lasorda sent the showers his starting pitcher.
b. *Mary took task Felix.
c. *Felix threw the wolves Oscar.
d. *Max carries extremes things

(14) a. I sent the salesman to the devil.
b. *I sent the devil the salesman.

3. **Alternative Projection: G vs. CAUSE + P_{\text{HAVE}}**

3.1 Non-alternating double object constructions

(15) a. Mary gave John a kick.
b. *Mary gave a kick to John.
c. Bill threw Mary a glance.
d. *Bill threw a glance to Mary.

(16) a. The war years gave Mailer a book
b. *The war years gave a book to Mailer
c. The absence of competition guaranteed Scorsese the prize money.
d. *The absence of competition guaranteed the prize money to Scorsese.

(17) a. John gave Mary a child.
b. John gave a child to Mary.

3.2 Idioms revisited and the Alternative Projection approach

(18) a. Larson:
   \[ \text{[vP The coach [v' CAUSE [pp Goal [p' P_{\text{HAVE}} [dp Theme]]]]]} \]
b. Pesetsky:
   \[ \text{[vP The coach [v' sent [pp Mary [p' to [dp the showers]]]]]} \]

(19) a. Max gave his all to linguistics.
b. Alice gives hell to anyone who uses her training wheels.
c. Oscar will give the boot to any employee that shows up late.
d. The Count gives the creeps to everyone.
e. Phyllis should show her cards to other group participants.

(20) a. Linguistics gets [my all]
b. I caught/got [hell] from Alice
c. Peter got [the boot]
d. Geez, you get [the creeps] just looking at him.

3.3 Idioms as constituents and P_{\text{LOC}}

(21) \[ \text{[vP Agent [v' CAUSE [pp Goal [p' P_{\text{HAVE}} [dp Theme]]]]]} \]

(22) a. His advisor really gave John a kick in the pants.
b. *His advisor really gave a kick in the pants to John.
c. Susan gave Bill a piece of her mind.
d. ??Susan gave a piece of her mind to Bill.
e. Nancy showed Ronald the error of his ways.
f. ??Nancy showed the error of his ways to Ronald.

(23) [vP Agent [v’ CAUSE [PP Theme [P’ PLOC [PP to Goal]]]]]

(24) a. Max gave linguistics his all.
b. Alice gives everyone hell.
c. Oscar will give John the boot.
d. The Count gives everyone the creeps.
e. Phyllis should show everyone her cards.

(25) a. ??Max gave his all to it. s
b. ??Alice gave hell to him.
c. ??Oscar gave the boot to Susan
d. ??*The Count gave the creeps to Joe.

(26) a. The book got to Sue.
b. Sue got the book.
c. The book got to France.
d. *France got the book.

(27) a. double complement structure for The book, got t, to Sue.

```
       v
      /\P
     PP     vPP \\
    |     \become
   DP  P’  \the book P PP
    \     |
     PPLOC  to Sue
```

b. double object structure for Sue, got t, the book.

```
       v
      /\P
     PP     vPP \
    |     \become
   DP  P’  \Sue P DP \
    \     |
     PHAVE  the book
```

This unaccusative analysis is supported by the fact that get can't passivize:
(28)  
  a.  *Sue was got to by the book.
  b.  *The book was got by Sue.

(29)  
  a.  *His all got to linguistics.
  b.  *Hell got to me.
  c.  *The boot got to Peter.
  d.  *The creeps gets to you just looking at him.

4. **Prepositional HAVE cross-linguistically**

(30)  
  a.  Possession (in English)
      vP
          v
              PP
                  BE Possessor
                              P_HAVE Possessee

      ‘Mary has a book.’
  b.  Location
      vP
          v
              PP
                  BE Locatee
                              P_LOC Location

      ‘Mary is in the garden.’

4.1  **The decomposition of verbal have**

(31)  HAVE as a preposition: Freeze 1992

  a.  Locative  maNiN  hindustaan-meNeN  thaa
          I India-in  BE.SG.MSC.PST
      Theme Location  V
      “I was in India”

  b.  Existential  kamree-meNeN  aadmii  hai
          room-in  man  BE.3SG.MSC.PRES
      Location Theme  V
      “In the room is a man”  (‘There is a man in the room’)

  c.  Possessive  larkee-kee  paas  kattaa  hai
          Boy-OBL-GEN near dog  BE.3SG.MSC.PRES
      Location(Possessor) Theme  V
      “The boy has a dog. (Lit, “Near the boy is a dog”).
(32) Freeze 1992: same structure, different derivations:

(33) a. *us-larkee-kee paas mera kutta hai*  
    That-boy-G near my dog is  
    That boy has my dog.

b. *John-ga/ni zibun-no uti-ga aru*  
    John-N/D self-gen house-N exist  
    “John has his house”

4.2 *HAVE*-not languages

(34) a. Locative  
    Tá an mhín sa phota.  
    BE the (oat)meal in the pot  
    “The oatmeal is in the pot.”  
    V Theme Location

b. Existential  
    Tá min sa phota  
    BE oatmeal in the pot  
    “There is oatmeal in the pot”  
    V Theme Location

c. Possessive  
    Tá an peann ag Máire  
    BE the pen at Mary  
    “Mary has the pen”  
    V Theme Location

d. Possessor cannot c-command possessee:  
    *Tá aí pheann-fhéin ag chuileí bhuachaill*  
    Is his pen-self at every boy  
    "Every boy has his pen"

(35) *Double object constructions in Irish:  
    a. Thug Mileó caisearbhán do Bhinlí  
       Gave Milo a dandelion to Binkley  
       “Milo gave a dandelion to Binkley”
b. *Thug Mileó do Bhínlí caisearbhán
Gave Milo to Binkley a dandelion
“Milo gave to Binkley a dandelion”

c. *Thug Mileó caisearbhán Bhínlí
Gave Milo dandelion Binkley

*Thúg Mileó Bhínlí caisearbhán
Gave Milo Binkley dandelion
“Milo gave Binkley a dandelion”

d. Goal cannot c-command Theme.
*Thug Mileó ai pheann-fhéin do chuile bhuachaill
Gave Milo his pen-self to every boy
Milo gave every boy his pen.

(36) Diné possessive:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Diné} & \text{lvív’} & \text{b-ee} & \text{hólóv} \\
\text{man} & \text{horse} & \text{he-with} & \text{exists} \\
\text{“The man has a horse” (Lit. “The man, a horse is with him”).}
\end{array}
\]

(37) a. *Diné lvív’ y-ee hólóv
man horse he-with exists
“The man has a horse.”

b. *lvív’ shi-zhě’ė y-ee hólóv
*horse my father he-with exists
“My father has a horse.”

(38) Shizhě’ė sitsilí tlı̱óól yi-chìiv? hada-y-ił-déél
My father my little brother rope him-to down-it-PERF-TR-handle
My father tossed the rope to my little brother

(39) Sitsilí shizhě’ė tlı̱óól bi-chìiv? hada-y-ił-déél
My little brother my father rope him-to down-it-PERF-TR-handle
My father tossed the rope to my little brother

(40) *Shizhě’ė sitsilí tlı̱óól hada-yi-y-ił-déél
My father my little brother rope down-him-it-PERF-TR-handle
My father tossed my little brother the rope.

4.3 HAVE languages

(41) C-command in possessives:

a. Every girl, has her, test paper.

b. *Its, owner now has every dog,
4.2 C-command in double object constructions:
   a. Susan sent every owner, his dog.
   b. *Susan sent its, owner every dog.

4.3 Movement to subject position in passive:
   a. Every owner was sent his dog.
   b. *Every dog was sent its owner.
   c. Every dog was sent to its owner.
   d. *To its owner was sent every dog.

4.4 A HAVE language without verbal have: Japanese

(44)  
   John-ga/ni zibun-no uti-ga aru  
   John-NOM/DAT self-GEN house-NOM exist  
   “John has his house”

   Possessor   Theme   V

4.5 a. Subject Honorification
   Tanaka-sensei-ga/ni musume-san-ga jorini i/*jinaru  
   T-Prof-NOM/DAT daughter-NOM exist-hon.  
   Professor Tanaka has his daughter”

   b. Binding
   *Zibun-i no musume-ni Tanaka-sensei-ga aru  
   self-GEN daughter Tanaka-Prof exist  
   “His daughter has Professor Tanaka”

   c. vP
     PP v
     DP P’ aru
     John-ni DP P HAVE
     uti-ga

(46) a. Bugs-ga Daffy-ni pizza-o age-ta  
    Bugs-NOM Daffy-DAT pizza-ACC give-PAST  
    “Bugs gave Daffy a pizza.”

   b. Bugs-ga pizza-o Daffy-ni age-ta  
    Bugs-NOM pizza-ACC Daffy-DAT give-PAST  
    “Bugs gave a pizza to Daffy.”

(47) a. Bugs-ga tomodati-ni 2-ri pizza-o age-ta  
    Bugs-NOM friends-DAT 2-CL pizza-ACC give-PAST  
    “Bugs gave two friends pizza.”
b. ??Bugs-ga pizza-o tomodati-ni 2-ri age-ta
   Bugs-NOM pizza-ACC friends-Prep 2-CL give-PAST
   “Bugs gave pizza to two friends”

(48) a. Taroo-ga hi-ni abura-o sosoida.
   Taroo-NOM fire-DAT oil-ACC poured
   “Taroo made things worse”
   (Lit. “Taroo poured oil on the fire.”)

b. #Taroo-ga abura-o hi-ni sosoida.
   Taroo-NOM oil-ACC fire-DAT poured
   “Taroo made things worse.”

4.5 A HAVE language without verbal have: Hiaki

(49) a. ‘aapo livrom-ek
   he book-PERF
   “He has a book” (Lit: “He is booked”)

b. [IP [DP ‘aapo] [F [VP [DP t] [v livrom,]]] [t –ek] ]

(50) a. He is long-haired/brown-eyed/warm-hearted.
   b. She is talented/gifted/conceited.

(51) ‘aapo [DP ‘uka siali-k t] kar-ek
   he Det.ACC green-ACC t house,PERF
   “He has that green house”

(52)
\[ \begin{array}{c}
  \begin{array}{c}
    \text{vP} \\
    \text{PP} \text{kar},+P_{\text{HAVE}},+\text{BE}(\emptyset) \\
    \text{\textit{‘aapo}} \\
    \text{DP} \\
    \text{\textit{‘uka siali-k t}}
  \end{array}
\end{array} \]

(53) a. ‘aapo Huan-tau ‘uka vachi-ta maka-k
   he John-DAT Det.ACC corn-ACC give-PERF
   “He gave the corn to John”

b. ‘aapo Huan-ta ‘uka vachi-ta miika-k
   he John-ACC Det.ACC corn-ACC give(food)-PERF
   “He gave John the corn.”
(54) a. ‘aapo ‘uka kava’i-ta ho’ara-ta vit-tua-k
   he Det.ACC horse-ACC house-ACC see-CAUSE-PERF
   “He showed the horse the house.”

   b. ‘aapo ‘uka kava’i-ta ho’ara-u vit-tua-k
   he Det.ACC horse-ACC house-DAT see-CAUSE-PERF
   “He sent the horse to the house.”

4.6 HAVE languages without double object constructions: Romance

(55) a. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito Maria a se stessa
   “A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Maria to herself”

   b. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito se stessa a Maria
   “A long psychoanalytic therapy restored herself to Maria”.

Similar data can be seen for French in (56) below.

(56) a. Marie a donné son crayon à chaque garçon.
   “Mary gave every boy his pencil.”

   b. Jean a introduit chaque institutrice à ses élèves.
   “Jean introduced every teacher to her students.”

References
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