Echo-Subject in Southern Vanuatu versus Switch-reference

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1. Whitesands (Southern Vanuatu, East Tanna)

( Echo Subject Restrictions are struck out )

Coordinators                      TAM
kani ‘and’                         PAST
ko ‘then’                          NON-PAST
metow ‘but because’                CONTINUOUS
Ø                                   PERFECT
                                    PROSPECTIVE
                                    SEQUENTIAL
                                    HABITUAL
                                    NEGATIVE

2. Whitesands examples\(^1\)

(1) jhws2-20090301-ak01_019
  itomlau keiju ja-k-i-an lapwn.
  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 menŋø rarpøn,
  if 1EXCL-NPST-DU-go OBL fowl wild
  ‘If we (DU.EXCL) go for wild fowl,’

(3) jhws1-20080328-ns02_035
  kei t-uën ahaiken
  flying.fox 3SG.NPST-go there

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

---

\(^1\) All examples have been converted from practical orthography to their (phonemic) IPA values, and all abbreviations have been standardised.
The fire burnt the house, it [the house] is black.

Yarwi didn’t want to and (Yarwi) went.

We (TR.INCL) have talked and (we have) seen.

Wilson left first and walked (seawards) [home] falling, he was drunk.

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

‘Yarwi didn’t want to and (Yarwi) went.’

‘We (TR.INCL) have talked and (we have) seen.’

‘Wilson left first and walked (seawards) [home] falling, he was drunk.’

‘It went on and on and on then the flying fox went.’

‘You will go and then come back.’

‘I am able to carry you, we’ll go landwards.’
The rat, he was at the home of his mother and father, they (TR) were sitting there.

He saw two women …

They were making laplap for themselves.

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

It [the pig] dies, then we cut it up, and carry it quickly to the village.

I have got money, I...

You have forgotten

I have forgotten that kastom [that I went for]

She carried (them) and they (TR) went to the cliff.
‘His brother stood and stood [there], but he didn’t come but he saw him go down.’

3. The development of ES system in Southern Vanuatu
(Summary of de Sousa (2008))

Proto–Southern Vanuatu: *ma
(*ma: verb phrase coordinator (Moyse-Faurie & Lynch 2004))

Nakanamanga (Nguna dialect; Central Vanuatu)

VPC: poo
(18)   a  ṇa  fano
       1SG INT go
       poo  tape  na-kpeka  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  kpiila-na.
       and  see  mother-3SG
‘He would come and see his mother.’ (Schütz 1969a:50)

Clausal-coordinator: ṇo
(Disjoint-referential subjects:)
(20)  te  pa-ki  varea  ke-rua...
       3SG go-to branch  ORD-two
       no  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 lega 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)

Anejom (Aneityum; Southern Vanuatu)

(AGR)   (SUBJ)

(22) ekris apan aarau,
3DU.PST go they.DU
m=ŋo nupʷ ut,
and=make k.o.laplap
m=ŋo ihni.
and=make finish

‘They two went and made nup̃ut and finished making it.’ (Lynch 2000:148)

(AGR)   (SUBJ)

(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)

(AGR)   (SUBJ)

(24) is itiji eŋe-ktit niitiñi is asap aan,
3SG.PST NEG hear-well something 3SG.PST say (s)he
m=itiji atou intas-apʷ at iniñi is asap 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 unpon'kor
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-tantvi child.3SG
mahpe (< m-Ø-mah=pe).
ES-SG-die=PREC
‘She got stuck and picked it[j] up and went and dropped her child[j] heavily
and it[j] 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-am-ya

man that 3SG-PST-come

m-ep-ajon 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) komu etam ah tasapun e suatap u,

then man this he.comes.out.from to road this

rahan tata ne mama m-u-eia m-la-vasom.

his father and mother ES-DU-come ES-DU-take.a.first.look

‘Then this man[i] comes along this road, his father[k] and mother, they come and have a first look.’ (Carlson ms.)

(30) in tuva m-ekek un

he comes ES-touch that

in m-iom m-uven

he ES-go.out ES-go

meto mama in tatol pok uak lan

but mama she does much work for.it

kon in m-aruru nasituan e mama m-o otolos.

and he ES-unable help to mama PURP 3SG.FUT.carry

‘[H]e[i] comes and touches him, he[g] goes out again, but mama has a lot of work. But he[j] doesn’t help the mama to carry the child around.’

(Carlson ms.)
Table 1  
Summary of Southern Vanuatu ES systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Tanna</th>
<th>Erromango</th>
<th>A.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North Tanna m-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Carlson p.c., ms)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lenakel m-</td>
<td>(Lynch 1978, 1983)</td>
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<td>Southwest Tanna m-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kwamera m-Ø</td>
<td>(Lindstrom &amp; Lynch 1994)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Whitesands m-</td>
<td>(e.g. Hammond 2009b)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sye m-</td>
<td>(Crowley 1998)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ura m(V)</td>
<td>(Crowley 1999)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Anejom i)m=</td>
<td>(Lynch 2000)</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinator preceding the ES marker</td>
<td>kon ‘then’ merou ‘but’ ua ‘or’</td>
<td>no ‘then’ kei ‘and’ ko ‘then’</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent marking for number</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<td>?</td>
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<td>: aspect</td>
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<tr>
<td>disjoint-referential marking</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Papuan-type Switch-reference

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

(31) *rani=be walabani-[Ø-a]-bɔ, xɔ ba-ja-a-xwa.*  
DEM=INSV swim-CR-3FSG-DEP see-3SG-3FSG.O-PST  
‘she was swimming/swam there, and she saw her.’  
(de Sousa 2006b:48)

(32) *rani=be walabani-[me]-wa-bɔ, xɔ ba-ja-a-xwa.*  
DEM=INSV swim-DR-3FSG-DEP see-3SG-3FSG.O-PST  
‘she was swimming/swam there, and s/he saw her.’  
(de Sousa 2006b:48)

(33) *je [Ø-ser-i] φ a-xja-a-bɔ, 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. pusí xɔ ba-[ma]-xa-a-bɔ,*  
yes cat see-DR-1SG-3FSG.O-DEP  
wɔ=x=xan-wa-xwa.  
water=ALL go.down-3FSG-PST  
‘Yes, I saw the cat ([DR], it went down towards the stream.’  
(de Sousa 2006b:51)
(35) (de Sousa 2006a: 527-528)

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

(b) sugu amni=la aφ ila ai Ø-xaφ-u-bø,
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 φ a-Ø-ja-a-Ø,
[DEM garden side thing person steal leave-CR-3SG-3FSG.O-DEP
 pi-wa-xi no]
 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-xaφ-u-bø,
DEM CR-go.across-3MSG-DEP
‘he went across (to the garden), and (CR)’

(e) xø ba-Ø tiau-Ø-xja nu-bø,
see-3MSG observe-3MSG-PST.FOC COP-DEP
‘he had a look, and (CR)’

(f) xø ba-Ø-i-Ø-bø,
look-CR-3MSG-3MSG.O-DEP
‘he saw him (the moon), and (CR)’

(g) [xwatu muami-bø] ma-xan-u-bø 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-bø 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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{æg} & \text{ ɛ} \text{ʔɛ} \text{tgul-3} \text{d} \text{ʔɔ-3} \text{bil} \\
\text{li} & \text{ba him} \text{æ} \text{ʔɛ} \text{-in.}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ɣ-avan} & \text{m-Ø-etvani.} \\
\text{3SG.RECPST-walk} & \text{ES-SG-spit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(S)he walked and spat.’ (Crowley 1998:280)

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

(38)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ɣ-avan} & \text{my ovani (< m=ɣ o-etvani).} \\
\text{3SG.RECPST-walk} & \text{and=3SG.RECPST-spit}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(S)he walked and someone else spat.’ (Crowley 1998:280)

Lenakel

ES construction — coreferential subjects:

(39)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{r-əm-va} & \text{(kani) m-əm-aŋən.} \\
\text{3SG-PST-come} & \text{(and) ES-PST-eat}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He came and (he) ate.’ (Lynch 1983:212)

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

(40)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{r-əm-va} & \text{(kani) r-əm-aŋən.} \\
\text{3SG-PST-come} & \text{(and) 3SG-PST-eat}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He came and he ate.’ (Lynch 1983:212)

Aneityum: no DR markings

Anejom̃ clausal coordinator \textit{am*}

(Coreferential:)

(41)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{is} & \text{ey ohos-pan aan ehele-n} \\
\text{3SG.PST} & \text{appear-there he DAT-3SG}
\end{align*}
\]

is \textit{am*} \textit{imj-ey etf jin.}

3SG.PST \textit{and} \textit{COM-say.come him}

‘He appeared before him and told him to come with him.’

(Moyse-Faurie & Lynch 2004:457)

(Disjoint-referential:)

(42)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{... m-ey tf ey tf a-n} \\
\text{ES-ram-him}
\end{align*}
\]

is \textit{am*} \textit{asuol inti-n a nittf ini-n.}

3SG.PST \textit{and} \textit{go.down excrement-his OBL head-his}

‘… and he rammed him and his shit went into his head.’ (Lynch 2000:146)
Erromango: ≈ “3rd person SR system” (i.e. not SR)

Sye

Es construction:

\[(43)\]  
\[\text{jay avan (< jay o-avan) m-Ø-etvani.}\]
\[1\text{SG.RECPST-walk} \quad \text{ES-SG-spit}\]
\[\text{‘I walked (recently) and spat’.} \quad \text{(Crowley 1998:114)}\]

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

\[(44)\]  
\[\text{jay -avan im joy ovani (< jay o-etvani).}\]
\[1\text{SG.RECPST-walk} \quad \text{and} \quad 1\text{SG.RECPST-spit}\]
\[\text{‘I walked and simultaneously spat.’/ ‘I walked and then spat’.} \quad \text{(Crowley 1998:279)}\]

\[(45)\]  
\[\text{jay -avan m=} \text{joy ovani.}\]
\[1\text{SG.RECPST-walk} \quad \text{and=} \quad 1\text{SG.RECPST-spit}\]
\[\text{‘I walked and spat’.} \quad \text{(Crowley 1998:279)}\]

Example of a true “3rd person SR system”

Aleut (Aleutian Islands; Aleut—Eskimo-Aleut)

First/second person subjects:

DAT as a clause linker: SR neutral

(Coreferential:)

\[(46)\]  
\[\text{hama-ax hig-ŋa-q-aan}\]
\[\text{there-ABL go.out-REM-1SG-DAT.1SG}\]
\[\text{qąqam hama-as a-ar uq-ŋa-q.}\]
\[\text{again there-go-again-REM-1SG}\]
\[\text{‘I had gone out from there but went back there again.’} \quad \text{(Bergsland 1994:347)}\]

(Disjoint-referential:)

\[(47)\]  
\[\text{qąngą̄x̄aadas-ku-q-aan}\]
\[\text{camp-PRS-1SG-DAT.1SG}\]
\[\text{iw ax̄a-μ waak a-ŋa-ax.}\]
\[\text{airplane-ABS.SG come.in-REM-3SG}\]
\[\text{‘I was out camping when the airplane came in.’} \quad \text{(Bergsland 1997:244)}\]

Third person subjects:

DAT: disjoint-referential

\[(48)\]  
\[\text{alitxu-ax ina-ku-s -aam}\]
\[\text{war-ABS.SG end-PRS-3SG-DAT.3SG}\]
\[\text{atŋa-m haq-a-n uqiti-is uta-na-s}\]
\[\text{Atka-REL.SG direction-3SG-LOC.3SG return-again-REM-1NSG}\]
\[\text{‘When the war was over, we returned to Atka.’} \quad \text{(Bergsland 1994:346)}\]
ABS or REL: coreferential

(49) ƛa-ƛ uɖa-ŋ hac-ə-n imjaŋ -iku-ƛ.
boy-ABS.SG bay-REL.SG outside-3SG-LOC.3SG fish-PRS-ABS.SG
tagida-ƛaŋ i-na-ƛ.
cod-catch-REM-3SG
‘The boy was fishing outside of the bay and caught (one or several) cod.’
(Bergsland 1994:346)

(50) anqatka-ŋa-ƛ m
go.out-PRS-REL.SG
haqa-ə-an aŋ-iku-ƛ.
come-INT-3SG AUX-PRS-3SG
‘He went out (away) but will come back.’ (Bergsland 1994:346)

(51) waną aŋaŋ ka-aŋg aðu-ŋak-əm
this log-ABS.SG long-PRS.NEG-REL.SG
ıtumąŋ-ka-ƛ.
thick-PRS-3SG
‘This log is not long but thick.’ (Bergsland 1997:244)

Tanna: ≈ ‘pragmatic’ anaphor

Lenakel

(52) perawm miin k-əm-ar-ofən naŋənaan kam in
woman PL 3NSG-PST-PL-give food DAT him
kani m-ep-[Ø]-apul.
and ES-SEQ-[SG]-sleep
‘The women 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[k] and it[k] cried.’ (Crowley 2002:205)

(54) maŋau r-əm-aamh tom mənə siak kani m-u-akəmʷ.
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-akəmʷ.
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-pʷ alhepʷ 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 thrash about.’ (Lynch 1983:216)
# Appendix

## Table 2

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Malakula</th>
<th>Efate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vugan Taut Kau</strong></td>
<td>(Fox 1979)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nese Kau</strong></td>
<td>(Crowley 2006a)</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>Tape’as</strong></td>
<td>(Crowley 2006b)</td>
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<td><strong>Aulua a’re</strong></td>
<td>(Paviour-Smith p.c., forthcoming; Paviour-Smith &amp; Malakye 2008)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>South Efate (Kau)</strong></td>
<td>(Theberger 2006)</td>
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<tr>
<th>subject NP in ES clause</th>
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<tr>
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<td>na ‘and’</td>
<td>ti ‘and’</td>
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<td>ale ‘so (?)’</td>
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## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
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<td>aorist</td>
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RECPST recent past  SG singular
REL relative (i.e. ERG + GEN)  SR switch-reference
REM remote past/future  TR trial
REMPST remote past  TRNS transitive
SEQ sequential  VPC verb phrase coordinator

Bibliography


