What non-canonical switch-reference systems tell us about switch-reference

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Switch Reference (SR)

As a comparative concept (Haspelmath 2010), SR includes (at least):

A system of clause-level grammatical markers, some indicating coreference (CR), and some indicating disjoint-reference (DR), between a ‘salient’ reference in its own clause, and a ‘salient’ reference elsewhere. (There are strict, language-specific, criteria in determining which reference in which clause is the ‘salient’ one.)
Switch Reference (SR)

Canonically:

- *SR* markers are in paradigmatic opposition;
- *SR* markers are inflexional verbal affixes;
- a *SR*-marked clause is syntactically dependent on the control clause, or the two clauses are codependent with another clause; (in clause chains, the control clause is found in the direction of the independent clause of the clause chain);
- *SR* pivots are subjects, actors, or ‘topics’;
- *SR* markers are used for *SR* pivots of all persons, numbers, and genders.
Menggwa Dla language

SANDAUN (West Sepik) Province, Papua New Guinea
Kabupaten KEEROM, Papua, Indonesia
Menggwa Dla
(a.k.a. Duka-Ekor)

Dla
(a.k.a. Dera; Galis 1956, Voorhoeve 1975)

Anggor
(e.g. Litteral 1980)

SENAGI family

“Dla Proper”
Some Menggwa Dla morphosyntax preliminaries

- Verb-final (most usually)
  - \( =\text{TOP}, =\text{OBJ (P/R)}, =\text{GEN} \), and semantic cases
- Verbal agreement: -SBJ or -SBJ-OBJ
does not necessarily correspond with semantic valency; 
many monovalent verbs have a dummy -3FSG.OBJ [-3fs.O]
Menggwa Dla SR morphology

On “type 1” chain verbs:

- **CR**: Ø;
- **DR**: *ma-*, *-ma*, or *-me* (depends on conjugation class, C or V ending verb root)
- **CR** and **DR** verbs usually take different sets of agreement suffixes
- **dependent verbs** have a **DEP** suffix *-Ø* ~ *-mbo* ~ *-mbona* at the end...
1. rani=mbe walambani-Ø-o-mbo, homba-e-Ø-hwa.
DEM=INS swim-CR-3fs-DEP see-3fs-3ms.O-PST
‘She\textsubscript{j} was swimming there, and she\textsubscript{j/k} saw him.’

2. rani=mbe walambani-me-wa-mbo, homba-e-Ø-hwa.
DEM=INS swim-DR-3fs-DEP see-3fs-3ms.O-PST
‘She\textsubscript{j} was swimming there, and she\textsubscript{j/k} saw him.’
Traditional SR system in Menggwa Dla

(≈ people born in or before the 1960s)

Canonical SR system:

a. used for all persons
   (i.e. the agreement suffixes are often already sufficient in disambiguating the
   subject referents.)

   then CR-eat-1s SEQ-1s-3fs.O-DEP sleep-1s-PRS;CONT
   ‘Then I eat, and then I sleep.’ (B)

4. ini. pusi homba-ma-ha-a-mbo, hwi=na han-wa-hwa.
   yes cat see-DS-1s-3fs.O-DEP water=ALL go.down-3fs-PST
   ‘Yes, I saw the cat, it went down towards the stream.’ (60III)
Traditional SR system in Menggwa Dla

Canonical SR:

b. SR pivot: subject.

(No voice oppositions; animate undergoers of involuntary states expressed as subjects.)

5.  
gwa   gihali(=mbo)  sufwa-Ø-a-mbo,
but  hunger(=OBJ)  feel-CR-1s-DEP
 stroperi  imbu  hihiri-Ø-a-mbo,  ser-iha-hwa.
strawberry  two  steal-CR-1s-DEP  eat-1s-PST

‘But then I was hungry, and I stole two strawberries and I ate them.’ (50II)
Traditional SR system in Menggwa Dla

Canonical SR:

c. clause skipping...

d. referential overlap: usually CR; DR used to emphasise other types of discourse discontinuity...
Innovative SR system in Menggwa Dla

(≈ some people born in or after the 1980s)

a. When the person-number-gender features of the subject agreement suffixes are sufficient in disambiguation, CR verbs becomes SR-neutral.

6.  hofahi(-Ø)-a-mbo, yoambo sumbu-Ø-hwa.
    fall(-‘CR’) -1s-DEP 1SG;OBJ laugh-3ms-PST
    ‘I tripped over and he laughed at me.’ (90I)

7.  hofahi(-Ø)-a-mbo, sumbu-aha-hwa.
    fall(-‘CR’) -1s-DEP laugh-1s-PST
    ‘I tripped over and I laughed.’
Innovative SR system in Menggwa Dla

(\textit{DR} can still be used, especially when a type of discourse discontinuity is emphasised.)

8. \textit{dukumi po-\textit{me}Ø-mbona},

valley \textit{go;DR-DR-3ms-DEP}

\textit{yo lohama rongo pi-aha-hwa}.

1 ridge along go-1s-PST

‘He went to the valley, and I went along the ridge.’ (N)
Innovative SR system in Menggwa Dla

b. When the person-number-gender features of the subject agreement suffixes are not sufficient in disambiguation, CR = CR and DR = DR.

9. twangi=lofo wuli=na ø-hahof-o-mbo,
white.person=COM house=ALL CR-go.up-3fs-DEP

aflamlbi nafi-ø-a-hwa.

many show-n1s-3fs.O-PST

‘She$_j$ went into the house with the white person$_k$, and she$_j$ showed her$_k$/l many things.’ (90III)
Innovative SR system in Menggwa Dla

10. twaŋgi=lofo wuli=na ma-hahof-wa-mbo,
    white.person=COM house=ALL DR-go.up-3fs-DEP
    aflambil nafi-Ø-a-hwa.
    many show-n1s-3fs.O-PST

    ‘She\textsubscript{j} went into the house with the white person\textsubscript{k}, and she\textsubscript{k/l} showed her\textsubscript{j/m} many things.’

11. Pita=na wamla ma-ser-u-mbo, (/∗Ø-ser-u-mbo)
    Peter=TOP betal.nut DR-eat-3ms-DEP CR-
    Simonu=na fofø-Ø-mbi.

    ‘Peter is chewing betal nut, and Simon is smoking.’ (80II)

[The deciding factor is the subject suffixes; NPs are ignored.]
Menggwa Dla SR

Traditional Menggwa Dla SR

Canonical

Innovative Menggwa Dla SR

Functioning CR markers only available when the two subjects are both third person and with non-conflicting gender information. Otherwise, CR verb forms have become SR-neutral.

SR in Menggwa Dla: de Sousa (2006a, 2006b, 2007)
1. Reference tracking:

The **Innovative SR system** has become more economical in reference tracking. (For reference tracking; functioning \(\text{CR/DR}\) markers are only needed for third person references.)

However, consider the following facts:

- Nearly all SR systems require functional \(\text{CR/DR}\) markers to be used even for first and second person references;
- 49 out of 116 languages (<40%) in Roberts’ (1997) survey of PNG SR systems have subject agreement (including anticipatory marking) for both \(\text{CR}\) and \(\text{DR}\) verbs.
2. Grammatical marking of discourse dis/continuity of the ‘salient’ participant.

(≠ Givón’s topic continuity, i.e. topic predictability)

Between clauses in discourse, some level of cohesion of:

– ‘Discourse theme’
– Temporal/spatial settings, logical relationships (incl. foregrounding and backgrounding);
– Participants

(rephrased from Givón 1983a, 1983b)
Functions of SR

2. Grammatical marking of discourse dis/continuity of the ‘salient’ participant.

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– ‘Discourse theme’
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In a Papuan-type clause-chaining SR system:

CR: (CR, &) the ‘salient’ participant will remain/re-emerge as topical (i.e. my ‘participant continuity’);

DR: DR, the ‘salient’ participant will no longer be topical, and/or disruption in other types of discourse continuity.
(One type of) ‘clause skipping’

t.kangaroo is:sleepy-CR

cassowary walks:pass-DR

(Background)

t.kangaroo sleeps.

Foreground; Mainline of events
Mostly foreground clauses

ser-u Ø-num-u-la-mbona,
etat-3MSG CR-sit-3MSG-LIG-DEP
‘he (the moon) ate and lived (in this place), and’

sunγu amni-la afila ai Ø-haf-u-mbo,
later garden=GEN father 3SG CR-arrive-3MSG-DEP
‘one day the father (owner) of the garden he arrived, and’

[17 chain clauses...]

homba boka-ma-wu-Ø-mbona,
see NEG:DR-N1MPL-3MSG:O-DEP
‘they did not see him (the moon), and’

ai-na tumali hupla ambya runγu pipa-me-Ø-mbo,
3=TOP pandanus container hole inside hide-DR-3MSG-DEP
‘he (the moon) was hiding in a hole inside a pandanus trunk, and’

‘that being the case they broke (the hole) and’
‘pulled him (the moon) out, and’
‘they took him (the moon) (away).’

CR: the ‘salient’ participant will remain/re-emerge as topical (i.e. ‘participant continuity’)
Functions of non-canonical SR

- Reference tracking
- Grammatical marking of discourse dis/continuity of the ‘salient’ participant

Grammatical marking of discourse dis/continuity in general
Grammatical marking of discourse dis/continuity in general

e.g. Bauzi (East Geelvink Bay)

13. ‘Then Vadu[^v] thought,’ [D]

‘because (Aseda) struck his sister,’ [D]

*Sembina*  *beo-me*

‘(he[^v]) struck Sembina[^s],’ [C: consequence]

*ab*  *si-h-am*

*IND*  *seize-R-IND*

‘and (she[^s]) sat down.’ (Briley 1997:21)
Grammatical marking of discourse discontinuity in general

e.g. Bauzi (East Geelvink Bay)

14. ‘([W]e) passed by Gienali’s house,’ [C]

‘and (we) arrived at the base of the matoa tree,’ [C]

\textit{ai-ha}

\begin{tabular}{p{1.5cm}p{1.5cm}p{1.5cm}p{1.5cm}p{1.5cm}p{1.5cm}}
\textbf{D} & \textbf{I} & \textbf{D} & \textbf{I} & \textbf{I} & \textbf{I} \\
\text{people} & \text{cry-words} & \text{IND} & \text{hear-CONT-IR-IND} & \text{people} & \text{cry-words} \\
\end{tabular}

‘(we) began hearing wailing.’ (Briley 1997:118)
Functions of non-canonical SR

Grammatical marking of discourse discontinuity in general

  e.g. Bauzi (East Geelvink Bay)

Other examples:
  Central Pomo (Mithun 1993);
  Koasati (Rising 1992)
Functions of non-canonical SR

- Reference tracking
- Grammatical marking of discourse dis/continuity of the ‘salient’ participant

More economical in reference-tracking: ‘third person SR systems’
More economical in reference-tracking: ‘third person SR systems’

e.g. ≈ Innovative SR system in Menggwa Dla

Esk-Aleut languages
e.g. Aleut, linking tensed clause (Bergsland 1994:346-347; 1997:244):

1\textsuperscript{st}/2\textsuperscript{nd}: -DAT

3\textsuperscript{rd} DR: -DAT;

3\textsuperscript{rd} CR: -ABS (immediate SEQ) or -REL (others).

Vanuatu Echo-Subject systems
(de Sousa 2008, de Sousa & Hammond 2010)
## Switch-reference in Southern Vanuatu?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>ES marker</th>
<th>DR</th>
<th>ES antecedent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erromango</td>
<td>(clausal) CR marker</td>
<td>only for 3rd person</td>
<td>subject, referentially overlap OK, (object: one case found)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanna</td>
<td>(clausal) CR marker</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>usually topic/subject, but otherwise whatever pragmatically fitting. c.f. zero anaphors in East Asian languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aneityum</td>
<td>VP coordinator</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Departure from formal canon of SR; and/or

Alterations in the underlying functions of SR:
- Reference tracking
- Grammatical marking of discourse dis/continuity of the ‘salient’ participant.
Bibliography


Thank you!
Hvala!
Fala ni!