

# Echo-Subject in Southern Vanuatu versus Switch-reference

Hilário de Sousa & Jeremy Hammond

ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES &  
MAX PLANK INSTITUTE FOR PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

*hilario.de-sousa@ehess.fr*    *jeremy.hammond@mpi.nl*

## 1. Whitesands (Southern Vanuatu, East Tanna)

(Echo Subject Restrictions are struck out)

Coordinators	TAM
<i>kani</i> ‘and’	<del>PAST</del>
<i>ko</i> ‘then’	<del>NON-PAST</del>
<i>metow</i> ‘but/because’	
Ø	CONTINUOUS
	PERFECT
	PROSPECTIVE
	? SEQUENTIAL
	HABITUAL
	NEGATIVE

## 2. Whitesands examples<sup>1</sup>

(1) jhws2-20090301-ak01\_019

*itəmlau*    *keiju*    *ja-k-i-an*    *lapən.*  
1DU.EXCL    two    1EXCL-NPST-DU-go    night  
‘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-go    OBL    fowl    wild  
‘If we (DU.EXCL) go for wild fowl,’

(3) jhws1-20080328-ns02\_035

*kei*    *t-uen*    *ahaiken*  
flying.fox    3SG.NPST-go    there

*nəkavə*    *t-eni-pen*    *kam*    *in,*  
kava    3SG.NPST-say-to.3    OBL    3SG  
‘The flying fox went there and the kava said to him [flying fox],’

---

<sup>1</sup> All examples have been converted from practical orthography to their (phonemic) IPA values, and all abbreviations have been standardised.

(4) jhws2-20090224-ek\_022

*nijəm t-am-us nima, t-apen.*  
fire 3SG-PST-bite house 3SG.NPST-black  
'The fire burnt the house, it [the house] is black.'

(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.'

(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.'

(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.'

(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.'

(11) jhws1-20080314-ak01\_050

*ja-k-arun n-eles-ien ik,*  
1EXCL-NPST-know NMLZ-carry.SG-NMLZ 2SG

*m-u-ari.*  
ES-DU-landwards  
'I am able to carry you, we'll go landwards.'

(12) jhws1-20080314-ak01\_075

*kahaw in apaha lahwanu mə raha-n*  
rat 3SG LOC home LIG POSS-3SG

*mama mene raha-n dada*  
mother CONJ.NP POSS-3SG father

*m-l-haraj haiiken.*  
ES-TR-sit there

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

(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.’

(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-TRNS

‘And then I take the spear run close up to the pig and hit the pig.’

*t-imis ko m-ot-etei m-ot-eles m-awt lahwanu.*  
3SG.NPST-die then 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.’

(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 kastomaha*  
ES-PRF-forget OBL kastomthat  
‘I have forgotten that kastom [that I went for]’

(16) jhws1-20080308-ma04\_015

*m-os, ilahal m-l-uen apaha nepatu.*  
ES-carry 3TR ES-TR-go LOC cliff

‘She carried (them) and they (TR) went to the cliff.’

(17) jhws2-20090227-nn03\_017

*pia-n*            *t-atul*                    *m-atul*            *metow*  
 brother-3SG<sub>X</sub>    3SG<sub>Y</sub> .NPST-stand    ES<sub>Y</sub> -stand    but

*t-as-wa-ije*                    *metow in*            *t-afu*                    *in*            *t-iwaiju*.  
 3SG<sub>X</sub> -NEG-come-NEG    but    3SG<sub>Y</sub>    3SG<sub>Y</sub> .NPST-see            3SG<sub>X</sub>    3SG<sub>X</sub> .NPST-down

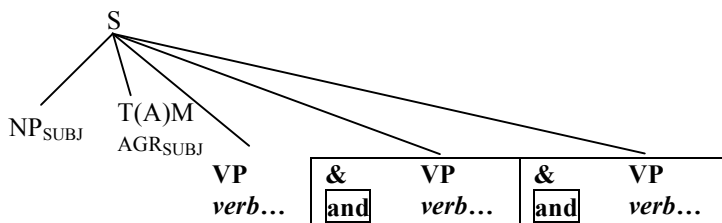
‘His<sub>X</sub> brother stood and stood [there], but he<sub>X</sub> didn’t come but he<sub>Y</sub> saw him<sub>X</sub> go down.’

### 3. The development of ES system in Southern Vanuatu

(Summary of de Sousa (2008))

Proto-Southern Vanuatu: \*ma

(\*ma: verb phrase coordinator (Moyses-Faurie & Lynch 2004))



Nakanamanga (Nguna dialect; Central Vanuatu)

VPC: *poo*

(18) *a*            *ŋa*            *fano*  
 1SG    INT    go  
*poo*    *tape*    *na-kp̄eka*    *seara*.  
and    get    ART-yam    some  
 ‘I’ll go and get some yams.’ (Schütz 1969a:50)

(19) *e*            *too*            *umai*  
 3SG    PROG    come  
*poo*    *punusi*    *kp̄ila-na*.  
and    see            mother-3SG  
 ‘He would come and see his mother.’ (Schütz 1969a:50)

Clausal-coordinator: *ŋo*

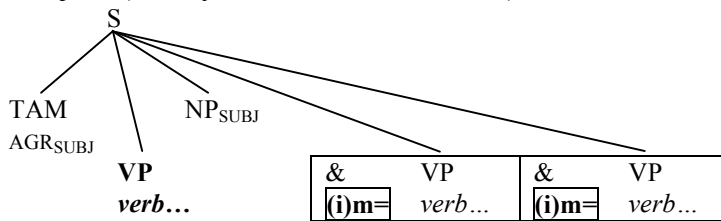
(Disjoint-referential subjects:)

(20) *te*            *pa-ki*            *varea*            *ke-rua...*  
 3SG    go-to    branch    ORD-two  
*ŋo*    *tama-na*            *e*            *tojo*            *na-taleo-na*.  
and    father-3SG    3SG    hear    ART-voice-3SG  
 ‘He went to the second branch... and his father heard his voice.’  
 (Schütz 1969a:50)

(Coreferential subjects:)

- (21) *ŋo e leŋa sua*  
 and 3SG sing COMPL  
*ŋo te pa-ki varea ke-rua*  
and 3SG go-to branch.level ORD-two  
*paapaa pa-ki varea ke-latolu*  
 until go-to branch.level ORD-eight  
 ‘He finished singing and went to successive levels until he reached the eight.’  
 (Schütz 1969b:9,13)

Anejom̃ (Aneityum; Southern Vanuatu)



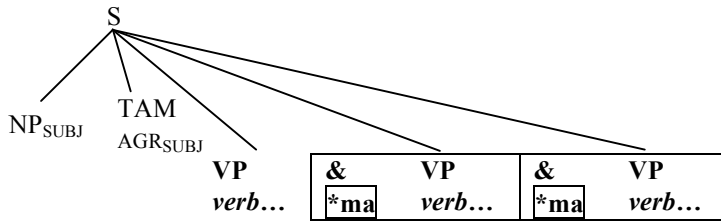
- (22) (AGR) (SUBJ)  
*ekris apan aarau,*  
 3DU.PST go they.DU  
*m=ano nup<sup>w</sup> ut,*  
and=make k.o.laplap  
*m=ano ihonii.*  
and=make finish  
 ‘They two went and made *nup<sup>w</sup>ut* and finished making it.’ (Lynch 2000:148)

- (23) *et amen aan,*  
 3SG.AORT stay (s)he  
*im=lep tas-putf hou ehele-i etwa-n*  
and=again talk-outside DAT-TR brother-3SG  
*m=ika...*  
and=say  
 ‘He again talked to his brother outside and said...’ (Lynch 2000:148)

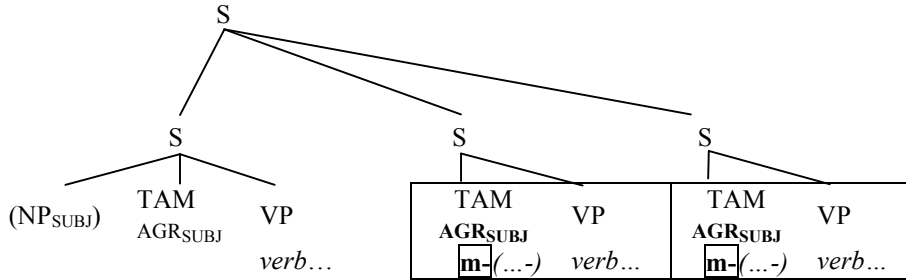
- (24) (AGR) (SUBJ)  
*is itiji eye-ktit nitinij is asan aan,*  
 3SG.PST NEG hear-well something 3SG.PST say (s)he  
*m=itiji atou intas-ap<sup>w</sup> at inij is asan aan.*  
and=NEG know word-dark DEM.PROX.SG 3SG.PST say (s)he  
 ‘He didn’t hear clearly what he said, and so didn’t know this secret word.’  
 (Lynch 2000:148)

Stage 1: \*ma reanalysed as a clause marker (ES marker) in Erromango and Tanna

Stage 0: Proto-Southern Vanuatu



Stage 1: ES construction in Erromango languages



Sye (Erromango; Southern Vanuatu)

- (25) *etme-n*            *y oy -velom*  
 father-3SG        3SG.RECPST-come  
*m-e-naleipo*.  
 ES-SG.MT-MT\sleep

‘His/her father came and will sleep.’ (Crowley 1998:248)

- (26) *misi*            *ravosen*            *ji-vai*                    *m-Ø-hay*            *unponkor*  
 missionary        Robertson        3SG.DISTPST-take        ES-SG-go.up        Unpogkor  
*mute* (< *m-u-ete*)    *juwi*            *nanru*.  
 ES-N1NSG-stay        there            together

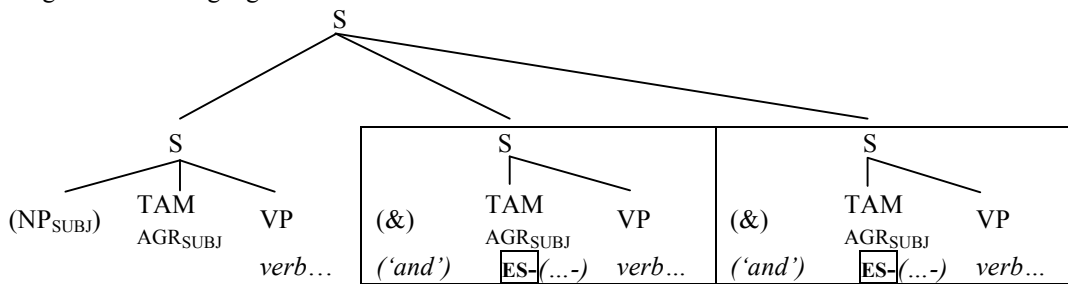
‘The missionary Robertson took him up to Unpogkor and they stayed there together.’ (Crowley 1998:247)

- (27) *j-oy lar*                                    *m-Ø-orjok-i*  
 3SG.DISTPST-get.stuck        ES-SG-pick.up-3SG  
*mpe* (< *m-Ø-ve*)    *m-Ø-tantvi*                    *nitni*  
 ES-SG-go                    ES-SG-drop.heavily        child.3SG  
*mahpe* (< *m-Ø-mah=pe*).  
 ES-SG-die=PREC

‘She got stuck and picked it<sub>[j]</sub> up and went and dropped her child<sub>[j]</sub> heavily and it<sub>[j]</sub> died.’ (Crowley 1998:288)

Stage 2: ES marker becoming less coordinator like in Tanna

Stage 2: Tanna languages



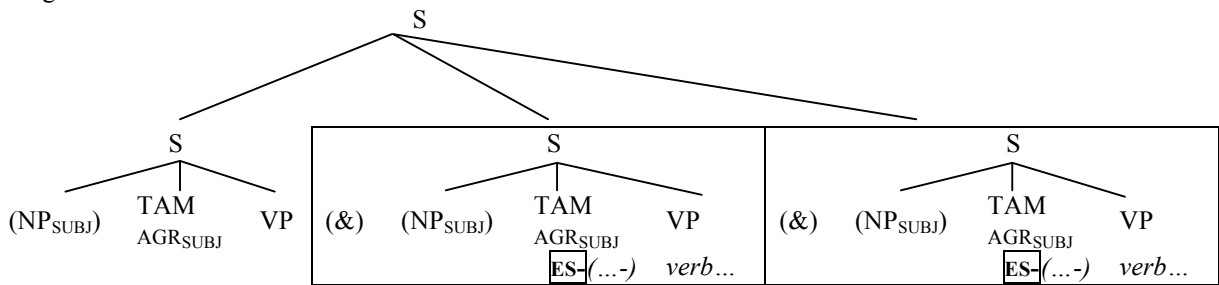
Lenakel (Tanna; Southern Vanuatu)

- (28) *uus ka r-əm-va*  
 man that 3SG-PST-come  
*m-ep-auyən kani m-am-apul.*  
 ES-SEQ-eat and ES-PRS-sleep  
 ‘That man came and then ate and is now sleeping.’ (Lynch 1983:213)

Stage 3:

ES clause becoming even more independent clause-like in Whitesands and N Tanna

Stage 3: Whitesands and North Tanna



North Tanna (Tanna; Southern Vanuatu)

- (29) *kənu etam ah təsəpən e suatəp u,*  
 then man this he.comes.out.from to road this  
*rahan tata ne mama m-u-eia m-ia-vasən.*  
 his father and mother ES-DU-come ES-DU-take.a.first.look  
 ‘Then this man<sub>[j]</sub> comes along this road, his father<sub>[k]</sub> and mother, they come  
 and have a first look.’ (Carlson ms.)

- (30) *in tuva m-ekek un*  
 he comes ES-touch that  
*in m-iet m-uvən*  
 he ES-go.out ES-go  
*meto mama in tatol pək uak lan*  
 but mama she does much work for.it  
*kən in m-aruru nasituan e mama mə otələs.*  
 and he ES-unable help to mama PURP 3SG.FUT.carry  
 ‘[H]<sub>[j]</sub> comes and touches him, he<sub>[j]</sub> goes out again, but mama has a lot of  
 work. But he<sub>[j]</sub> doesn’t help the mama to carry the child around.’  
 (Carlson ms.)

Table 1 Summary of Southern Vanuatu ES systems

	Tanna					Erromango		A.
	North Tanna <i>m-</i> (Carlson p.c., ms)	Lenakel <i>m-</i> (Lynch 1978, 1983)	Southwest Tanna <i>m-</i> (Lynch 1982)	Kwamera <i>m- / Ø-</i> (Lindstrom & Lynch 1994)	Whitesands <i>m-</i> (e.g. Hammond 2009b)	Sye <i>m-</i> (Crowley 1998)	Ura <i>m(V)-</i> (Crowley 1999)	(Anejom̃ (i)m=) (Lynch 2000)
subject NP in ES clause	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
coordinator preceding the ES marker	<i>kən</i> ‘then’	<i>kani</i> ‘and’ <i>merou</i> ‘but’	<i>kəni</i> ‘and’ <i>meləŋ</i> ‘but’ <i>ua</i> ‘or’	<i>na</i> ‘then’	<i>kani</i> ‘and’ <i>ko</i> ‘then’	no	no	no
independent marking for : number	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
: tense	?	yes	?	?	no	yes	yes	no
: mood	?	yes	?	?	n/a	yes	yes	no
: aspect	?	yes	?	?	yes	yes	yes	no
disjoint-referential marking	?	yes	yes	?	no	3(SG?)	3(SG?)	no

#### 4. Papuan-type Switch-reference

Menggwa Dla (Keerom—Papua Indonesia & Sandaun—Papua New Guinea; Senagi)

- (31) *rani=be walabani-Ø-σ-bσ, xσ ba-ja-a-xwa.*  
 DEM=INSV swim-CR-3FSG-DEP see-3SG-3FSG.O-PST  
 ‘She<sub>j</sub> was swimming/ swam there, and she<sub>j</sub> saw her<sub>k</sub>.’  
 (de Sousa 2006b:48)
- (32) *rani=be walabani-me-wa-bσ, xσ ba-ja-a-xwa.*  
 DEM=INSV swim-DR-3FSG-DEP see-3SG-3FSG.O-PST  
 ‘She<sub>j</sub> was swimming/ swam there, and s/he<sub>k</sub> saw her<sub>j/l</sub>.’  
 (de Sousa 2006b:48)
- (33) *je Ø-ser-i φ a-xja-a-bσ,*  
 then CR-eat-1SG SEQ-1SG-3FSG.O-DEP  
*ap-axa-xi.*  
 sleep-1SG-PRS.CONT  
 ‘I eat (CR), and then I sleep.’ (de Sousa 2006b:51)
- (34) *ini. pusi xσ ba-ma-xa-a-bσ,*  
 yes cat see-DR-1SG-3FSG.O-DEP  
*xwi=na xan-wa-xwa.*  
 water=ALL go.down-3FSG-PST  
 ‘Yes, I saw the cat<sub>j</sub> (DR), it<sub>j/k</sub> went down towards the stream.’  
 (de Sousa 2006b:51)



(35) (de Sousa 2006a: 527-528)

(a)

*ser-u Ø-num-u-la-bɔ na,*  
eat-3MSG CR-sit-3MSG-LIG-DEP  
'he (the moon) ate and lived (in this place), and (CR)'

(b)

*sugu amni=la aɸ ila ai Ø-xaɸ -u-bɔ ,*  
later garden=GEN father 3SG CR-arrive-3MSG-DEP  
'one day the father (owner) of the garden he arrived, and (CR)'

(c)

*[rani amni baja tupam njawi xixiri ɸ a-Ø-ja-a-Ø,*  
[DEM garden side thing person steal leave-CR-3SG-3FSG.O-DEP  
*pi-wa-xi no] ax-Ø-Ø-ja-a-bɔ ,*  
go-3FSG-PRS.CONT COP.3FSG] think-CR-3SG-3SG-3FSG.O-DEP  
'he thought that someone stole things from the garden and is leaving and (CR)'

(d)

*rani Ø-xaɸ -u-bɔ ,*  
DEM CR-go.across-3MSG-DEP  
'he went across (to the garden), and (CR)'

(e)

*xɔ ba-Ø tia-u-Ø-xja nu-bɔ ,*  
see-3MSG observe-3MSG-PST.FOC COP-DEP  
'he had a look, and (CR)'

(f)

*xɔ ba-Ø-i-Ø-bɔ ,*  
look-CR-3MSG-3MSG.O-DEP  
'he saw him (the moon), and (CR)'

(g)

*[xwatu muami-bɔ] ma-xan-u-bɔ na*  
[search take-NMLZ] DR-go.down-3MSG-DEP  
'he (the moon) has gone down (into the water) to search and take (things) and (DR)'

(h)

*gia-i-Ø Ø-xan-u-bɔ xwi=be,*  
follow-3MSG-3MSG.O CR-go.down-3MSG-DEP water=INS  
'he (the father) followed him (the moon) down into the water, and (CR)'

DR indicating other kinds of discourse discontinuity:

Amele (Madang—PNG; Gum—Madang—Trans New Guinea)

- (36) *æge* ? *ε tæ gul-də -ʔ ə -bil*  
 3PL yam carry-3SG.O-DR-3PL  
*li bæhim næ tæʔ -ε in.*  
 go.CR floor on fill-3PL.REMPST  
 ‘They carried the yams on their shoulders and went and filled up the yam store.’  
 (Roberts 1988:107)

### 5. Does Southern Vanuatu have SR?

Sye

*ES construction — coreferential subjects:*

- (37) *y -avan m-Ø-etvani.*  
 3SG.RECPST-walk ES-SG-spat  
 ‘(S)he walked and spat.’ (Crowley 1998:280)

*Coordinated independent clauses — (sometimes) disjoint-referential subjects:*

- (38) *y -avan my otvani (< m=y o-etvani).*  
 3SG.RECPST-walk and=3SG.RECPST-spat  
 ‘(S)he walked and someone else spat.’ (Crowley 1998:280)

Lenakel

*ES construction — coreferential subjects:*

- (39) *r-əm-va (kani) m-əm-auŋən.*  
 3SG-PST-come (and) ES-PST-eat  
 ‘He<sub>i</sub> came and (he<sub>i</sub>) ate.’ (Lynch 1983:212)

*Coordinated independent clauses — (sometimes) disjoint-referential subjects:*

- (40) *r-əm-va (kani) r-əm-auŋən.*  
 3SG-PST-come (and) 3SG-PST-eat  
 ‘He<sub>i</sub> came and he<sub>j</sub> ate.’ (Lynch 1983:212)

Aneityum: no DR markings

Anejom̃ clausal coordinator *am<sup>w</sup>*

(Coreferential:)

- (41) *is ey ohos-pan aan ehele-n*  
 3SG.PST appear-there he DAT-3SG  
*is am<sup>w</sup> imj-ey etf jin.*  
 3SG.PST and COM-say.come him  
 ‘He appeared before him and told him to come with him.’  
 (Moyse-Faurie & Lynch 2004:457)

(Disjoint-referential:)

- (42) ... *m-ey tf ey tf a-n*  
 ES-ram-him  
*is am<sup>w</sup> asuol inti-n a nittf ini-n.*  
 3SG.PST and go.down excrement-his OBL head-his  
 ‘... and he rammed him and his shit went into his head.’ (Lynch 2000:146)

Erromango: ≈ “3<sup>rd</sup> person SR system” (i.e. not SR)

Sye

*ES construction:*

- (43) *jay avan* (< *jay o-avan*)      *m-Ø-etvani*.  
1SG.RECPST-walk                      ES-SG-spit  
‘I walked (recently) and spat’. (Crowley 1998:114)

*Coordinated independent clauses (im and m= are free variations):*

- (44) *jay -avan*                      *im joy otvani* (< *jay o-etvani*).  
1SG.RECPST-walk                      and      1SG.RECPST-spit  
‘I walked and simultaneously spat.’/ ‘I walked and then spat’.  
(Crowley 1998:279)

- (45) *jay -avan*                      *m=joy otvani*.  
1SG.RECPST-walk                      and=1SG.RECPST.spit  
‘I walked and spat’. (Crowley 1998:279)

Example of a true “3<sup>rd</sup> person SR system”

Aleut (Aleutian Islands; Aleut—Eskimo-Aleut)

First/second person subjects:

DAT as a clause linker: SR neutral

(*Coreferential:*)

- (46) *hama-aχ*      *hiḷ-ḷa-q-aan*  
there-ABL      go.out-REM-1SG-DAT.1SG  
*ṭaṭaam*      *hama-aβ a-aβ uṭa-ḷa-q*.  
again      there-go-again-REM-1SG  
‘I had gone out from there but went back there again.’ (Bergsland 1994:347)

(*Disjoint-referential:*)

- (47) *ṭaanaxxaada-ku-q-aan*  
camp-PRS-1SG-DAT.1SG  
*iγ aχṭa-χ*                      *waav a-ḷaχ*.  
airplane-ABS.SG      come.in-REM-3SG  
‘I was out camping when the airplane came in.’ (Bergsland 1997:244)

Third person subjects:

DAT: disjoint-referential

- (48) *alitxu-χ*                      *ina-ku-β -aan*  
war-ABS.SG      end-PRS-3SG-DAT.3SG  
*atχa-m*                      *haḍ-a-n*                      *uqiti-iβ uta-na-s*  
Atka-REL.SG      direction-3SG-LOC.3SG      return-again-REM-1NSG  
‘When the war was over, we returned to Atka.’ (Bergsland 1994:346)

ABS or REL: coreferential

- (49) *l̥a-χ uɖa-m hac-a-n imjav -iku-χ.*  
 boy-ABS.SG bay-REL.SG outside-3SG-LOC.3SG fish-PRS-ABS.SG  
*aɕxiða-ɕxav i-na-χ.*  
 cod-catch-REM-3SG  
 ‘The boy was fishing outside of the bay and caught (one or several) cod.’  
 (Bergsland 1994:346)

- (50) *aŋgaχta-ku-m*  
 go.out-PRS-REL.SG  
*haqa-av -an av -iku-χ.*  
 come-INT-3SG AUX-PRS-3SG  
 ‘He went out (away) but will come back.’ (Bergsland 1994:346)

- (51) *waŋ jaay a-χ aɖu-ɕakav -im*  
 this log-ABS.SG long-PRS.NEG-REL.SG  
*ɕumɕaɕu-ku-χ.*  
 thick-PRS-3SG  
 ‘This log is not long but thick.’ (Bergsland 1997:244)

Tanna: ≈ ‘pragmatic’ anaphor

Lenakel

- (52) *peravən miin k-əm-ar-ofən naujənaan kam in*  
 woman PL 3NSG-PST-PL-give food DAT him  
*kani m-ep-[Ø]-apul.*  
 and ES-SEQ-[SG]-sleep  
 ‘The wom[e]n gave him food and then he slept.’ (Lynch 1983:215)
- (53) *i-əm-ho kova taha-k m-asak.*  
 1EXCL-PST-hit child POSS-1SG ES-cry  
 ‘I hit my child<sub>[k]</sub> and it<sub>[k]</sub> cried.’ (Crowley 2002:205)
- (54) *maŋau r-əm-aamh tom məne siak kani m-u-akəm<sup>w</sup>.*  
 Magau 3SG-PST-see Tom and Siak and ES-DU-run.away  
 ‘Magau saw Tom and Siak and they [Tom and Siak] ran away.’  
 (Lynch 1983:215)
- (55) *maŋau r-əm-aamh tom kani m-u-akəm<sup>w</sup>.*  
 Magau 3SG-PST-see Tom and ES-DU-run.away  
 ‘Magau saw Tom and they both ran away.’ (Lynch 1983:215)
- (56) *i-əm-alak-hiaav=in kesi m-p<sup>w</sup> alhep<sup>w</sup> alhe.*  
 1EXCL-PST-throw-down=TR pawpaw ES-splatter  
 ‘I dropped a pawpaw and it splattered.’ (Lynch 1983:216)
- (57) *i-əm-os nelkə kuri m-əm-arpiko.*  
 1EXCL-PST-hold leg dog ES-PST-trash.about  
 ‘I held the dog by the leg and it thrashed about.’ (Lynch 1983:216)

## Appendix

Table 2 Summary of Central Vanuatu ES systems

	Malakula				Efate
	<b>V'änen Taut <i>ka-</i></b> (Fox 1979)	<b>Nese <i>ko-</i></b> (Crowley 2006a)	<b>Tape <i>d'-</i></b> (Crowley 2006b)	<b>Aulua <i>ana-</i></b> (Pavouir-Smith p.c., forthcoming; Pavouir-Smith & Makenzie 2005)	<b>South Efate (<i>kai</i>)</b> (Thieberger 2006)
subject NP in ES clause	yes	?	no	no	no
coordinator preceding the ES marker	<i>na</i> 'and'	<i>ti</i> 'and'	<i>tjere</i> 'then'	<i>ale</i> 'so (?)'	no
independent marking for : number	yes	?	yes ?	no	no
: tense	no	?	no	no?	no
: mood	no	?	no	yes	no
: aspect	yes	?	?	yes	yes
antecedent	SUBJ(+)	?	SUBJ	SUBJ(+?)	SUBJ(+)
disjoint-referential marking	yes (?)	?	no	no	no

### Abbreviations

1	first person	FOC	focus
2	second person	GEN	genitive
3	third person	INCL	inclusive
ABL	ablative	INS	inessive
ABS	absolutive	INT	intention(al)
ALL	allative	LIG	ligature
AORT	aorist	LOC	locative
ART	article	M	masculine
AUX	auxiliary	MT	'mutated' (e.g. in Sye)
COMPL	completive	N	non-
CONJ	conjunction	NEG	negative
CONT	continuous	NMLZ	nominalization
COP	copula	O	object
CR	coreferential	OBL	oblique
DAT	dative	ORD	ordinal
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
DEP	dependent	POSS.FOOD	food possessive
DISTPST	distant past	PROX	proximal
DR	disjoint-referential	PST	past
DU	dual	PREC	precedentive
ES	echo subject	PRF	perfect
EXCL	exclusive	PROG	progressive
F	feminine	PRS	present
		PURP	purposive

RECPST	recent past	SG	singular
REL	relative (i.e. ERG + GEN)	SR	switch-reference
REM	remote past/future	TR	transitive
REMPST	remote past	TRNS	transitive
SEQ	sequential	VPC	verb phrase coordinator

### 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 achixaasix'*. 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. (1999). *Ura : A disappearing language of Southern Vanuatu*. Series C-156. Canberra, Pacific Linguistics.
- Crowley, T. (2002). *Serial verbs in Oceanic : a descriptive typology*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- 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 Anejom̃*. Pacific Linguistics.
- Moyse-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.