

The reverse alignment would be ungrammatical:

(40') **Na* = *pa* = *vse* *Ta_G* <*ini-ko*>_T.
1s:I= FUT show Dad OBL-2s

(41') **O* = *kan slei -a_G* <*ini-á*>_T!
2s:I= PROH give -3s:OBJ OBL-1s

Examples like (40), or (35) above, were initially explained by the tentative hypothesis that a human Theme is automatically promoted to object position. However, if the referential values of T and G are reversed, as in (42), G becomes the object. Indeed, even though T is [+human], it is *non-local* (3rd person) while G is *local* (2nd person). Because G ranks higher than T on the referential hierarchy <H2>, it has object status, and T remains prepositional:

(42) *Na* = *pa* = *vsei -ko_G* <*ini-a*>_T.
1s:I= FUT show -2s:OBJ OBL-3s
'I will show him to you.'

As the following examples show, T is introduced sometimes by the oblique preposition (*i*)*n*(*i*), sometimes by the locative *lo*, in exactly the same conditions as defined earlier with oblique Patients (see §3.3).

(43) *Om* = *je m̄is varai -á* <*ini-a*>_T.
2s:R= NEG yet tell -1s:OBJ OBL-3s
'You haven't told me yet about her.'

→ [+pronoun]

(44) *O* = *kan slei -á* <*n Grem*>_T, *o* = *slei -á* <*n Vevuti*>_T.
2s:I= PROH give -1s:OBJ OBL G. 2s:I= give -1s:OBJ OBL V.
(*child adoption*) 'Don't give me Graham, give me Vevuti.'

→ [+proper noun]

(45) *O* = *kan slei -á* <*lo lañane*>_T, *o* = *slei -á* <*lo p̄ira*>_T.
2s:I= PROH give -1s:OBJ LOC male 2s:I= give -1s:OBJ LOC female
'Don't give me a boy, give me a girl.'

→ [+common noun] [+human] [-specific]

Just like we saw for (23)-(23') above, there is free variation between the two prepositions when, and only when, T is a common noun that is both human and specific:

(46) *Na* = *pa* = *vsei -ko* <*n řařala-ku mo* = *hese*>_T.
1s:I= FUT show -2s:OBJ OBL friend-1s 3:R one

- (46') Na= pa= vsei -*ko* <*lo* řařala-ku mo= hese>_T.
 1s:I= FUT show -2s:OBJ LOC friend-1s 3:R one
 'I will show you one of my friends.'

→ [+common noun] [+human] [+specific]

Overall, when the person values of the two non-agent participants involve a contrast between a local and a non-local person, the results are robust. The LOCAL person (whether it is the Theme or the Goal) takes priority for the syntactic status of object, while the non-local person is expressed in a prepositional phrase. Swapping the person values of T and G entails a change of alignment, so as to respect the hierarchy {LOCAL > NON-LOCAL}:

- (47) O= pa= vsei -*á*_T <sa-na>_G?
 2s:Irr= FUT show -1s:OBJ DAT-3s
 'Will you show **me** to her?'

- (47') O= pa= vsei -*á*_G <**ini-a**>_T?
 2s:Irr= FUT show -1s:OBJ OBL-3s
 'Will you show **her** to me?'

As was already clear from the initial description of the alternation pattern (§4.1), the results are also robust when the two non-agent participants differ in humanness. Given that G is necessarily [+human] with *slei(i)*, *vsei(i)* and *varai* (§4.1.2), the only case when such discrepancy occurs is when T is [-human]; this case always triggers secundative alignment:

- (48) O= vsei -*á*_G <*lo* pla-m to>_T!
 2s:I= show -1s:OBJ LOC FARMING-2s chicken
 'Show me your chickens!'

- (49) O= slei -*á*_G <**ini-a**>_T!
 2s:I= give -1s:OBJ OBL-3s
 'Give it to me!'

Finally, while (47') above confirmed that a [+human] [-local] participant (here 'her') ranks lower than a local person, (50) shows it ranks higher than a [-human] referent.

- (50) O= pa= vsei -*a*_G <**ini-a**>_T?
 2s:Irr= FUT show -3s:OBJ OBL-3s
 'Will you show **it** to her?'

Even though both suffixes /-a/ refer to a 3rd person and could therefore be ambiguous, the oblique preposition *ini* can only introduce the Theme in a secundative construction, and this entails that the verb's object is the Goal. In other words, [+human] [-local] participants have a medial position in the referential scale, as represented in the scale <H2> above.

4.4 When T and G have equal ranking

Whenever T and G belong to two distinct categories on the hierarchy ⟨H2⟩, speakers show virtually no hesitation or variation; the observed correlations are systematic. But what happens when the two arguments belong to the same category?

Before addressing this point, I should emphasise that the relevant data are based on a limited corpus, and on elicitation. The possibility of testing these configurations with natural data was hampered by their rarity in spontaneous speech and in narrative corpora (§4.1). First, human themes in three-participant constructions are extremely rare, and show seldom in spontaneous discourse. Second, the alignment alternation concerns only three verbs, and among these, the verb *sle* ‘give’ was reluctantly accepted in combination with human Themes – speakers idiomatically prefer to use *rūsan* ‘release’ (§4.1) for when a person is being “given” to someone, as in marriage arrangements or adoption practices. Combining *sle* ‘give’ with a human theme was thus unnatural in the first place, which made it difficult to test these constructions in natural discourse. The verbs *vsei* ‘show’ and *varai* ‘tell’ are more commonly used with human Themes, but still it was often necessary to resort to elicitation, rather than observe spontaneous speech in actual use. Finally, the peculiar situation of endangerment which characterises Araki also leaves few opportunities for natural conversation to be recorded. It was therefore impossible to conduct any quantitative study based on frequency, or to observe such parameters as topicality or discourse saliency in a natural corpus. Judgments given by speakers, assessing the grammaticality and naturalness of each construction, had to be given full weight.

TWO LOCAL PERSONS

When the two arguments are local persons, i.e. speech-act participants, free variation is observed. Both the secundative and the indirective alignments are accepted:

- (51) *R̄aḷala-ku mo = je varai -ko_T <isa-ku>_G.*
 friend-1s 3:R= NEG tell -2s:OBJ DAT-1s
 ‘My friend never mentioned **you** to me.’
- = *R̄aḷala-ku mo = je varai -á_G <ini-ko>_T.*
 friend-1s 3:R= NEG tell -1s:OBJ OBL-2s
 ‘My friend never told me about **you**.’

This suggests that Speaker and Addressee do not enter in any absolute hierarchy with each other.

Another sign that there is no fixed hierarchy between the two speech act participants is that the choice of construction can be sensitive to “syntactic priming” effects (cf. Branigan et al. 1995). Thus in (52), the fact that the reply shows secundative alignment is presumably due to the use of that same construction in the question:

- (52) *M̄āra sa r̄aḷala-m mo = je varai -á_G <ini-ko>_T?*
 because what friend-1s 3:R= NEG tell -1s:OBJ OBL-2s
 ‘Why hasn’t your friend ever told me about **you**?’

- Māra jore jo= varai -ko_G ⟨ini-á_T⟩, o= pa= lokoru.
 because if 3s:Irr tell -2s:OBJ OBL-1s 2s:Irr FUT be.angry
 ‘Because if he had told you about **me**, you would have been angry.’

If there existed a hierarchy whereby, say, the Speaker ranked higher than the Addressee, then the answer in (52) would have shown a change in alignment ($\rightarrow jo=varai-á_T sa-m_G$) so as to keep the hierarchy $Sp>Ad$ – in a way similar to the pair (47)-(47’) above. Instead, the fact that the order of participants is sensitive to syntactic priming proves that no such hierarchy holds between the two speech participants.

TWO NON-LOCAL PERSONS

When both T and G are [+human] [-local] (i.e. 3rd person), they are not strictly ordered according to the scale defined in ⟨H2⟩. Again, this absence of ordering results in free variation; both alignments are equally accepted:

- (53) Om = rē vsei dokta_G ⟨n naŕu-m_T⟩?
 2s:R= PFT show doctor OBL son-2s
 ‘Have you shown the doctor your son?’
- = Om = rē vsei naŕu-m_T ⟨sa-n dokta_G⟩?
 2s:R= PFT show son-2s DAT-CSTR doctor
 ‘Have you shown your son to the doctor?’

Judgments of grammaticality or acceptability are not affected by the syntactic status of the arguments, as NP vs pronoun. Thus the following utterances are judged equally grammatical:

- (54) Nam = je m̄is vsei dokta_G ⟨ni-a_T⟩.
 1s:R= NEG yet show doctor OBL-3s
 ‘I haven’t shown him to the doctor.’
- = Nam = je m̄is vsei -a_T ⟨sa-n dokta_G⟩.
 1s:R= NEG yet show -3s:OBJ DAT-CSTR doctor
 ‘I haven’t shown him to the doctor.’
- (55) Nam = je m̄is vsei -a_G ⟨ni-a_T⟩.
 1s:R= NEG yet show -3s:OBJ OBL-3s
 ‘I haven’t shown him_i to him_j.’
- = Nam = je m̄is vsei -a_T ⟨sa-na_G⟩.
 1s:R= NEG yet show -3s:OBJ DAT-3s
 ‘I haven’t shown him_i to him_j.’

The equal grammaticality of both constructions, in the case of two human 3rd person participants,

contrasts with the sharp asymmetry observed when the Theme is [-human]:

- (56) *Māra sa om = je vsei řařna-m_G <in řařpala-m_T>?*
 because what 2s:R= NEG show father-2s OBL friend-2s
 ‘Why don't you show your father your friend?’

= *Māra sa om = je vsei řařpala-m_T <sa-n řařna-m_G>?*
 because what 2s:R= NEG show friend-2s DAT-CSTR father-2s
 ‘Why don't you show your friend to your father?’

- (57) *Māra sa om = je vsei řařna-m_G <lo pla-m to>?*
 because what 2s:R= NEG show father-2s OBL FARMING-2s hen
 ‘Why don't you show your father your chickens?’

**Māra sa om = je vsei-a pla-m to_T <sa-n řařna-m_G>?*
 because what 2s:R= NEG show-3s FARMING-2s hen DAT-CSTR father-2s
 *‘Why don't you show your chickens to your father?’

Even though both alignments are accepted in elicitation – as in (53)-(56) – it is possible that the choice of one construction over the other, in natural discourse, may involve such dimensions as discourse topicality, rhythmic weight, or other factors. However, these questions have proved difficult to test, for reasons mentioned above. Under elicitation, both the secundative and indirective constructions were judged equally grammatical, and even equally natural; as for corpus examples, they were too few to make general statements.

This being said, the observation of naturally occurring utterances seems to indicate a slight preference in favor of indirective alignment with human Ts, as in (58):

- (58) *Řasi-ku mo = sle nařu-na_T <sa-n řiřa nohoni>_G.*
 brother-1s 3:R= give son-3s DAT-CSTR woman that
 ‘My brother gave his child to that woman.’ [i.e. he got her pregnant]

This tendency has an interesting corollary. In the case of anaphoric reference using pronouns, it is often possible for the hearer to calculate the animacy of the Theme not by the form of the pronoun itself (since there is a single 3s pronoun *-a* ‘him/her/it’) but based on the choice of the construction – as in (50) above. In a sentence like (59), for example, the use of the indirective construction entails that the Theme is equal or superior to the Goal on the saliency hierarchy, which means it has to be [+human]:

- (59) *O = kan varai -a_T <sa-na>_G!*
 2s:I= PROH tell -3s:OBJ DAT-3s
 ‘Don't tell him_i about **him_j/her.**’ [**about it*]
T is core, G is peripheral → Theme is necessarily [+human]

The secundative construction, even though it could in principle refer to the same situation (two

human participants), is typically reserved for cases when the Theme is [-human]:

- (59') O= kan varai -a_G <ini-a>_T!
 2s:I PROH tell -3s:OBJ OBL-3s
 'Don't tell him about **it**.' [??*about him/her*]
T is peripheral, G is core → Theme is most probably [-human]

Araki thus favours indirective alignment as the default construction when dealing with human themes, because it is a semantically unambiguous strategy. This preference is found even when T has low individuation, as in this negative sentence where T is marked as [-specific]:

- (60) Na= pa= je sle ã_T <sa-na>_G.
 1s:Irr FUT NEG give any DAT-3s
 'I won't give her **any** (*child*).'

This can be compared with cases when the Theme is [-specific] and [-human]:

- (60') Na= pa= je slei -a_G <n ã>_T.
 1s:Irr FUT NEG give -3s:OBJ OBL any
 'I won't give her **any** (*money*).'

NON-HUMAN GOALS?

I mentioned in §4.1 that the recipient of *sle* 'give', *varai* 'tell' and *vse* 'show' is invariably [+human]. One reason for this is that the three actions normally involve sentient participants, which are normally human.

Only few animals are present in the traditional environment of Araki speakers: mostly birds, sea creatures, hunting game; farm-raised pigs and chickens; wild dogs. None of these belong to the social realm of humans, in the way pets, for example, do in other cultures. The only case when these ditransitive verbs are attested with animal recipients is in children stories whose heroes are animals:

- (61) Lo ran mo=hese, Siho mo= *varai*-Ø Hotou mo=re: "..."
 LOC day 3:R=one Kingfisher 3:R= tell-Ø Hermitcrab 3:R=say
 'One day, Kingfisher told Hermitcrab: "...'

In (61), the Theme is the reported speech that follows the clause, and the Goal is a hermitcrab. Even though the latter is non-human, it is here treated formally like a human object, as is shown by the absence of agreement marker on the verb: compare the zero of (61) with (14)-(15) above. This belongs to a more general pattern of personification, whereby animal heroes in stories take up the morphosyntactic properties (accusative marking, genitive marking, determiners, etc.) which are normally reserved, in ordinary speech, to human referents (François 2002:97, 142). In other words, (61) is not a genuine instance of a [-human] recipient, because it appears in a context where animals are commonly recategorised as human anyway.

The configuration in which a genuine animal (other than in stories) is a recipient of an event

of transfer, as in *give the dog a bone*, is not attested in my narrative corpus, nor was it included in my elicitation data. For a similar context such as *give some food to the pig*, Araki spontaneously uses a monotransitive verb *vāhani* ‘feed’. For these three verbs, all cases of recipients attested in my corpus involve sentient, human recipients.

The other question is whether a recipient can be inanimate altogether, as in Eng. ‘*give money to the bank*’. When asked about this, speakers avoided the use of these ditransitive verbs. Instead, they preferred to use other verbs (like ‘send’ or ‘put’), with a locative complement:

- (62) Na = pa = hureni-a no-k watu (jo = rō) lo pang.
 1s:Irr FUT put-3s:OBJ POSS-1s money (3s:Irr= stay) LOC bank
 ‘I’ll place my money in the bank.’

Nonetheless, I was able to elicit just one case where the verb *sle* ‘give’ was accepted with an inanimate goal. The context given was ‘give a child to the Church (as an institution) for adoption’. The construction chosen by the speakers was one in which the Goal, despite being inanimate, seems to rank higher than the Theme (children), insofar as it is treated as the object of a ditransitive construction (secundative alignment):

- (63) Nanaŕu-ku mo = rua, nam = rē sle-Ø jej <ni-ra>.
 children-1s 3:R=two 1s:R= PRF give-Ø church OBL-3pl
 ‘My two children, I’ve given them to the Church.’

There are two ways to interpret this unexpected result (63). One approach would be to analyse the recipient *jej* ‘church’ as a genuine [-human] recipient, and observe it ranks higher than a [+human] theme; this would force us to revise the model adopted until now to account for the syntactic distribution of T and G. The second approach would propose that the recipient *jej*, despite its literal meaning, here “behaves as” a [+human] recipient. While the latter hypothesis has the advantage of rescuing the model, it may look, at first sight, like a circular argument: one cannot explain away an unexpected result by forcing it into a familiar yet different configuration. What we need is external evidence to establish whether the recipient *jej* ‘church’ here patterns with human or with non-human participants. Luckily, (63) provides the answer to this question, in the form of the agreement marking on the verb (§3.1.2). If *jej* had its [-human] reading here, it would necessarily trigger agreement on the verb – as in (64):

- (64) Mo = je lesi-a jej paro.
 3:R= NEG see-3s:OBJ church new
- * Mo = je lesi-Ø jej paro.
 3:R= NEG see-Ø church new
 ‘They haven’t seen the new church.’

In a way similar to the case of animal personification (61), the absence of an agreement marker /-a/ in (63) *sle* (vs **slei-a*) provides evidence, independent from the issue of ditransitive verbs, that the church is here treated grammatically as [+human]. This is partly due to the polysemy of the noun ‘church’, which may refer to a building as in (64) but also to a social institution as in

(63). But it can also be argued that the transfer verb *sle* ‘give’, due to its privileged relationship with human recipients, has the effect, as it were, of reclassifying its recipient as human.

This observation, finally, is consistent with the choice of the secundative strategy, whereby ‘church’ ranks equal or higher than ‘children’ on the referential hierarchy. This confirms the earlier observation (§4.2) that the object of these ditransitive verbs is always [+human], even when it is only metaphorically so.

5. Discussion

5.1 Summary of results

To sum up, there are two classes of verbs expressing three-participant events in Araki. The first class, including *sohani* ‘send’, *rūsan* ‘release, give away’, and *hashaso* ‘praise, recommend’, always shows indirective alignment, with T as the object, and G encoded in a dative prepositional phrase (§4.1.1). The relevant constructions optionally involve the use of a serialised verb of motion. I will refer to this class as the ‘*send*-class’ in *Figure 1* below.

The second class consists of the three ditransitive verbs: ‘give’, ‘show’ and ‘tell’. The behaviour of these verbs rests on an underlying referential hierarchy, with three levels:

⟨H2⟩	[+human] [+local] > [+human] [-local] > [-human]
------	--

Table 5 summarises all the configurations examined in the previous sections, with the last column providing reference to numbered examples. The letter in bold refers to the participant (either G or T) which aligns formally with the Patient; as the table shows, it is always the one that ranks higher on the hierarchy. Rows with no bolded letter mean there is variation as to which participant becomes the object; the last row refers to a special case, in which an apparently non-human recipient was treated formally as if it were human.

<i>[+human]</i> <i>[+local]</i>	> <i>[+human]</i> <i>[-local]</i>	> <i>[-human]</i>	<i>examples</i>
	G	T	33-34, 50, 57, 59’
G		T	48-49
G	T		35-36, 42-46’, 47’
T	G		40-41, 47
T,G			51-52
	T,G		53-56, 59-60
	T,G	← (G)	63

Table 5: Mapping corpus examples onto the referential hierarchy

As Table 5 shows, the hierarchy *between* the three levels is robust. Should the two non-agentive participants belong to separate levels on this scale, the syntax of the clause will systematically reflect the hierarchy, by providing the higher-ranking non-agentive participant (T or G) with the status of core argument (Object), and by expressing the lower-ranking one in a prepositional phrase. This results in a regular alternation between secundative and indirective alignments. When, however, the two participants belong to the *same* level (either two local persons, or two

non-local persons), no clear hierarchy governs their syntactic behaviour. Both syntactic constructions are accepted.

The syntax of Araki three-participant verbs is synthesised in Figure 1, in the form of a decision chart.

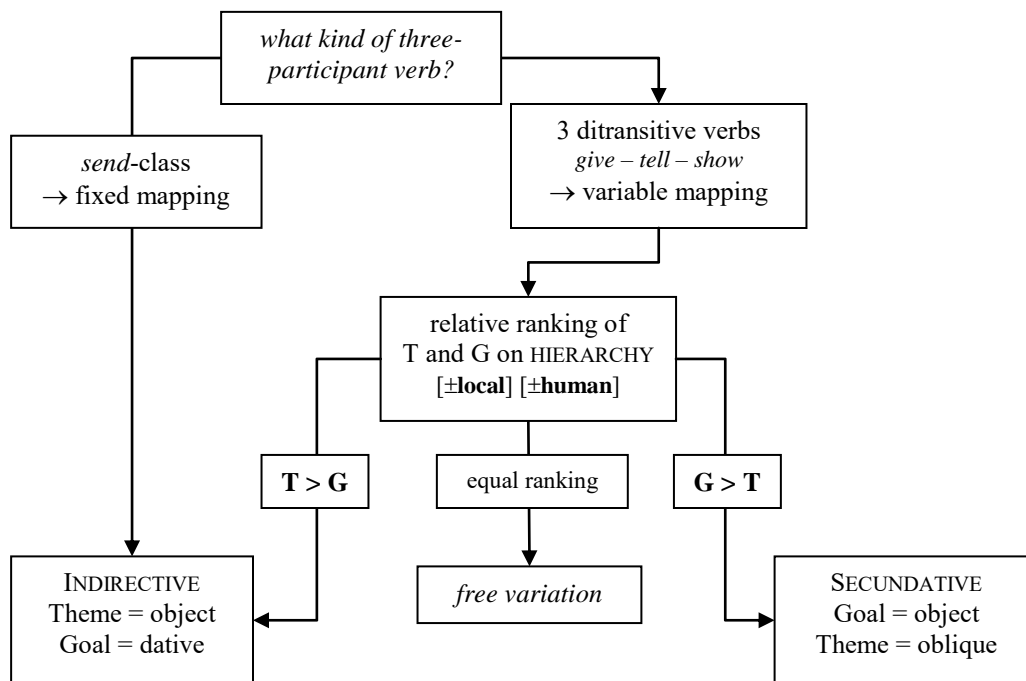


Figure 1: The syntax of three-participant verbs in Araki: a decision chart

A similar construction split is described for Jamul Tiipay, a Yuman language of California (Miller 2001:162). While the basic alignment of ditransitive verbs in Jamul Tiipay is secundative, “it can change to indirective if T outranks G on the person scale” (Malchukov et al. 2010). However, Araki differs from Jamul Tiipay in various aspects: by the absence of ranking between 1st and 2nd person; by the possibility of free variation between alignments in certain configurations; and by the existence of a verb class for which indirective alignment is the only one possible.

5.2 Functional interpretation

How can we interpret these results? Why do ‘give’, ‘show’ and ‘tell’ behave the way they do, and why do they behave differently from verbs of the *send* class?

WHO'S AFFECTED?

The morphosyntax of Araki ditransitive verbs is thus sensitive to two features of its non-agent-like participants: whether they are [±human], and whether they are [±local], i.e. directly involved in the speech act. That participant which ranks higher on these two parameters combined will be the verb's object, i.e. align formally with prototypical Patients, whereas the other one will be given a peripheral, non-core function in the form of a prepositional phrase.

Næss (2004; 2007), dealing with two-participant constructions, showed that Differential object marking (DOM) is best analysed in terms of *affectedness*. Highly individuated objects, i.e. definite or human or otherwise more salient participants, can be said to be more affected than less individuated ones (Næss 2004: 1202); in her interpretation, this parameter of affectedness is central to the characterisation of objects in a typically transitive clause. In the case of DOM, the contrast is between two kinds of objects, one more and one less individuated, with different degrees of affectedness.

I'd like to propose that the complex rules followed by Araki ditransitive verbs also involve degrees of affectedness. Yet instead of involving a contrast between two kinds of objects, the opposition stands here between two different participants, T and G. While the position of object, in this language, is in principle open both to the Theme and to the Goal, in a particular clause they have to compete as to which one will be selected to be the object. The main criterion for that competition is their relative degree of affectedness, i.e. which of those two participants is more like a prototypical object.

With transfer events like 'give', 'show' and 'tell', the typical configuration is one where the Theme is inanimate and the Goal is human. In this case, the sentient participant is the more affected and thus the foregrounded participant: this explains why this case will systematically result, in Araki, in the alignment of the Goal with the Patient of monotransitive clauses.

When both T and G are human, but one of them is a speech participant while the other is a 3rd person, then the local one is more salient in discourse, and perceived as more affected, regardless of its semantic role. Thus if you *show me to your cousin*, the more salient participant (*me*) is the one placed on the foreground, and it will be coded as the object in Araki. If one swaps Theme and Goal (as in *show me your cousin*), the speech-act participant remains foregrounded, and from the point of view of the speaker the event is still semantically oriented towards himself. Here too, Araki will treat that local participant as more salient, and therefore better suited for the position of object – that is, for the morphosyntactic treatment that would align them with prototypical Patients.

Finally, when both the Theme and the Goal rank equally on the scale, it is in principle ambiguous which one will be more affected or foregrounded. If I *show my girlfriend to my mother*, will my action primarily affect my girlfriend, or my mother? Arguably, both the Theme and the Goal are equally affected in such a case (cf. Siewierska and Van Lier 2011). This is why they can equally claim the status of object in Araki, and show here free variation.

TWO CLASSES OF THREE-PARTICIPANT VERBS

Interestingly, Araki only makes this competition possible for certain verbs of transfer, but not for others. In an event such as *send* (s.th., s.o.), the only participant that will always be affected is the Theme, whether it is human or not. This is due to the fact that *send* refers to an event of *caused motion*, which does not necessarily entail that the target is reached: an utterance such as (28) *I sent a letter to you* can be true even if the letter never reached its recipient. With a verb like *send*, *release* or *praise*, the event is always construed from the perspective of the Theme; it is the only participant which can have access to the status of object. This explains why, in Araki, such verbs are excluded from the domain of ditransitive verbs for which the competition between T and G is open.

By contrast, the events expressed by the verbs *sle* 'give', *varai* 'tell' and *vse* 'show' all inherently entail the success of the transfer event. These three events encode not caused motion

but *caused possession* (see Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2008) – whether literally in the case of ‘give’, or figuratively in the case of ‘tell’ and ‘show’: the main point is that events of giving, telling or showing, are only valid – at least in Araki – if the theme has entered the sphere, whether real or symbolic, of the recipient. In *I gave her a present*, the recipient is necessarily affected by the event, regardless whether the caused-possession event itself is successful strictly speaking – i.e. whether she did accept the gift or not. In order to be assigned any truth value, these three verbs inherently involve both a Theme and a Goal.

In sum, for any given three-participant verb in Araki, it is a requirement that potentially both T and G must be equally *affectable* for them to be able to compete for object status. In this language, this lexical precondition is only met by three verbs (‘give’, ‘tell’ and ‘show’); these are the only verbs concerned by the syntactic competition for object status, as defined by the relative position of participants in the referential hierarchy.

6. Conclusion

The syntax of Araki shows sensitiveness to a number of contrasts in the real world, which it makes available for speakers and hearers to retrieve referents.

One first contrast is drawn between three-participant events. Those caused-motion verbs referring to transfer events that are semantically oriented towards the Theme (e.g. *send*, *release*...), treat it as the privileged argument, and encode it consistently as an object. Conversely, caused-possession verbs refer to events of transfer which are intrinsically successful (*give*, *show*, *tell*): because their Theme and Goal are potentially equally affectable, they are entitled to compete for the place of object.

Another functional contrast is drawn among referents with respect to their inherent ability to be affected by an event. In Araki, these referential splits play a role in two different parts of the system. Monotransitive verbs contrast their Patients based on their referential properties involving features such as humanness, specificity, topicality (Section 3). Likewise, the domain of ditransitive verbs is governed by a hierarchy in which humanness plays a central role, as well as the contrast of person between local and non-local referents (Section 4).

Evidently, the specifics of Araki verbal morphosyntax define a system that is typologically original. And yet, its general architecture remains deeply consistent with general tendencies observed elsewhere – including in the present volume – on the role played by referential properties in the grammatical encoding of arguments.

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