

**Competition for the object status:
the effects of referential factors in derived and non-derived ditransitive verbs in Mojeño
Trinitario**

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Mojeño Trinitario, an Arawak language of Bolivia, shows strong effects of referential factors (like person, number, definiteness...) in the expression of event participants. On derived and non-derived three participant verbs, **referential effects** operate on both the encoding of the arguments and the accessibility to the object status. These effects also trigger alternation in the constructions used with the same verbal root. One of the factors seems to be the relative position of the participants on a referential hierarchy where 1/2 > 3. Another factor seems to be related to reference-tracking, where the similar object encoding of two participants with the same referential properties (animacy, number, gender) is avoided.

There is a small number of canonical **ditransitive** verbs. They show a split between a double-object construction and an indirective alignment depending on the grammatical environment (Haspelmath 2010). On the one hand, they accept two objects (a recipient R and a patient P) only when R is a speech act participant (SAP) and P a third person (1), or when the two of them are third persons (2). In this last configuration, the two objects are rarely both expressed as full NPs. On the other hand, when P is an SAP, R is demoted to an oblique, whether an SAP or a third person (3).

Transitive roots with a **causative** or **applicative** derivation generally behave like the ditransitives presented before, cf. (4)(5) (for typological discussions on the topic, cf. Comrie 1981, Peterson 2007).

However, with the **benefactive applicative**, when both BEN and P are third persons, their expression as two object NPS seems unacceptable (6). Finally, the **instrumental/locative/manner applicative** has a very particular behaviour. The applied object is generally expressed as an NP (whether an SAP pronoun or a third person) in pre-verbal position (7). Since the position of the applied object differentiates it clearly with the P object, there is no competition excluding one of them from the object status.

This paper will discuss the strong and regular effects of referential factors, person being the prevalent one, on the encoding of arguments in three participant events, whether expressed by a derived or a non-derived ditransitive verb. It does not strongly support the often-expressed idea that derived ditransitives are modeled on basic ditransitives (see for example Kemmer & Verhagen 1994).

Examples

- (1) *su Prancisca t-ijro-k-nu eto-pe 'chátrope*
ART.F Francisca 3-give-ACT-1SG one-CLF knife
'Francisca gave me one knife.'
- (2) *su Prancisca s-ijro-ko ma Leonardo eto-pe 'chatrope.*
ART.F Francisca 3F-give-ACT ART.M Leonardo one-CLF knife
'Francisca gave one knife to Leonardo.'
- (3) *ñi n-iya t-ijro-k-nu-yre ñi-ye'e.*
ART.M 1SG-father 3F-give-ACT-1SG-FUT 3M-PREP¹
'My father will give me to him.'
- (4) *n-woo'o n-im-ech-vi-yre to 'chene*
1SG-want 1SG-CAUS-know-2SG-FUT ART.NH way
'I am going to show you the way.'
- (5) *ñi Pransisku ñi-woo'o t-im-kopara-k-nu-yre ñe ñi ñi-chicha*
ART.M Francisco 3M-want 3-CAUS-kill-ACT-1SG-FUT 3M-PREP ART.M 3M-son
'Francisco wants to make his son kill me.'
- (6) **n-sipo-s-no su s-amri su 'seno*
1SG-wash-ACT-APPL2 ART.F 3F-grandchild ART.F woman
'I wash her grandchild for the woman.'
- (7) *pjoka kaecha n-is-iyo pjo n-ésane*
DEM shovel 1SG-hoe-APPL1 DEM 1SG-field
'With this shovel I hoe my field.'

Abbreviations

ACT active; APPL applicative; ART article; CAUS causative; CLF classifier; DEM demonstrative; F feminine; FUT future; M masculine; NH non human; PREP preposition; SG singular.

References

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¹ Prepositions are inflected in Mojeño Trinitario. Therefore an SAP object is prefixed to the preposition.