Echo Subject in Southern Vanuatu versus Switch Reference

— Some Comparisons of Southern Vanuatu and New Guinea

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Echo Subject and Switch Reference

- ES in Whitesands
- Typology and historical development of ES across Southern Vanuatu
- Functions of Papuan-type SR systems and contrasts with Southern Vanuatu ES
Echo Subject and Switch Reference

- ES in Whitesands
  - Form
    - Dependant but not fully subordinate
  - Function
    - Coordination and Referent tracking
  - Variation
- Typology and historical development of ES across Southern Vanuatu
- Functions of Papuan-type SR systems and contrasts with Southern Vanuatu ES
Whitesands – South Vanuatu
Whitesands - Tanna
Whitesands – Morphology

- Prefixing on the predicate inflecting:
  - **SUBJECT** person, **TAM**, **SUBJECT** number

- **PAST**
- **NON-PAST**
- **CONTINUOUS**
- **PERFECT**
- **PROSPECTIVE**
- **SEQUENTIAL**
- **HABITUAL**
- **NEGATIVE**

- **SINGULAR**
- **DUAL**
- **TRIAL**
- **PLURAL**

- **INCL**
- **EXCL**
- **2**
- **3**
Whitesands – Morphology

- Prefixing on the predicate inflecting for:
  - SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number

(1) jhws2-20090301-ak01_019

Itəmlau keiju ja-k-i-an lapən.
1DU.EXCL two 1EXCL-NPST-DU-gonight
Two of us (DU.EXCL) go at night time

(2) jhws2-20090301-ak01_022

Nama ø ja-k-i-an o menəŋ rarpən,
if 1EXCL-NPST-DU-goOBL fowl wild
If we (DU.EXCL) go for wild fowl,
Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:
- Subject person, TAM, Subject number

- Different Referent Coordination:
  - Relative Tense
  - Coordinators
    - *kani* ‘and’
    - *ko* ‘then’
    - *metow* ‘but/because’
    - Ø
  - New ‘subject’ is not the preceding clause’s ‘subject’
This only really applies to active verbs.

Jeremy Hammond; 02/01/2010
Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:
\textbf{SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number}

- **Different Referent Coordination:**

(3) jhws1-20080328-ns02_035

\textit{kei} \hspace{1cm} \textit{t-uen} \hspace{1cm} \textit{ahaiken}

flying.fox \hspace{1cm} 3SG.NPST-go \hspace{1cm} there

\textit{nəkava} \hspace{1cm} \textit{t-eni-pen} \hspace{1cm} \textit{kam} \hspace{1cm} \textit{in},

kava \hspace{1cm} 3SG.NPST-say-to.3 \hspace{1cm} OBL \hspace{1cm} 3SG

The flying fox went there and the kava said to him [flying fox],
Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

- SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number

- Different Referent Coordination:

(4) jhws2-20090224-ek_022

\[
\text{niŋəm} \quad t\text{-}am\text{-}us \quad nima, \quad t\text{-}apen
\]

fire \quad 3\text{SG}\text{-}PST\text{-}bite \quad house \quad 3\text{SG}\text{.NPST}\text{-}black

The fire burnt the house, it [the house] is black.
Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

- SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number

- Same Referent Coordination:
  - Echo subject (ES) (Lynch 1983, Crowley 2002)
    - “Replaces” the prefixing on the verb
  - Number is mostly obligatory

\[ m\text{-SUBJECT.NUMBER-root} \]
Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate: 
**SUBJECT** person, **TAM**, **SUBJECT** number, 
EchoSubject

- Same Referent Coordination (ES):

(5) jhws1-20080308-ma01_007
   jarwi  t-apwah       m-uen.
   jarwi  3SG.NPST-no    ES-go
   Yarwi didn’t want to and (Yarwi) went.

(6) jhws1-20080417-all01_261
   k-l-eni       ama    m-l-eru.
   1INCL.NPST-TR-talk only   ES-TR-see
   We (TR.INCL) have talked and (we have) seen.
Whitesands

• Same Referent Coordination (ES):

(7) jhws1-20071203-ak04_031/2

Wilson  t-am-awpwen  m-aliwək  m-iwai
Wilson  3SG-PST-first  ES-walk  ES-slip

pa  m-apwəs
seawards  ES-drunk

Wilson left first and walked (seawards) [home] falling, he was drunk.
Prefixing on the predicate:

- SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number, EchoSubject

- Direction/Duration Use (SVC-like)

(8) jhws1-20071231-ak03v_008

*nahu  t-am-umki  m-ua*

water  3SG-PST-carry  ES-come

The water carried them here

(9) jhws1-20080328-ns02_033

*m-ua  m-ua  ko  kei*

ES-come  ES-come  then  flying.fox

*t-uen*

3SG.NPST-go

It went on and on and on then the flying fox went
Whitesands

- Same Referent Coordination (ES):
  - Coordinators
    - kani ‘and’
    - ko ‘then’
    - metow ‘but/because’
    - Ø
  - Aspect
    - HABITUAL
    - CONTINUOUS
    - PERFECT
    - #SEQUENTIAL

(10) jhws1-20080417-all01_065

na-k-u'en ko m-at-ua
2SG-NPST-go then ES-CONT-come
You will go and then come back
“Echo” can be ‘co-referential’ to SUBJ + OTHER

(11) jhws1-20080314-ak01_050
ja-k-arun  n-eles-i'en  ik,
1EXCL-NPST-know  NMLZ-carry.SG-NMLZ  2SG
I am able to carry you

m-u-ari
ES-DU-landwards
and we’ll go landwards
“Echo” can be ‘co-referential’ to SUBJ + OTHER

The rat, he was at the home of his mother and father, they (TR) were sitting there.
Whitesands

- “Echo” can take a ‘OTHER’ referent

(13) jhws1-20071231-ma04v_009

\[ m-eru \quad petan \quad mil \quad keiju \ldots \]

ES-see \quad woman \quad DU \quad two

He saw two women …

\[ m-w-ol \quad neŋ-lau \quad nəwhel \]

ES-DU-make \quad POSS.FOOD-3DU \quad laplap

They were making laplap for themselves
“Echo” can ‘skip’

(14) jhws2-20090301-ak01_041
ko ja-k-eles nerow m-aiju
then 1EXCL-NPST-hold.SG spear ES-run

m-uen iwakir ko m-oh pukah-i
ES-go close then ES-hit pig-PRT
And then I take the spear run close up to the pig and hit the pig

t-imis ko
3SG.NPST-die then

m-ot-etei m-ot-eles m-awt lahwanu
ES-PL-cut ES-PL-carry.SG ES-PL.quick village
It [the pig] dies, then we cut it up, and carry it quickly to the village
Whitesands – Echo Subject

- 25-30% of inflected predication uses the ES marker
- Around 1/3 of ES are directional
- Coordinate-like and dependant
- Not strictly syntactically bound
- Range of possibilities for the co-reference
Prefixing on the predicate:

\textbf{SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number, EchoSubject}

• Use of ES across dialogue:

(15) JHWS1-20080417-all01_050-2
Nais: \textit{jow ja-an-os mani jow...}  
\textbf{1SG 1EXCL-PRF-carry money 1SG}
I have got money, I...
Simon: \textit{m-an-alu}  
\textbf{ES-PRF-forget}
You have forgotten
Nais: \textit{m-an-alu e kastom aha}  
\textbf{ES-PRF-forget OBL kastom that}
I have forgotten that kastom [that I went for]
Whitesands

- Use of **SUBJ** pronoun with **ES**: 

(16) jhws1-20080308-ma04_015

\[ m-os, \quad ilahal \quad m-l-uen \quad apaha \quad nepatu \]

ES-carry  3TR  ES-TR-go  LOC  cliff

She carried (them) and they (TR) went to the cliff
Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number, EchoSubject

• Different and Same Referent Coordination – longer example:

(17) jhws2-20090227-nn03_017
pia-n t-atul m-atul metow
brother-3SG\textsubscript{X} 3SG\textsubscript{Y}.NPST-stand ES\textsubscript{Y}-stand but

\textit{t-əs-wa-ije} metow
3SG\textsubscript{X}-NEG-come-NEG but

in t-afu in t-\textit{iwaiju}
3SG\textsubscript{Y} 3SG\textsubscript{Y}.NPST-see 3SG\textsubscript{X} 3SG\textsubscript{X}.NPST-down

His\textsubscript{X} brother stood and stood [there], but he\textsubscript{X} didn’t come but he\textsubscript{Y} saw him\textsubscript{X} go down.
Echo Subject and Switch Reference

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The ES marker

- indicates that the subject of the clause is coreferential with some previously mentioned reference(s);
- is mutually exclusive with ordinary subject indexing; and
- is not a verb phrase coordinator (VPC)/marks a clause.
verb phrase coordinator:

\[ S \rightarrow NP_{subj} \rightarrow T(A)M \rightarrow AGR_{subj} \rightarrow VP \rightarrow \text{verb...} \& \rightarrow VP \rightarrow \text{verb...} \& \rightarrow VP \rightarrow \text{verb...} \]

\[ \text{e.g. Nakanamanga (Central Vanuatu)} \]

\[ \text{poo} \]
The ES construction canon

The canonical ES clause allows:

- the subject to be partially coreferential/disjoint-referential with the subject of the preceding clause;
- a coordinator to precede the ES marker;
- an overt subject NP;
Development of the ES construction in Southern Vanuatu

(Summary of de Sousa (2008))

Proto–Southern Vanuatu: *ma

*ma: VPC (Moyse-Faurie & Lynch 2004)

Anejom̃ (i)m= is still a VPC.
Stage 0: Proto–Southern Vanuatu

Stage 1: Tanna and Erromango reanalysed *ma as a marker of a clause.

Stage 1: Erromango languages
Stage 2: ES- less coordinator-like in Tanna

Stage 1: Erromango languages

Stage 2: Tanna languages
(In Lenakel, ES cannot be used with the future $t$-)

\[
\begin{align*}
& \& AGR_{subj} \\
*ma & \emptyset & \emptyset & \ldots \text{-verb root} \\
& \& \rightarrow AGR_{subj} \\
& *ma & \emptyset & \emptyset & \ldots \text{-verb root} \\
& \&FU T \\
*ma & t^- & \emptyset & \ldots \text{-verb root} \\
& \& \rightarrow AGR_{subj} \\
& *ma & \emptyset & \emptyset & \ldots \text{-verb root}
\end{align*}
\]
Stage 3: ES clauses more like independent clauses in Whitesands/ N Tanna

Stage 2: Tanna languages

Stage 3: Whitesands/N Tanna
Typological summary:

(Aneityum: VPC)

Erromango:
- ES prefix mutually exclusive with coordinator;
- independent marking for TAM in ES clauses marginal;
- subject rarely not (totally) coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause;

Tanna:
- ES prefix can be preceded by a coordinator;
- independent marking for TAM in ES clauses less restricted;
- subject not uncommonly not totally coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause;
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  - Southern Vanuatu ES system = switch-reference system?
Papuan-type Switch-reference

Prototypically, a SR system:

- consists of a paradigm of coreferential (CR) versus disjoint-referential (DR) markers;
- indicates that the subject is CR or DR with the subject of a following clause;
- is inflectional;
- has strict criteria in selecting the switch-reference pivots.
Papuan-type Switch-reference

Two functions:

- semantic/syntactic function of reference tracking;
- discourse function of indicating participant continuity/discontinuity
  - (foreground/background status of participants. (e.g. de Sousa 2006b; Huang 2000)).
Switch-reference in Southern Vanuatu?

No:
- Aneityum: no DR marking;
- Erromango: ≈ “3rd person SR system”
- Tanna: ≈ ‘pragmatic’ anaphor.


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