Switch Reference Production in Whitesands
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Project Aim: To disambiguate the referential and structural properties of echo subject (ES) clauses.

What are the formal properties of the ES?
What are the functional uses of ES in conversation?
How much variation is there in its usage?

Working definition of ES in Whitesands
“The canonical ES prefix on the clause, in contrast to full finite inflection, indicates that the participant of that clause is co-referential with the “PSA” of the preceding clause that is of the same matrix level/layer.”

Clauses combining
SVO; head marking; subjects (PSA) and TAM are prefixing; non-subjects are optionally suffixed. Nominal reference is not obligatory.

When a subject of a new clause is not co-referential with an antecedent then it is fully inflected for subject person, TAM and subject number.

1. nǝwǝin k-awt-ue i-Vila, nǝwǝin k-awt-uven Santo
   some 3.NPST-PROG.PL-go LOC-vila some 3.NPST-PROG.PL-go santo
   SUBJ PRED OBL SUBJ PRED OBL
   Some go to Vila, some others go to Santo. jhws1-20080417-a001_005

2. ia-am-ø-ek kapiel apiapwei kani t-us nelma-k
   1.EXCL-PST-SG-touch rock hot and 3SG.NPST-bite hand-1SG
   I touched a hot stone and it burnt me (lit. it bit my hand). fn2.49

3. t-iwɔŋ t-eni = ahu…
   3SG.,NPST-jump 3SG.,NPST-say = down
   He, jumped, (and) she, scolded… MA,25 - adapted
Same Subject or Co-referential Clauses

The m- ‘ES’ (echo subject) morpheme replaces the subject person and tense operators to indicate the subject argument clause is coreferential with an argument from the preceding clause.

4. k-l-eni aroi u m-l-eru mā, k-apa
   1.INCL-NPST.TR-see now ES:1-TR-see COMP 3-no
   Now us three will talk and we’ll see that, no.

5. k-am-at-u-ol m-at-u-auah pisin pisin
   3-PST-PROG-DU-make ES:3-PROG-DU-cook different.RDP
   They (2) were making and cooking differently.

6. ø-l-ua m-l-amnám
   IF-TRIAL-come ES:2-TRIAL-drink
   Come (TRIAL) and drink!

7. ia-am-o-uven apaha iVila kani m-o-uven apaha itehi
   1EXCL-PST-SG-go LOC Port.Vila and ES:1-SG-go LOC saltwater
   I went to Port Vila and went to the beach.

8. ia-k-o-asiŋapøn kei, ko m-afen tos kam
   1.EXCL-NPST-SG-spotlight flying.fox and.then ES:1-give torch OBL

9. swa- swa-akaku, ko in-u, in t-asĩŋapøn,
   person.M- person.M-small and.then 3SG-PROX 3SG 3SG.NPST-spotlight

10. ko ia-k-o-ati e nafaŋa
    and.then 1.EXCL-NPST-SG-hit OBL bow.and.arrow
    I spotlight flying fox, then give the torch to the boy, then this one, he spotlights it and then I shoot it with the bow and arrow.

11. m-o-oh las wan t-iwoŋ m-o-ue m-o-aharaŋ
    ES:3,—SG-hit last one 3SG,—NPST-jump ES:3,—SG-go ES:3,—SG-sit

12. t-eni = ahu m-o-eni = ahu mən
    3SG,—NPST-say = down ES:3,—SG-day = down again
    She, hit the last one, and he, jumped up and he, went and sat down, and she, scolded him again.

13. kani nowan ia-k-o-uen m-o-os nolul apaha pari, iSiwi
    and arrow 1.EXCL-NPST-SG-go ES:1-SG-carry k.o.wild.cane LOC landward Siwi
    And the arrows, I go collect wild cane from the west, at Lake Siwi.

14. m-o-os m-o-ua ko m-o-etei nowan e niel wa naserehi.
    ES:1-SG-carry ES:1-SG-come and.then ES:1-SG-cut arrow OBL oak or k.o.tree
    I collect them, come back, and then I fit the arrows with oak tree or naserehi.
In these examples we can see that the actual person value changes as the clausal deictic centre shifts across the turns. In particular the antecedent from a matrix level clause, cannot provide antecedence for a subordinate clause or perception clauses, within themselves though they can use the ES as per normal.

Then I craft and craft and then I take it bind the bow and take it walking.  

Then you will be about to come to know that.

**Subordinate clauses**

Subordinate clauses, such as relative clauses or perception clauses, cannot provide antecedence for a matrix level ES. Nor can they use an antecedent from a matrix level clause. Within themselves though they can use the ES as per normal.

**The problematic data: 1. ES shared across turns**

In these examples we can see that ES clauses can sometimes refer back to other’s turns for antecedence. In 20 in particular the actual person value changes as the clausal deictic centre shifts across the turns.

He said, (it is) because they were all better for the women.