

Echo Subject in Southern Vanuatu versus Switch Reference

— Some Comparisons of Southern Vanuatu
and New Guinea

Hilário de Sousa

EHESS — SINOTYPE, Paris

hilario.de-sousa@ehess.fr

Jeremy Hammond

MPI for Psycholinguistics & IMPRS for
Language Sciences, Radboud University,

Nijmegen

jeremy.hammond@mpi.nl





Echo Subject and Switch Reference

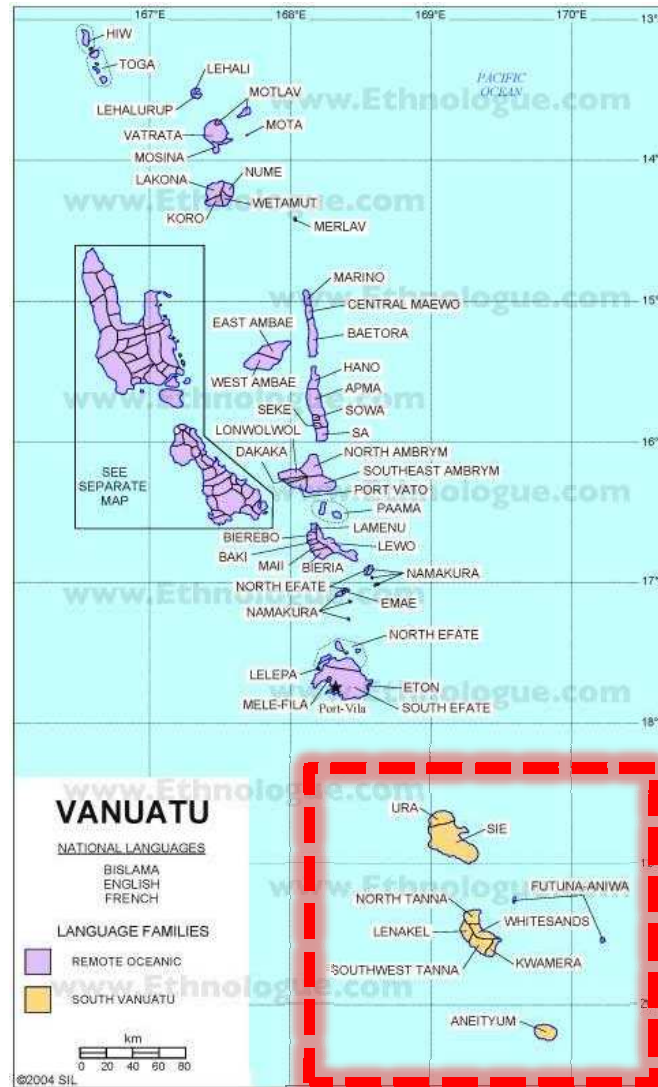
- ES in Whitesands
- Typology and historical development of ES across Southern Vanuatu
- Functions of Papuan-type SR systems and contrasts with Southern Vanuatu ES



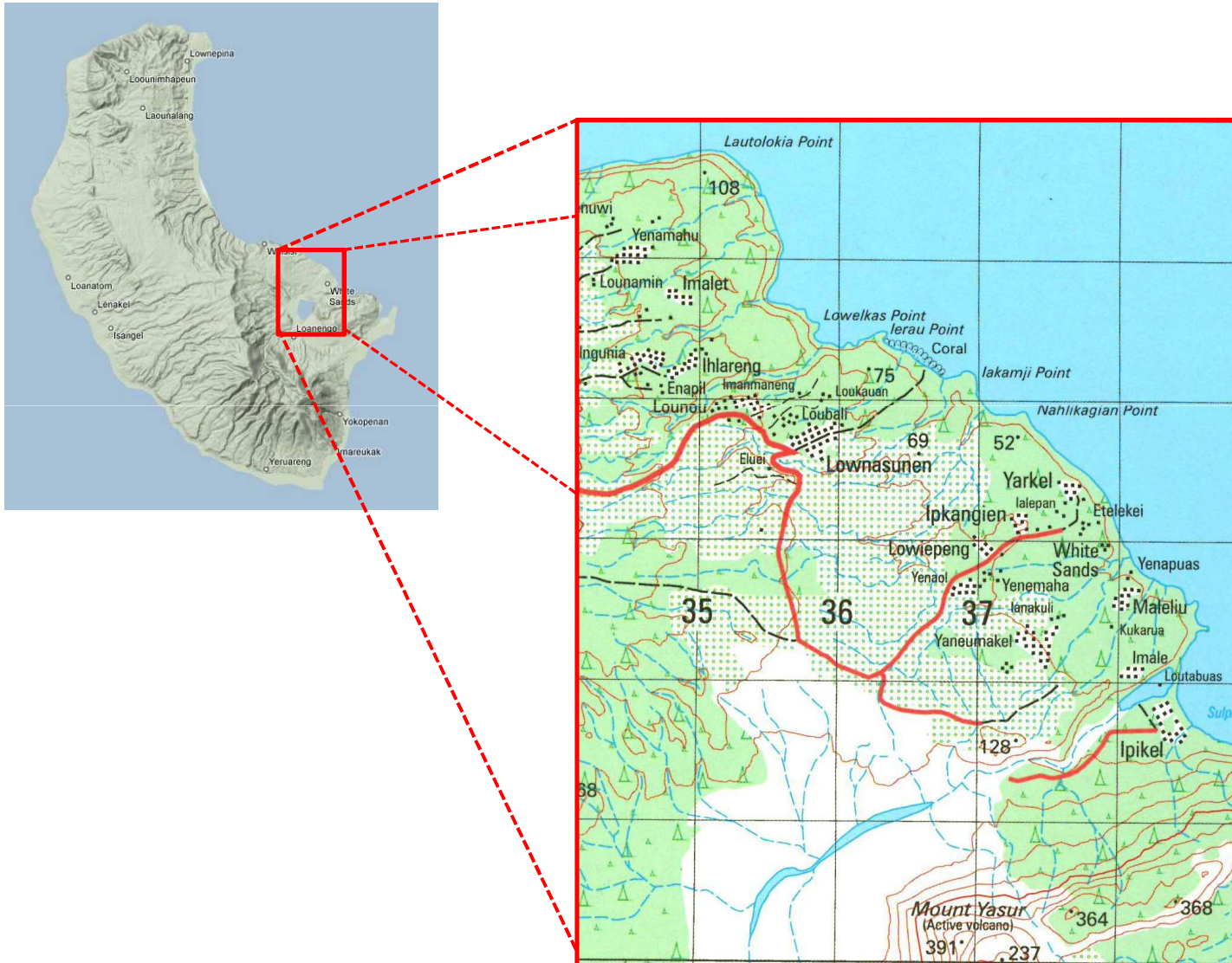
Echo Subject and Switch Reference

- 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

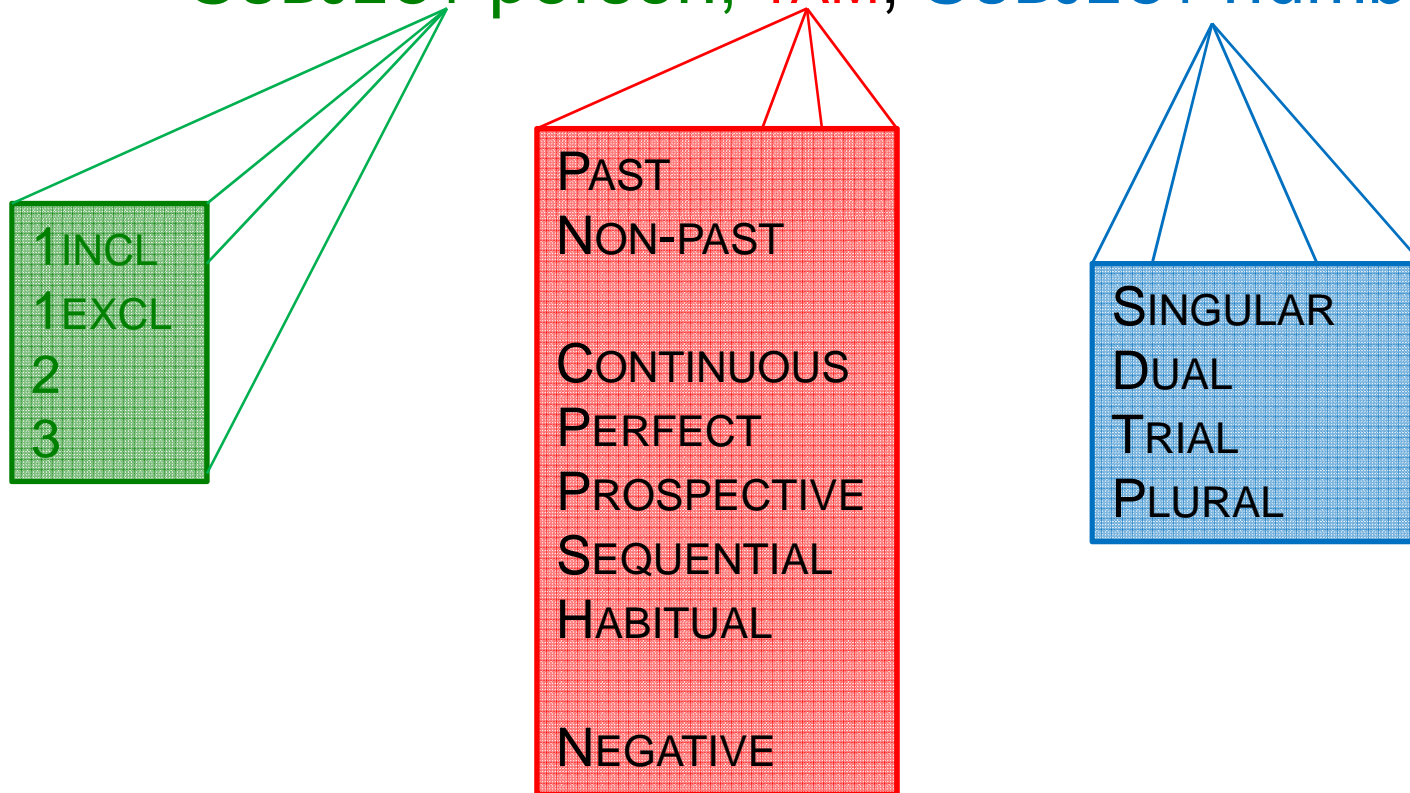


Whitesands - Tanna



Whitesands – Morphology

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



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 *∅* *ja-k-i-an* *o* *menəŋ* *rərpen,*
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’
 - \emptyset
 - New ‘subject’ is not the preceding clause’s ‘subject’

JH1

Diapositive 8

JH1

This only really applies to active verbs.

Jeremy Hammond; 02/01/2010

Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number

- Different Referent Coordination:

(3) jhws1-20080328-ns02_035

<i>kei</i>	<i>t-uen</i>	<i>ahaiken</i>
flying.fox	3SG.NPST-go	there

<i>nəkavə</i>	<i>t-eni-pen</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>in,</i>
kava	3SG.NPST-say-to.3	OBL	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

niŋəm

t-am-us

nima,

t-apen

fire

3SG-PST-bite

house

3SG.NPST-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-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

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- Same Referent Coordination (ES):

(7) jhws1-20071203-ak04_031/2

<i>Wilson</i>	<i>t-am-awpwen</i>	<i>m-aliwək</i>	<i>m-iwai</i>
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.

Whitesands

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

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- Same Referent Coordination (ES):
 - Coordinators
 - *kani* 'and'
 - *ko* 'then'
 - ~~*metow* 'but/because'~~
 - ∅
 - Aspect
 - HABITUAL
 - CONTINUOUS
 - PERFECT
 - #SEQUENTIAL

(10) jhws1-20080417-all01_065

na-k-uen *ko* *m-at-ua*
2SG-NPST-go then ES-CONT-come
You will go and then come back

Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- “Echo” can be ‘co-referential’ to SUBJ + OTHER

(11) jhws1-20080314-ak01_050

ja-k-arun

n-eles-ien

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

Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- “Echo” can be ‘co-referential’ to SUBJ + OTHER

(12) jhws1-20080314-ak01_075

<i>kahaw</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>apaha</i>	<i>lahwanu</i>	<i>mə</i>	<i>raha-n</i>
Rat	3SG	LOC	home	PRT	POSS-3SG

<i>mama</i>	<i>mene</i>	<i>raha-n</i>	<i>dada</i>
mother	CONJ	POSS-3SG	father

<i>m-l-haraŋ</i>	<i>haiiken</i>
ES-TR-sit	there

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

Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- “Echo” can take a ‘OTHER’ referent

(13) jhws1-20071231-ma04v_009

m-eru *petan* *mil* *keiju ...*

ES-see woman DU two

He saw two women ...

m-w-ol *neŋ-lau* *nəwhel*

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

They were making laplap for themselves

Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- “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

Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- Use of ES across dialogue:

(15) JHWS1-20080417-all01_050-2

Nais: *jow ja-an-os mani jow...*
1SG 1EXCL-PRF-carry money 1SG

I have got money, I...

Simon: *m-an-alu*
ES-PRF-forget

You have forgotten

Nais: *m-an-alu e kastom aha*
ES-PRF-forget OBL kastom that

I have forgotten that kastom [that I went for]

Whitesands

Prefixing on the predicate:

SUBJECT person, TAM, SUBJECT number,
EchoSubject

- Use of SUBJ pronoun with ES:

(16) jhws1-20080308-ma04_015

<i>m-os,</i>	<i>ilahal</i>	<i>m-l-uen</i>	<i>apaha</i>	<i>nepatu</i>
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

<i>pia-n</i>	<i>t-atul</i>	<i>m-atul</i>	<i>metow</i>
brother-3SG _X	3SG _Y .NPST-stand	ES _Y -stand	but
	<i>t-əs-wa-ije</i>	<i>metow</i>	
	3SG _X -NEG-come-NEG	but	
	<i>in t-afu</i>	<i>in t-iwaiju</i>	
	3SG _Y 3SG _Y .NPST-see	3SG _X 3SG _X .NPST-down	

His_X brother stood and stood [there], but he_X didn't come but he_Y saw him_X go down.



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

V'ënen Taut *ka-*
Nese *ko-*
Tape *d^h-*
Aulua *ana-*

S Efate *kai*

Erromango:
Ura *m(V)-*
Sye *m-*

Tanna:
Whitesands *m-*
N Tanna *m-*
Lenakel *m-*
SW Tanna *m-*
Kwamera *m-/∅-*

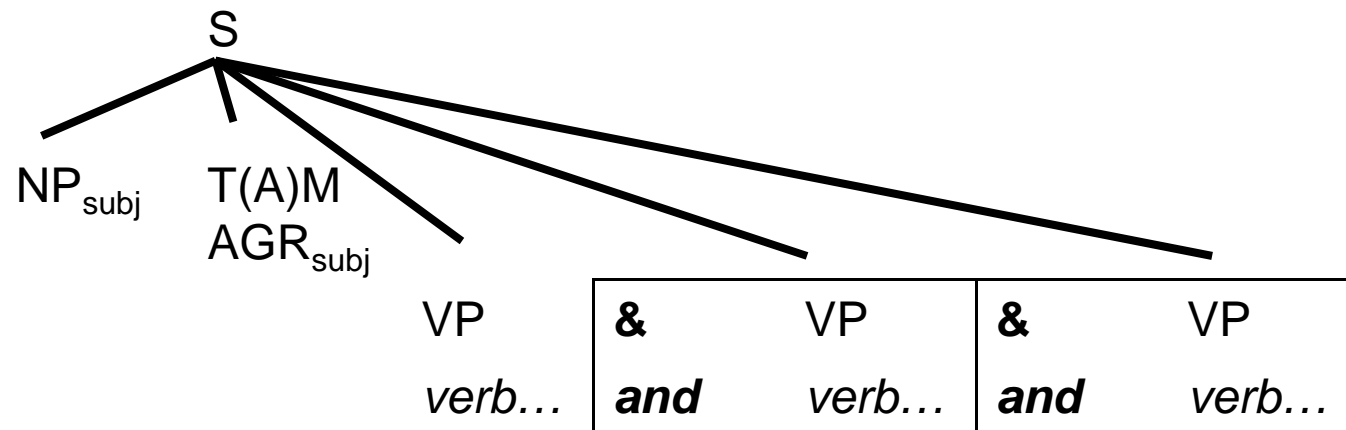
Aneityum:
Anejoñ *(i)m=*



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:



e.g. Nakanamanga (Central Vanuatu)

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;

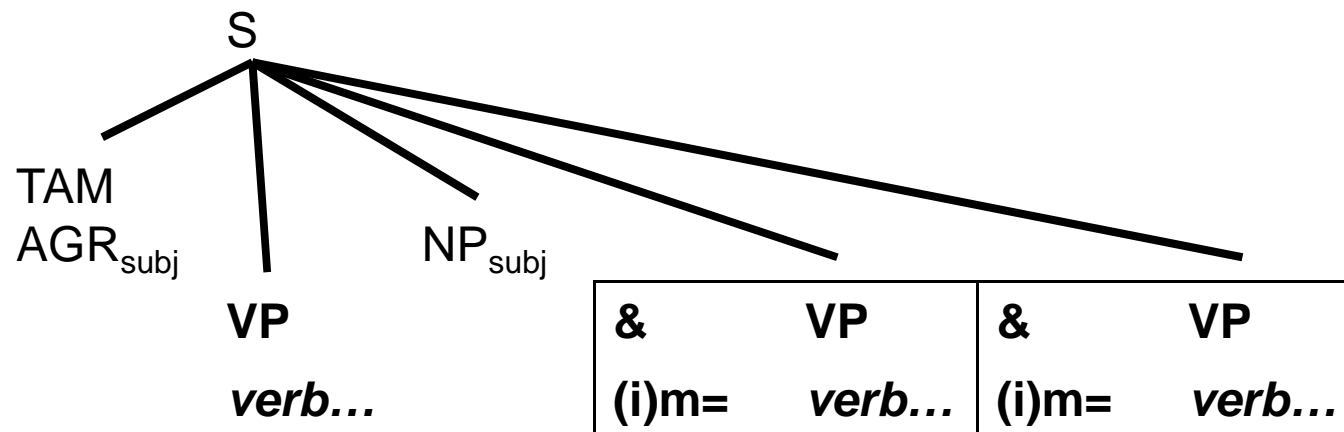
Development of the ES construction in Southern Vanuatu

(Summary of de Sousa (2008))

Proto–Southern Vanuatu: *ma

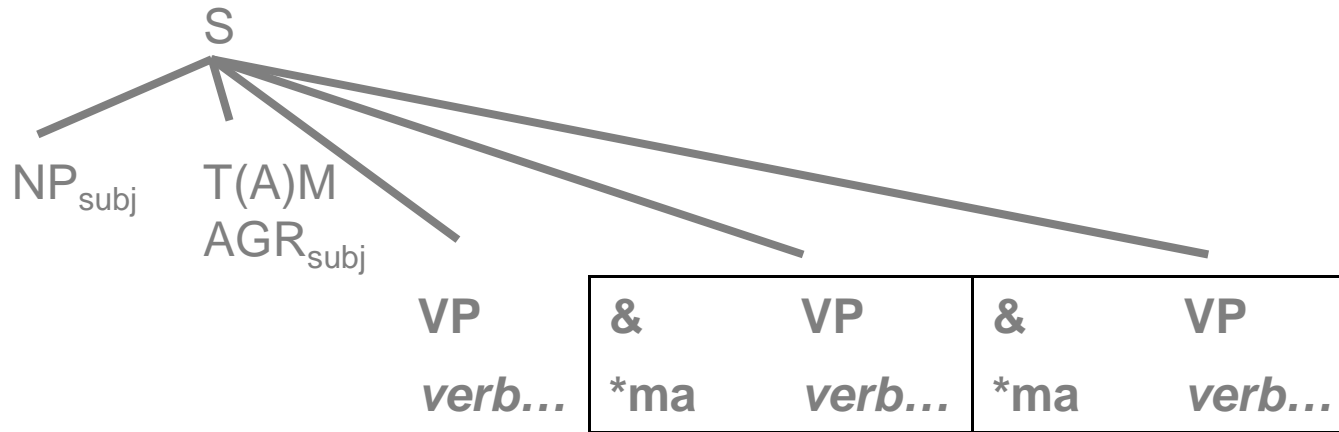
*ma: VPC (Moyses-Faurie & Lynch 2004)

Anejom̃ (i)m= is still a VPC.

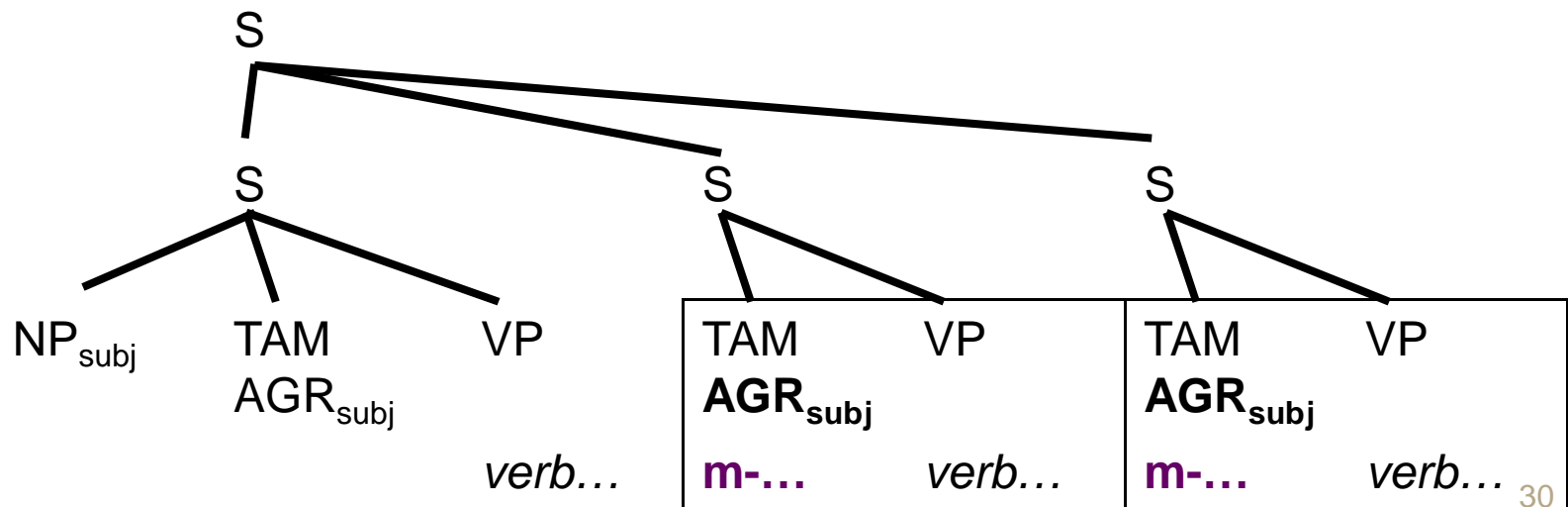


Stage 1: Tanna and Erromango reanalysed *ma as a marker of a clause.

Stage 0: Proto-Southern Vanuatu

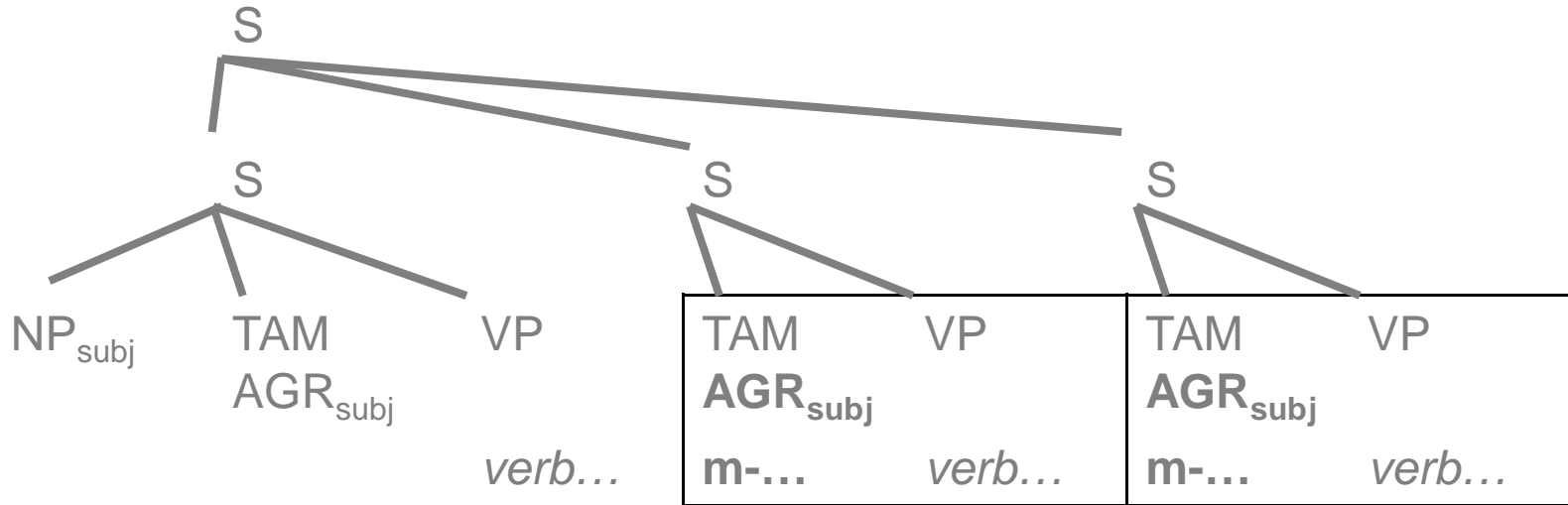


Stage 1: Erromango languages

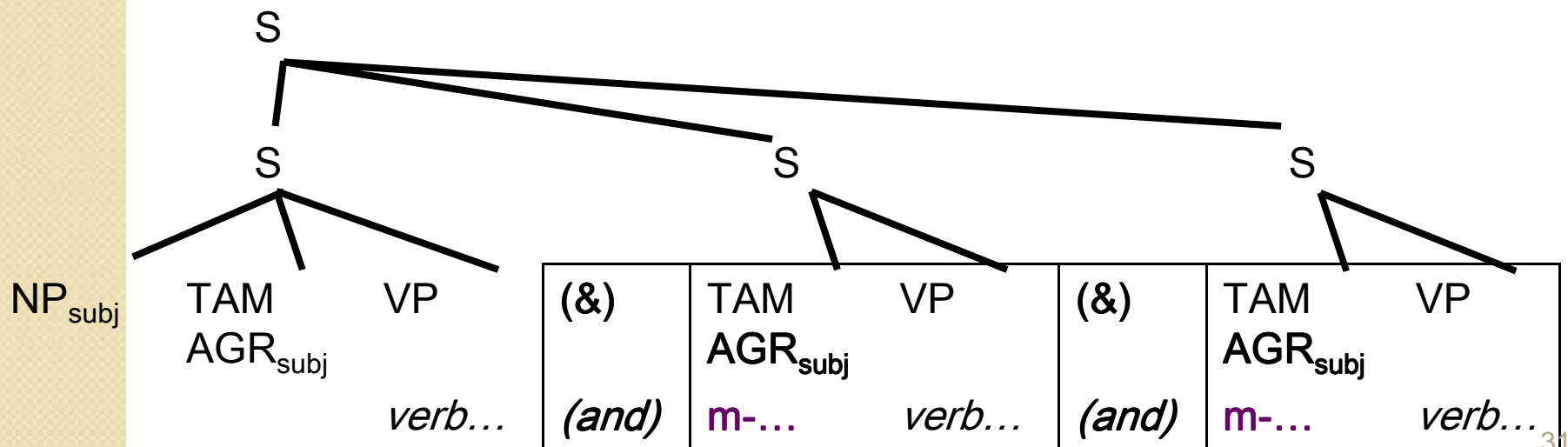


Stage 2: ES- less coordinator-like in Tanna

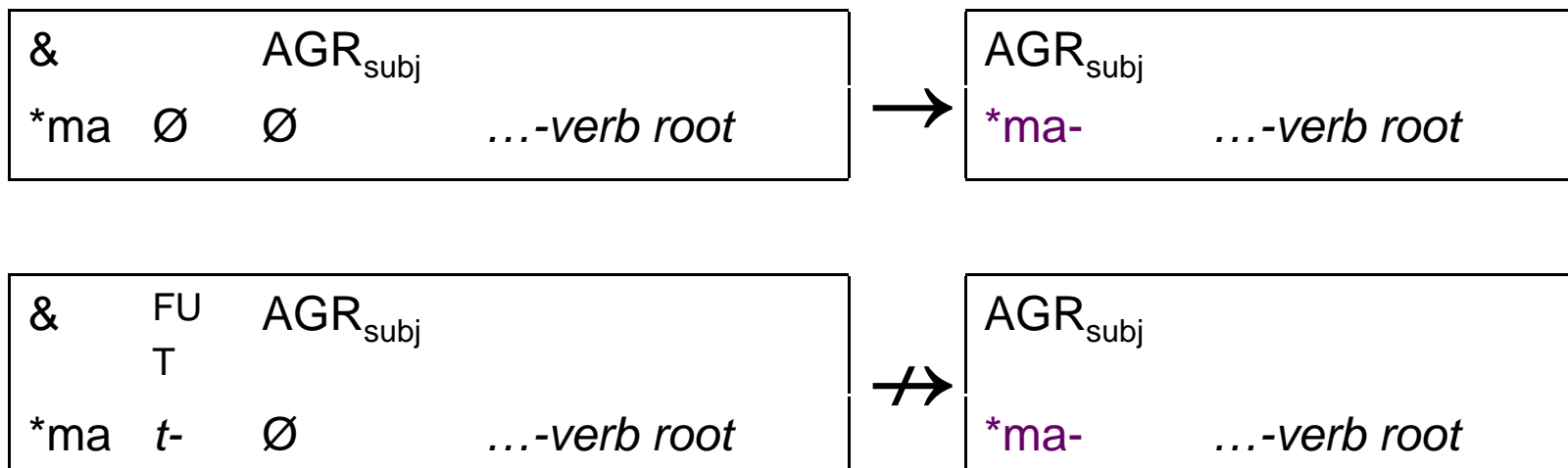
Stage 1: Erromango languages



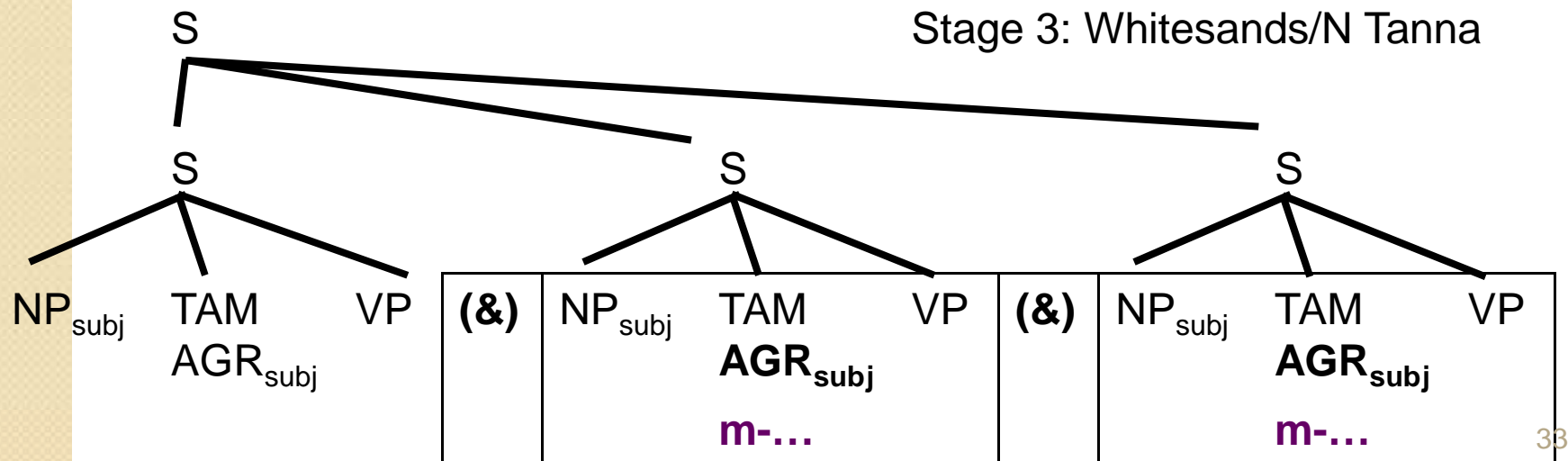
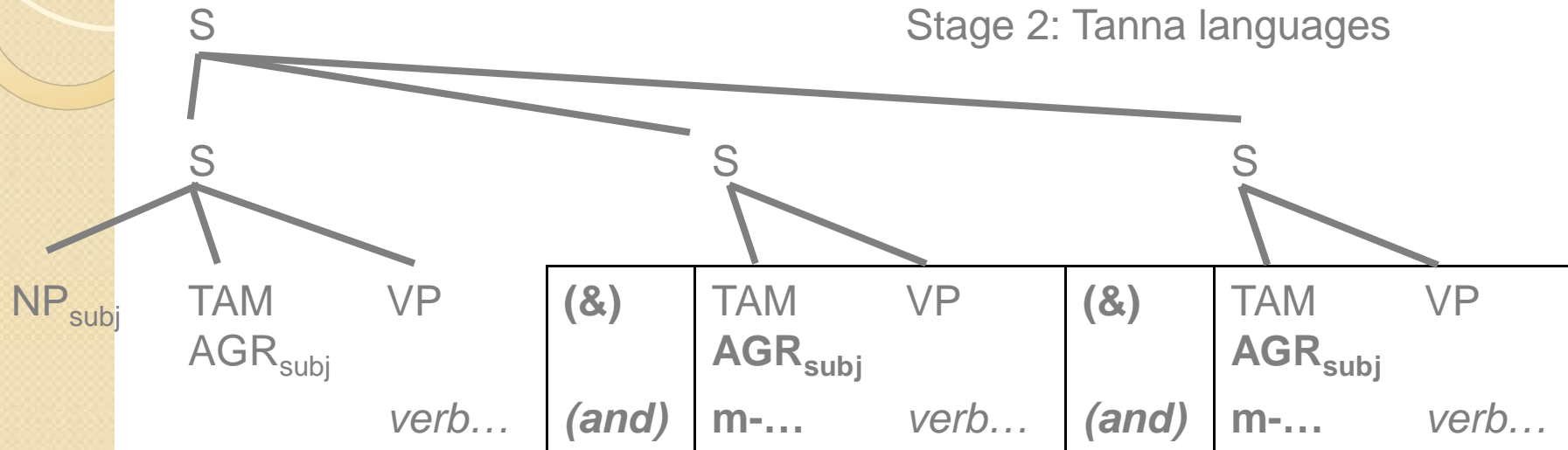
Stage 2: Tanna languages



(In Lenakel, ES cannot be used with the future *t-*)



Stage 3: ES clauses more like independent clauses in 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;



Echo Subject and Switch Reference

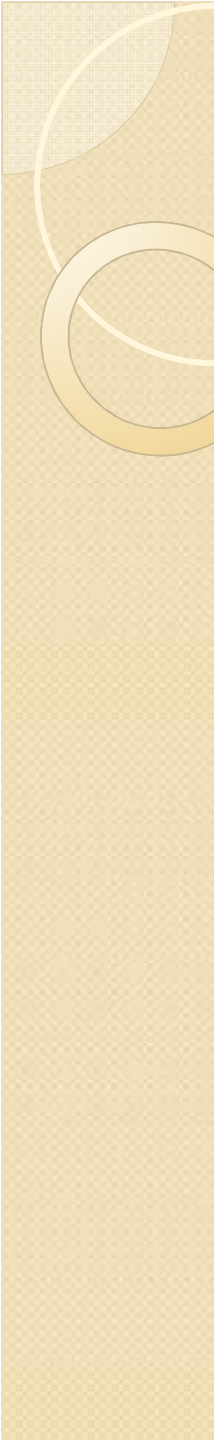
- ES in Whitesands
- Typology and historical development of ES across Southern Vanuatu
- **Functions of Papuan-type SR systems and contrasts with Southern Vanuatu ES:**
 - Southern Vanuatu ES system = switch-reference system?



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: \approx “3rd person SR system”
- Tanna: \approx ‘pragmatic’ anaphor.

Bibliography

- Bergsland, K. (1994). "Aleut tenses and aspects." In *Tense, aspect and action: empirical and theoretical contributions to language typology (proceedings of seminars on verbal semantics at Odense University in 1986 and 1987.)*. C. Bache, H. Basbøll and C. Lindberg. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter: 323-370.
- Bergsland, K. (1997). *Aleut grammar — Unangam tunuganaan achixaasiġ*. Fairbanks, Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks.
- Carlson, G. (ms). Nənnaka [North Tanna] Grammar Sketch.
- Crowley, T. (1998). *An Erromangan (Sye) grammar*. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press.
- Crowley, T. (2002). *Serial verbs in oceanic : a descriptive typology*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Crowley, T. (1999). *Ura : A disappearing language of Southern Vanuatu*. Series C-156. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics.
- Crowley, T. (2006a). *Nese : a diminishing speech variety of northwest Malakula (Vanuatu)*. Series 577. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics.
- Crowley, T. (2006b). *Tape : a declining language of Malakula (Vanuatu)*. Series 575. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics.
- de Sousa, H. (2006a). The Menggwa Dla language of New Guinea. PhD thesis. University of Sydney.
- de Sousa, H. (2006b). "What is switch-reference?: from the viewpoint of the young people's switch-reference system in Menggwa Dla." *Te Reo* 49: 39-71.
- de Sousa, H. (2008). "The development of echo-subject markers in Southern Vanuatu." Selected papers from the 2007 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society. <http://www.als.asn.au/proceedings/als2007.html>.
- Fox, G. (1979). *Big Nambas Grammar*. Series B-60. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics.
- Hammond, J. (2009a). Time in Whitesands. ms. University of Sydney.

- Hammond, J. (2009b). The grammar of nouns and verbs in Whitesands, a language of Southern Vanuatu. BLIB.(Hons) thesis. University of Sydney.
- Huang, Y. (2000). *Anaphora: a cross-linguistic Study*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Lindstrom, L. and J. Lynch (1994). *Kwamera*. München, Lincom Europa.
- Lynch, J. (1978). *A Grammar of Lenakel*. Series B-55. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics
- Lynch, J. (1982). "South-west Tanna grammar outline and vocabulary." In *Papers in linguistics of Melanesia No. 4*. Series A-64. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics: 1-91.
- Lynch, J. (1983). Switch-reference in Lenakel. In *Switch-reference and universal grammar*. J. Haiman and P. Munro. Amsterdam, John Benjamins: 209–221.
- Lynch, J. (2000). *A Grammar of Anejom*. Pacific Linguistics.
- Moyses-Faurie, C. and J. Lynch (2004). Coordination in Oceanic languages and Proto Oceanic. In *Coordinating constructions*. M. Haspelmath. Amsterdam, J. Benjamins: 445-497.
- Paviour-Smith, M. (forthcoming). A grammar of the Aulua language of South East Malakula.
- Paviour-Smith, M. and W. Makenzie (2005). "Exacting the hen's revenge: An initial enquiry into the nature of narrative in Aulua." *Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics* 17.
- Roberts, J. R. (1987). *Amele*. London; New York, Croom Helm.
- Schutz, A. J. (1969). *Nguna grammar*. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press.
- Schutz, A. J. (1969). *Nguna texts : a collection of traditional and modern narratives from the central New Hebrides*. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press.
- Thieberger, N. (2006). *A grammar of South Efate: an Oceanic language of Vanuatu*. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press.



Acknowledgments

The authors' research has received partial funding from the European Research Council under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)/ ERC grant agreement no. 230388, and the Max Planck Gesellschaft.