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**Serial Verb Constructions and Echo-Reference
Constructions in the Languages of Northwest Malekula:
V'ënen Taut, Tape, and Tirax**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics
at
The University of Waikato
by
Royce Richard Dodd



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
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For Jimmysan

a legendary researcher, Vanuatu Cultural Centre
fieldworker, and friend from Northwest Malekula.

Sip'as ilil a nakēm.

Abstract:

The Northwest Malekula language subgroup consists of three closely related languages V'ënen Taut, Tape, and Tirax (Lynch, 2016). Each language has been documented previously; however, two of the languages, V'ënen Taut and Tape, lacked comprehensive analyses of complex predicates and multi-verb constructions; more specifically serial verb constructions (Part One) and echo-reference constructions (Part Two). This work seeks to address this descriptive gap in the literature.

Part One describes serial verb constructions in the Northwest Malekula languages. It begins in Chapter Two with a typological overview of serial verb constructions leading to the identification of three main grammatical properties of serial verb constructions. These properties are: monoclausality, independent verbhood, and shared arguments. Chapter Three employs the identified properties to present a survey of serial verb constructions in six Central Vanuatu languages and finds that most languages display two kinds of serial verb constructions, nuclear and core, which are identified by grammatical marking. The survey also identifies coverbial constructions and object incorporation as two further types of complex nuclei distinct from nuclear serial verb constructions, and auxiliary verb constructions as a distinct type of construction separate from core serial verb constructions. Chapter Four presents a comprehensive analysis of serial verb constructions in the Northwest Malekula languages, analyzing them in terms of argument sharing type and semantic function. Nuclear serial verbs constructions, coverbial constructions, switch-function and ambient core serial verb constructions are identified in all Northwest Malekula languages. Same-subject core serial verb constructions are present in Tape and Tirax but noticeably absent from V'ënen Taut; such functions are expressed using echo-reference constructions in that language.

Part Two presents an analysis of echo-reference constructions in the Northwest Malekula languages, focusing on V'ënen Taut. Chapter Five identifies echo-reference constructions as a type of non-canonical switch-reference system that uses the reduction of morphological subject marking on non-initial verbs to signal same-subject person identity between it and an initial fully inflected verb on the same

clausal level. Chapter Five also presents a survey of echo-reference constructions Southern Vanuatu, where they are well established in literature. The survey finds echo-reference constructions are relatively uniform in their form and function in the languages of Southern Vanuatu. Chapter Five also surveys several Central Vanuatu languages, and finds that echo-reference have been, or could be, identified in several languages from this region. The function of echo-reference in the Central Vanuatu languages is consistent with that found in Southern Vanuatu; however, the form of the echo-reference morpheme varies much more than those used in Southern Vanuatu. A new analysis of echo-reference constructions in the Northwest Malekula languages is presented in Chapter Six. It finds that echo-reference constructions form predictably under subject-person identity but that there are six constraints which can prevent echo-reference constructions from forming, even where subject-person identity between sequential verbs occurs. These constraints concern changes in the number of participants in an action sequence, polarity and illocutionary force continuity, clause embedding, and the temporal and narrative flow of text. Chapter Seven analyses the use of echo-reference constructions in nine extended excerpts of speech in V'ënen Taut.

The thesis concludes in Chapter Eight which presents a grammatical and functional comparison between serial verb and echo-reference constructions. It finds that the two types of construction share many grammatical properties in the Northwest Malekula languages but that they differ in two key areas. Firstly, verbs in echo-reference constructions can only display same-subject argument sharing while serial verb constructions can also display switch-function and ambient argument sharing. Secondly, serial verb constructions are monoclausal while echo-reference constructions are multi-clausal. Serial verb and echo-reference constructions appear analogous in their semantic function, with echo-reference constructions being used to express the same types of semantic functions as same-subject core serial verb constructions. A brief discussion of the diachronic development of echo-reference constructions is offered, noting that there is a clear pathway from coordination to echo-reference constructions attested in the Southern Vanuatu languages but that such a pathway is less evident in the Central Vanuatu languages.

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List of Abbreviations and Conventions:

Abbreviations:

1	First person	NES	Necessity
2	Second person	NFUT	Non-future
3	Third person	NMLZ	Nominalizer
ABL	Ability	NMOD	Nominal modifier
ABS	Absolutive	NPST	Non-past
ANA	Anaphor	OBJ	Object
APPL	Applicative	OBL	Oblique
AR	Aorist	PART	Partitive
ASV	Associative	PAST.HAB	Past habitual
CERT	Certainty	PAU	Paucal
CL	Classifier	PERS	Personal marker
COMM	Comment marker	PFV	Perfective aspect
COMP	Completive	PL	Plural
CONT	Continuative	POLITE	Politeness
CONST	Construct morpheme	POSS	Possessive
COP	Copular	POT	Potential
DAT	Dative	PRF	Perfect aspect
DEM	Demonstrative	PROH	Prohibitive
DFUT	Definite future	PROS	Prospective aspect
DIR	Directional	PROX	Proximal aspect
DIST	Distant	PROXIMAL	Proximal deixis
DIST.FUT	Distant future	PST	Past
DIST.PAST	Distant past	RCNT.PAST	Resent past tense
DS	Different subject	REAL	Realis mood
DU	Dual	REL	Relativizer
DUP	Reduplicated affix	SEQ	Sequential
DUR	Durative	SG	Singular
ER(C)	Echo-reference (construction)	SIM	Similtive
EXCL	Exclusive	SP	Spatial
EXT.P	Extended participant	SS	Same subject
FUT	Future	SUB	Subordinator
GEN	General	SVC	Serial verb construction
HYP	Hypothetical mood	TA	Tense-Aspect marker
IFUT	Immediate Future	TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood
INCL	Inclusive	TAMP	Tense, Aspect, Mood, Polarity
INDEF.PN	Indefinite person	TOP	Toponymic
IRR	Irrealis mood	TR	Transitive/Transitivizer
LOC	Locative	V _{AB}	Ambient verb
MULT	Multiplicative	VKS	Vanuatu Cultural Centre
NEG	Negative		
NEG ₁ ...	Discontinuous negative		
NEG ₂	morphemes		

Conventions:

<i>Italics</i>	Language data is written in italics
...text...	Signals only a portion of a segment of a recoding has been used in the example
:	Separates grammatical categories expressed by portmanteau morphemes
.	Separates multi word glosses
-	Affix
=	Clitic
[nwm...]	Referencing information
(.5)	Pause
VERB _i	Subscript letters signal participant coreferentiality
VERB _{v_x}	Verb _{number}
↗	Rising intonation
↘	Falling intonation
→	Level intonation

Chapter One

Introduction

This work presents a descriptive and functional comparative analysis of Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) and Echo-Reference Constructions (ERCs) found in V'ënen Taut, Tape, and Tirax, three closely related languages from Malekula, Vanuatu. The languages of Malekula are members of the Oceanic language family which is a subgroup of the Austronesian language family, the second largest language family in the world (Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002, p. 1). Both SVCs and ERCs had yet to be extensively explored in V'ënen Taut and Tape before this project; the aim of this thesis is to fill the descriptive gap for those languages. While ERCs have been the subject of detailed descriptive analysis in the languages of Southern Vanuatu, no in-depth analysis of ERCs yet exists for any languages outside of Southern Vanuatu. The data and accompanying commentary presented in Chapter Six and Seven seeks to fill this gap in the literature by highlighting ERCs in two Malekula languages (V'ënen Taut and Tape). A comparison of the function of the under-described ERCs and the function of SVCs is presented in the final chapter. Crowley (2002) previously compared the SVCs of Paamese (Central Vanuatu) with the ERCs of Sye (Southern Vanuatu); however, a comparative study of ERCs and SVCs does not yet exist between languages that are as closely related, both linguistically and geographically, as the Northwest Malekula languages.

1.1 Thesis Structure

This thesis is split into three main parts. The first part focuses on serial verb constructions and the second focuses on echo-reference constructions. The third part provides a comparative analysis of the two constructions. Parts One and Two follow similar formats to highlight the similarities and differences of the two types of construction. Part One begins with a typological overview of serial verb constructions in Chapter Two, to identify the defining properties of SVCs that will be used in this work. The next chapter presents an overview of SVCs in several languages from Central Vanuatu; it uses data presented in the works of other authors but uses the framework developed for identifying serial constructions established in the previous

chapter. Chapter Four presents a detailed descriptive and comparative analysis of SVCs in the languages of Northwest Malekula.

The opening chapter of Part Two includes a brief literature review of switch-reference systems and defines echo-reference as a sub-type of switch-reference. It also provides a structural overview of echo-reference constructions in the languages of Southern Vanuatu and defines a number of restrictions and constraints on the use of echo-reference. Chapter Six presents a descriptive analysis of echo-reference constructions in V'ënen Taut and Tape. Chapter Seven contains detailed commentary of the use of echo-reference and serial verb constructions in connected speech in V'ënen Taut, identifying the different factors allowing or blocking the use of echo-reference constructions.

The final chapter of this work, constituting Part Three, presents a structural and functional comparison of serial verb constructions and echo-reference constructions. It also touches briefly on speculative explanations for the diachronic development of ERCs in Central Vanuatu.

1.2 Oceanic Language Research

The history of the Oceanic languages has received a lot of attention from linguists. Much of this attention has focused on the reconstruction of Proto Oceanic (POc), the hypothesised ancestor language from which every language in the Oceanic language family is said to have descended. POc is thought to have been spoken in the Bismarck Archipelago around 1500BCE (Ross, 2004).

Much of the work on POc has focused on phonological reconstruction. Pawley (1972) presents an early attempt at classifying what he called the Eastern Oceanic languages. This classification was ambitious given the lack of data on many of the languages at the time, but provides the foundation for many current understandings. Pawley (1972, p. 98) split the Eastern/Central Oceanic languages into two main subgroupings: Southeast Solomonian; and North Hebridean-Central Pacific. The North Hebridean¹ languages were further subdivided into the North Banks and Central Hebridean subgroups, the latter being where the case study languages for this project are located.

¹ The term Hebridean refers to The New Hebrides, the name given to Vanuatu when it was under joint colonial rule by The United Kingdom and France.

Later, Clark (1985) would confirm Pawley's classification of a Vanuatu language grouping by introducing a language sub-group called North Central Vanuatu. This language grouping includes all the languages from the north of Vanuatu to Efate Island, including the languages of Malekula Island. Lynch and Tryon (1985) proposed that the languages of Eastern Oceanic and Southern Vanuatu be combined becoming the Eastern/Central Oceanic language grouping.

The internal classification of Oceanic languages has undergone a number of reconfigurations over the years. A detailed account of the internal classification of the Oceanic languages, based on phonological comparison, is given in Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002). This work places the Oceanic languages in the larger Austronesian family, an assertion which is unlikely to be challenged. Eastern/Central Oceanic is identified as one of three subgroupings in Oceanic and is further broken into five lower level sub-groups, rather than Pawley's original two. More recently, Ross, Pawley and Osmond (2016) have revised the higher level sub-groups in Oceanic, proposing nine early splits in the ancestor language.

Ross Clark's **Leo Tauti* (2009) presents a reconstruction of the north and central Vanuatu languages. Clark used a sample of fifteen languages, including V'ënen Taut, to reconstruct a proposed lexicon of Proto North-Central Vanuatu. He gives the phoneme system of Proto North-Central Vanuatu based on phonological correspondences in the modern daughter languages. Interestingly, Clark (2009, p. 58) states that the languages of Malekula are quite divergent from the other languages of the sample in his work. This is supported by Ross, Pawley and Osmond's (2016) proposal of a separate Central Vanuatu linkage.

The languages of Malekula themselves fall into the Central Vanuatu linkage which covers the languages of southern Pentecost, Malekula, Ambrym, and northern Efate islands (Clark, 1985, Lynch et al, 2002; Ross, Pawley & Osmond, 2016). The internal subgrouping of the languages of Malekula is still being researched by John Lynch (Lynch, 2011; Lynch, 2016; Lynch, 2019; Lynch & Brothie, 2010), and will be discussed further in the next section.

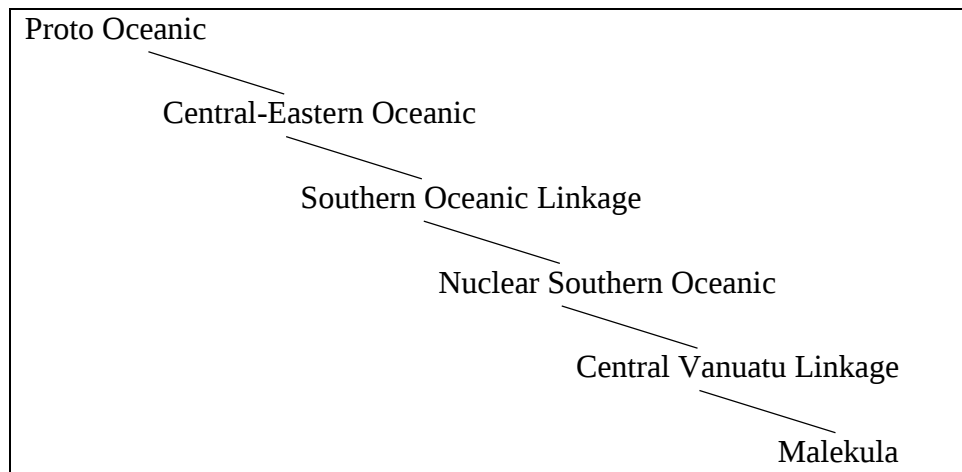


Figure 1.1: Genetic affiliation of Malekula languages

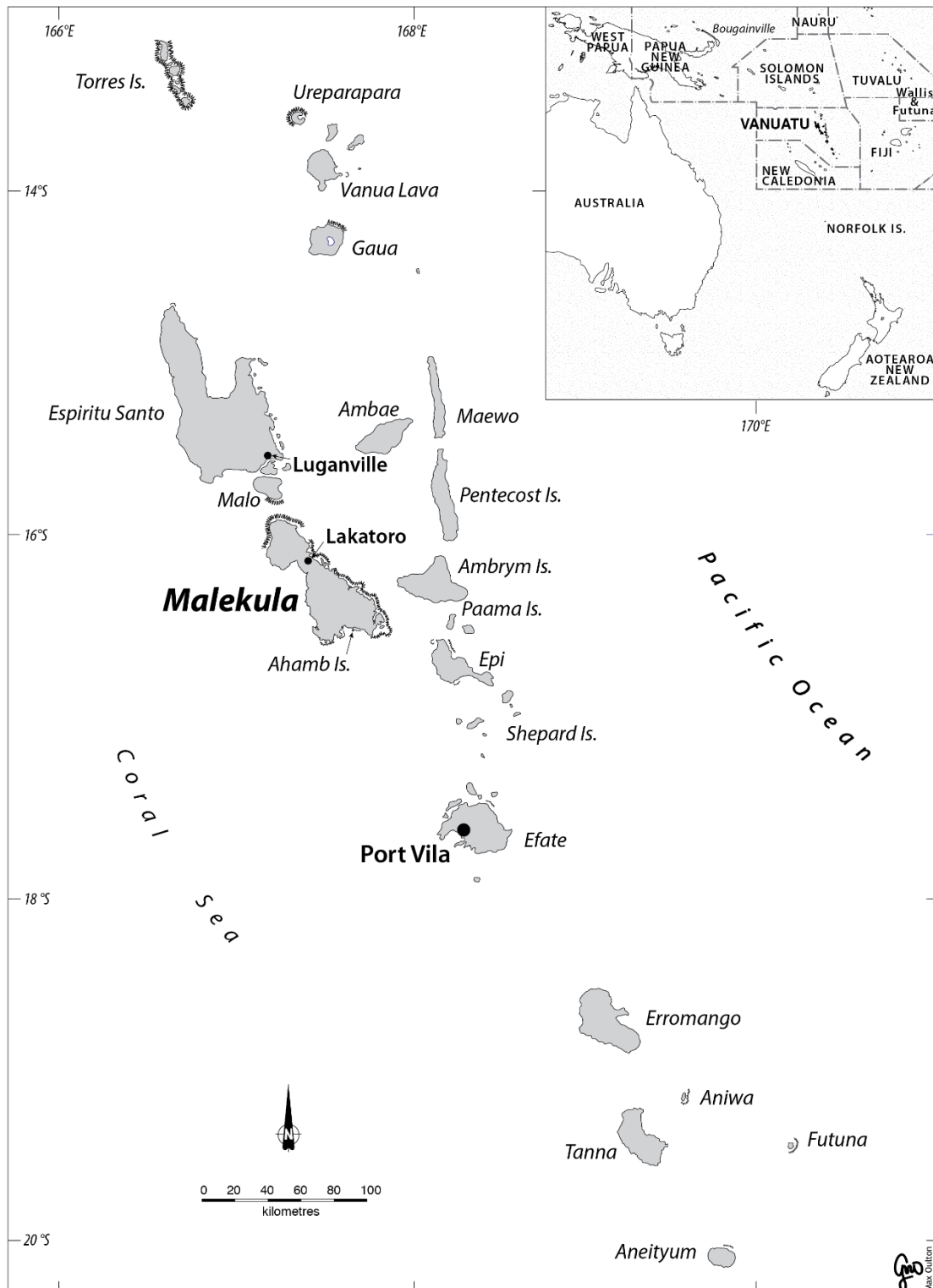
In addition to historical phonological analysis, efforts to reconstruct POc have led to a series of morphosyntactic observations about the Oceanic language family, including the presence of canonical SVO word order, and nominative accusative alignment (Lynch et al, 2002; Ross, 2004). The languages typically have both independent pronouns and subject marking on verbs, which make a three-way distinction between singular, dual, and plural. Clauses are often juxtaposed than being separated using coordinators. Serial verb and echo-reference constructions are of particular interest in this project. These constructions were also the focus of Crowley’s (2002) work on serial verbs in Oceanic. Crowley’s (2002) volume was a key reference and inspiration for this project.

1.3 Case Study Languages

V’ënen Taut, Tirax, and Tape, the three case study languages for this project are all located on Malekula Island, in the Republic of Vanuatu. Vanuatu is an island nation with territory over an archipelago of 82 islands in the South Pacific. It is located east of Queensland, Australia, or more precisely, northeast of New Caledonia, west of Fiji, and southeast of the Solomon Islands. The nation has a population of roughly 272,500 (Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2017) living on 65 of the nation’s islands.

Human habitation of the islands is thought to date back over 3000 years as Lapita pottery is found on some of the islands of Vanuatu, such as the large Lapita burial site on Efate Island near the capital, Port Vila (Langley, Bedford, Spriggs, & Phillip, 2019). Vanuatu is linguistically and culturally diverse and it is believed to have the

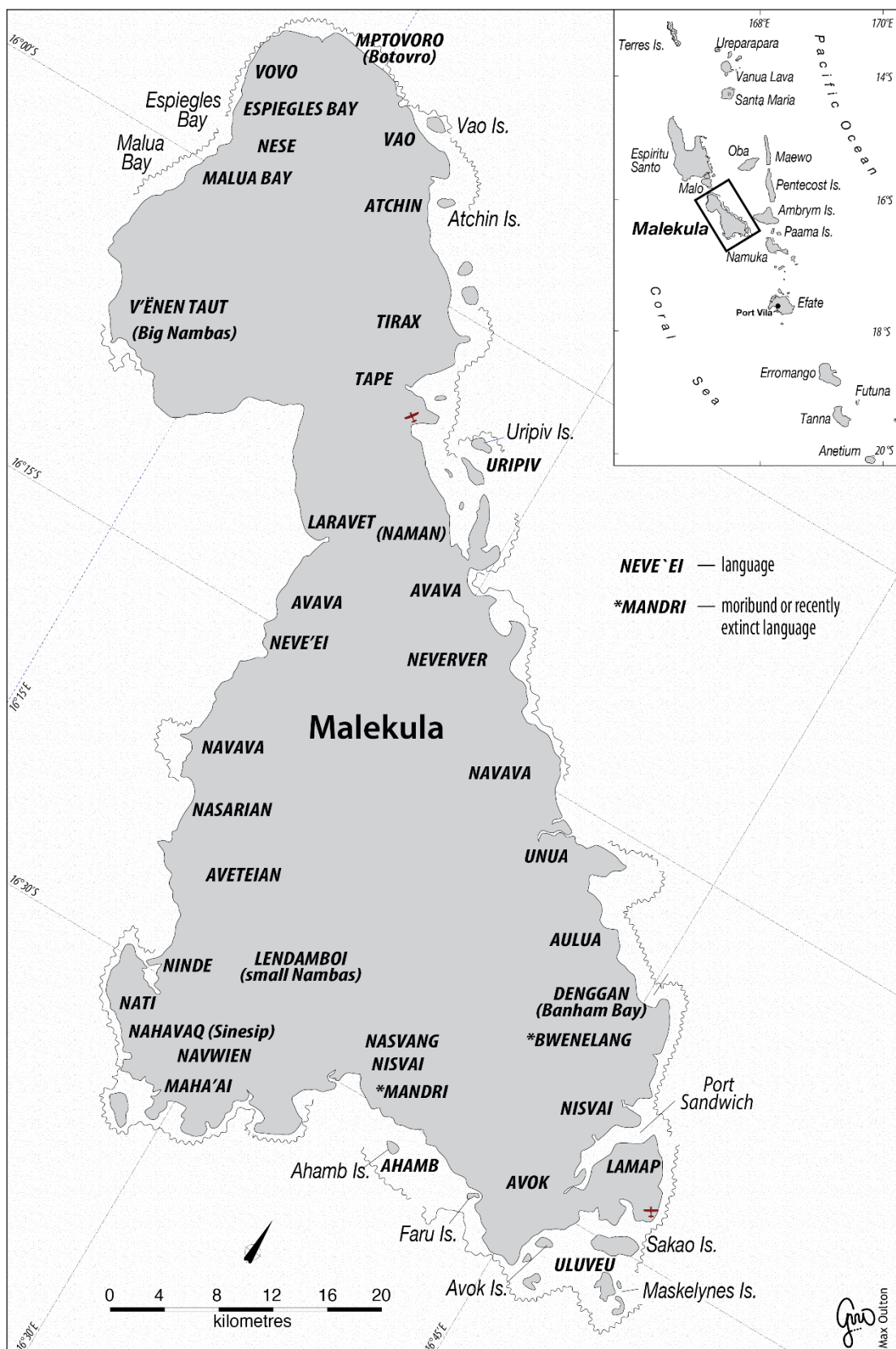
highest number of indigenous languages per capita in the world (Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p. xii).



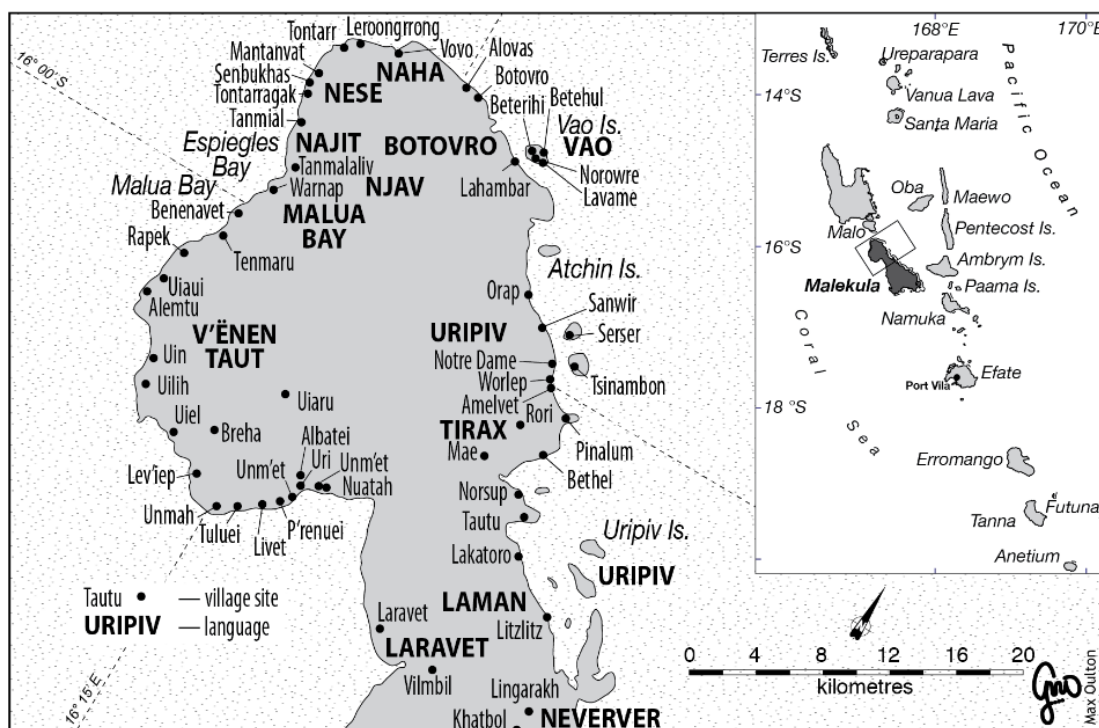
Map 1.1: Vanuatu

(Map by Max Oulton, used with permission Malekula Languages Project)

Malekula is the second largest island in Vanuatu covering about 2000 km². Currently there are an estimated 24 distinct languages actively spoken on the island by its roughly 31,000 inhabitants (Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p. 68; Vanuatu National Statistics Office, 2017). Historically the island was home to many more distinct linguistic groups; however, population loss and migrations has resulted in the loss of some of the languages and the decline of many more. An example of this can be seen in the area where this research was conducted. V'ënen Taut and Tirax, two of the case study languages of this project, are still actively spoken while the third language, Tape, is moribund. A number of explanations for the decline of the Tape language are discussed by Crowley (2006d). Other Malekula languages nearby are also reportedly in decline. Younger generations of Larevat speakers (Barbour, 2016, p. 139), and Malua Bay speakers (Wessels, 2013, p. 32) are transitioning to Bislama, the English-lexified pidgin/creole language used as the *lingua franca* across Vanuatu. The encroachment of Bislama on local languages is also noted in the Avava language, but to a lesser extent (Crowley, 2006a, p. 7). Nese (Takau, 2016, p. 19) and Naman (Crowley, 2006b, p. 11) are moribund, and the Gëlo language, once a neighbouring language of Tape, is extinct (Crowley, 2006d, p. 3). Many of the remaining languages of Malekula are threatened by Bislama.



The three case study languages were originally spoken in the north-western part of Malekula. While the traditional areas of V'ënen Taut and Tape speakers encompass coastal areas, the people who spoke these language oriented their lives inland. In recent history, most of the speakers of V'ënen Taut, Tape and Tirax have relocated to coastal or near-coastal areas. The V'ënen Taut speakers have predominantly moved to the coastal areas of their traditional lands on the north-western coast, while the Tape and Tirax people have relocated to the north-eastern side of Malekula. There are varying reasons for this migration, including inter-tribal conflict, access to religious services after the introduction of Christianity, and easier access to transportation networks.

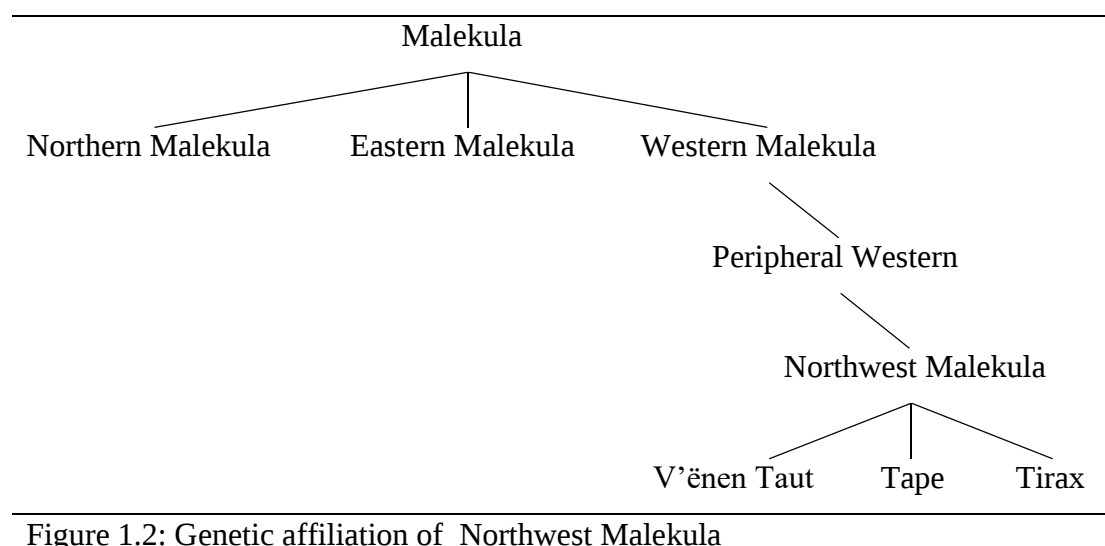


Map 1.3: North Malekula

(Map by Max Oulton, used with permission Malekula Languages Project)

The three case study languages are grouped by Lynch (2016, p. 427) in the Northwestern Malekula sub-group. Lynch's grouping matches the linguistic judgments of the local people of Malekula who report that they can understand all three languages if they are a speaker of one of them. For example, speakers of Tape say that they can easily understand V'ënen Taut. In many cases, the difference between words is a predictable change in vowels and consonants (Crowley, 2006d, p. 9). Some V'ënen Taut speakers say that they have no problem understanding Tirax

and vice versa. Normally this kind of statement would suggest the languages are dialects; however, multilingualism is common in Malekula and it is possible that the people making these claims have learnt to understand the other languages through interactions with speakers or through intermarriage. The similarities between the lexicons may also have helped them to understand the different languages.



1.3.1 V'ënen Taut

The V'ënen Taut language, also known as Big Nambas, is one of the most widely spoken languages in Malekula (Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p. 63). V'ënen Taut is spoken along a large section of the coast of Northwest Malekula, as well as in inland villages. Local people often comment on how large the V'ënen Taut speaking area is in comparison to other local languages, many of which are spoken in only a few villages each.

The first major work written on V'ënen Taut was *Big Nambas Grammar* by Greg Fox (1979). Fox worked as a missionary based in the Big Nambas village of Brenwei. He spent many years translating the New Testament to V'ënen Taut in collaboration with local language speakers and another missionary, Luke Zylstra. The bibles in V'ënen Taut are used mostly by worshippers of the Presbyterian Reform Church in Brenwei and the other villages close by but they appear not to have been adopted widely. Members of the Reform Church have been working on an updated version of the New Testament and the first translation of the Old Testament.

Another product of Fox's missionary work was the grammar sketch written with the help of Darryl Tryon, one of the earliest Vanuatu linguists. While it presents a clear analysis of V'ënen Taut, the grammatical frameworks and terminology used in the analysis have become somewhat outdated as the discipline of language description has evolved and linguists have developed deeper insights into the grammars of Oceanic languages.

A second project focused solely on linguistic description of the V'ënen Taut language was completed as part of a Master of Applied Linguistics, resulting in the thesis *V'ënen Taut: Grammatical Topics in the Big Nambas Language of Malekula* (Dodd, 2014). The analysis of V'ënen Taut presented in the thesis was based on the first audio corpus of the language, comprising 3 hours and 40 minutes of recorded audio texts, collected during fieldwork in Tenmaru Village in Northwest Malekula by the author.

Previous work on V'ënen Taut has focused primarily on phonological and morphological description. V'ënen Taut is often referred to in comparative works on phonology and in introductory linguistics text books due to the presence of rare types of consonants called linguo-labial or apicolabial consonants. These sounds are articulated by restricting airflow between the top lip and the tip of the tongue.

V'ënen Taut is under threat, and a generational shift towards Bislama (Melanesian Pidgin) was observed during fieldwork. While older people communicate predominantly in V'ënen Taut, most children, youths, and young adults appear to communicate mostly in Bislama. Elderly community members are worried that language shift may result in the loss of their language. Younger people report a lack of confidence in speaking the language. Many young people were hesitant to speak to me about their language and did not want to be recorded speaking it.

In 2015, V'ënen Taut was one of seven Malekula languages that were included in a Vanuatu Ministry of Education and Training programme to develop vernacular language materials for formal education in primary schools. During two week-long workshops in 2015 and 2016, materials were translated from Bislama into V'ënen Taut for use in Years One to Three of primary school. If vernacular education is fully implemented in schools, it may help to maintain the V'ënen Taut language for future generations.

1.3.2 Tape

The Tape language, also known as Maragus, was originally spoken in the area between the Brenwei and Lowisinwei rivers in Northwest Malekula (Crowley, 2006d, p. 1). The Tape-speaking area was bordered by the related V'ënen Taut language to the west, and the Tirax language to the north-east; however, in the early twentieth century the majority of the Tape speaking community moved to Tautu, a village in Northeast/Central Malekula. Many members of the Tape community remain connected to their traditional territory because they maintain gardens and plantations there. In recent years some have been returning to live in their traditional lands. Since the migration east, the number of speakers of Tape has been declining (Crowley, 2006d, p. 5). In Tautu, the decline is a result of language shift by the majority of the Tape community to Bislama and Uripiv, the variety of the Northwest Malekula language spoken in Tautu and most of the surrounding villages. The Tape speakers who live in other areas predominantly speak the language where they live. Crowley estimated that there were between 10 and 15 fluent speakers of Tape when he undertook his research in the early 2000s (Crowley, 2006d, p. 5). Many of those individuals had died by the time that this project began; however, the remaining speakers were very interested in developing an extended record of their language. Six Tape speakers agreed to participate in this project; three came from Tautu, and one each from Serbulbul, Larevat, and Brenwei villages. It is unclear whether there are more speakers of Tape elsewhere but the participants did not know of any other speakers in addition to those who participated.

Initial work on the Tape language was undertaken by Professor Terry Crowley of the University of Waikato from 2001-2004. Unfortunately, the work was not completed. At the time of his death in early 2005, Professor Crowley had completed two phases of research with the Tape speaking community. Posthumously, the second phase of Professor Crowley's work, titled *Tape: A Declining Language of Malekula* (Crowley, 2006d), was published by Pacific Linguistics. This work contains a brief sketch of the language, ten texts collected by Professor Crowley, and a short wordlist of around 800 vocabulary items.

1.3.3 Tirax

The Tirax language, referred to locally as *Resan Tirax* or *Resan Batarnar*, and also known as Dirak, was originally spoken in the central region of northern Malekula and was bordered by V'ënen Taut to the west, and Tape to the south. Like the many of communities in Malekula, the Tirax community left the interior of the island after the introduction of Christianity (Brotchie, 2009, p.1). The community moved closer to the northeast coast of the island and today is predominantly located in the villages of Mae, Rori, and Bethel. Some smaller communities of Tirax speakers live in the villages of Orap and in mainland Wala and Rano, where the predominant language is a dialect of the Northeast Malekula language. The population of Tirax speakers is estimated to be between 800 and 1000 (Brotchie, 2009, p. 1; Lynch & Crowley, 2001, p. 80).

Brotchie reports that most elderly and middle-aged people in the Tirax community are competent speakers of Tirax but that younger people and children tend to prefer to speak Bislama (2009, p. 3). This is consistent with observations from fieldwork in 2016-2017. The gradual encroachment of Bislama is possibly the outcome of intermarriage where one parent comes from outside of a particular language community. This sometimes results in Bislama being the language used in the home rather than the language of one or both parents because they already share the Bislama language in common. Tirax is now a threatened language; however, as with V'ënen Taut, Tirax was included in the Vanuatu Ministry of Education and Training vernacular education program. The use of the language in formal education may raise the prestige of Tirax in the community, contributing to ongoing vitality of the language.

The earliest linguistic work on Tirax was a wordlist collected by Daryl Tryon (1976). The word list was part of a comparative phonological study conducted to establish genetic groupings of Vanuatu languages (Tryon, 1976). The Tirax language was comprehensively described by Amanda Brotchie in her PhD thesis titled *Tirax Grammar and Narrative* (Brotchie, 2009). Brotchie's thesis is very detailed and contains a thorough analysis of the phonology, morphology, morpho-syntax of Tirax. It also contains a very detailed account of narrative structure in Tirax based on the analysis of ten narratives collected from native speakers. Lynch and Brotchie

proposed that Tirax should be included in a Peripheral Western Malekula sub-group of the Western Malekula Linkage (Lynch & Broatch, 2010, p. 383). Its position in the Western Malekula Linkage was later narrowed to Northwestern, along with V'ënen Taut and Tape, by Lynch (2016, p. 427).

1.4 Methodology

This comparative study of V'ënen Taut, Tape and Tirax was conducted in three phases: fieldwork and data collection; data processing; and text based clausal-level analysis of serial verb constructions and echo-reference constructions.

Entering into the project, the research goal was deliberately open, centering on comparing different grammatical features of the closely related languages in the Northwest Malekula language sub-group. An inductive model of data collection and analysis was employed, which relied on collecting a corpus of connected free speech as data. Through the collection of a high volume of data, topics of interest between the grammars of the Northwest Malekula languages emerged. Of particular interest were Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) and Echo-Reference Constructions (ERCs). The two constructions have overlapping functions in the case study languages, and they appear to be employed to varying extents among the languages. ERCs are pervasive in V'ënen Taut while SVCs occur seldomly. The speakers of Tape predominantly use SVCs but it appears that ERCs were once a feature of the language. There is no evidence of ERCs in Tirax, yet SVCs are common.

SVCs and ERCs were selected as the focus of this project for a number of reasons. ERCs, and to a lesser extent SVCs, were noted as grammatical features of V'ënen Taut in Dodd (2014) but were under-described. The description of both constructions needed expansion from previous work on Tape. ERCs are unexplored in the grammatical descriptions of Malekula, despite being well described in Southern Vanuatu languages. The form and function of ERCs and SVCs were compared previously in Crowley (2002) in relation to Oceanic languages more generally; however, a comparative functional analysis of ERCs and SVCs had yet to be undertaken on languages from the same island in Vanuatu. There was potential to develop new understandings of ERCs and SVCs by examining them within the related languages of Northwestern Malekula. An early observation of the data for the

three languages suggested that a shared function of some types of SVCs and all ERCs was to encode sequences of activities performed by the same participant as subject.

1.4.1 Fieldwork

The project involved two periods of fieldwork on Malekula, comprising nine weeks in 2016 and 22 weeks in 2017. Permission to undertake research in Vanuatu was granted by the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and the University of Waikato Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee (Appendix One). As the sole researcher on this project, I spent time with communities where V'ënen Taut, Tape, and Tirax are spoken. The fieldwork was funded by a small research grant from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP). On the advice of ELDP, the amount of time spent with each community was assigned by their respective levels of existing documentation. A total of 16 weeks were spent with working with the Tape community, ten weeks were spent with the V'ënen Taut community, and five weeks were spent with the Tirax community. I stayed with local families in each language community during the fieldtrips.

While working with the Tape-speaking community I was based in Tautu on the eastern coast of central Malekula. I spent six weeks there during my fieldtrip in 2016 and 10 weeks there in 2017. Tautu is located near Norsup Airport and the Norsup settlement, where the main hospital on Malekula is located. It is also close to Lakatoro township, which is the administrative centre of Malampa province. While in Tautu, I was invited to stay with the Otak family. One of my hosts, Elder Michael, is the son of one the Tape people who originally worked with Terry Crowley on his project on the Tape language. I worked predominantly with Ephraim Imbon and Elder Lui Harry, two speakers of Tape who live in Tautu. Ephraim and Elder Lui spoke about many different topics in their language. Some of the topics they covered were gardening, building, daily activities, and stories about events that have happened in their lives. Ephraim and Elder Lui were also key field assistants in the project and worked with me to transcribe and translate their recordings and the recordings of the other Tape speakers who participated in the project. They also worked though some data elicitation material designed to elicit lexical information on a variety of topics. I met four other Tape speakers who participated in the project. Jeffery William, who

also lives in Tautu, Ross Tavhabi, Eka Nambit, and Letia Ahempel,² who live in other villages. I met some other members of the Tape community who also reported knowing the language but were hesitant to join the project as language speakers and assistants because they were not confident about their fluency in Tape. However, they showed a keen interest in the project and participated by suggesting topics to talk about. They would sometimes be present as an audience for speakers during recording sessions.

I spent 10 weeks working with different communities who speak V'ënen Taut. Northwest Malekula is divided into two areas which locals call Northwest A and Northwest B. This division is based on access, with Northwest A being accessed by the main road that follows the north-eastern coast of Malekula around the north of the island and around part of the north-western coast. Northwest B is accessed by travelling along the road that cuts across the isthmus of the island and travels along the southern side of Northwest Malekula. I spent almost eight weeks working with the V'ënen Taut community in Northwest A, three weeks in 2016 and nearly five weeks in 2017. I spent nearly three weeks working with the V'ënen Taut community in Northwest B. The majority of time was spent in Northwest A because I had already had strong relationships there, having stayed in the area during my master's fieldwork.

I stayed with the Zumzum family in a hamlet called Pur during my trips to Northwest A. I travelled to many of the villages along the coast of Northwest A, and many local people participated in the project. I worked regularly with people from Alpalak, Bennenavath, Pur, and Rambek villages. The Ahempel family invited me to stay with them in Brenwei village when I went to conduct fieldwork in Northwest B. As with my stay in Northwest A, I travelled to many of the villages along the coast of the region, working regularly with people from Brenwei, Tuluwei, and Unmak villages.

I collected recordings of speakers talking about a range of topics of local interest such as gardening, weaving, use of natural resources, stories of historic events and traditional activities. I also worked through data elicitation materials with speakers

² By chance, Letia happened to be the mother of Andrew, my host in Brenwei. His family knew that she could speak a language that no one else in their family, or village, could speak. Because I was studying Malekula languages, they thought perhaps I could identify the language. They brought Letia to see me and they convinced her to speak to me in her language. Needless to say, everyone there, including me, was astonished when she spoke to me and I understood and spoke back to her in Tape.

who took an interest in them. One of the field assistants participating in the project also collected several recordings.

While working on Tirax, I stayed in a village called Mae, a large village by Malekula standards, situated a few kilometres inland from Norsup and Tautu. I was invited to stay for five weeks with the Lai family in 2017. I spent the majority of this time in Mae but I also made several visits to Rori, a smaller Tirax village about an hour's walk from Mae.

I worked with speakers of the Tirax language to create a small corpus of language recordings covering a variety of topics. The Tirax corpus covers similar topics to the Tape and V'ënen Taut corpora; however, the data elicitation materials were not used as much when collecting Tirax data, because most of the Tirax-speaking participants preferred to talk about topics from their own interest or topic they thought would have documentary value.

It was my intention to return to Malekula for a third fieldtrip near the end of my project to fill gaps in the data that I had collected in the previous fieldtrips and to elicit grammaticality judgements, for example concerning negation of SVCs, and to test the accuracy of my analysis of constraints on the use of ERCs. Unfortunately in 2020, my research plans were disrupted by the global COVID-19 pandemic which meant that international travel was, and is at the time of writing, not permitted.

1.4.2 Data Collection

A lot of time was spent in the field during this project so that a sizeable corpus could be created as a documentary record of the case study languages; however, not all of the data that was collected was used for the linguistic analysis on which this work is based.

The data collection component of fieldwork followed a community led approach rather than being guided by me. Any adult in the communities that I visited who was interested in participating was welcome to take part in the project provided they self-identified as a native speaker. I used the Bislama phrase "*lanwis blong yu*" to express to potential participants the notion of native speaker. In the highly multi-lingual context of Malekula Island, "*lanwis blong yu*" refers to one's heritage language and

connects to one's relationship to place and family lineage. As each language had been the subject of descriptive projects in the past, with existing grammatical descriptions of their phonologies, morphologies, morpho-syntax, word classes, and the like, this project primarily focused on the collection of open-ended texts in the form of monologues, conversations, and short interviews. Linguist-led elicitation of grammatical paradigms, a common technique employed for initial descriptive projects, was not employed.

Participants were recruited in several ways. When I went into different communities, I would arrange a time to give a small public speech about the project and invite people to approach me if they wanted to participate. I would also hand out some information sheets written in Bislama for people to pass around the community. Community members were invited to speak on topics of their choice. I would discuss potential topics with individuals who wanted to participate but who did not know what they should talk about.

The local fieldworkers for the Vanuatu Cultural Centre (Vanuatu Kaljoral Senta or VKS) and other people who took a keen interest in the project would also make arrangements for me to meet with community members who expressed an interest in the project. Some examples of commonly occurring topics of recordings are gardening practices for both food and natural resources, descriptions of things important to village life, production of cash crops, cooking and weaving, stories about past events in the life of the speaker, remote historic events, and traditional tales. Speakers could also choose to refer to some of the image-based language elicitation materials that I took to Malekula as well. Some of these materials were produced by the Malekula Languages Project at the University of Waikato and were designed to be used as prompts to create small narratives of activities that people perform in their daily lives. Other materials from the Malekula Languages Project were designed to collect specific lexical information about flora and fauna, and were also used as prompts for speakers to talk about their knowledge of, or experiences with, the entities shown in the images.

Data was recorded in either audio-video or audio-only formats. The format of the recording was at the discretion of the speakers. Audio was recorded in WAV format using a Zoom H4Nn digital audio recorder. Video was recorded in MOV format

using a Zoom Q8 video camera. An external Audio-Technica BP4025 stereo microphone was used with both devices to capture high quality audio.

1.4.3 Data Processing

The recordings collected during the fieldtrips to Malekula were transcribed and translated on location. To speed up the process of data analysis, I worked digitally in the field, typically with a local field assistant who supported transcription and translation.

The raw recordings were edited to remove the material recorded before and after the main story was captured. Video files were compressed to MP4 files. Audio was copied into a separate file WAV file for use with the annotation programme ELAN (developed by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics). ELAN is a tier-based programme used for multi-level and multi-participant annotation of audio and video recordings. The format for annotating the recordings in ELAN was specified by ELDP so that the annotations could be imported into Field Language Explorer (FLEX, a programme developed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics to aide in the interlinear notation of texts, and management of lexical data bases).

Recordings were firstly segmented, which involved breaking the recording down in to smaller manageable units. This was done with field assistants based on their notion of ‘sentences’. Segmenting the recordings with field assistants familiarised them with the material we would be working on. Because I was already familiar with V’ënen Taut, I would segment the recordings in that language for annotation on my own and ask the field assistants to advise me to resegment the recordings if the breaks were in the wrong place. Once I became more familiar with Tape and Tirax, I would also pre-segment the recordings. Once segmented, the recordings were transcribed. I would play each segment in manageable pieces, the field assistants would repeat them back to me, and then I would type the transcription into ELAN.

Following transcription, files were translated. An audio translation method was used to speed up the translation phase of data-processing. The microphone was placed where it could capture the voice of the field assistants and audio playback from the computer. The recordings were played back segment by segment and field assistants would give an oral translation after each segment in Bislama with some specific

words translated to English or French. Field assistants would discuss points of grammatical interest with me during these recordings. I would ask questions to clarify points of grammar and semantics, or to check the meaning of particular words. I would then transcribe the Bislama translations on my own into ELAN. This method of translation meant that the majority of the collected corpus was translated with local speakers in the field, and then I added the translations to the annotation file in ELAN at a later time or away from the field. I created the English translations presented in this work based on the Bislama translations provided by field assistants.

After the recordings were transcribed and translated in ELAN, they were imported into FLEX where interlinear notations were added to help with linguistic analysis. Due to time constraints and the rather narrow scope that this project took, only a portion of the recordings were analysed using FLEX. This material will be referred to in this work as the *analysed corpus*. The analysis presented in Chapters Four, Six, Seven, and Eight is primarily based on data from the analysed corpus.

1.4.4 Corpus

The recordings that were collected during fieldwork became the Northwest Malekula corpus which consists of three sub-corpora, one each for V'ënen Taut, Tape, and Tirax. Each sub-corpus contains a mix of audio and video recordings. The V'ënen Taut corpus consists of 102 recordings from 34 different contributors totalling 15 hours and 42 minutes. The Tape corpus consists of 110 recordings collected with six contributors totalling 17 hours and 18 minutes. The Tirax corpus is the smallest with 21 contributors providing 57 recordings totalling 5 hours and 4 minutes. A summary of the corpora is provided in Appendix Two. The total amount of time in each corpus listed here reflects only the actual recordings of people speaking their language and does not include recordings of transcription and annotation sessions.

The Northwest Malekula corpus is housed with the Vanuatu Cultural Centre in Port Vila, with the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) at SOAS University of London, and with the Malekula Languages Project at the University of Waikato.

Each example selected from the corpus is marked with a coding system that signals the Northwestern Malekula corpus, followed by the ISO code of the language, the recording number, the segment number, and a timecode.

Corpus	Language	Recording	Segment	Timecode (mm:ss.ms)
nwm-	nmb- (V'ënen Taut)	01:	01	[00:00.7-00.02.3]
	mrs- (Tape)			
	mme- (Tirax)			

Figure 1.3: Example identifiers

1.5 Grammatical Features of the Northwest Malekula Languages

This thesis describes and compares serial verb constructions and echo-reference constructions in the languages of the Northwest Malekula language sub-group. As the focus of the research, the three case study languages require a brief morphosyntactic introduction.

Grammatically, the languages of Northwest Malekula are relatively similar to each other and pattern in the same way as many Oceanic languages. They all have basic SVO (Subject, Verb, Object) constituent order with nominative-accusative alignment. Intransitive and transitive subjects (S and A functions) occur before the verb and are indexed on the verb using preverbal subject/mood and number prefixes. Transitive objects (O functions) occur post-verbally and can be expressed using optional bound pronominal morphology, or nominals. The languages have a tendency for head-initial phrase structure.

The languages have two main open word classes, nouns and verbs. Closed word classes include demonstratives, adverbs, and prepositions. The languages also have a wide variety of post-verbal modifiers.

Like other Oceanic languages, nouns generally fall into three main classes: common nouns, personal nouns, and local nouns (Lynch, et al, 2002, p. 37). Common nouns may be directly or indirectly possessed. Directly possessed nouns tend to have an inalienable relationship with their possessor, while indirectly possessed nouns have an alienable relationship with their possessor. Also, like other Oceanic languages, nouns can be derived from verbs morphologically (Lynch, et at, 2002, p. 38). In the case study languages, common nouns are derived with the suffix $-(V)n$, or the prefix $n(V)-$. Sometimes both morphemes are used as a circumfix. The nominalizing suffix appears to be a reflex of the Proto Oceanic general nominalizer $*-an$ (Lynch, et al, 2002, p. 70). Nouns can be modified with relative clauses. In Northwest Malekula,

relative clauses are introduced by the general subordinator *tV* or they can be morphologically unmarked.

Verbs can be divided into two main types: transitive and intransitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs are divided into a further two classes: adjectival verbs, which can act as nominal modifiers, and numeral verbs.³ Transitive verbs are identified by their ability to be followed by object noun phrases and to accept bound pronominal object morphology. Transitive verbs in V'enen Taut are almost always followed by an object NP while both Tape and Tirax allow some O functions to be omitted. In Tirax and Tape it is also possible for some transitive verbs to be analysed as ambi-transitive.

In all three languages, verbs are obligatorily inflected for person and number. Verbal prefixes minimally encode a distinction between realis and irrealis moods. Two of the languages encode negation using a bound preverbal prefix, while the third encodes negation with negative subject prefixes and a post-verbal negative morpheme, or more commonly with just the post-verbal negator. Verbs are often reduplicated. Reduplication serves a number of functions such as detransitivization, intensification, and marking of iterative aspect, depending on the semantic properties of the verb stem. Reduplication is not a unique property of verbhood but it is most strongly associated with verbs; lexemes that undergo reduplication are most commonly verbs.

Prepositions can be classed as either true prepositions, noun-like prepositions which accept possessive morphology, or verb-like prepositions which accept bound pronominal object morphology.

The two grammatical constructions under investigation in this work, SVCs and ERCs, are functionally similar and are intrinsically concerned with the methods by which verbs are grammatically marked when they occur in sequence in natural speech. Furthermore, SVCs and ERCs are concerned with syntactic argument structure because they present different ways in which arguments are shared by different verbs when they occur in sequence.

Argument sharing is important in the Northwest Malekula languages because subject arguments are indexed morphologically on verbs using bound preverbal morphology

³ Numeral verbs can function as predicates or as nominal modifiers.

in a constituent described by Oceanic linguists as the *verb complex* (see for example, (Evans, 2003, p. 10-11). The preverbal morphological material generally indicates subject person and number, as well as mood, negation, and some aspectual categories. These categories are displayed at different levels of morpho-phonemic integration across the three case study languages. There is no obligatory indexing of object arguments in the Northwest Malekula languages. The indexing of subject arguments is of central interest to this research across serial and echo-reference constructions, where different strategies can be observed to signal identity for same-subject verb sequences, and non-identity for different-subject verb sequences.

An overview of the morphology of the verb complex in each case study language will now be presented, to support the interpretation of case study data presented through the thesis. The orthographies that are used in this work to represent V'ënen Taut, Tape, and Tirax are presented in Appendix Three.

1.5.1 V'ënen Taut

V'ënen Taut has six prefix order positions that can be filled in the verb complex, although only two positions, the subject/mood and number positions, are obligatorily marked on inflected verbs. There are no examples in the analysed corpus where all six of the positions are filled, but it is common for verbs to be inflected with up to four prefixes. Figure 1.4 summaries the prefix orders of the preverbal complex.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	
Subject/Mood	(Necessity)	(Aspect)	(Negation)	Number	(Habitual) ⁴	VERB

Figure 1.4: V'ënen Taut preverbal complex

The greatest complexity in the V'ënen Taut preverbal complex occurs in the first order subject/mood position. There are four separate paradigms from which speakers can choose a subject prefix. Three of the paradigms make a four-way person distinction between first person, second person, third person singular, and third person non-singular. The third person non-singular is also used to signal impersonal

⁴ The position of this prefix is informed by the analysis of the verb complex provided in Fox (1979, p. 51). While this affix is attested in the V'ënen Taut corpus, it only occurs on verbs with a subject that is singular in number, which is zero marked. This means that its position in the complex cannot be fully confirmed in this work.

constructions. The basic subject mood prefixes in V'ënen Taut are presented table 1.1.⁵

Person	Realis	Irrealis	Hypothetical	Imperative
1	<i>n(ë)-</i>	<i>të-/p'e-</i>	<i>m'(ë)-</i>	
2	<i>k(ë)-</i>	<i>pë-</i>	<i>m(ë)-</i>	<i>da-</i>
3SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>ip(ë)-</i>	<i>im-</i>	
3NSG	<i>a-</i>	<i>ap(ë)-</i>	<i>am-</i>	
IMPRS	<i>a-</i>	<i>ap(ë)-</i>	<i>am-</i>	

Table 1.1: V'ënen Taut first order subject/mood prefixes (Type 1)

The two most commonly used subject/mood prefix paradigms are the realis and irrealis paradigms. Realis mood is used when the speaker wants to signal that an event has occurred, is currently occurring, occurs habitually, or is referring to a state of affairs that always holds true regardless of time. Irrealis mood is used to indicate that an event has not yet occurred, either because it is in the future or because it is a speculation. Irrealis mood is also used in the sentential complements of many complement-taking verbs. The hypothetical mood paradigm⁶ is used when speakers want to indicate that an event could occur in the current time, in the future, or the past. The hypothetical mood is often used when some condition has been expressed and the speaker is speculating on subsequent consequences. The hypothetical mood commonly occurs in conjunction with the negative morpheme to express prohibition.

The following examples display the verb *lak* “stay” being inflected with the third person singular subject prefix from the three main grammatical moods.

- 1.1 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-05:57] [04:22.7-04:23.6]
- a) *ale maral pa i-lak*
 so child be.small 3SG:REAL-stay
 ‘So the small boy stayed there...’
- V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-89:96] [05:56.4-05:57.2]
- b) *ipë-lak atvakha...*
 3SG:IRR-stay here
 ‘It (the bird) will stay here...’

⁵ Clusivity, which is commonly marked in the bound subject morphology of Malekula languages, is not marked in any of the subject/mood prefix paradigms in V'ënen Taut; however it is marked in the inventory of free subject pronouns and in bound possessive morphology.

⁶ This mood was called conditional in Fox (1979) and Dodd (2014) but the term hypothetical is used in this thesis as not to evoke understandings of conditional moods found in many Indo-European languages.

- c)

V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-20:28]	[01:53.1-01:55.1]
... <i>nki</i>	<i>im-lak</i>	<i>dav'a...</i>
some	3SG:HYP-stay	DUR
‘...some (people) would stay...’		

Verbs in V'ënen Taut are also obligatorily inflected for the grammatical number of the subject referent in the fifth order prefix position. There are three number distinctions made in V'ënen Taut. These are singular, paucal, and plural.⁷ The impersonal takes the Ø-morpheme for number.

Number	Prefix
Singular	Ø-
Paucal	<i>r-</i>
Plural	<i>v-</i>

Table 1.2: V'ënen Taut fifth order number prefixes

The following examples show different combinations of the first order subject/mood prefixes and the fifth order number prefixes in V'ënen Taut.

- 1.2

V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-77:76]	[05:03.8-05:05.7]
a)	<i>...n-tr=i...</i>	
	1:REAL-cut=3SG:OBJ	
	‘...I am cutting it...’	
- b)

V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-03:24]	[03:07.1-03:07.6]
b)	<i>n-r-tr=i...</i>	
	1:REAL-PAU-cut=3SG:OBJ	
	‘We (two) cut it.’	
- c)

V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-90:05]	[00:31.3-00:35.1]			
c)	<i>m'ertu</i>	<i>arana</i>	<i>v'anu</i>	<i>a-v-tr</i>	<i>lamu</i>
	people	on	village	3NSG:REAL-PL-cut	bamboo
	‘People in the village cut bamboo...’				
- d)

V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-19:13]	[01:05.3-01:06.3]		
d)	<i>narën</i>	<i>kinkin</i>	<i>a-tr</i>	<i>lamu...</i>
	when	some	IMPRS:REAL-cut	bamboo
	‘Sometimes people cut bamboo...’			

⁷ Singular number is unmarked in the fifth order prefix position, represented in Table 1.2 with Ø-. The singular zero-morpheme is not coded in the data for V'ënen Taut.

The second order prefix position in the verb complex is for the necessity morpheme.

<i>kě-</i>
Table 1.3: V'ënen Taut second order necessity prefix

The necessity morpheme occurs with the negative prefix in all of its appearances in the analysed corpus and appears to be in the process of fusing with the fourth order negative prefix. This is because the necessity prefix and negative prefix are consistently used together to indicate negated verbs with future time reference. However, there are a small number of instances in the analysed corpus where the necessity morpheme is separated from the negative prefix by the continuative prefix. This shows that the two prefixes are still separate morphemes, at least for some speakers. Example 1.3 a) comes from a text where the speaker is talking about how he must continue with his community work. In example 1.3 b), the necessity and negative prefixes are being used to indicate a negated state of affairs in the future.

1.3	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-52:30]	[03:38.8-03:40.8]
a)	<i>n-kě-d-a-kharis</i>	<i>pr</i>	
	1:REAL-NES-CONT-NEG-be.finished	NES.2	
	'...I must not finish yet...'		
	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-37:39]	[03:38.9-03:40.5]
b)	<i>...tim'akh</i>	<i>i-kě-d-a-khei</i>	<i>měl...</i>
	food	3SG:REAL-NES-CONT-NEG-not.exist	again
	'...(after the cyclone) there will not be any food anymore..'		

While there are no examples of speakers inflecting positive verbs with the necessity morpheme in the recorded texts, some research assistants corrected verbs modified using the borrowed modal *imas* “must” from Bislama to the necessity morpheme. This is shown in the examples below where *imas* in 1.4 a) is changed to the necessity morpheme in 1.4 b). The use of the necessity morpheme in example 1.4 b) is consistent with its use described in Fox (1979, p. 61).

1.4	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-47:100]	[07:17.4-7:18.6]
a)	<i>si</i>	<i>udrlan=i</i>	<i>imas</i>
	thing	all=3SG:OBJ	must
	'Everything must drink water.'		
	<i>ipě-m'ën</i>	<i>nawei</i>	
	3SG:IRR-drink	water	

	V'ënen Taut		[nwm-nmb-47:100]		[field notes]
b)	<i>si</i>	<i>udrlan=i</i>	<i>a-kë-v-m'ën</i>	<i>nawei</i>	<i>pr</i> ⁸
	thing	all	3NSG:REAL-NES-PL-drink	water	NES.2
	'Everything must drink water.'				

The third order prefix position expresses aspect prefixes. Three prefixes can fill this position. Aspectual contrasts include the continuative, the perfective and a proximal marker, which also functions as a limiter.

Aspect	Prefix
Continuative	<i>dë-</i>
Perfective	<i>të-</i>
Proximal/Limiter	<i>p'ëkh</i> ⁹

Table 1.4: V'enen Taut third order aspect prefixes

The perfective aspect prefix is used to present the action denoted by the verb as a complete whole. In example 1.5, it signals that the turtle has walked away and can no longer be seen by the people looking for it. Without the perfective prefix the verb could be interpreted as something that is still ongoing.

1.5	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-04:114]	[09:31.3-09:32.1]
	<i>npakh</i> <i>i-të-v'el</i>		
	turtle 3SG:REAL-PFV-walk		
	'The turtle had walked away.'		

The continuative aspect prefix is used to indicate that the action or state of affairs denoted by the verb has been happening previously up to, and will potentially continue beyond, the temporal reference point of speech. This is shown in example 1.6.

1.6	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-89:18]	[01:23.4-01:25.1]
	<i>i-rn</i> <i>ti</i> <i>i-dë-wir</i>		
	3SG:REAL-feel SUB 3SG:REAL-CONT-wet		
	'He feels that it (bark) is still wet...'		

⁸ See Fox (1979, p. 61) for a description of the use of this prefix.

⁹ This prefix in the preverbal complex of V'enen Taut, and the cognate forms in the other two Northwest Malekula languages, has two functions. The first is that of proximal aspect which indicates that an action occurred closely in time either previously to or following another action. Its second function appears to denote a meaning similar to a limiter.

The final aspect morpheme is the proximal aspect prefix. It indicates that a particular state of affairs occurs either closely before or after a particular reference point in time. It also functions as a limiter.

1.7	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-51:16]	[01:14.1- 01:16.2]
	<i>khinlakha masis¹⁰</i>	<i>i-p'ëkh-ia.</i>	<i>Tituei masis</i>
	now match	3SG:REAL-PROX-have	before match
	<i>i-khei</i>		
	3SG:REAL-not.exist		
	'Now, matches have just become available. Before there were no matches.'		

The fourth order prefix position encodes negation. The negator is used for standard negation, and it is compatible with verbs inflected with subject prefixes from the realis and hypothetical mood paradigms. The negative prefix is not attested inflecting verbs that are also inflected with irrealis subject/mood prefixes.

a-

Table 1.5: V'ënen Taut fourth order negative prefix

Realis verbs that are inflected with the negative prefix indicate that the action or state of affairs expressed by the verb did not occur, or is not currently occurring, or does not occur habitually, as shown in example 1.8.

1.8	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-12:04]	[00:28.3-00:30.4]
	<i>tav'et i-a-tr</i>	<i>m'alëkh</i>	
	woman 3SG:REAL-NEG-cut	kava	
	'Women do not cut kava.'		

The temporal interpretation of negated verbs that are also inflected with the necessity prefix and/or a hypothetical subject prefix can vary between its basic interpretation but with negative polarity, as seen in examples 1.9 a) and b), and prohibition as in example 1.9 c).

1.9	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-12:16]	[01:31.1-01:34.7]
a)	<i>...a-k-a-tr</i>	<i>rana-n</i>	<i>a talei</i>
	IMPRS:REAL-NES-NEG-cut	branch-POSS:3SG	EXT.P knife
	'...people do not cut its branches (kava) with knives.'		

¹⁰ This is a borrowing from Bislama. The V'ënen Taut word is *nap' kris* "match" (lit. fire + to score).

- b)

V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-24:34]	[03:24.5-03:26.7]
<i>khir</i>	<i>a-k-a-v-la</i>	<i>ki mël...</i>
3PL	3NSG:REAL-NES-NEG-PL-see	PART again

'They will not see any of it anymore...'
- c)

V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-23:04]	[00:36.1-00:37.1]
<i>...ipë-la</i>	<i>ut lalau</i>	<i>im-a-tr=i</i>
3SG:IRR-see	taboo place	3SG:HYP-NEG-cut=3SG:OBJ

'...(people) see the taboo place, they must not cut trees there'.

The following excerpt presents two instances of different uses of the negative prefix and two uses of verbs with positive polarity. The speaker is talking about the cultivation and harvest of bamboo, which is a traditional building material in Malekula used for building structures and also a component in many tools. Clause a) is a realis verb with positive polarity, b) presents a prohibitive, c) shows a negated verb with future time reference, and clause d) shows a realis verb with positive polarity.

- 1.10

V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-24:24]	[02:24.2-02:26.6]
-------------	-----------------	-------------------
- a)

<i>...kë-lu</i>	<i>lamu</i>	<i>i-amëk</i>
2:REAL-plant	bamboo	3SG:REAL-one

'(When) you plant a bamboo plant.'
- b)

V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-24:24]	[02:25.6-02:27.3]
<i>nakëm</i>	<i>më-k-a-tr=i</i>	
2SG	2:HYP-NES-NEG-cut=3SG:OBJ	

'You must not cut it (bamboo).'
- c)

V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-24:25]	[02:27.3 -02:28.6]
<i>a</i>	<i>nat-ëm</i>	<i>i-k-a-tr=i,</i>
PERS	child-POSS:2SG	3SG:REAL-NES-NEG-cut=3SG:OBJ

'Your child will not cut it.'
- d)

V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-24:25]	[02:28.6-02:32.5]		
<i>ansarei</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>m'ëkhip'-ëm</i>	<i>v'akha</i>	<i>nat-n</i>
perhaps	PERS	grandchild-POSS:2SG	or	child-POSS:3SG
<i>v'akha</i>	<i>nat-n</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>m'ëkhip'-ëm</i>	<i>ipë-tr</i>
or	child-POSS:3SG	PERS	grandchild-POSS:2SG	3SG:IRR-cut
<i>lamu</i>	<i>lara</i>			
bamboo	DEM			

'Perhaps your grandchild or their child will cut the bamboo.'

The fifth order prefix position expresses number (see table 1.2). Number prefixes have been discussed already, given their obligatory coding in clauses with paucal and plural number.

The sixth order prefix position expresses habitual aspect. There are no examples in the analysed corpus of the habitual morpheme modifying a verb with positive polarity; however, there are examples in Fox (1979, p. 68-69).

1.11	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-48:204]				[16:14.9-16:17.1]	
	<i>n-a-mu-rn</i>	<i>nakha</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>anra</i>	<i>V'ënen</i>	<i>Taut</i>
	1:REAL-NEG-HAB-feel	name	thing	DEM	on	V'ënen	Taut
	'I never knew that thing's name in V'ënen Taut (before).'						

V'ënen Taut has a second set of lexically conditioned verbal prefixes that are used with a subclass of 38 monosyllabic intransitive verbs. A number of commonly used verbs in V'ënen Taut, such as *v'a* “go”, *ma* “come”, *khau* “go home”, and *tar* “be located” (of an inanimate object), belong to this subclass so their prefixes are displayed here. These type two verbal prefixes all include the phoneme /a/ or they are identical to the type one prefix. When a type two verb is inflected with more than one prefix, the prefix closest to the verb root occurs in its type two form while the others occur in their basic form. There is no difference in meaning between type one and type two prefixes. For a more in-depth description of these verbs and the use of type-two verbal prefixes see Dodd (2014, p. 117-124).

Person	Realis	Irrealis	Hypothetical	Imperative
1	<i>n-</i>	<i>ta-/p'a-</i>	<i>m'a-</i>	
2	<i>kě-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>dakh-</i>
3SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>ipa-</i>	<i>ima-</i>	
3NSG	<i>a-</i>	<i>apa-</i>	<i>am-</i>	
IMPRS	<i>a-</i>	<i>apa-</i>	<i>am-</i>	

Table 1.6: V'ënen Taut first order subject/mood prefixes (Type 2)

Prefix Order	Prefix	Function
II	<i>ka-</i>	Necessity
III	<i>da-</i>	Continuative
	<i>ta-</i>	Perfective
	<i>p'ëkh-</i>	Proximal
IV	<i>akh-</i>	Negative
V	<i>Ø-</i>	Singular
	<i>r-</i>	Paucal
	<i>vra-</i>	Plural
VI	<i>mur-</i>	Habitual

Table 1.7: V'ënen Taut prefixes (Type 2)

Additionally, when type two intransitive verbs with singular subjects are inflected with the echo-reference subject prefix *kë-*, they are obligatorily inflected with the type two continuative prefix *da-*.¹¹ This is described in more detail in §6.2.1.

The head of the verb complex is the verb (and its obligatory inflections). The verb can be followed by other elements that display verb-like properties. The minimal verbal nucleus consists of an independent verb. The nucleus may, however, also include another independent verb, in the case of nuclear SVCs, or coverbs which add further semantic details to the independent verb. Nuclear SVCs and coverb constructions will be described in Chapter Four, as they are central to the topic of serialisation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(preverbal coverb)	VERB	(VERB ₂)	(Manner coverb)	(Ability coverb)	(Verbal Adverb)	(Object enclitic)

Figure 1.5: V'ënen Taut post-verbal complex

In addition to coverbs, a verbal head can be modified by a variety of adverbs. Adverbs are distinguished from coverbs in their ability to occur both inside and outside the verb complex. A sample of verbal adverbs is presented below in table 1.8,

¹¹ For further explanation of the construct morpheme, see page 226 and Dodd (2014, p. 117-124).

while table 1.9 displays simple adverbs. Verbal adverbs can occur before object noun phrases in the clause and they accept bound pronominal object enclitics if speakers choose to express the object pronominally.

Adverb	Adverb=3SG:OBJ	Meaning
<i>sara</i>	<i>sarei</i>	COMP
<i>udrlen</i>	<i>udrani</i>	all
<i>la</i>	<i>lei</i>	first

Table 1.8: V'ënen Taut verbal adverbs with and without object markers

Adverb	Meaning
<i>khukhaul</i>	forever
<i>mël</i>	again
<i>wëm</i>	yet
<i>iel</i>	always
<i>mau</i>	well
<i>par</i>	too much

Table 1.9: V'ënen Taut simple adverbs

In the case of transitive verbs, the post-verbal complex is followed by an object argument. The object argument can be expressed using full noun phrases or an independent pronoun (or as mentioned previously as a pronominal enclitic inside the verbal complex). The pronominal forms are shown below in tables 1.10 and 1.11. There is a functional split between independent pronouns and the pronominal enclitics. In categories that have both a free pronoun and an enclitic, the enclitic can only be used to represent a transitive object, whereas an independent pronoun represents a reflexive object. The independent pronoun can serve as either a transitive object or reflexive object for the categories that only have free pronouns.

	Singular		Non-Singular
1	<i>kana</i>	EXCL	<i>kam'em'</i>
		INCL	<i>nakëd</i>
2	<i>nakëm</i>		<i>kam'i</i>
3	<i>khin</i>		<i>khir</i>

Table 1.10: V'ënen Taut independent pronouns

	Singular		Non-Singular
1			
2	<i>=ëkh</i>		
3	<i>=i</i>		<i>=r</i>

Table 1.11: V'ënen Taut object enclitics

The object enclitic position can also be filled with one of the nominal possessive suffixes to indicate a benefactive relationship. This occurs rarely in the recorded V'ënen Taut data. Fox (1979) provides more detail on the benefactive structure.

1.5.2 Tape

The verb complex of Tape is quite similar to that of V'ënen Taut although it has five prefix positions rather than six. The specific ordering and phonological integration of the elements in the preverbal complex, along with the inability of any other lexemes or grammatical elements to occur between the preverbal complex and the verb, indicates that morphemes in the preverbal complex are best analysed as prefixes. Interestingly, the necessity prefix, which has its own prefix position in V'ënen Taut, occurs in the same position as the perfective and continuative prefixes in Tape, and proximal aspect prefix is positioned after the number prefix in Tape. As with V'ënen Taut, the subject/mood and number positions are the only two positions in the preverbal complex that are obligatorily marked on independent verbs. There are no examples in the analysed corpus where all five of the prefix slots in the preverbal complex are filled.

I	II	III	IV	V	
Subject/Mood	(Aspect/Mode)	(Negation)	Number	(Proximal)	VERB

Figure 1.6: Tape preverbal complex

The first order prefix position in Tape is filled by subject/mood prefixes. Like V'ënen Taut, the greatest complexity in the preverbal complex is found here. Tape makes a morphological distinction between two moods only: realis and irrealis. A binary morphological distinction between realis and irrealis moods is common in Malekula languages. The complexity in subject/mood morphology lies in the distinct prefixes used to mark different combinations of person, plurality, and clusivity.

The realis prefixes are used to signal that the event or state of affairs denoted by the verb occurred in the past, occurs habitually, or is occurring in the present. The irrealis subject/mood prefixes are used to indicate that the action denoted by the verb occurs in the future. Crowley (2006d, p. 140) states that the irrealis prefixes are also used to express imperatives, hortatives, prohibitives, and conditionals, and his analysis is supported by the data collected for this project. The irrealis prefixes also obligatorily

inflect verbs in the sentential complement of some complement taking verbs. The realis prefixes are shown in table 1.12 and the irrealis prefixes in table 1.13. Some of the prefixes have phonetically conditioned allomorphs. Crowley (2006d, p. 140-155) provides a detailed description of variant forms.

	Singular		Non-singular
1	<i>en-</i>	INCL	<i>dě-</i>
		EXCL	<i>mě-</i>
2	<i>kě</i>		<i>ka-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>		<i>i-</i>
IMPRS	<i>ar</i>		

Table 1.12: Tape first order realis subject/mood prefixes

	Singular		Non-singular
1	<i>be-</i>	INCL	<i>pa-</i>
		EXCL	<i>ba-</i>
2	<i>po-</i>		<i>kěpa-</i>
3	<i>ipo-</i>		<i>ipa-</i>
IMPRS	<i>apo-</i>		

Table 1.13: Tape first order Irrealis subject/mood prefixes

While there are different subject/mood prefixes for most person and number combinations, Tape also marks grammatical number in the fourth order prefix position. Like V'ënen Taut, singular is zero-marked. Dual number is encoded using *r-* and plural number is encoded using *n-*.

Number	Prefix
Singular	<i>Ø-</i>
Dual	<i>r-</i>
Plural	<i>n-</i>

Table 1.14: Tape fourth order number prefixes

Examples 1.12 a) to d) display the combinations of the first order realis person prefixes and the fourth order number prefixes. It can be seen in these examples that the first and second person singular prefixes do not occur with non-singular number prefixes and that the first and second person non-singular prefixes only occur with the non-singular number prefixes. Impersonal subjects are expressed with a dedicated impersonal prefix *ar-* and like V'ënen Taut, there is zero-marking for number.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1.12 | Tape | | | | [nwm-mrs-02:02] | [00:32.1-00:35.9] |
| a) | <i>en-liek</i> | <i>erenge</i> | <i>skul</i> | <i>Aore</i> | | |
| | 1SG:REAL-stay | LOC | school | Aore | | |
| | 'I was at school in Aore.' | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | Tape | | | | [nwm-mrs-84:41] | [04:14.2-04:15.9] |
| b) | <i>...nakēd</i> | <i>ru</i> | <i>runges</i> | <i>dē-r-mo</i> | | <i>ēji...</i> |
| | 1NSG:INCL | two | together | 1NSG.INCL:REAL-DU-come | | here |
| | '...you and I came here together ...' | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | Tape | | | | [nwm-mrs-90:99] | [10:30.3-10:35.3] |
| c) | <i>er</i> | <i>i-n-liek</i> | <i>esakh lene</i> | <i>e</i> | <i>T.</i> | |
| | 3NSG | 3:REAL-PL-stay | there | LOC | T. | |
| | 'They lived over there in T.' | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | Tape | | | | [nwm-mrs-61:28] | [01:54.3-01:55.7] |
| d) | <i>ale</i> | <i>ar-udi</i> | <i>neyo...</i> | | | |
| | then | IMPRS:REAL-eat | laplap | | | |
| | 'Then people eat the laplap...' | | | | | |

- | | | | |
|------|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1.13 | Tape | [nwm-mrs-75:05] | [00:38.9-00:41.9] |
| a) | <i>kenek</i> <i>be-liek</i> <i>eki...</i>
1SG 1SG:IRR-stay here
'I am going to sit here...' | | |
| b) | Tape | [nwm-mrs-47:12] | [01:29.9-01:32.5] |
| | <i>ba-r-liek</i> <i>ogi</i> <i>ipo-uren</i> <i>ër</i>
1NSG.EXCL:IRR-DU-stay limiter 3SG:IRR-like DEM
'We will just live there like that.' | | |
| c) | Tape | [nwm-mrs-26:27] | [02:09.5-02:12.5] |
| | <i>niet,</i> <i>këpa-r-vin</i> <i>këpa-r-iar</i>
thatch 2NSG:IRR-DU-go 2NSG:IRR-DU-reach
'Thatch, you two go and touch it.' | | |
| d) | Tape | [nwm-mrs-79:04] | [00:40.6-00:41.6] |
| | <i>ipa-n-liek</i> <i>erege-n</i>
3NSG:IRR-PL-sit LOC-POSS:3SG
'They can sit in it.' | | |
| e) | Tape | [nwm-mrs-45-1:162] | [18:06.5-18:06.5] |
| | <i>apo-jej</i> <i>ne</i> <i>gi</i> <i>mili</i>
IMPRS:IRR-cut wood DEM again
'The wood gets cut again...' | | |

The second order prefix position can be filled by the perfective and continuative aspect prefixes and the necessity mood prefix. As with the subject/mood prefixes, these prefixes have phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

Aspect	Prefix
Continuative	<i>da</i> - ¹²
Perfective	<i>të/te-</i>
Necessity	<i>kë/ke -</i>

Table 1.15: Tape second order aspect/mode prefixes

The continuative aspect prefix *da-* indicates that the action or state of affairs expressed by the verb began before and is ongoing at the temporal reference point where the verb occurs. This meaning is expressed using “still” or “yet” in English.

1.14	Tape	[nwm-mrs-31:37]	[04:10.8-04:14.9]
	<i>eru</i>	<i>i-da-r-jilëv</i>	<i>i-iar mosi</i>
	3DU	3:REAL-CONT-DU-be.alive	3:REAL-reach today
	‘The two of them are still alive until today.’		

Like V’ënen Taut, the perfective aspect is used to indicate that the action denoted by the verb should be viewed as complete whole. In the example below, the perfective is used to show that the speaker is talking about people who have died and that their death happened before the time when the speech event took place.

1.15	Tape	[nwm-mrs-35:34]	[03:33.6-03:35.2]
	<i>...er rivi</i>	<i>i-të-n-mes</i>	<i>rivi</i>
	3NSG all	3:REAL-PFV-PL-die	all
	‘...they have all died.’		

The necessity prefix occurs in the same slot as the continuative and perfective aspect prefix. The necessity prefix is used to express that the action expressed by the verb must or should occur. The necessity prefix does not encode imperative meaning, which is expressed with the irrealis mood. It expresses a sense of certainty or obligation. In example 1.16 the necessary morpheme indicates that one of the uncles is required to stay with his nephews while the others can stay elsewhere.

¹² Crowley (2006d, p. 149) states that this prefix has two allomorphs *da-* and *de-*; however, the form *de-* is not attested in the data collected for this project.

1.16	Tape	[nwm-mrs-21:22]				[01:57.2-02:00.5]	
	<i>ase</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>i-kē-sig</i>	<i>ogi</i>	<i>i-kē-liek</i>	<i>duwon</i>	<i>er</i>
	uncle	PL	3:REAL-NES-one	limiter	3:REAL-NES-stay	with	PL
	‘One of their uncles has to stay with them.’						

There are two verbs in example 1.17 below that show the semantic difference between verbs inflected with the necessity morpheme and those without it. The necessity prefix is used to express with certainty that a human will die if their head is cut off, unlike yams which can grow again if they are planted.

1.17	Tape	[nwm-mrs-101:26]			[02:28.1-02:32.1]	
	... <i>i-kē-ske-jilēv</i>	<i>mili</i>	<i>i-ske-uren</i>	<i>nakēd</i>		
	3:REAL-NES-NEG:SG-be.alive	again	3:REAL-NEG:SG-like	1NSG:INC		
	‘...it cannot live anymore (if you cut its head off), it is not like us.’					

The third order prefix position encodes negation. There are two negative prefixes in Tape; one is used with singular subjects and the other with non-singular subjects. Unlike V’ënen Taut, Tape verbs inflected with either realis or irrealis person prefixes can be inflected with the negative prefix.

Number	Prefix
Singular	<i>ske-</i>
Non-Singular	<i>ska-</i>

Table 1.16: Tape third order negative prefixes

Examples 1.18 a) and b) display the negative prefixes negating verbs that are also inflected by subject prefixes encoding realis mood. Example b) clearly shows the position of negation as a third order prefix in the preverbal complex. The subject of the verbs in the example display identity but the first verb has positive polarity, which is unmarked, and the second verb has negative polarity and is inflected with the plural negative prefix.

1.18	Tape	[nwm-mrs-26:45]				[04:07.4-04:10.6]	
a)	<i>nau</i>	<i>ne-n</i>	<i>i-iek,</i>	<i>kē-ske-lev</i>	<i>nau</i>	<i>rivi</i>	
	vine	ASV-POSS:3SG	3:REAL-have	2SG:REAL-NEG:SG-take	vine	all	
	‘There is a vine for it, you can’t take any vine (for it).’						
	Tape	[nwm-mrs-16:18]			[01:43.6-01:49.1]		
b)	<i>er</i>	<i>i-n-mes,</i>	<i>i-ska-n-jilēv</i>	<i>mili</i>			
	3NSG	3:REAL-PL-die	3:REAL-NEG:PL-PL-be.alive	again			
	‘They died, they are not alive anymore.’						

The following examples display negated verbs that are inflected with irrealis person prefixes. Both examples have non-singular subjects so they use the non-singular negative prefix *ska-*. Example 1.19 b) shows four prefix positions filled, with overt subject/mood, aspect, negation and number coding.

1.19	4.39	[nwm-mrs-66:103]	[03:23.2-03:25.2]
a)	 <i>përpar</i>	<i>tirkhëbëb</i>	<i>ipo-ska-n-udi</i>
	pig	wild.pig	3SG:IRR-NEG:NSG-PL-eat
	‘The pigs will not eat it (yams).’		
b)	Tape	[nwm-mrs-82:15]	[01:44.8-01:46.1]
	<i>më-da-ska-r-vër</i>		<i>lib...</i>
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-CONT-NEG:NSG-DU-weave		bamboo
	‘We had not started weaving the bamboo yet..’		

The fifth order prefix position is filled by the proximal aspect marker. As with V’ënen Taut, the proximal aspect prefix has two functions. Its first function is to indicate that an action happened either closely after or shortly before a previous action depending on context. Its other function is similar to that of a limiter. Crowley (2006d, p. 155) says that this prefix, which he called “the inceptive prefix”, gives the sense that the action expressed by the verb happens of its own accord. The proximal aspect prefix can occur with verbs that are inflected with either realis or irrealis person prefixes.

bëkh-
Table 1.17: Tape fifth order proximal aspect prefix

1.20	Tape	[nwm-mrs-11:15]	[01:15.2-01:18.6]
a)	<i>më-n-bëkh-vin</i>	<i>më-n-bëkh-lo</i>	<i>kake</i>
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-PROX-go	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-PROX-plant	yam
	‘We just go and plant yams.’		
b)	Tape	[nwm-mrs-25:31]	[02:24.9- 02:27.9]
	<i>ipo-bëkh-ve</i>	<i>na-khan-ien</i>	<i>ese nakëd rivi</i>
	3SG:IRR-PROX-make	NMLZ-eat-NMLZ	POSS 1NSG:INC all
	‘She will just make all of our food.’		

The preverbal complex attaches directly to a verbal head. The verb nucleus can consist of a single independent verb as head, or two independent verbs in a nuclear serial verb construction. Verbs can also be modified by a number of coverbs which are nuclear elements in the structure of the clause (see §4.2.4).

1	2	3	4	5
VERB	(VERB)	(Coverb)	(Object enclitic)	(Adverb)

Figure 1.7: Tape post-verbal complex

Object arguments can be expressed using full noun phrases, independent pronouns, and pronominal suffixes. The independent pronouns are invariable when they function as the subject or object of verbs. These are shown in table 1.18.

Additionally, Tape has a partial paradigm of pronominal object suffixes shown in table 1.19.

	Singular		Non-singular
1	<i>kenek</i>	INCL	<i>nakēd</i>
		EXCL	<i>kēmēm</i>
2	<i>nakēm</i>		<i>kem</i>
3	<i>en</i>		<i>er</i>

Table 1.18: Tape independent pronouns

	Singular		Non-singular
1	<i>-ēk</i>	INCL	<i>-ēd</i>
		EXCL	
2	<i>-ēm</i>		
3			<i>-ēr</i>

Table 1.19: Tape pronominal suffixes

Interestingly, the pronominal suffix paradigm lacks a bound pro-form for the third person singular category, one of the most commonly occurring types of object argument in the analysed corpus. An important point of note about the structure of the clause in Tape is that the object argument of transitive verbs is only optionally expressed for third person singular objects. Crowley (2006d, p. 156) reports that the morphological expression of object arguments is based on animacy, with animate objects being expressed using the free third person singular pronoun and inanimate objects being omitted when they are clear through context. The example below shows this functional split between the overt expression of third person singular objects when they are animate and the omission of the object when they are inanimate. The

object of the verbs “see” and “kill” is an octopus and it is expressed using the free pronoun *en*. However, the octopus is also the object of the next verb “take” but it is not morphologically expressed by a pronoun here because the octopus is dead.

1.21	Tape	[nwm-mrs-93:71]			[11:46.2-11:48.1]
	<i>povër</i>	<i>pa-n-lis</i>	en	<i>pa-n-khëj</i>	en
	if	1NSG:INCL.IRR-PL-see	3SG	1NSG:INCL.IRR-PL-kill	3SG
	<i>pa-n-lev....</i>				
	1NSG:INCL.IRR-PL-take				
	‘If we see it (octopus), we will kill it and take it...’				

The functional split between transitive objects expressed with bound pronominal enclitics, and reflexive objects expressed with independent pronouns that was reported for V’ënen Taut also occurs in Tape (Crowley, 2006d, p. 157).

1.5.3 Tirax

The Tirax language has three prefix order positions before the verb root in the verb complex. First order prefixes express subject/mood contrasts, and the rarely used negative subject paradigm; second order prefixes express number contrasts; and third order prefixes express aspect and modal contrasts.

I	II	III	
Subject/Mood	Number	(Aspect/Mode)	VERB

Figure 1.8: Tirax preverbal complex

A detailed account of the Tirax verb complex can be found in Brotchie (2009). It should be noted here that the grammatical analysis presented in this work differs in a small number of places to that presented by Brotchie (2009). Brotchie’s work presents the categories of subject, mood, and number as being marked on verbs by three paradigms of portmanteau morphemes: one paradigm each for the realis and irrealis moods and a third for negation. Internally, these paradigms have bound pro-forms for all combinations of person and number, of which Tirax makes three distinctions: singular, dual, and plural. Brotchie (2009, p. 72) notes that, “[the prefixes] are glossed as portmanteau morphemes, though the person and number are segmentable for first and second person forms”. Brotchie’s realis subject morphemes are presented below in table 1.20.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>n(i)-</i>	<i>nar-</i>	<i>nas-</i>
2	<i>x(i)-</i>	<i>xar-</i>	<i>xas-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>	<i>r(i)-</i>	<i>s(i)</i>
IMPRS	<i>r(i)-</i>		

Table 1.20: Brotchie's Tirax realis subject/mood prefixes

The basis of Brotchie's analysis for the subject morphemes being analysed as portmanteau morphemes appears to be the occurrence of /i/ with some of the realis prefixes. Brotchie (2009, p. 72) notes that the distribution of the variant forms is phonologically conditioned, with /i/ variants occurring before verbs beginning with vowels, and the alternative consonant-only variants occurring before verbs beginning with consonants. It is possible to further analyse the portmanteau prefixes, analysing them as making a binary distinction between singular and non-singular number, with the morpheme for first and second person singular in the realis mood being made non-singular with the addition of /a/. This fairly regular system becomes a little unpredictable in the third person, with third person singular realis being encoded with *i-* and third person non-singular being zero-marked.¹³ The Tirax subject/mood paradigms and number prefixes employed in this work follow my analysis, separating subject/mood and number into two distinct affix positions, as shown in tables 1.21 and 1.23. Table 1.22 shows the realis subject prefixes that occur before verb stems beginning with vowels.¹⁴ Note that the third person dual, third person plural, and impersonal forms are variants of the number prefixes in table 1.23.

Tirax, like Tape only makes a distinction between realis and irrealis mood. These first order prefix paradigms make distinctions between first, second, and third person. The realis and negative person prefixes also make a distinction between singular and non-singular number. Impersonal constructions are encoded with the zero third person non-singular subject/mood prefixes and the dual number prefix.

¹³ The zero-marking of some of the person/mood categories is encountered in other Malekula languages too. For example, third person singular realis is zero marked in Nese (Takau, 2016, p. 113), Ninde (Murray, 2018, p. 39), and Espiegle's Bay (Holmes, 2014, p. 61).

¹⁴ Brotchie (2009, p. 72) notes that the /i/ in these variants can undergo lenition to /ə/. This was also observed in the data collected for this project; however, field consultants consistently articulated the /i/ variant during transcription sessions.

As with the languages previously discussed, the realis mood in Tirax is used to indicate that the action or state of affairs expressed by the verb has occurred in the past, in the present, is currently occurring, or occurs habitually.

	Singular	Non-singular
1	<i>n(ĕ̌)-</i>	<i>na-</i>
2	<i>x(ĕ̌)-</i>	<i>xa-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>	<i>Ø-</i>
IMPRS		<i>Ø-</i>

Table 1.21: Tirax first order realis subject/mood prefixes

Table 1.21: Tirax first order realis subject/mood prefixes

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>ni-</i>		
2	<i>xi-</i>		
3		<i>ri-</i>	<i>si-</i>
IMPRS		<i>ri-</i>	

Table 1.22: Tirax First order realis subject/mood prefixes before vowels

The second order number prefixes make a three-way distinction between singular, which is zero-marked, dual, which also encodes impersonal verbs, and plural.

Number	Prefix
Singular	Ø-
Dual	<i>r(ë)-</i>
Impersonal	<i>r(ë)-</i>
Plural	<i>s(ë)-</i>

Table 1.23: Tirax second order number prefixes

Table 1.23: Tirax second order number prefixes

The examples below show variants of the first order subject/mood prefixes, in combination with second order number prefixes.

- | | | | |
|------|--|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1.22 | Tirax | [nwm-mme-06:64] | [03:35.7 -03:37.8] |
| a) | <i>n-lev</i> | <i>nëvat</i> | <i>na lastik hòk B.</i> |
| | 1:REAL-take | stone | ASV slingshot POSS:1SG B. |
| | ‘I take the stones for my slingshot in B.’ | | |
| | Tirax | [nwm-mme-06:01] | [00:20.2-00:21.6] |
| b) | ... <i>ni-ak</i> | <i>M.</i> | |
| | 1:REAL-be.born | M. | |
| | ‘...I was born in M.’ | | |
| | Tirax | [nwm-mme-30:53] | [04:11.2-04:13.5] |
| c) | <i>na-r-rub</i> | <i>bëxòh</i> | <i>i-til</i> |
| | 1NSG:REAL-DL-kill | pig | 3SG:REAL-three |
| | ‘We killed three pigs.’ | | |

- d)

Tirax	[nwm-mme-40:77]	[08:25.1-08:28.9]
<i>xi-uh</i>	<i>ròxa</i>	<i>na-n</i>
2SG:REAL-hold	laplap.leaf	ASV-POSS:3SG
<i>xě-vir-i?</i>		3SG:IRR-be.how.many
2SG:REAL-plait=3SG:OBJ		
‘How many leaves do you hold when you plait it?’		
- e)

Tirax	[nwm-mme-35:27]	[01:53.1-01:54.2]
<i>xa-s-lev</i>	<i>nlah</i>	<i>heni</i>
2NSG:REAL-PL-take	cup	POSS:2NSG
‘You all bring your cups.’		
- f)

Tirax	[nwm-mme-27:186]	[14:25.5-14:26.2]
<i>rě-lev</i>	<i>měrokbol...</i>	
3DU:REAL-take	empty.cartridge	
‘They took the empty cartridge...’		
- g)

Tirax	[nwm-mme-09:63]	[04:30.4-04:31.3]
<i>...vinadr</i>	<i>si-at</i>	<i>lain</i>
woman	3PL:REAL-live	at.house
‘...the women stay home’		

First order irrealis person prefixes are used to signal that the action or state of affairs denoted by the verb will occur in the future. The irrealis mood prefixes are also used to inflect verbs in conditional, purpose, and desiderative clauses and in other types of subordinate clauses, as well as clauses with hypothetical meaning, including events that could have occurred in the past but did not occur for some reason (Brotchie, 2009, p. 73). There is no singular/non-singular distinction made in the irrealis subject/mood paradigm in contrast to the realis and negative person paradigms. The same second order number prefixes combine with first order irrealis prefixes.

Person	Prefix
1	<i>da-</i>
2	<i>ba-</i>
3	<i>dě-</i>
IMPRS	<i>dě-</i>

Table 1.24: Tirax irrealis subject/mood prefixes

- 1.23

Tirax	[nwm-mme-17:20]	[01:34.5-01:36.3]
-------	-----------------	-------------------
- a)

<i>...xěno</i>	<i>da-van</i>	<i>da-lěh-i</i>
1SG	1:IRR-go	1:IRR-see=3SG:OBJ
‘...I will go and look.’		

	Tirax					(Brotchie, 2009, p. 114)
b)	<i>ba-r-vè</i>	<i>net</i>	<i>nen</i>	<i>bih</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>dè-haxal</i>
	2:IRR-DU-make	child	house	small	POSS:3SG	3:IRR-one
	‘You two will build a small hut for the child.’					
	Tirax					
	[nwm-mme-06:76]					[05:28.5-05:29.7]
c)	<i>nèrnèr</i>	<i>dè-s-an</i>	<i>lalen</i>			
	boy	3:IRR-PL-go	inside			
	‘The men go inside.’					

In addition to the first order paradigms for realis and irrealis mood, Tirax has a separate paradigm used to mark negation.¹⁵ The negative prefixes, presented in table 1.25, are optionally used to express negative polarity in Tirax. They are most often used in conjunction with the post-verbal negative morpheme *tè* in a similar fashion to the double negative marking found in other Malekula languages like Nese, Malua Bay, and Larevet (Barbour, 2015, p. 440) spoken near to the traditional Tirax region. Negative polarity is more commonly marked in Tirax using only the post-verbal negator *tè*, which is positioned at the right edge of the verb complex.¹⁶ The presence of a rarely used negative prefix paradigm in conjunction with the preference to use the post-verbal negator likely represents an area of grammatical change in Tirax, where double negation is changing to single post-verbal negation, a grammatical change that has occurred independently in a number of Malekula languages (Barbour, 2015, p. 457).

	Singular	Non-singular
1	(not attested)	<i>ha</i>
2	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ha-</i>
3	<i>he-/ha-</i>	<i>he-</i>

Table 1.25: Tirax negative subject prefixes

¹⁵ There are a number of points of difference between the negative prefixes attested in the data collected during fieldwork for this project and the negative prefixes reported in Brotchie (2009). As there is no significant change in the way Tirax is analysed in terms of negation, there is no need to break down the differences. I only mean to point out that differences in the data exist.

	Singular	Non-singular
1	<i>nah-</i>	<i>na</i>
2	<i>(x)ah-</i>	<i>(h)a-</i>
3	<i>(h)e-/ (h)a-/h-</i>	<i>(h)e-</i>

Brotchie’s negative subject prefixes

¹⁶ The third person singular object enclitic is omitted when it is negated, but the occurrence of the third person non-singular object enclitic supports this positional analysis.

- 1.24 Tirax [nwm-mme-06:22] [01:41.7-01:44.9]
- a) ...*nekidr* ***ha-s-nin*** *mënèt* *tòbò* *xini* *nalex*
 1PL:INCL 1:NEG-PL-drink IN.VAIN very.much EXT.P kava
 ‘...we don’t just drink kava for no reason.’
- b) Tirax [nwm-mme-09:40] [03:12.2-03:14.4]
ha-lav *tè* ***he-sèv*** *mëleun*
 2:NEG-plant NEG 3:NEG-go.past chief
 ‘You must not plant (your garden) before the chief.’
 (lit: you must not plant you must not beat the chief)
- c) Tirax [nwm-mme-09:75] [05:09.4-05:10.4]
morti ***ha-telul*** *tè*
 person 3SG:NEG-go.bush NEG
 ‘People do not go to the bush.’
- d) Tirax [nwm-mme-06:82] [05:45.8-05:47.6]
vinadr ***he-s-nin*** *tè* *nalex* *lalvanu*
 woman 3NSG:NEG-PL-drink NEG kava inside
 ‘Women don’t drink kava inside.’

The examples below show the more commonly used post-verbal negation in Tirax. Examples 1.25 a) and b) show verbs inflected with realis prefixes being negated. Example a) shows a negated intransitive verb. Example b) shows a negated transitive verb.

- 1.25 Tirax [nwm-mme-27:130] [10:17.4-10:18.6]
- a)*mëleun* *xain* ***i-mè*** *tè*
 chief 3SG 3SG:REAL-come NEG
 ‘...the chief had not come.’
- b) Tirax [nwm-mme-27:44] [03:13.3-03:14.8]
*xě̀nò* ***ně-hlòx*** *tè* *ntè* *něnge*
 ..1SG 1SG:REAL-carry NEG thing some
 ‘I am not carrying anything.’

Examples 1.26 a) and b) show negated verbs inflected with irrealis mood. Example a) is referring to an action that the speaker will not perform. In example b) the irrealis mood on number verbs is triggered by the modal *imas* “must”, borrowed from Bislama.

1.26	Tirax		[nwm-mme-21:19]			[01:38.4-01:40.8]	
a)	da-vèr	tè	<i>nahxè</i>	<i>lot</i>	<i>na-n</i>		
	...1:IRR-say	NEG	name	place	ASV-POSS:3SG...		
	'... I will not say the name of the place...'						
	Tirax		[nwm-mme-43:24]				
b)	<i>nëvat,</i>	<i>imas</i>	<i>da-lev</i>	<i>nëvat</i>	<i>dè-ru,</i>	dè-hxal	tè...
	stone	must	1:IRR-take	stone	3:IRR-two	3:IRR-one	NEG
	'I must take two stones, not one.'						

Example 1.27 displays a prohibitive construction, which is created by negating an imperative construction. Imperatives are commonly marked using irrealis mood in Tirax (Brotchie, 2009, p 200).

1.27	Tirax	[nwm-mme-52:15]	[01:29.9-01:31.1]
	... ba-mè	tè	<i>salin</i>
	2:IRR-come	NEG	outside
	'...don't come outside.'		

The example below shows the post-verbal negative morpheme occurring after the ability/knowledge coverb *dro* which means “know” when occurring with *rongo*, the sensory verb.

1.28	Tirax	[nwm-mme-40:60]				[06:49.206:50.4]
	<i>mëre</i>	së-rongo	dro	tè	<i>xënë</i>	
	man	3PL:REAL-feel	ABILITY	NEG	1SG	
	'People do not know me.'					

The third order prefix position Tirax can be filled by modal and aspect morphemes.¹⁷

Three morphemes can occur in this position. One of the prefixes encodes the

¹⁷ Brotchie (2009, p. 134) called these morphemes pre-verbs rather than prefixes. This was based on her analysis that the subject/mood and number prefixes, rather than being segmentable prefixes, were a system of portmanteau subject proclitics marking person, mood, and number. Following Brotchie's analysis, most instances of verbs are considered morphologically simple, consisting of a pronominal proclitic and a verb stem. Furthermore, verbs generally require person and number inflections in order for them to be used grammatically, while the modal/aspect prefixes are optional and encode grammatical properties that are very different to the meanings encoded by the other obligatory preverbal morphemes. Brotchie does not fully explain her decision to call these morphemes “preverbs” rather than prefixes, and it seems that this distinction is rather arbitrary. As the other N Northwest Malekula languages have a prefix position after the number prefix and directly before the verb stem that also encodes aspectual and modal meanings, the term preverb is not used here. Instead, these morphemes are considered optional verbal prefixes filling an analogous position in the Tirax verb complex.

proximal aspect, which is found in the other Northwest Malekula languages. The other two prefixes encode meanings that are not encoded with inflectional morphology in V'ënen Taut or Tape: these being a causative prefix, and a politeness prefix. The causative and politeness prefixes are rarely attested in the data with only a few tokens of each prefix recorded.¹⁸

Meaning	Prefix
Proximal	<i>max-</i>
Causative	<i>rò-</i>
Politeness	<i>te-</i>

Table 1.26: Tirax modal prefixes

As with the proximal aspect prefixes from V'ënen Taut and Tape, the prefix *max-* has a number of functions in Tirax. Its most basic meaning indicates that the action or state of affairs denoted by the verb occurs shortly after a particular temporal reference point in speech, normally the previously stated action.

1.29	Tirax	[nwm-mme-17:17]	[01:40.8-01:41.8]
	... <i>i-nev</i> ,	<i>sě-max-věla...</i>	
	3SG:REAL-finish	3PL.REAL-PROX-go.away	
	'... after that, they just left...'		

The other meaning that it expresses is similar to necessity or obligation. For example, *max-* often inflects verbs denoting actions that can be understood to be necessary as part of a larger process. Consider example 1.30 in which *max-* could be understood as either displaying necessitative meaning, implying that the two people must come back for the meat because they cannot carry it all in one trip, or it could be displaying relative proximal aspect, meaning that it will not be long until they come for the meat.

1.30	Tirax	[nwm-mme-30:60]	[04:47.3- 04:49.7]
	<i>ale nevix</i>	<i>ba-r-max-mě</i>	<i>xini hěbò</i>
	so tomorrow	2SG:IRR-DL-PROX-come	EXT.P half
	<i>na-n</i>		
	ASV-POSS:3SG		
	'Then tomorrow we will just come for the other half of it (hunted game).'		

¹⁸ The causative prefix is not attested with any independent verbs in the analysed corpus collected for this project. In the new Tirax corpus, the few tokens of the causative prefix occur with coverbs (§4.2.4) rather than with independent verbs. Brochie (2009, p. 135) has observed that the causative can co-occur with independent verbs.

The politeness prefix is used to soften commands as seen in example 1.31. Brotchie also reports that this prefix can also be used to signal that a person tried to carry out the action denoted by the verb it is inflecting (Brotchie, 2009, p. 135).

1.31	Tirax	[nwm-mme-27:46]	[03:18.7- 03:21.1]
	... ba-te-ròng	luè	ntè...
	2:IRR-POLITE-take.out	REMOVE	thing
	'...take out the thing please.'		

The third prefix that can occur directly before the verb is the causative prefix *rò-*. Like the politeness prefix, there are very few occurrences of this prefix in the new corpus so its description is informed by Brotchie's previous work on Tirax. Brotchie says that the most common method used in Tirax to express causative constructions is to use the verb *vè* "make" but that small number of O-type intransitive verbs are able to be transitivized using *rò-* so that they can have an agent as their subject and an undergoer as their object. This is shown in the examples below from Brotchie (2009, p. 134).

1.32	Tirax	(Brotchie, 2009, p. 134)		
a)	<i>narit</i>	<i>xar</i>	<i>i-rdrèh</i>	
	rope	DEM	3SG:REAL-be.broken	
	'That rope is broken.'			
	Tirax	(Brotchie, 2009, p. 134)		
b)	<i>n-rò-rdrèh</i>	<i>narit</i>	<i>xar</i>	
	1SG:REAL-CAUS-be.broken	rope	DEM	
	'I broke the rope.'			

The causative prefix is attested several times in the Northwest Malekula analysed corpus. In these instances, rather than occurring with an O-type intransitive verb, it occurs inflecting a class of morphemes called coverbs. In these instances, it acts as a derivational morpheme deriving verbs from non-verbal morphemes.

1.33	Tirax	[nwm-mme-06:37]	[02:44.8- 02:48.9]
	<i>xě-rò-krèh</i>	<i>bò</i>	<i>xini</i> <i>něven</i> <i>xoronali</i>
	2SG:REAL-CAUSE-THROUGH	only	EXT.P place door
	‘You just pass though the place that is the door...’		

The preverbal complex is followed by the verb as the head of the complex. The Tirax post-verbal complex contains multiple positions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Verb	(Verb)	(Coverb)	(COMPL)	(Adverb)	(Bound Object)	(Negative)

Figure 1.9: Tirax post-verbal complex

The verbal nucleus in Tirax consists minimally of a verb inflected with bound preverbal morphology indexing the subject argument and encoding modal and aspectual properties. Tirax also permits nuclear SVCs where a second uninflected independent verb can occur in the nucleus (see Chapter Four).

Post-verbal elements have both semantic and grammatical properties typically associated with verbs in Tirax, but many lack the ability to function as independent verbs. They also lack the ability to occur in various places in the clause like true adverbs. Brotchie classifies these morphemes as “nuclear adverbs”, reflecting their place in the clause; in this work they are identified as coverbs (see Chapter Four). The most common feature of the non-verbal elements in the post-verbal complex is that they can be inflected with the bound object morphology, shown below, and that they precede the negative morpheme *tè*.

The objects of transitive verbs occur after the verb and any coverb or clitic-taking post-verbal modifiers. Objects can occur as full noun phrases, independent pronouns, or pronominal enclitics. The independent pronouns and pronominal enclitics are presented below in tables 1.27 and 1.28.

As with the other Northwest Malekula languages, independent pronouns occur most commonly in the subject position of the clause. All but the third person independent pronouns can function as the object argument of standard transitive verbs. The functional split between the bound and independent pronominals that occurs in V’ënen Taut and Tape to contrast standard objects with reflexive objects also occurs in Tirax. Additionally, like Tape, the representation of object arguments with the pronominal enclitics is sensitive to animacy. Brotchie reports that inanimate objects are commonly represented with the third person singular enclitic regardless of

number, and that inanimate objects can optionally be zero marked in clauses if they are clear though context. This is also supported in the data collected for this project.

	Singular	Non-singular
1	<i>xě̀nò</i> INCL	<i>nekir/nekidr</i>
	EXCL	<i>kě̀nèn</i>
2	<i>nòx</i>	<i>keni</i>
3	<i>xain</i>	<i>xair</i>

Table 1.27: Tirax independent pronouns

	Singular	Non-singular
3	<i>-i</i>	<i>-er</i>

Table 1.28: Tirax pronominal suffixes

As mentioned above, the most common method of marking negation in Tirax is to use the post-verbal negator *tè*. This negative morpheme modifies verbs inflected with realis, irrealis, and negative subject/mood prefixes. It is the final element in the post-verbal complex, directly after the bound pronominal enclitics or directly before object arguments consisting of noun phrases or free pronouns. As it is the final element in the verb complex a large variety of post-verbal modifiers, such as coverbs and other adverbials, can occur between the verb and the negative morpheme *tè*.

- 1.34 Tirax [nwm-mme-44:42] [03:22.5-03:25.3]
- a) *n-tebex* ***tè*** *ntang* *na-n* *tè* *dè-nam*
 1:REAL-find NEG basket ASV-POSS:3SG SUB 3:IRR-be.good
 ‘I have not found a good sling (basket) for it (sling shot).’
- b) Tirax [nwm-mme-53:35] [03:33.9-03:35.3]
i-sdèr-èr ***tè*** *mul*
 3SG:IRR-reach-3PL:OBJ NEG no.more
 ‘He could not reach them anymore.’
- c) Tirax [nwm-mme-40:56] [06:29.1-06:32.4]
...nevti-n *i-xorxor* *navòn* ***tè***
 scent-POSS:3SG 3SG:IRR-go.all.about very NEG
 ‘...Its scent does not go about too much.’

1.6 Summary

To summarise the verb complex of the three case study languages, all three begin with a first order prefix position where subject/mood is expressed. V’ënen Taut has four paradigms of first order prefixes, Tirax has three and Tape has two. The three

languages minimally have realis and irrealis mood paradigms. All three languages have a dedicated number position where the contrast between singular (expressed with a Ø-prefix), dual or paucal, and plural is made. V'ënen Taut and Tape have separate positions for the preverbal expression of negation, while Tirax has a partial paradigm of first order negative prefixes that appears to be falling out of use. All three languages express proximal aspect; and there are a variety of other aspectual and modal categories expressed before the verb. V'ënen Taut has the most detailed preverbal complex, with six prefix order positions, while Tirax has only three positions in the preverbal complex.

The verbal nucleus in all three languages can comprise a simple verb root (with obligatory inflections). Independent verbs and coverbs can combine with the verbal head. Following verb-like material, adverbs occur. All three languages have a partial paradigm of bound object morphemes. Only Tirax has a post verbal negator, which signals the right edge of the verb complex. An elaboration of the verbal nucleus and discussion of coverbs is found in Chapter Four.

PART ONE: Serial Verb Constructions

Serial verb constructions (SVCs) will be considered in this part of the thesis, beginning with a typological description of the construction, and then narrowing the scope to the Northwest Malekula languages.

This section begins in Chapter Two with a typological overview of SVCs, covering monoclausality, marking, possible patterns of argument sharing between the constituent verbs in SVCs, symmetry, and the functional types of SVCs that occur cross-linguistically. It concludes by listing the structural properties of SVCs that are used to identify relevant constructions in this work.

Chapter Three presents the findings of a comparative analysis of six languages of Central Vanuatu. After describing shared properties of independent verbs, complex nuclei and cores are analysed. In defining SVCs as comprising only those lexemes that can function as independent verbs, three types of complex nuclei are distinguished, these being nuclear SVCs, coverbial constructions, and incorporated objects. Core SVCs are analysed in terms of the argument sharing patterns and the semantic functions detailed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Four is an important findings chapter in this work, presenting a new analysis of data from V'ënen Taut, and expanding on the analysis of SVCs in Tape and Tirax. It finds that complex nuclei are attested in the Northwest Malekula languages, but that nuclear SVCs are quite restricted in their use. Core SVCs are far more common in the Northwest Malekula languages, with all three languages using switch-function and ambient core SVCs. The Tape and Tirax languages also employ same-subject core SVCs, but these are not present in V'ënen Taut.

Chapter Two

Typological Overview Serial Verb Constructions

SVCs are found in many languages across the world; one estimate suggests that perhaps one third of languages use SVCs (Dixon, 2006, p. 338). These languages vary widely in their typological properties, for example they are used in isolating languages as well as in highly synthetic languages, in languages with different constituent orders, and they can occur in languages with either accusative or ergative morphosyntactic alignment (Dixon, 2006, p. 338; Durie, 1997, p. 291). They are commonly associated with the languages of western Africa, South-East Asia, China, New Guinea, Oceania, the Americas, and Creole languages (Aikhenvald, 2006, 2018; Bisang, 2009; Lynch et al, 2002). Many Oceanic languages use SVCs with their productivity varying from language to language; although the Polynesian and Micronesian branches of the Oceanic language family do not appear to use SVCs (Crowley, 2002, p. 167).

The purpose of this chapter is not to develop a universally applicable definition of SVCs. Rather, it is to establish a set of properties to identify and compare relevant constructions as SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages continuing through this work.

Developing a fully encompassing definition for SVCs is difficult because their structure varies widely between languages, as well as inside individual languages. This is further complicated by ongoing discussions about the types of structures that can even be considered as SVCs in the linguistic literature (Aikhenvald, 2006; Aikhenvald, 2018; Bisang, 2009; Cleary-Kemp, 2015; Crowley, 2002; Haspelmath, 2016). The lack of well-defined parameters for SVCs has led to many verb-sequencing languages being analysed as serialising languages when it is now clear that other syntactic structures are involved (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 99). That being said, there is broad agreement in the literature about the types of properties SVCs should display. Different linguists consider some properties to be more essential than others. For example, Bisang (2009) considers single eventhood the most important

property, Cleary-Kemp (2015) appears to focus mostly on the semantic properties of serialized verbs with symmetry and lexicalization being key points of interest, and Haspelmath (2016) focuses mostly on the type of verbs involved in SVCs and their overall grammatical structure. Because of this, most definitions of SVCs list a number of properties that a construction needs to display in order for it to be considered an SVC (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 153-153; Crowley, 2002, p. 19), rather than giving a more formal definition along with a number of broader generalizations like that presented in Haspelmath (2016, p. 292). SVCs are generally considered to consist of multiple independent verbs in a single clause that act as a single predicate, with no marking for coordination, subordination, or any other kind of dependency between the verbs (Aikhenvald, 2006; Aikhenvald, 2018; Cleary-Kemp, 2015; Foley & Olsen, 1985; Haspelmath, 2016; Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002). SVCs are generally considered to encode a single conceptual event (Aikhenvald, 2006; Bisang, 2009; Cleary-Kemp, 2015) and SVCs generally also display some kind of argument sharing. Some linguists claim that argument sharing is a requirement to define SVCs (Cleary-Kemp, 2015) while others observe that it is more of a tendency (Aikhenvald, 2006). Verbs in SVCs will share the same tense, aspect, mood, and polarity values; however these may not always be encoded on every verb, or in the same way on every verb (Aikhenvald, 2018; Crowley, 2002). There are varying degrees of integration between the verbs in SVCs with some appearing more like lexicalized verbal compounds and others occurring as individual verbs in sequence with their own arguments (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 92).

Using frameworks from Aikhenvald (2006, 2018), Bisang (2009), Cleary-Kemp (2015), Crowley (2002), and Haspelmath (2016), the next sections will unpack the properties of SVCs focusing on independent verbs, shared arguments, and monoclausality. Haspelmath (2016) has developed ten generalisations that he finds to apply to SVCs cross-linguistically which will be incorporated into this overview. Throughout this thesis, V1 will refer to the initial verb in a serial construction, V2 to the second verb and so on.

2.1 Monoclausality of Serial Verb Constructions

A defining feature of SVCs is that they are monoclausal (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 4; Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 116). A number of different features

of SVCs are often invoked to prove their monoclausal status. These are: the lack of overt linking elements like coordinators, subordinators, and other markers of dependency; shared verbal categories like tense, aspect, mood, and polarity; shared illocutionary force; and monoclausal intonation properties.

Any evidence of linking elements like coordination, sequentialization, complementization, or subordination, including optional or suppressed usage, can be used as the basis for not analysing a particular construction as an instance of verb serialisation (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 1; Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3; Bisang, 2009, p. 806; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 116; Crowley, 2002, p. 17; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 304; Lynch et al, 2002, p. 17; Sperlich, 1993, p. 96). Haspelmath (2016, p. 304) states that any element occurring in multi-verb constructions that does not occur in mono-verbal constructions and does not have some clear meaning like tense is likely to be a linking element. It is important to use additional methods of identifying monoclausality than just overt marking of dependency, because some languages make use of unmarked embedding or dependant structures (Bisang, 2009, p. 806). This is especially true if one or both of the verbs in multi-verb construction is functioning as a functional item, such as an auxiliary (§2.2.1).

The verbs in SVCs share the same tense, aspect, and mood values (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3; Bisang, 2009, p. 798; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 307). This means the verbs in SVCs cannot have different time reference (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 1). Even in languages in which verbs in SVCs may be inflected with different TAM morphology, the semantic TAM value is the same across the verbs in SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 29). For example, Cantonese marks some verbal categories on only one of the verbs in SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 30). In Paamese and Vatlongos the TAM marking on the second verb can be different but dependent on the TAM of the first verb (Ridge, 2019). Verbs in SVCs also tend not to have separate modifiers for temporal properties and event location (Haspelmath, 2016, p. 308). Some argue that the tendency for negation to be marked only once per SVC is evidence of monoclausality (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 30; Bohnemeyer et al, 2007, p. 105). The use of a negative verb in an SVC will also give the whole construction negative polarity (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 31). Serial verb constructions share the same illocutionary force (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3; Bisang, 2009, p. 797; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 307). The ability for the verbs in multi-

verb constructions to have separate TAM, polarity, or illocutionary force values would indicate that they are separate clauses (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 28).

Linguists often report that SVCs have the same intonation contour as mono-verbal clauses and that this can indicate that SVCs are monoclausal, unlike subordinate and coordinate clauses that tend to have separate intonation contours (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 1; Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3; Bisang, 2009, p. 797; Crowley, 2002, p. 17; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 308). The occurrence of pauses between sequenced verbal clauses is often cited as evidence that these structures are not SVCs but sequences of separate clauses (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 27-28; Bisang, 2009, p. 797, Cleary-Kemp, p. 117). While the intonation properties of multi-verb constructions can be useful in identifying SVCs, they are not definitional. Intonation properties alone cannot be relied upon to signal monoclausality in the same way that the absence of overt linking elements alone cannot be relied upon to signal monoclausality (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 118). Intonation and pauses can signal a lot of different constructions (Bisang, 2009, p. 797), or they may signal nothing at all. The lack of a pause does not necessarily mean that a construction is an SVC (Cleary-Kemp, p. 118). Furthermore, intonation and pauses are considered an unreliable way of identifying SVCs because intonation patterns often rely on the interpretations of linguists who are often not native speakers of the languages they are studying (Crowley, 2002, p. 17)

Monoclausality can also be established by the difference in meaning between coordinate clauses and SVCs with the same constituent verbs (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 20-21). Aikhenvald (2018, p. 24-25) supports the claim that coordinate clauses and SVCs generally create different meaning saying that splitting SVCs into coordinate constructions may produce strikingly different meanings or ungrammatical or semantically bizarre sentences.

When it comes to identifying SCVs in this work, most of the emphasis for identifying monoclausality is placed on the lack of an overt linking element and the single or concordant marking of verbal categories like TAM and polarity, and shared illocutionary force. Argument sharing is also important, see §2.3.

2.1.1 Foley and Olsen's Multi-Layered Clause

Foley and Olsen (1985) developed a seminal framework for the description of SVCs, which included consideration for establishing the monoclausal nature of SVCs. While many grammarians had previously believed predicates to effectively equate to clauses, thereby inferring that constructions with multiple predicates must be multi-clausal, Foley and Olsen argue that individual clauses can be made up of multiple predicates. Rather than trying to explain SVCs by looking to transformational grammar, which they claim argues in favour of treating SVCs as multiple embedded clauses, Foley and Olsen developed a framework where they analysed clauses as having three concentric layers. These layers from inner to outer are the nucleus, the core, and the periphery¹⁹ (see figure 2.1). The terms “nuclear” and “core” are applied in this work to the description of clauses because they capture the relationship between verb complexes in serial constructions. The nuclear layer is where we find the verb (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 33). Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 127) extends the definition of the clausal nucleus saying that it comprises a predicate. In Oceanic languages the predicate can be a verb, adjective, noun, or a member of another word class. The core layer comprises the nucleus along with the core arguments of the verb as required by the syntactic and semantic properties of individual verbs (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 34). The peripheral layer comprises the core along with optional items such as obliques that normally provide temporal and spatial information (Foley & Olsen, 1985).

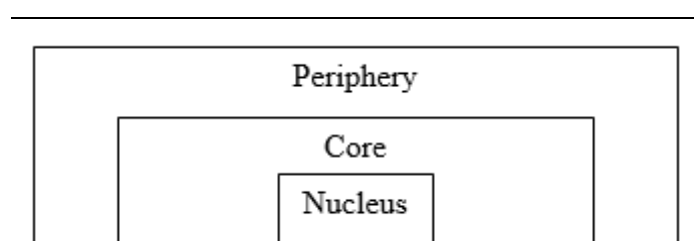


Figure 2.1: Layered clause structure²⁰
Following (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 38)

¹⁹ In Foley and Olsen's analysis, each layer has a number of language specific operators that govern it, providing information to all the constituents in that layer and any sublayers. Crowley (2002, p. 43), however, also notes that establishing the layer in which particular operators function in different languages may not fully align with Foley and Olsen's model. In this work, the layered clause structure is of central importance, but other dimensions of Foley and Olsen's analysis are less relevant.

²⁰ This figure represents the clausal structure of a SVO language. I have chosen this structure for the diagrams because the Northwest Malekula languages are SVO languages. Verb initial and final languages tend to have nuclear SVCs while SVO languages apparently prefer core SVCs (Crowley, 2002, p. 45).

It is possible for constituents of each layer to join, or form a juncture, with constituents of the same layer (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 37). Junctures at the nuclear layer form nuclear SVCs while those at the core layer form core SVCs. Peripheral junctures form multi-clausal constructions (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 56).

Nuclear SVCs, as a type of complex nuclei, are created when two or more independent verbs (§2.2.1) are joined together in the nucleus of the clause. Nuclear SVCs must share their subject arguments and, in the case of transitive verbs, their object argument (see figure 2.2), forming a composite argument structure. This is consistent with the notion of same subject argument sharing in SVCs. Nuclear SVCs are more common in verb-final languages because noun phrase arguments come before verbs in the clause, creating a grammatical space where verbs can easily occur in sequence (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 45). Nuclear SVCs are also attested in verb medial languages where subject and object arguments are positioned on either side of the verbs.

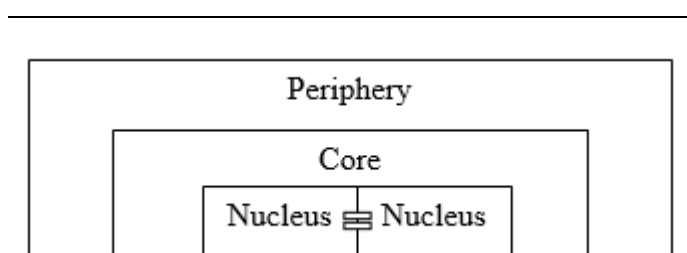


Figure 2.2: Nuclear SVC structure
Following (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 38)

Core layer SVCs are created when there is a juncture between two cores, at the core layer of the clause (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 47). The concentricity of Foley and Olsen's framework means that complex cores must consist of at least two nuclei, simple or complex, and their associated core arguments. Core arguments are those required by the verb such as subject and object, and sometimes second object. Unlike nuclear SVCs, which form a composite argument structure, each verb in core SVCs

has its own argument structure and one of the arguments of each verb is usually shared (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 47).²¹

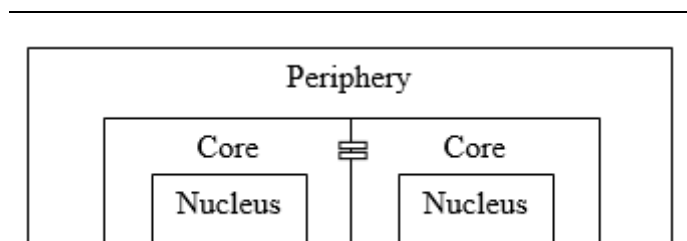


Figure 2.3: Core SVC structure
Following (Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 38)

The nuclear-core layer distinction in SVCs has been particularly useful in the description of Oceanic languages. These languages tend to have two distinct serialization types which present features that closely align with Foley and Olsen’s layered clause analysis (Crowley, 2002, p. 42; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 129).

2.1.1.1 Contiguity

Aikhenvald (2018, p. 17) considers the layered structure of the clause following Foley and Olsen’s model too arbitrary and claims that the designation of SVCs as nuclear or core, based on their syntactic characteristics, is problematic. She also claims that the distinction between the clausal nucleus and core is based on the intuitive notion of independence of the components and does not take into account the mechanisms through which verbs are combined in SVCs and their resulting meanings. Because of this, Aikhenvald (2018, p. 92) argues that SVCs could be analysed in terms of contiguity, with SVCs instead being either contiguous or non-contiguous.

Contiguous SVCs do not allow other constituents to occur between the verbs in SVCs, while non-contiguous SVC do allow material, such as arguments, to intervene between the verbs (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 92). The elements of contiguous SVCs may stay as separate words or they may combine to form a single word in a similar way to a compound (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 93). This distinction between single-word and

²¹ In Foley and Olsen’s (1985, p. 47) work, they stated that “an additional constraint for core layer serial verb constructions is that they must share a common core argument”. Ambient SVCs (discussed in §2.3.2) provide an exception to this constraint, in that one core in its entirety serves as the subject of the serialised verb.

multi-word contiguous SVCs can occur in the same language and can have separate functions and express different meanings (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 96). Careful attention should be paid to single word contiguous SVCs to make sure they are not true compounds (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 98) (see §2.2.1).

Aikhenvald (2018, p. 97) identifies four possible combinations of contiguity and wordhood. For the goals of this thesis, it is felt that Aikhenvald's more fine-grained analysis of contiguity adds more complexity to the analysis of formal grammatical properties of SVCs than is necessary, particularly when many single-word contiguous SVCs might be better analysed as other grammatical structures. Furthermore, contiguous SVCs appear to align with structures previously identified as nuclear SVCs as they do not allow any intervening elements between verbs in the serial constructions. Non-contiguous SVCs appear to align well with core SVCs because they allow material to occur between the verbs. Because of these structural ambiguities and because the nuclear-core distinction appears to be the framework most commonly used in the analysis of Vanuatu languages, SVCs will be analysed using Foley and Olsen's (1985) terminology in this work.

2.1.2 Marking Grammatical Categories in SVCs

Certain patterns of marking grammatical categories such as subject, tense, aspect, mood, and polarity (TAMP) with verbs in SVCs are strongly correlated with monoclausality and the type of verbal juncture represented in SVCs cross-linguistically. There are two major types of verbal marking; single marking where verbal categories are marked once for the whole SVC (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 99; Bisang, 2009, p. 801; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 124), and concordant marking²² where each verb in the SVC is marked for grammatical categories (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 99). Concordant marking does not mean that all non-initial verbs will be marked with identical marking to V1. If V2 has a different grammatical subject, it is often marked with morphology that reflects this difference; however, there are languages in which all non-initial verbs in SVCs are marked identically to V1 (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 101).

Some languages may have a functional split in the way verbal categories are marked on verbs. Languages often have concordant marking for verbal arguments but single

²² Concordant marking is sometimes called multiple marking (Bisang, 2009, p. 801).

marking for TAMP, and evidentiality categories (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 109). Single marking of TAMP and similar categories can occur because these categories tend to have scope over the whole clause (Aikhenvald 2018, p. 118). Some languages have distributed concordant marking where the marking of particular categories on V1 triggers the use of marking from specific verbal categories on V2 (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 107, Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 124).

A languages may make distinctions between the types of SVCs that it employs in its grammar, with some types being single marked while others receive concordant marking (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 103; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 146). For example, it is common in Oceanic languages for nuclear SVCs to be single marked while core SVCs receive concordant marking for relevant verbal categories.

2.2 Relationship between Verbs in SVCs

As the name “serial verb construction” suggests, the defining characteristic of this type of multi-verb construction is that more than one verb occurs in series in a single clause. Sequences of verbs where an overt coordinating or subordinating conjunction intervenes between the verbs are definitionally excluded from being SVCs. Overt conjunctions signal that the verbs occur in separate clauses. Coordinating conjunctions occur between two separate clauses joining them together on the same structural level of the clause. Subordinating conjunctions also signal that there are multiple clauses, but that one clause is embedded in the other.

It should be noted that not all sequences of verbs without overt markers of coordination or subordination can be considered SVCs. This is because there are many types of verbs with different grammatical functions, such as auxiliaries, participles, and infinitives that can occur in sequence with other verbs, and because clause embedding can sometimes be unmarked (Bisang, 2009, p. 806). To avoid such issues, only combinations of verbs that are otherwise attested as being independent should be considered when investigating SVCs. In the identification of SVCs, careful attention must be taken to ensure the second element is not an adverb, verbal particle, or adposition, because these elements can appear to be verbs (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 99).

The different patterns in which independent verbs can combine to make different types of SVCs should also be considered. In some types of SVC, it is possible for a sequence of any two independent verbs to occur while in others there are some restrictions on the type of verbs that can occupy one or both of the positions in the SVC. The term (a)symmetrically is often used in the literature to refer to these different patterns (Aikhenvald, 2006; Aikhenvald, 2018; Cleary-Kemp, 2015).

2.2.1 Independent Verbhood

A commonly occurring criterion for a multi-verb construction to be considered an SVC is that each verb in the construction should have the ability to act as the sole verb in a simple verbal clause in its own right without needing another verb (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 1; Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3). Verbs that can do this are called *independent verbs* (Haspelmath, 2016, p. 302) or main verbs (Cleary-Kemp, 2015).²³ There are a number of properties that verbs should display in order for them to be considered independent verbs that are capable of forming SVCs.

The first property is that the words forming SVCs can be analysed as verbs following the language-specific morphosyntactic properties of verbs occurring in simple clauses in individual languages (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 102). This means that if a language distinguishes verbs from other word classes with argument-verb indexing, then the lexemes in multi-verb constructions should display argument-verb indexing when occurring as a single verb in simple verbal constructions. Lexemes that appear to be verbs functioning in an SVC but that do not display verbal properties when occurring in simple verbal clauses should not be considered independent verbs because they cannot act as the sole verb in a simple verbal clause in their own right (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 112). If a lexeme appears to be verbal in a multi-verb construction, but is not accepted as or not used as the sole verb in simple verbal clauses by native speakers, it cannot be considered an independent verb, and the multi-verb construction cannot be considered to be an SVC.

In addition to independent verbs being defined as those that can function as the head of a verb phrase in a simple verbal clause, Haspelmath (2016, p. 302) further defines

²³ The term independent verb will be used in this work rather than main verb to avoid the implication of a hierarchical structure in all SVCs.

independent verbs as only those expressing dynamic events. Furthermore, the dynamic verbs must not receive special marking when functioning as predicates. The requirement for the verbs in SVCs to be dynamic verbs is based on the observation that the category of verb as a word class shows a lot of cross-linguistic variation. Haspelmath limits independent verbs to dynamic verbs because such lexemes are more prototypically verbal in the languages of the world. This delimits the types of verb sequences that can be considered SVCs in order to facilitate cross-linguistic comparison. While requiring independent verbs to be dynamic makes for clearer cross-linguistic comparison of SVCs, it is not a particularly useful criterion for identifying SVCs in individual languages. This is because a language may have many non-dynamic verbs that also do not receive special marking when used as predicates.

Haspelmath (2016, p. 302) seems particularly concerned with excluding verbs that function as attributive predicates. However, if SVCs are to be analysed in individual languages, lexemes need to be identified as verbs based on their morphosyntactic properties, in addition to their semantic properties. These properties will be different depending on the language under investigation. In this work, when the lexemes in an SVC each display the language specific properties of verbs in simple clauses, then they are understood to form an SVC, irrespective of whether they are dynamic or otherwise.

The meanings of the verbs in SVCs is then another property of the construction for observation, playing a role in symmetry and the identification of the different functional types of SVCs in a particular language. In observing the meanings of the verbs in SVCs, attention should be paid to whether the meanings of SVCs can be considered *compositional*. The meaning of an SVC is compositional if it is easily derived from the meanings of its component verbs. In compositional SVCs, individual verbs will have the same meaning in the SVC that they have when they are used in simple verbal clauses. Non-compositional constructions involve semantic shift, a change in the meaning of verbs that is triggered by their occurrence in a multi-verb construction (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 109). Some linguists argue that verbs that undergo non-compositional semantic shift in multi-verb constructions should not be considered independent verbs (Bisang, 2009, p. 810; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 109; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 297). This means such constructions should not be considered true SVCs but rather they should be treated as new lexical items, such as compounds

or idioms. This view conflicts with that of other linguists who observe that the meanings of SVCs are often non-compositional; the semantics of SVCs are often not predictable from the constituent verbs (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 11; Barbour, 2012, p. 317; Crowley, 2002, p. 84; Early, 1993, p. 81; Hyslop, 2001, p. 274). The notions of semantic shift and compositionality rely heavily on the interpretations of linguists, who are often non-native speakers of the language being described. When the linguist is a non-native speaker, there can also be interference from the meta-language that is used by field assistants and the linguist during data collection or the language used to present findings. Such interpretations and interference can result in an SVC appearing to be non-compositional simply because it has a different translational equivalent in the meta-languages.

A position regarding the semantic properties of SVCs that places too much importance on compositionality runs the risk of excluding many verbs in multi-verb constructions from being classified as independent verbs. This results in those non-compositional constructions being excluded from an SVC analysis. On the other hand, a position that allows verbs in multi-verb constructions to undergo major semantic shift in multi-verb constructions, while still considering them truly independent, means that many structures could be considered SVCs when they might better be analysed as another type of construction, such as auxiliary verb construction or lexicalised verbal compound. Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 109) notes that there is little consensus on the degree of semantic shift that should be permitted between the independent meaning and serial usage of verbs. This work takes a balanced approach to the degree of semantic shift that a verb can undergo before it is no longer considered independent. Verbs in multi-verb constructions will be counted as independent if their meanings are not significantly divergent from their meaning in simple verbal clauses. This approach to semantic shift is similar to that proposed by Aikhenvald (2018, p. 3) and Dixon (2006, p. 339).

Related to the issue of non-compositionality is the use of multi-verb constructions to perform grammatical functions. One of the verbs may be semantically bleached in order to provide grammatical information. There are languages with multi-verb constructions in which some of the verbs in question can occur in simple verbal constructions in their own right; however, in a multi-verb constructions one or more

of the verbs in the sequence is acting as a functional item, like an auxiliary verb (Bisang, 2009, p. 810; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 103; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 302).

Many auxiliary verbs can function as independent verbs in simple verbal clauses but when they are used in conjunction with other verbs they behave as functional items and lose some or all of the semantic properties associated with their use as independent verbs. While some auxiliary verbs can function as independent verbs in their own right, other auxiliary verbs are restricted to being functional items but still may display many or all of the morphosyntactic characteristics of verbs in a particular language. An example of a verb with both independent verb and non-independent verb status is the English verb “have” that expresses possession when used independently but which is part of the expression of perfect aspect when used as an auxiliary.

If SVCs are a productive grammatical construction in a language and express a wide range of meanings, it is not surprising that a language could also use SVCs to express some of its grammatical functions, such as aspect, changes of state, and causatives (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 56). If the structure of SVCs expressing functional meanings is the same as the structure of SVCs expressing meanings such as sequential events or directionals, these should be considered independent verbs, provided that their independent verb and serialised meanings are related (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3).

For the reasons stated above, this work will consider a verb to be independent if it can occur as the head of a verb phrase in a simple verbal clause. Additionally, a verb can be considered independent when it occurs in a multi-verb construction that shares the same structure as other SVCs while performing a functional role, like those seen in auxiliary constructions, provided that its meaning is clearly related to its simple verbal usage. Furthermore, independent verbhood applies when neither of the verbs in a multi-verb construction is performing some kind of grammatical function, and the serialised verbs have not developed into some idiosyncratic construction like a compound or idiom (see §2.2.2).

Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 114) proposes that unpredictable phonological changes of verbs in multi-verb constructions should be another criterion for excluding verbs from analysis as independent. If the phonological form of a verb in a multi-verb construction is substantially different to its form when used as the verb in a simple

verbal clause, and there is no observable productive phonological process acting on that verb to explain its different form, it will be considered to be a different lexical entry and therefore not an independent verb. This means that such constructions, while appearing to be SVCs on the surface, are not true examples of SVCs. A better analysis for cases like this would be, verbal compounds (see §3.3.1.4), coverbs (§3.3.1.2), or some type of special adverbial or verbal particle. Analysis as a verbal compound is appropriate when word internal phonological processes are applied to the two verbs when they occur together in a multi-verb construction. An analysis in which one of the elements is considered a coverb, adverbial, or particle depends in part on its stability within the language system, and on how the element is used elsewhere in the system.

In summary, in this comparative work following Haspelmath (2016) and Cleary-Kemp (2015), the criterion of independent verbhood is established as basic. This means that processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization, which are evident in the data, fall outside of the scope of the analysis of SVCs.

2.2.2 Symmetricality

According to Haspelmath (2016, p. 297) precise semantic-pragmatic conditions for combining different kinds of verbs in SVCs has received less attention than the resulting morphosyntactic properties of the constructions. However, a number of authors have in fact undertaken in-depth typological analyses of the types of verbs that can occur in SVCs and their common semantic and functional characteristics (Aikhenvald, 2006, Aikhenvald 2018; Cleary-Kemp, 2015; Crowley, 2002, Durie, 1997). Such semantic and functional analysis falls under the topic of *symmetricality*.

Languages can be analysed as having *symmetrical* and/or *asymmetrical* SVCs; there are no languages that have symmetrical SVCs that do not also have asymmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 6). The symmetricality of verbs depends on whether there is a restriction on one or both of the verbs which make up the SVC. In symmetrical SVCs, both of the verbs come from open classes (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 81, Cleary-Kemp, p. 103), while for asymmetrical SVCs, one or both of the verbs comes from a closed or restricted class of verbs (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 80, Cleary-Kemp, p. 104). Furthermore, there are a number of commonly occurring semantic-

grammatical functions that commonly occur with different sub-types of symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs.

SVCs are symmetrical when there is little to no restriction on the kinds of verbs that occur as V1, or V2. Verbs in symmetrical SVCs are normally ordered iconically so that they reflect the real world order of the simultaneous or sequential stages that make up the event denoted by the SVC as a whole (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 28; Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 85; Cleary-Kemp, p. 150). Symmetrical SVCs can be composed of different verbs or of identical verbs. Aikhenvald calls SVCs composed of identical verbs *synonymous serialisation* and she identifies that such serialisation normally expresses iterative aspect or intensity (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 78).²⁴ Aikhenvald (2006, 2018) treats the verbs in symmetrical SVCs as having equal status, with none serving as the head. This is in contrast to the head-modifier composition of asymmetrical SVCs, discussed below. Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 104) takes a similar position, arguing that symmetrical SVCs can be analysed as being double headed.

SVCs are classified as asymmetrical if one of the verbs in the construction comes from a large and mostly unrestricted or open class of verbs while the other verb comes from a restricted or closed class of verbs. Aikhenvald (2006, p. 22-28) suggests that asymmetrical SVCs have a hierarchical head-modifier type structure. The verb from the open class, called the *major verb*, is the head of the SVC and provides the semantic content of the SVC; the verb from the restricted group, called the *minor verb*, acts as the modifier and contributes some further property to the major verb. This terminology is also used by Bisang (2009), Cleary-Kemp (2015), and again by Aikhenvald (2018). It is likely that minor verbs were once part of an open class but their meanings have generalised in SVCs and some have become more like modifiers (Bisang, 2009, p. 808). In some cases, the minor verb occurring in specific types of asymmetrical SVC undergoes semantic bleaching, indicating that it may be undergoing grammaticalization (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 55; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 108). Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 105) comments that if a verb expresses a special meaning or displays special features when it is acting as a minor verb, it

²⁴ Synonymous serialisation could appear to be full reduplication of verb stems and analysis as such may be appropriate in some languages depending on whether reduplication or serialisation are productive processes in the language. The Lewo, Paamese, and Vatlongos languages are attested as having synonymous serialisation which creates different meanings those created when verbs undergo reduplication.

should be considered a separate lexical entry and therefore should not be considered to be an independent verb. As mentioned previously, this work takes the position that the meanings of verbs in SVCs should be clearly related to their independent usage.

In her work on SVCs, Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 108) argues that it is important to consider the type of verbal restrictions occurring in serial constructions rather than the number of verbs that may occur in an SVC with any particular verb. Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 107) claims that while it is tempting to view symmetry as a continuum with restricted asymmetrical SVCs at one extreme and symmetrical SVCs at the other, it is better to consider these two factors categorically so that that symmetrical and asymmetrical types can be more easily distinguished. Cleary-Kemp argues for this distinction because there appears to be a relationship between symmetry and independent verbhood, such that verbs in symmetrical constructions are likely also to be independent, while verbs in asymmetrical SVCs are more likely not to be independent and therefore the constructions in which they occur are not true SVCs. Cleary-Kemp identifies four types of symmetry presented in table 2.1.²⁵ She uses these categories to narrowly specify the types of verb sequences that should be considered true SVCs and those that should be considered another type of multi-verb or complex construction.

A categorical view of symmetry will not be taken in this work. When examining SVCs, symmetry appears to present as a continuum. Some SVCs are more symmetrical or asymmetrical than others. However, like Cleary-Kemp, the view is taken here that the type of restriction in terms of the types of verbs that can occur in each position between the verbs in SVCs is much more important than the degree of restriction of the absolute number of verbs that can occur in either position.

²⁵ This list of symmetry types occurs in a different order in Cleary-Kemp (2015).

Symmetrical	Type one:	symmetrical SVCs where there are no restrictions on either verb slot. ²⁶
	Type two:	symmetrical SVCs where both verbs in the SVC come from a restricted class.
Asymmetrical	Type one:	asymmetrical SVCs, where one of the verb slots allows only a certain independently recognised subset of verbs to occur.
	Type two:	lexically restricted constructions, where one of the slots allows only certain verbs to occur, but these verbs do not otherwise form a coherent subclass in the language.

Table 2.1: Types of symmetry

Type one symmetrical SVCs are those in which each verb contributes their individual and independent meaning to the construction as a whole. Constructions of this type are generally considered to be true exemplars of SVCs. The verbs in these constructions are independent and normally display temporal iconicity in their ordering (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 105).

Type two symmetrical SVCs are sequences of verbs in which both of the constituent verbs come from a restricted class. This type of SVC is highly conventionalised because the use of one verb in the construction restricts the other verb to one or a small set of different verbs, likely based on semantics. Type two symmetrical SVCs are productive enough to resist being analysed as lexicalized verbal compounds, even though in some languages there may be some semantic bleaching of one of the verbs in the construction (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 111).

Type one asymmetrical SVCs are constructions in which the semantic properties of the major verb restricts minor verb to a specific subset of verb identified by their shared semantic and/or morphosyntactic properties (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 105). As with type one symmetrical SVCs, type one asymmetrical SVCs are also considered exemplars of true of SVCs. While there is some restriction on which verbs can act as the minor verb for particular independent major verbs, the fact that the minor verbs form a cohesive group means that verb sequences of this type are not undergoing or have not yet undergone sufficient grammaticalization or lexicalisation for the minor verb not to be considered an independent verb. The minor verb used in this type of

²⁶ Many authors use the term “slot” to refer to the position of verbs in SVCs.

SVCs may be selected from a very large group of verbs, such as any intransitive stative verb, or small group of verbs, such as a directional verb.

SVCs that display type two asymmetrical characteristics are the most marginal in terms of whether they are true SVCs or some other kind of grammatical structure (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 109). This is because they are highly conventionalized. The minor comes verb from a small number of verbs which do not have any shared semantic properties or morphosyntactic features (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 109). In type two asymmetricals, the minor verbs that can be serialised with particular major verbs need to be learned by speakers on a case by case basis. Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 108) argues that because of this, type two asymmetrical SVCs should not be considered true SVCs. Type two asymmetrical constructions also often have unpredictable meanings, either because of semantic shift of the minor verb or because of the non-compositionality of the construction as a whole. Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 109) uses that as justification for not treating type two asymmetricals as true SVCs in her work, saying that they should be treated as constructions involving auxiliaries, modal morphemes, adpositions, particles, or bound morphemes instead. While it is good to emphasize the fact the sequences of verbs that appear to be SVCs at first glance may in fact be some other type of grammatical construction, it seems limiting to categorically exclude type two asymmetrical SVCs from being analysed as true SVCs simply because they do not behave like canonical SVCs, in terms of meaning or selection of the constituent verbs. This is particularly true if a language productively uses other types of SVCs, such that type two asymmetrical SVCs are simply another expression of SVC patterning. Thus, in this work type two asymmetrical SVCs are considered true SVCs if the constituent verbs involved are independent verbs and the construction has not become lexicalised.

Over time, processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization can act on SVCs, as well as other grammatical constructions, slowly restricting the way particular constructions are used, resulting in the closed-class/open-class distinction in symmetry (Bisang, 2009, p. 808). The syntactic restrictions placed on the minor verbs in asymmetrical SVCs means that over time they tend to undergo processes of grammaticalization and lose their ability to act as fully independent verbs. Minor verbs can develop into a variety of grammatical morpheme types such as unbound or bound verbal morphemes, classifiers, post-verbal modifiers, adpositions, conjunctions

and complementizers (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 30; Barbour, 2012; Lord, 1993; Lynch et al, 2002). Minor verbs expressing stance and motion often become markers for tense, aspect, mood, and evidentiality. Motion verbs often become directional makers. Minor verbs that encompass meanings such as “give”, “take”, and “do” regularly develop into markers of valence change which add benefactives, instruments, and causative agents to clauses. Other verbs can be used to remove participants making passive-like constructions. Comparative and superlative morphemes may develop from verbs like “pass” or exceed”.

Like asymmetrical SVCs, symmetrical SVCs can also go through a process where their use becomes restricted and conventionalised (Aikhenvald, 2006), as an expression of lexicalization. The use of two equal status verbs to express a particular meaning in symmetrical SVCs can become so conventionalised that they cannot be separated, effectively rendering them a lexicalised verbal compound. In asymmetrical SVCs, whole classes of minor verbs can undergo syntactic change and become various types of grammatical morphemes (Aikhenvald, 2006; Haspelmath, 2016; Lord, 1993).

2.3 Relationship between the Arguments of Verbs in SVCs

Another observable property of SVCs is the different ways in which the arguments of the verbs relate to each other in the construction itself. There is generally, but not always, argument sharing among the verbs in serial constructions (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 1; Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 5; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 101; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 309). Serial verbs are often categorised according to the relationship between the arguments of constituent verbs (Crowley, 2002, p. 40). The two main types of argument sharing are same-subject and switch-function, sometimes called switch-subject (Crowley, 2002, p. 40). Other argument sharing types are multiple-object, inclusory, and the non-sharing type, ambient SVCs (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 129). Although ambient SVCs do not display argument sharing, they can still be analysed as SVCs (§2.3.2). The number of arguments present in SVCs is not the sum of the arguments of their individual verbs due to the fact that the verbs tend to share at least one argument. In some cases verbs in SVCs take fewer arguments than when they are used in simple verbal clauses (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 51). Following Crowley (2002), shared

arguments are said to display *identity* in this work. If verbal arguments display identity it means that they are co-referential, referring to the same real-world entity.

2.3.1 Shared Arguments

All languages with SVCs are thought to have *same-subject* SVCs, and it is the most common type of SVC cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 44; Bisang, 2009, p. 799; Crowley, 2002, p. 44; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 2010, Foley & Olsen, 1985, p. 24-5, Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002). Same-subject SVCs occur when the subjects of V1 and V2 in SVCs display identity. Same-subject SVCs can occur with tightly integrated nuclear SVCs, where the verbs in the serial construction act like a single verb, or in more loosely integrated core SVCs (see §2.1.1). Because only the subjects of the verbs in the SVC need to display identity, it is possible for verbs of any transitivity to form a same-subject SVC (Crowley, 2002, p. 40).

In *switch-function* SVCs, the object argument of V1 and the subject argument of V2 display identity (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 51; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 130; Crowley, 2002, p. 40). Typically, the subject argument of V1 performs an action affecting its object argument, which shares identity with the subject argument of V2. Normally, V2 gives information about the result of the action denoted by V1 (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 51; Bisang, 2009, p. 799; Crowley, 2002, p. 40). Switch-function SVCs are the most common type of argument sharing pattern after same-subject (Crowley, 2002, p. 44).

Inclusory argument sharing, called cumulative argument sharing by Aikhenvald (2018, p. 43) is a rare type of argument sharing (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 132). Crowley (2002, p. 41) says that this type of argument sharing shows an overlap between same-subject and switch-function SVCs. In inclusory SVCs, the subject argument of V2 displays identity with the subject and object arguments of V1. Put another way, the referents of the subject and object arguments of V1 combine together to become the subject argument of V2. Because of the combination of actors across inclusory SVCs, the number of participants acting as the subject of V1 in this type of construction is less than that of the number of subject participants of V2 (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 46).

Multiple object SVCs can occur where there are two transitive verbs in an SVC and the object arguments of V1 and V2 do not display identity. The relationship between the subject arguments of the verbs can either be same-subject or switch-function meaning that the verbs still have a shared argument (Crowley, 2002, p. 41). Multiple object SVCs are the least common argument sharing type and they tend to be diachronically unstable, with V2 often grammaticalizing into prepositions (Crowley, 2002, p. 44).

2.3.2 Ambient Serial Verb Constructions

According to Crowley (2002, p. 44), *ambient* SVCs are the most common type of SVC after same-subject SVCs. Ambient SVCs are particularly common in Oceanic languages (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 131). The structure of ambient SVCs,²⁷ sometimes called event-argument SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 18), is different from those described above. In this type of SVC, none of the arguments of major verbs display identity with any one argument of the serialized ambient verb (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 51). In ambient SVCs, the serialized ambient verb tends to provide information about the manner in which action described by major verb(s) is carried out, the location in which it happens, or the order in which events happen (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 18; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 131; Crowley, 2002, p. 4; Lynch et al, 2002, p. 41). In this way, ambient SVCs serve as a type of adverbial function. In Oceanic languages, the serialized ambient verb is normally marked with 3SG indexing (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 131). Ambient verbs are considered a type of SVC because the ambient verb does not introduce another argument into the clause (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 153), but it also shows no evidence of being a separate or embedded clause. An analysis for the argument structure of ambient SVCs is that the ambient verb takes the entire event expressed by V1 as its coreferential argument (Aikhenvald, 2006; Bisang, 2009; Lynch et al, 2002, p. 41).

²⁷ This term was coined by Chafe (1970, p. 101-102) and was adopted by Crowley (2002) in his description of SVCs in Oceanic.

2.4 Functional Types of SVC

There are a number of commonly occurring grammatical-semantic functions of both symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs cross-linguistically, including in the languages of Vanuatu. These functional types of SVCs strongly correspond with patterns of augment sharing. They are presented in tables 2.2 and 2.3. The functional types are identified in Aikhenvald (2006, 2018), Cleary-Kemp (2015), Bisang (2009), Crowley (2002), Durie (1997), and Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002). Semantic sub-types of SVCs are most easily identifiable in asymmetrical SVCs due to the restriction placed on the minor verb. For example, Aikhenvald states that asymmetrical SVCs expressing direction are the most common sub-type of SVC. The verbs in symmetrical SVCs often have iconic ordering but verbs in asymmetrical SVCs are often not ordered iconically (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 85).

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Function	Symmetrical	V1	V2	Argument Sharing
Sequence of actions	Type 1	any	any	same-subject
Cause-effect	Type 1	any	any	switch-function
Resultative	Type 2	dynamic action	event or state resulting from V1	same-subject and switch-function
Manner	Type 2	action	attributive verb	ambient
Prior/associated motion	Type 2	basic motion verb	action	same-subject

Table 2.2: Commonly occurring symmetrical SVCs functions

Function	Minor Verb	Argument Sharing
Directional	basic motion verb	same-subject and switch-function
Positional	postural verb	same-subject and switch-function
Causative	verb of causation such as “make” or “do”	switch-function
Imperfective aspect	posture or motion verbs	same-subject
Completive aspect	“finish”	ambient
Inceptive/inchoative aspect	“come”, “start”	same-subject
Modals	verbs expressing obligation, desire, trying, and similar meanings	same-subject
Comparative/superlative	verbs like “pass”, “win”, and “exceed”	same-subject
Instrumental	“take”	multiple-object
Benefactive	“give”	multiple-object
Comitative and Associative	verbs like “be with”	inclusory
Complement	complement taking verbs, such as verbs of locution like “say”	same-subject

Table 2.3: Commonly occurring asymmetrical SVCs functions²⁸

²⁸ There are no entries in table 2.3 for type two asymmetrical SVCs because these are language specific.

2.5 Single Event

One of the commonly occurring descriptors of SVCs is that they should encode situations that speakers consider to be single events (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 10, Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 34; Bisang, 2009, p. 796; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 120; Durie, 1997, p. 291). Some authors have claimed that the occurrence of verbs in SVCs in a single clause, sharing many grammatical markings and arguments, proves that speakers are conceptualising the SVC as one single event, made up of at least two component verbs that represent different actions or states of affairs (Durie, 1997, p. 327). This is definitely the case with some SVCs, particularly some kinds of asymmetrical SVCs and those that can be analysed as being more lexicalized or grammaticalized than others. However, it is clear that many SVCs encode sequences of events rather than one single event. Type one symmetrical SVCs and some semantic sub-classes of type two asymmetrical SVCs clearly encode sequences of events. Because of this, it is common to see the individual verbs in the SVC described as expressing *sub-events* while the supposed single event which they comprise is called the *macro-event* (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 36; Bisang, 2009, p. 796; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 120). Some authors have made the claim that SVCs are used to encode culturally specific patterns of actions (Durie, 1997; Driller, 2006).

One of the main justifications for claiming that SVCs represent single events centres on the articulation of SVCs without pauses in a single intonation contour. Intonational justifications are based on the belief that intonational contours and the placement of pauses directly correlate to the packaging of different ideas in speech (Givón, 1990, p. 24). As described in §2.1, some linguists consider single intonation and the lack of intonation breaks as a defining property of SVCs. The belief is that if verbs represent single conceptual events or states of affairs, then verbs occurring in serial constructions pronounced with the same intonation contour as simple verbal constructions must also be representing single ideas. Similarly, the pauses between verbs in serial constructions should be shorter than those found between clauses, subordinate or main (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 3). It is believed that the position of pauses in speech normally aligns with conceptual units, or single ideas (Givón, 1990; Givón, 1991).

New work by Defina (2016, p. 905) finds that there is a strong correlation between co-speech gestures and SVCs and other complex structures. She finds that speakers of

Avatime tend to use single gestures when they use SVCs and they use multiple gestures with complex clauses. She uses this observation to support the claim that SVCs encode single events (Defina, 2006, p. 906). Although beyond the scope of this project, Defina's (2016) work offers a new type of evidence for the investigation of complex structures.

Structural justifications for single eventhood are very similar to those used to justify monoclausality in SVCs. For example, verbs in serial constructions share arguments which one could analyse as indicating that the verbs are part of a single event because the participants in the proposition are relevant to both verbs (Bisang, 2009, p. 805). Additionally the verbs in SVCs share the same, tense, aspect, mood, polarity and illocutionary force, which inherently links them to the same time and place (Bisang, 2009, p. 805).

There are a number of issues with using intonational, structural features, and gestures to analyse SVCs as encoding single events. The first is that the structure of language is assumed to reveal people's thought processes (Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 121). However, Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 126) argues that intonation, pauses, and structural features have mostly been used as an allegory for single eventhood rather than concrete proof that serial verbs represent multiple sub-events that speakers truly conceptualise as being part of a larger macro-event.

A number of authors have claimed that SVCs encode culturally specific events; however this is also a problematic criterion for proving single eventhood; mainly because people are capable of conceiving all manner of events as being able to occur together (Bisang, 2009, p. 801; Cleary-Kemp, 2015, p. 122; Haspelmath, 2016, p. 306). Crowley (2002, p. 264) also argues against this view, saying that languages use many different kinds of SVCs and that they all cannot encode culturally specific realities. Arguing that sequences of events are culturally relevant to particular groups of people can be problematic for linguists who are often ethnic outsiders. For example, linguistic typologists write about many languages that they often do not speak, and descriptive and documentary linguists tend to be cultural outsiders writing about minority or under described languages. Instead, it might be useful to view the sequences of events encoded by SVCs as involving logically possible sequences, given the fact that humans experience the physical passage of time in a linear way.

In an attempt to identify single eventhood as a defining feature of SVCs, both Cleary-Kemp (2015) and Bisang (2009) make use of the macro-event property (MEP) in their typological overviews of SVCs, noting that it is perhaps, at this stage, the best test to prove that SVCs encode single events. The MEP was proposed by Bohnemeyer et al. (2007, p. 497) who say that “a construction has the MEP if temporal operations such as time adverbials, temporal clauses, and tenses necessarily have scope over all the sub-events encoded by the construction”. This definition makes no mention to the type of clauses which can display the MEP so it is possible for it to act over simple clauses, serial verb clauses, or subordinate clauses. However, while Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) claim that various clause types can display the MEP, macro-event properties are more common in languages which allow multiple verbs in a single verb phase or languages which allow clause chaining (Bohnemeyer et al., 2007, p. 524). Cleary-Kemp (2015) uses the display of the MEP in multi-verb constructions as a defining feature of SVCs in her work. However, there is an issue with this method. Different types of constructions can also display the MEP and so the MEP is not specific to SVCs.

While Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 120) centres most of her argument for the single eventhood of SVCs on the MEP, she also states that because there is no consistent methodology presented in the typological literature to establish whether speakers are truly conceptualising SVCs as single events, it is “impossible” to use it as a defining characteristic of SVCs. This view is also shared by Crowley (2002, p. 263).

Furthermore, Cleary-Kemp (2015, p. 126) says that single eventhood is a non-linguistic criterion for SVCs but linguists have included it in their discussions about SVCs based on their intuition that SVCs represent single events. They have used different types of structural and semantic features as justification for their claim. Haspelmath (2016, p. 306) also argues against using single eventhood as a defining characteristic of SVCs and ultimately concludes that single eventhood is an impractical and unnecessary criterion for defining SVCs based on his comparative definition of SVCs.²⁹

In this work, SVCs are not defined as encoding single events. Single eventhood is very difficult to prove. Ultimately it is a non-structural criterion which cannot be tested robustly with current linguistic methods (Haspelmath, 2016, p. 306). That being said,

²⁹ Haspelmath defines SVCs as a “monoclausal construction of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and no predicate-argument relation (Haspelmath, 2016, p. 296).”

this work accepts that a number of tightly knit event types occur regularly in the literature on SVCs. These event types have already been discussed in §2.4.

2.6 A Definitional Framework for the Analysis of SVCs

Having examined a number of commonly re-occurring features of SVCs in the typological literature and the discussion surrounding these features, serial verb constructions in this work are identified as follows:

- SVCs display monoclausality with no evidence of coordination, subordination, syntactic dependency, or any other kind of linking.
 - The verbs in the SVC share the same semantic TAMPs value and illocutionary force.
 - The verbs can combine in either nuclear or core junctures.
 - The verbs comprising SVCs can be marked singly or concordantly but they cannot have special marking, as this could be analysed as linking morphology.
- SVCs comprise independent verbs. Independent verbs have the same meaning when occurring in simple verbal clauses as they do when they occur in SVCs; OR the meaning of a verb in an SVC is clearly related to its simple verbal clause meaning.
- At least one of the arguments of the verbs that comprise SVCs must display identity OR it must be an ambient SVC.

The definitional framework for SVCs that has been established in this chapter will be employed to present a unified description of SVCs in six selected languages of the Central Vanuatu Linkage (Chapter Three). It will be employed in the description of SVCs in the case study languages of Northwest Malekula (Chapter Four), and it will provide a framework for the later comparison of SVCs and ERCs (Chapter Eight).

Chapter Three

Serial Verb Constructions in Central Vanuatu

In this chapter, Serial Verb Constructions in six languages from the Central Vanuatu linkage of the Oceanic language family will be surveyed. The selected languages are Neverver and Uluveu (Malekula), Vatlongos (Ambrym), Paamese (Paama), Lewo (Epi), and Lelepa (Efate). Detailed published analyses of serialisation exist for all six languages. The Central Vanuatu linkage along with the Southern Melanesian linkage are branches of the Nuclear Southern Oceanic linkage (Lynch et al, 2002, p. 11; Ross et al, 2016). Both linkages are part of the same higher order grouping; however, the languages of Southern Vanuatu in the Southern Melanesian linkage are not considered in this chapter. Rather, they are surveyed in Chapter Five with regard to their use of Echo-Reference Constructions.

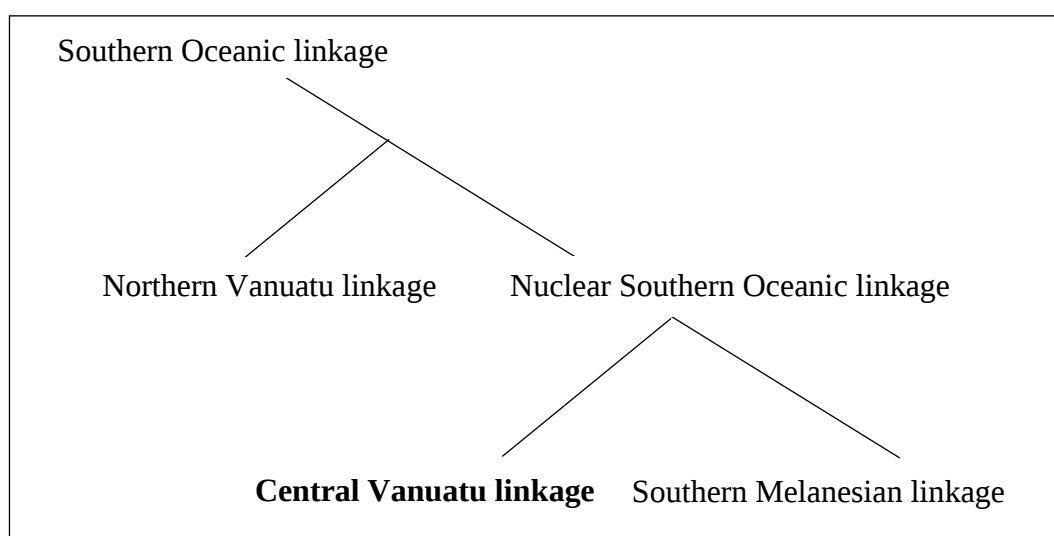


Figure 3.1: Southern Oceanic linkage

The definitional framework for SVCs established in the previous chapter is employed in this chapter to present a unified description of SVCs in the six selected languages.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are two main structural types of SVC: nuclear SVCs and core SVCs. These two types of SVC are well established in the literature on SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages. Ambient SVCs are also widely observed in the Central Vanuatu languages having been first identified in Paamese (Crowley, 1987, p. 40). Additionally, most languages have a functional split between

the verbs that occur in each type of SVC. The semantic properties that each type of SVC possesses that can also be analysed in terms of symmetry.

3.1 Describing Independent Verbs in Central Vanuatu

Lexemes that denote actions, processes, events, states, and characteristics, along with other similar semantic domains, normally fall into the word class of verbs in the Central Vanuatu languages. All Central Vanuatu languages have intransitive and transitive verb classes. Some also have ambitransitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs tend to denote situations that only require one participant. In A-type intransitive verbs, an agent is encoded as the subject; in O-type intransitive verbs, an undergoer is encoded as the subject. Central Vanuatu languages tend to express the characteristics or attributes of nominals using intransitive stative or adjectival verbs rather than adjectives. Some Central Vanuatu languages have a very small and limited class of true adjectives that denote properties like size and in some cases colour.

Adjectives are attributive nominal modifiers that do not receive verbal inflections. Some adjectival lexemes have dual word class membership, occurring as adjectives when functioning attributively and as intransitive verbs when functioning as predicates. Transitive verbs require two arguments: a subject and an object. Prototypically, they denote actions that a volitional agent, encoded as the subject, carries out on another animate or inanimate entity, encoded as the object.

Some Central Vanuatu languages, such as V'ënen Taut, clearly divide verbs into two separate classes, even having two distinct lexemes distinguished by transitivity denoting the same action, for example: intransitive *khatat* “eat” and transitive *khan* “eat” (Dodd, 2014, p. 136). Where transitivity is not a lexically conditioned property of a verb, some Central Vanuatu languages mark transitivity morphologically. An example of this is Abma. In Abma, there are a number of verbs which become transitive with the addition of the suffix *-i~ni* or become intransitive through reduplication and the addition of the suffix *-k* (Schneider, 2010, p. 84-87).

Some Central Vanuatu languages have small group of ambitransitive verbs. These verbs have an invariant form that can function both intransitively and transitively depending on whether they occur in a clause with an object argument, for example the

Abma verb *hani* which can be either intransitive “fall down” or transitive “knock something over” (Schneider, 2010, p. 83)

Ditransitive propositions, like those involving giving, require three participants that express the roles of agent, theme, and recipient. Central Vanuatu languages tend to encode the recipient argument as the object of a preposition. Only Lelepa has what could be analysed as true ditransitive verbs where both the theme and recipient arguments occur unmarked after the verb and are distinguished from each other through constituent order (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 306).

Independent verbs can be identified through morphological modification in the Central Vanuatu languages. They are consistently modified with preverbal subject indexing and TAMP morphology when occurring in simple verbal clauses. The preverbal morphology is only associated with members of the verb word class. This means that any lexeme that occurs in a simple verbal clause³⁰ and that accepts subject indexing and TAMP morphology qualifies as an independent verb. Analyses vary in the boundedness of the preverbal morphology to the verb stem. Some languages are analysed as using prefixes and others proclitics.³¹ The key characteristic is that verbs generally do not occur in simple verbal clauses without the presence of at least one preverbal morpheme.³² In Central Vanuatu languages, the obligatory morphology encodes properties of the subject and forms part of a preverbal complex, along with some other TAMP morphology. The internal structure of the preverbal complex is analysed as having a number of ordered positions filled by morphemes with specific grammatical functions. Variation occurs in the number of morphological positions in the preverbal complex, and whether the positions are obligatorily filled in a simple verbal clause.³³

³⁰ Complex predicates are not considered to form simple verbal clauses. Some languages have a number of verb-like morphemes which are positioned before the independent verb and therefore accept preverbal subject and TAMP morphology; however, they are restricted to complex predicates and are not considered independent verbs.

³¹ “Prefix” and “clitic” are the terms used by the linguists who wrote about these languages. The distinction between clitics and affixes is quite opaque; however, affixes are often regarded as morphemes can only occur attached to other morphemes, generally of a specific word class, and are phonologically dependent on them, while clitics are phonologically dependent on another morpheme but they occur attached to words in a particular position in the clause and not specifically to any word class.

³² There are two exceptions to this rule. This first is that several Central Vanuatu languages have a zero-marked person-number category, often the third person-singular. In cases like these, the absence of a preverbal subject morpheme can be considered an expression of person-number, because the lack of marking for one person-number combination contrasts clearly with overt marking of all other person-number combinations. The second is when verbs occur as the V2 in nuclear SVCs.

³³ The Lelepa language is somewhat unusual in that it allows benefactive prepositional phrases to occur in the preverbal complex (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 323)

Regarding preverbal subject indexing, Central Vanuatu languages minimally distinguish three grammatical person categories: first, second, and third person. Some languages also encode impersonal constructions with distinct subject morphology. The languages generally make three grammatical number distinctions: singular, dual, and plural. They often contrast clusivity for first person non-singular subjects. Additionally, when used in simple verbal predicates, verbs are modified with tense, aspect, mood (TAM) morphology. Many Central Vanuatu languages, particularly those from Malekula, encode an obligatory binary distinction between realis and irrealis moods, although other tense, aspect, and mood categories are also attested.

Realis mood mostly aligns temporally with events that have happened, are currently happening, or happen habitually, while irrealis mood tends to align with future and hypothetical events. These observations regarding mood morphology are consistent with the behaviour of Northwest Malekula languages, outlined in §1.5. Although many Central Vanuatu languages express temporal distinctions through the use of realis and irrealis moods, some languages instead contrast different tenses and aspects. Vatlongos, for example, is a language with four main tenses: prior, non-future, immediate future, and distant future (Ridge, 2019, p. 144).

Central Vanuatu languages have different methods for encoding person, number, and TAM distinctions in the preverbal complex, as well as expressions of polarity. Some languages have high levels of concatenation, encoding grammatical distinctions with separate morphemes in discrete positions in the preverbal complex, as seen in the project case study languages of V'ënen Taut and Tape in §1.5. Others encode grammatical distinctions with portmanteau morphemes where person, number and/or TAM are encoded in a single complex morpheme, as seen in Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019). Complex systems of phonological change and allomorphy in the preverbal complex are also reported, meaning that while the underlying morphology of the preverbal complex is segmentable, its surface articulation acts like portmanteau morphemes, as seen in Neverver (Barbour, 2012) and Paamese (Crowley, 1982).

Example 3.1 shows person, number, mood, and clusivity being encoded in a by a single surface form in Neverver

3.1	Neverver	(Barbour, 2012, p. 296)
	<i>J., abbast nat-uv Tavali Aut</i>	
	<i>J yesterday 1EXCL:REAL:PL-go Tavali Aut</i>	
	‘J., yesterday we went to Tavali Aut.’	

Example 3.2 shows how person and mood are expressed in a single morpheme in V’ënen Taut, while number is expressed separately.

3.2	V’ënen Taut	(Dodd, 2014, p. 98)
	<i>të-r-m’atr al pitvat-am</i>	
	<i>1:IRR-PAU-sleep in garden-POSS:2SG</i>	
	‘We (two) will sleep in your garden.’	

The preverbal complex in Lelepa is analysed as consisting eight different positions. Of these, only the subject position must be filled in order for verbs to be grammatical (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 237). Subject proclitics attach to the following preverbal morpheme or directly to the verb, as seen in example 3.3.

3.3	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 136)
	<i>K. C. e=po panei. K. C. e=panei 1937.</i>	
	<i>K. C. 3SG=SEQ come K. C. 3SG=COME 1937</i>	
	‘Then K.C. came. K.C. came in 1937.’	

Example 3.4 shows the verb “come” being modified by three morphemes in the preverbal complex. The third person dual proclitic attaches the modal particle *lag* “maybe” while the number particle *rua* “two” is pronounced as a separate word.

3.4	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 329)
	<i>ar=lag rua panmei.</i>	
	<i>3DU=maybe two come</i>	
	‘Maybe they both came.’	

Many Central Vanuatu languages, particularly those spoken outside of Malekula, encode different TAM by values changing the phonetic properties of the verb root itself, in addition to sometimes marking mood with overt morphology. This is shown in examples 3.5 a) and b) from Lewo in which the same prefix encodes first person and singular number, while mood is signalled by the alternating initial consonant of the verb.

3.5 Lewo (Early, 1993, p. 154)

- a) **ne-vagan** *nompui* *lala*
 1SG-IRR:feed pig PL
 ‘I will feed the pigs’
- b) **ne-pagan** *nompui* *lala*
 1SG-REAL:feed pig PL
 ‘I fed the pigs.’

The Vatlongos language also uses initial consonant stem alternation in conjunction with a complex set of portmanteau subject-tense prefixes.

3.6 Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, .p 89)

<i>meletin</i>	<i>xil</i>	la-gal	<i>laplap</i>	<i>na-n</i>
person	PL	3PL.NFUT-NFUT.buy	laplap	CL.GEN-3SG.POSS
‘People buy his laplap.’				

In the Central Vanuatu languages, there are typically a number of different post-verbal morphemes that occur regularly in the post-verbal complex. Post-verbal morphology can also help in identifying independent verbhood; however, this is not as reliable a test of verbhood because some elements that occur regularly in the post-verbal complex, like bound object morphology, can also modify non-verbal elements, such as adverbs or prepositions. While the left-most element in the preverbal complex in the surveyed Central Vanuatu languages is typically the subject index,³⁴ the right-most element in the post-verbal complex varies between the languages. Furthermore, while all verbs in the Central Vanuatu languages must be modified with pre-verbal morphology in simple verbal clauses, there is no post-verbal morphology that is obligatorily used with all verbs in order for them to be grammatical.

As with the morphemes in the preverbal complex, those that can occur in the post-verbal complex often function to reference participants in the clause and to make TAMP distinctions that are not expressed in the preverbal complex. In addition to those functions, Central Vanuatu languages have a number of morphemes that occur in the post-verbal complex which have an ostensibly adverbial function, indicating the manner in which an action took place or expressing the result of an action. Speakers

³⁴ Uluveu has one position filled by one of three morphemes that can occur before the subject prefixes. One is used to express prohibitives while the other two encode evidential modality, identifying whether the subject has seen or is currently seeing the action denoted by the verb (Healey, 2013, p. 181).

use these morphemes to add semantic detail to independent verbs. Some of these morphemes can be identified as true adverbs, following the language specific definition of adverbs; others resist categorisation and function similarly to adverbs while having many properties associated with independent verbs. This type of morpheme are called coverbs in this work (see §3.3.1.2).

The morphology in the post-verbal complex that is most strongly associated with independent verbhood in the Central Vanuatu languages are morphemes that mark transitivity and changes in transitivity. None of the surveyed Central Vanuatu languages have obligatory morphology that is used on all independent transitive verbs to mark transitivity. However, the languages appear to have reanalysed the Proto Oceanic transitivising suffixes **-i* and **aki(ni)* (Evans, 2003; Lynch et al, 2002, p. 44) in several different ways involving transitivity, where the modern reflexes of the suffixes often function as valence increasing devices for intransitive and transitive verbs. For example, the suffix *-n(i)* attaches to some intransitive verbs in Lewo, creating transitive verbs (Early, 1994, p. 148). The verb “cry” occurs as a basic intransitive in example 3.7 a) and as a derived transitive in example b).

3.7	Lewo	(Early, 1994, p. 148)
a)	M. <i>Ø-tagī</i> M. 3SG-cry ‘M.’s crying.’	
b)	M. <i>Ø-tagī-n-ko</i> <i>ke</i> M.. 3SG-cry-TR-2SG:OBJ TA ‘M.’s crying for you. ’	

In example 3.8, the transitivizing suffix is used with the transitive verb “send” so that an additional participant, in this case the semantic goal, can be added to the clause.

3.8	Lewo	(Early, 1994, p. 318)
	<i>naga</i> <i>Ø-m-īla-nu-n</i> <i>platenkap</i> 3SG 3SG-REAL-send-1SG:OBJ-TR fire.stick ‘He sent me for the fire-stick. ’	

Transitivizing suffixes also are also found in Lelepa (*-ki*), Vatlongos (*-ni*), Paamese (*-si*, *-ti*, *-ni*), and Uluveu (*-Vs*, *-n*, *-san*). As with Lewo mentioned above, these suffixes are not required on all transitive verbs, but they are used to derive transitive verbs from specific intransitive verbs.

Rather than having a transitivizing suffix, Neverver is analysed as employing an applicative suffix that attaches to verbs as a valence increasing device. The applicative can occur with intransitive verbs, like in example 3.9, and transitive verbs. The applicative argument mostly encodes themes, stimuli, or experiencers with intransitive verbs and instruments, associatives, or benefactive with transitive verbs (Barbour, 2012).

3.9	Neverver	(Barbour, 2012, p. 186)
	<i>ar-bal-ikh</i>	<i>naglat</i>
	3:REAL:DU-be.beaten-APPL	devil.nettle
	‘They were beaten with nettles.’	

Verbs are also identifiable by their negative morphology. Negation is indicated in a variety of different ways in the Central Vanuatu languages. In some languages, it is shown with a pre-verbal morpheme occurring after the subject index and before the verb root, as shown in Uluveu in example 3.10.

3.10	Uluveu			(Healey, 2013, p. 196)
a)	<i>a-lat</i>	<i>tëbarehreh</i>	<i>lë-sa-tëlmam</i>	
	PERS-PL	girl	3PL:REAL-NEG-return	
	‘The girls did not return.’			

Negation is also attested post-verbally in languages like Tirax (see Chapter One) and in Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 279), as displayed in example 3.11.

3.11	Neverver	(Barbour, 2015, p. 447)		
	<i>i-khan</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>nidam</i>	<i>ang.</i>
	3SG:REAL-eat	NEG	yam	DEM.ANA
	‘It didn’t eat the yams.’			

Discontinuous negation, where a pre-verbal negative morpheme and a post-verbal negative morpheme function together to mark negation on the same verb, is also common in Central Vanuatu languages, and indeed Oceanic languages more widely (Lynch et al, 2002, p. 51). The post-verbal negative morpheme is often positioned after the object argument as shown in Lelepa.

3.12 Paamese (Crowley, 1982, p. 140)

- a) *inau naromesai tei*
*inau na-ro-mesai **tei***
 1SG 1SG:REAL-NEG₁-sick NEG₂
 'I am not sick.'

b) Lelepa (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 276)

- e=ti loṗa=e mau.*
 3SG=NEG₁ see=3SG:OBJ NEG₂
 'He didn't see it.'

Lewo has three-part negation,³⁵ with a negative morpheme that occurs between the subject noun phrase and the inflected verb, a negative morpheme that follows the verb but precedes the transitive object noun phrase and an optional third negative marker after the object noun phrase (Early, 1994, p. 396).

3.13 Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 397)

- naga pe Ø-pisa re sun-ena tai poli*
 3SG REAL.NEG₁ 3SG-REAL.say NEG₂ story-NMLZ ART NEG₃
 'He didn't tell a story.'

The post-verbal negative morpheme can have various positions in the clause. In some languages, such as Neverver, it occurs before the object noun phrase, in Lelepa it occurs after the object noun phrase, and in Vatlongos, it can occur before or after the object noun phrase without any apparent change in meaning, as shown in 3.14 (Ridge, 2019, p.132).

3.14 Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p.132)

- a) *puskat **taa-toxol=ti** asu*
 cat 3SG.NFUT.NEG-catch=NEG rat
 'The cat didn't catch a/the rat.'

b) Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p.132)

- puskat **taa-toxol** asu=**ti***
 cat 3SG.NFUT.NEG-catch rat=NEG
 'The cat didn't catch a/the rat.'

³⁵ Morphological negation is not unique to the verb complex in Lewo, nominals functioning as predicates in non-verbal clauses and some prepositions can be negated with the same morphology (Early, 1994, p. 400-402).

In Tirax, the post-verbal negative morpheme has two positions in transitive clauses, immediately following a pronominal enclitic, or preceding a nominal object (§1.5.3).

Verbs can also be identified by their ability to undergo reduplication. Reduplication is a feature commonly associated with verbs in the Central Vanuatu languages, and it is almost universal in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al, 2002, p. 44). Reduplicated affixes are normally preposed in the Central Vanuatu languages and tend to take the form CV~ or CVC~, with reduplication of the initial consonants and vowels of the verb stem, although some languages, like Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 138), reduplicate non-initial material. Reduplication has a variety of grammatical and semantic functions in the Central Vanuatu languages, including iconic functions like indicating intensity, iterative or habitual aspect, and the plurality of the subject of the reduplicated verb. Example 3.15 a) shows a standard intransitive clause in Lewo. In b), the subject is plural and the verb is reduplicated to show that “fall” occurred multiple times with different mangos. In c), the verb “eat” is reduplicated indicating that the action took place habitually.

3.15 Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 141)

a) *magko* *Ø-pili*
 mango 3SG-REAL.fall
 ‘A mango fell.’

b) Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 141)

b) *magko* *lala* *a-pi-vili*
 mango PL 3PL-REAL.DUP.fall
 ‘Mangos fell.’

c) Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 136)

c) *te-leriko* *kawa* *laia* *napa* *a-ka-ka-n*
 elf strong PL REL 3PL-DUP-eat-TR
 yaru *lala*
 person PL
 ‘The strong elves who eat/keep eating people.’

In example 3.16, reduplication is signalling iterative aspect in Neverver and Uluveu.

3.16 Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 249)

a) *i-tukh-tukh* *nimdali* *titi-dr*
 3SG:REAL-DUP-strike door 3POSS-PL
 ‘He knocked on their door repeatedly.’

	Uluveu			(Healey, 2013, p. 260)
b)	<i>e-batah</i>	<i>taban,</i>	<i>i-ṽos-ṽos</i>	<i>nə-madu-n.</i>
	3SG.REAL-sit	next.to.3SG	3SG.REAL-DUP-slap	NMLZ-back-3SG.POSS
	‘He sat beside him patting his back.’			

Both Neverver and Uluveu employ reduplication to encode reflexive and reciprocals.

3.17	Neverver			(Barbour, 2012, p. 243)
a)	<i>at-te-te</i>	<i>adr</i>		
	3PL:REAL-DUP-hit	3NSG		
	‘They all fought each other.’			

	Uluveu			(Healey, 2013, p. 262)
b)	<i>gəlaru</i>	<i>aru-ṽos-ṽos</i>	<i>gəlar</i>	<i>gabag.</i>
	3DL	3DL:REAL-DUP-slap	3DL	self
	‘The two of them slapped each other.’			

Reduplication is commonly used as a detransitivizing process in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al, 2002, p. 44) and this is true for the Central Vanuatu languages. In Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 241) some transitive verbs can become intransitive through reduplication. The intransitive verb has an inherent and unexpressed object or it refers to a general action. Similar processes also occur in Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 241) and Paamese (Crowley, 1982, p. 152).

Additionally, reduplication is employed in some Central Vanuatu languages to derive nouns from verbs, such as the Neverver verb *sien* ‘think, consider’ which is reduplicated as *ni-si~sien-ian* ‘thought or decision’ (Barbour, 2012, p. 244) and the Lelepa verb *si* ‘shoot’ becoming *si~si* ‘rifle’ (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 124).

Most Central Vanuatu languages have a set of bound object morphemes that encode the object argument(s) of transitive and ditransitive verbs. Like subject indexes, the object morphemes are classified as either suffixes or enclitics depending on their phonological properties and their positioning in the post-verbal complex. The bound object morphemes generally occur in the place of a full nominal, although they can co-occur with nominal objects in situations where the nominal object is displaced, such as in fronting constructions. In Central Vanuatu languages, the bound post-verbal pronominal paradigms may be partial, with some person-number combinations being expressed by independent pronouns.

The example below shows the Vatlongos verb “cut” being inflected by the second person singular object suffix *-uk*. The object suffix encodes person and number while the subject prefix also encodes TAM values. Vatlongos has a partial object paradigm that encodes only singular objects (Ridge, 2019, p. 212).

3.18	<u>Vatlongos</u>	(Ridge, 2019, p. 214)
	<i>va-tei-uk</i>	
	3SG:IFUT-cut-2SG:OBJ	
	‘He’ll cut you.’	

The Lelepa language has bound markers for singular and non-singular objects in the first, second, and third persons. There is also a contrast in clusivity in the bound first person non-singular object pronominals (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 336). As with most Central Vanuatu languages, object arguments can be separated from the verb by other elements in the post-verbal complex. This is displayed in example 3.19 where the 3PL:OBJ enclitic is attached to the post-verbal perfect marker *sua* rather than to the verb root *kor* “lock”.

3.19	<u>Lelepa</u>	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 337)
	<i>E=kat kor sua=ra.</i>	
	3SG=CERT lock PRF=3PL:OBJ	
	‘He locked them up already.’	

The ability to accept object marking morphology is not a unique property of verbs in some of the Central Vanuatu languages. This is because prepositions and adverbials may also accept object marking morphology. These same forms, however, do not accept subject indexing morphology.

Aside from morphological marking, verbs can be identified in Central Vanuatu languages by their position in the clause. Central Vanuatu languages have SVO clause structure and nominative-accusative alignment. In a simple declarative clause with an intransitive verb, the subject argument precedes the verb and is indexed on the verb. In transitive clauses, the subject argument also precedes the verb, which is inflected with the same subject indexing morphology used with intransitive verbs. The object argument follows the verb and the other post-verbal morphology. As noted above, the object argument can sometimes be represented using a bound object morpheme. Non-

core arguments generally follow intransitive verbs or the object argument of transitive verbs.

As a category, nouns tend to receive little morphological inflection in the Central Vanuatu languages, with noun class and possession often being the only categories indicated by nominal inflections. A distinction between three types of nouns is typical: common nouns, local nouns, and personal nouns. Beyond their obvious semantic differences, there is sometimes a structural difference between these nouns. Common nouns often begin with *n(V)-*, and in some of the languages certain local nouns begin with *l(V)-*, although this marking is not as consistent as the common noun marking. Some languages even have pairs of the same lexeme used for common and local, as illustrated in Tirax.

Common Noun		Local Noun	
<i>naim</i>	‘house’	<i>laim</i>	‘to the house/home’
<i>nadxan</i>	‘fire’	<i>ladxan</i>	‘on/in the fire’
<i>ntah</i>	‘the sea’	<i>laltah</i>	‘to/in the sea’

Table 3.1: Tirax common and local nouns

Personal nouns may be marked with a personal morphemes when they are not occurring in vocative constructions. This can be seen in the example from Uluveu below, which makes use of the personal morpheme *a-*.

3.20	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 60)
	<i>na-ieh</i> <i>e-kənot</i> <i>a-Ron</i>	
	NMLZ-fish 3SG:REAL-poison PERS-Ron	
	‘A fish poisoned Ron.’	

Inflectional possession tends to be obligatorily marked on nouns that have an inherent association with their possessor. Such nouns express categories like body parts and some bodily products, some family relations, objects to which a person has a very close relationship, and inanimate objects that have a part-whole relationship to a larger entity. Consider the examples below from V’ënen Taut.

3.21	V’ënen Taut	(Dodd, 2014, p. 65-68)
a)	<i>nau-k</i>	
	spouse-POSS:1SG	
	‘my spouse’	

- b) *p'ak-ën*
body-POSS:3SG
'her body'
- c) *rau-n*
leaf-POSS:3SG
'its leaf'

In Central Vanuatu languages, verbs and nouns belong to word classes that are clearly distinguished from each other through their morphosyntactic properties. The same form cannot be used nominally and verbally without undergoing some kind of derivational process.

In the languages sampled, there are often several methods of deriving nouns from verbs, but there are no observed patterns for deriving verbs from nouns. Many common nouns in Central Vanuatu begin with phonemes /n(V)/. This initial phonological sequence is a reflex of the Proto Oceanic common noun article **na/*a* (Crowley, 1985, p. 161). In many languages, this article has developed into a bound prefix that is obligatorily attached to a large number of common nouns. For example, 87 percent of the recorded common nouns in Neveve begin with *n(V)-* (Barbour, 2012, p. 77). In other languages, this prefix has become fused to the noun root and is no longer analysable as a separate morpheme. This process is almost complete in Neveve where noun roots can only occur without the common noun article in limited circumstances, such as in the compounds illustrated below.

3.22	Neveve	(Barbour, 2012, p. 107)		
	<i>nimukhman</i>	<i>niterikh</i>	<i>niterikh-mukhman</i>	
	'man'	'child'	'boy'	

In Central Vanuatu, common nouns are also derived from verbs in many of the languages by adding a suffix which takes the form of *-(V)Vn*, a reflex of the POc nominalizer **-an* (Lynch, et al, 2002, p. 70). This suffix is sometimes used on its own, although it may nominalise in conjunction with the common noun prefix. In languages like Neveve, the nominalizer can take the form of a circumfix *n(V)-... -(V)Vn* (Barbour, 2012, p. 104).

3.2 The Clausal Nucleus and Core in Central Vanuatu

Before serial verb constructions in the Central Vanuatu languages can be discussed in this work, it is important to describe the typical nucleus and core of clauses in these languages. Presented below is the diagram of the generic layered clause structure, made up of the nucleus, core, and periphery, repeated from §2.1.1.

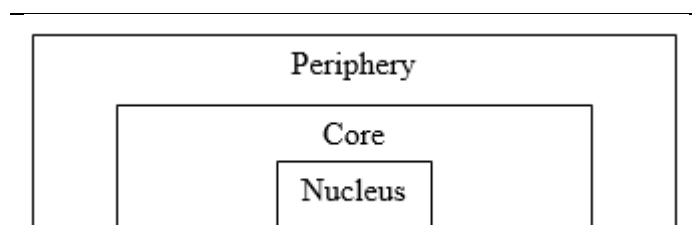


Figure 3.2: The layered clause
(following Foley & Olsen, 1985)

The nucleus of the clause can be thought of as comprising the inflected verb, while the core comprises the inflected verb with its core arguments. The periphery adds non-core arguments, such as obliques, to the clause. The peripheral layer is inclusive of the core. The visual representation above is appropriate for the description of the Central Vanuatu languages that have been sampled for this thesis because they all have basic subject-verb-object constituent order. This means the core of the clause generally surrounds its nucleus. Nuclear junctures are more common in languages that have an initial or final verb position because, by the nature of the structure of the clause, verbs occurring in series cannot encounter intervening nominals. On the other hand, core serial junctures are more likely in languages with verb medial constituent order. Below is visual representation of the basic layered clause in the Central Vanuatu languages.

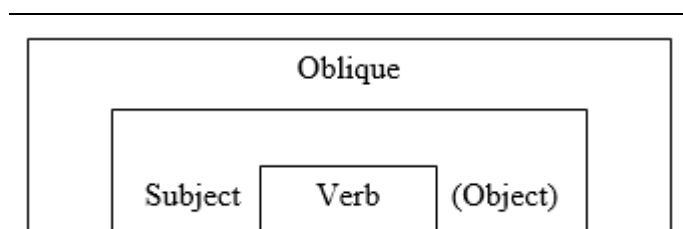


Figure 3.3: The layered clause in Central Vanuatu

In terms of structure, in the languages of Central Vanuatu, the clausal nucleus can be equated to the verb complex. SVCs with verbs in nuclear junctures present in a single verb complex while each verb in SVCs in core junctures has its own verb complex. In

the case of languages that require subject indexing, the verb complex contains morphology that expresses person and number values of the subject, as well as grammatical expressions of tense, mood, aspect, and polarity. None of Central Vanuatu languages require object indexing on verbs; however, some pronominal objects can take the form of bound inflections for specific person number combinations. These forms are used in place of full NPs when the object is known through context. The Central Vanuatu languages tend to possess partial paradigms of bound pronominal object forms and they vary by the different person/number combinations that are represented. Categories of 2SG, 3SG, and 3NSG are commonly found in the bound object inventories. Where there is no pronominal object form for a particular person/number category, either due to a gap in the bound pronominal system or the lack of a bound pronominal system entirely, some languages allow objects to be omitted when they are retrievable from the current discourse.

The clausal core comprises the verb complex, as well as nominal expressions of core arguments. However, there are also a number of items, such as such as nominal modifiers and demonstratives, that can occur in the core of the clause in addition to core arguments. In general, the left edge of the core is the nominal expression of the subject, and the right edge of the core is the nominal expression of the object (where one is present). Arguments introduced by prepositions are generally considered non-core arguments.

Structurally, the Central Vanuatu languages that have been sampled for this work tend to make a distinction between nuclear and core SVCs. However, it should be noted that some authors do not use this terminology (see for example Lacrampe, 2014; Ridge, 2019). This may be because it is considered too restrictive or the structures of SVCs in the languages being described do not fit neatly into the established nuclear/core SVC structural types. Furthermore, some authors have applied the nuclear/core terminology to the description of particular languages; however, following the properties of SVCs established in §2.6, these structures are not considered SVCs in this work. As a comparative survey, the terms “nuclear” and “core” are employed and applied to language specific structures that display the identified properties of SVCs. A basic model of the two SVC types are presented in figures 3.4 and 3.5 below to show their key structural differences.

Subject [PREVERBAL COMPLEX +V1=V2+POST-VERBAL COMPLEX] (Object)

Figure 3.4: Structure of nuclear SVCs in Central Vanuatu

Subject [PREVERBAL COMPLEX+V1] (Object) [PREVERBAL COMPLEX+V2] (Object)

Figure 3.5: Structure of core SVCs in Central Vanuatu

3.3 Properties of Serial Verb Constructions in Central Vanuatu

SVCs in Central Vanuatu can be classified both structurally and semantically. Structurally, SVCs can be classified by the level of the juncture (nuclear or core), the arguments shared by the verbs in the construction, symmetry, and whether the verbs are contiguous or not. These features were discussed at length in the previous chapter, and can be seen to apply to structures observed in the selected languages. The Central Vanuatu languages vary in how productively nuclear and core SVC are used in speech.

Language	Nuclear SVCs	Core SVCs
Neuver	Attested	Productive
Uluveu	Productive	Productive
Vatlongos	Attested	Productive
Paamese	Attested	Productive
Lewo	Attested	Productive
Lelepa	Productive	Not Attested

Table 3.2: Types of SVCs in sampled Central Vanuatu languages

The languages also vary in the number of verbs that can be included in SVCs. All of the selected languages display examples of two verbs in SVCs. At the nuclear layer, some languages are reported as having examples of three, four, and even five verbs in nuclear SVCs (Early, 1993; Healey, 2013). Some of the longest SVCs may be constructions generated through elicitation rather than actually being used in natural speech. Additionally, some of these examples would not be considered SVCs in this work because they do not comprise independent verbs.

It is a definitional requirement that SVCs are monoclausal (see §2.6). In the descriptions of SVCs across the sampled Central Vanuatu languages, a common feature is that SVCs are described as being articulated with a single intonation contour,

consistent with a single clause (Barbour, 2012 p. 327; Early, 1994, p. 368; Healey, 2013, p. 302,). This feature is relatively straightforward when considering nuclear SVCs, which resemble simple clauses, but it is more complicated with core SVCs, which can resemble multi-clause structures. Central Vanuatu languages tend to signal the end of a declarative clause with falling intonation. Intonation patterns across main and subordinate clause boundaries differ. Coordinated and subordinated clauses may be marked with overt subordinators but some also employ falling or rising intonation and a short pause to show the boundary between clauses. Ambiguity can arise where the intonation patterns across main and subordinate clause boundaries, and between coordinated main clauses are not clearly different from the intonation patterns across core SVCs.

Another property of monoclausality relates to the expression of TAMP categories. A change of mood, tense, or aspect, along with intonation, often indicates a new clause in Central Vanuatu languages. Nuclear SVCs are characterised by single marking of TAM categories and argument indexing; however, core SVCs in the sampled languages tend to show concordant TAM morphology, or there may be restrictions on TAM morphology on serialised verbs. Verbs that are not marked with concordant or appropriately restricted TAM values are not considered SVCs, but are instead interpreted as separate or embedded clauses.

The difference in the meanings created by serial verb or multi-clause constructions can be quite subtle. Example 3.23 a) from Uluveu shows the realised outcome of the verb *kas* “wash” through serialisation, while in b) the second verb is in an unmarked subordinate clause, as shown by the discordant mood marking, and it indicates the intended (but unrealised) outcome of *kas* “wash”.

3.24	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 325)
a)	Ø-e-kə-kas-i 3SG-REAL-DUP-wash-3SG:OBJ ‘She washed it clear.’ Ø-i-masil. 3SG-REAL-clear	
b)	Uluveu Ø-e-kə-kas-i 3SG-REAL-DUP-wash-3SG:OBG ‘She is washing it clear.’ (she is washing it that it might be clear) Ø-bi-masil 3SG-POT-clear	(Healey, 2013, p. 325)

The following example from Neverver shows how SVCs do not occur over embedded clause boundaries. Example 3.24 begins with a subordinate clause introduced with *ba* “when”. This is separated from the main clause starting with *i-vlem* “she came”, which includes a serial verb construction.

3.24	Neverver	(Barbour, 2012, p. 335)			
	<i>[ba</i>	<i>i-lav</i>	<i>iskham]</i> ,	<i>[i-vlem</i>	<i>i-sisil</i>
	when	3SG:REAL-get	INDF.PN	3SG:REAL-come	3SG:REAL-roast
	<i>i-khan]</i>				
	3SG:REAL-eat				
	‘When she got one, she came and cooked and ate (the bird).’				

The initial subordinate clause blocks an interpretation of “*i-lav i-skham i-vlem*” as a switch-function core serial verb construction meaning something like “when she brought one...”. In example 3.25, the verbs *lav* “get” and *vlem* “come” (in the irrealis form *bbulem*) occur in the same clause and are understood to form an SVC.

3.25	Neverver	(Barbour, 2012, p. 335)			
	<i>i-ver-ikh</i>	<i>t-nam</i>		<i>i-ver</i>	
	3SG:REAL-say-APPL	PSDT-EXCL:NSG		3SG:REAL-say	
	<i>nabir-lav</i>	<i>nakhabb</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>im-bbulem</i>	
	1DU:EXCL:IRR-get	fire	ANA	3SG:IRR-come	
	‘He told us to bring the firewood.’				

Further to these structural features, SVCs can be classified by their semantic function. Commonly occurring functions of SVCs are directional, positional, aspect, cause-effect, manner, sequential events, causative, utterance, and other modal functions.

The rest of this chapter will survey the structure of SVCs in the six selected Central Vanuatu languages. It is divided into two sections: nuclear SVCs; and core SVCs. These two sections also include descriptions of relevant grammatical structures that are very similar to SVCs but are not considered SVCs in this work following the framework established in §2.6: these being coverbs, compound verbs, and auxiliary constructions.

3.3.1 Complex Nuclei in Central Vanuatu Languages

Four structural types of complex nuclei have been identified in the survey of SVCs and related phenomena in Central Vanuatu languages, these being nuclear SVCs, verbal

compounds, coverbial constructions, and incorporated object constructions. Complex nuclei all share the following properties with simple verbal clauses: they are treated as a single predicate with a single argument structure. The subject argument occurs before the first element of the complex nucleus and the subject is indexed on the first element of the complex nucleus along with any other relevant grammatical material that is expressed in the preverbal complex. All post-verbal morphology, and the object argument if the structure is transitive, occur after the subsequent elements in the complex nucleus.

3.3.1.1 Nuclear Serial Verb Constructions

Nuclear SVCs are quite common in the central Vanuatu languages. Following the frameworks presented previously in this work, nuclear SVCs are considered a sub-type of complex nuclei.

Verbs in nuclear serial constructions form a single clausal nucleus. They can be identified in Central Vanuatu languages by their argument structure and their interaction with verbal morphology. Nuclear serial verbs have single argument structure, meaning that they have a single subject and a single object argument if they are transitive. Nuclear SVCs are single marked (Aikhenvald, 2018, p. 99) accepting a single set of morphemes from the preverbal and post-verbal complexes (Barbour, 2012; Crowley, 2002; Early, 1994; Healey, 2013; Lacrampe, 2014; Ridge, 2019). The verbs in nuclear SVCs are contiguous and no other element can occur between the initial V1 and subsequent V2 element(s). The only exception to this rule is the transitive morpheme in Lewo (Early, 1994), which can attach to V1 in transitive constructions. Nuclear SVCs are marked for negation like single verbs. In languages with discontinuous negation, NEG₁ and NEG₂ surround the initial and subsequent verb(s) in the SVC (Crowley, 2002; Early, 1994). While the verbs are contiguous and are treated like a single word in terms of morphological inflection, they may still be articulated like separate prosodic words. Phonological processes that would normally occur to break up impermissible consonant clusters word-internally do not occur between verbs serialised at the nuclear layer (Barbour, 2012; Ridge, 2019). Furthermore, in several of the surveyed Central Vanuatu languages, nuclear SVCs are able to be nominalised using the same nominalization processes as simple verbs (Crowley, 2002; Early, 1994; Healey, 2013).

Example 3.26 displays a transitive nuclear SVC in Neverver. The subject argument occurs before V1 and is indexed on the initial V1 “fly” while the object occurs after the subsequent V2 “cross”.

3.26	Neverver				(Barbour, 2012.p. 320)
	<i>neman</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>i-yal-gwas</i>	<i>nio</i>	<i>ang</i>
	bird	ANA	3SG:REAL-fly-cross	river	ANA
	‘The bird flew over the river.’				

In the example below from Uluveu, the subject argument is indexed on the initial V1 and pronominal object suffix attaches to the subsequent V2. The whole construction is an interrogative.

3.27	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 302)			
	<i>Gaiug</i>	<i>gu-sor</i>	<i>var-i?</i>		
	2SG	2SG:REAL-talk	change.places-3SG:OBJ		
	‘Did you answer her?’				

In example 3.28 a), the singular negative morpheme occurs before the initial verb in Uluveu, while in b) the tripartite negative marking surrounds the SVC rather than surrounding each individual verb in Lewo.

3.28	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 302)			
a)	<i>nə-sa-sor</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>galito.</i>		
	1SG-NEG-talk	change.places	3PL		
	‘I didn’t answer them.’				
	Lewo	(Early, 1994, p. 352)			
b)	<i>pe</i>	<i>a-m-ila-ar-ta</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>poli</i>	
	REAL.NEG ₁	3PL-REAL-help-carry-1PL.INCL:OBJ	NEG ₂	NEG ₃	
	‘They didn’t encourage us.’				

The example below displays more than two verbs occurring a nuclear SVC in Uluveu. Like previous examples of nuclear SVCs, there is indexing of the subject on V1, and the nominal object follows V3.

3.29	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 313)			
	<i>A-lat-hutai</i>	<i>lo-kəta</i>	<i>bunus</i>	<i>husur</i>	<i>lat-təbarehreh</i>
	PRES-PL-boy	3PL:REAL-look	focus.on	follow	PL-girl
	<i>lo-to-sav.</i>				
	3PL:REAL-REL-dance				
	‘The boys ogled the girls who were dancing.’				

The number of arguments that nuclear SVCs have as a whole unit tends to be dependent on the transitivity of the subsequent V2, even when the initial V1 may itself be transitive. In cases where the initial verb has special intransitive form, this form appears to co-occur with intransitive V2 elements (Crowley, 2002, p. 86). Where there is a transitive V1, and an intransitive V2, languages may employ valence increasing morphology on the V2 to create a transitive proposition (Barbour 2012, p 315; Crowley, 2002, p. 90; Ridge, 2019, p. 293).

In examples 3.30 a) and b), the SVCs are marked with a valence-increasing device so that the construction can accept an object argument. This is because the initial verb is transitive but the subsequent verb is intransitive.

- 3.30 Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 303)
- a) *gi-lav* *talmam* *hən* *na-siloh* *halito!*
 2SG:IRR-transfer return TR NMLZ-plate their
 ‘Take back their plate!’
- Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 90)
- b) *inau* *nelah* *pilun* *tu:s* *onak*
inau *ne-lahi* *pilu-ni* *tuusi* *ona-ku*
 1SG 1SG:REAL-carry stick.together-TR book POSS:1SG
 ‘I carried my books in one hand.’

Both verbs in the example below are transitive so the SVC as a whole is grammatically transitive.

- 3.31 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 90)
- negat* *kat* *pensil*³⁶
ne-gati *kati* *pensile*
 1SG:REAL-bit bite pencil
 ‘I bit onto/hold of the pencil.’

Interestingly, Paamese requires intransitive nuclear SVCs with transitive V2 elements be inflected 3SG:OBJ marking, as in example 3.32 below (Crowley 2002, p. 91).

- 3.32 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 91)
- adalon* *kati*
a-dalono *kati-e*
 3SG:REAL-listen bite-3SG:OBJ
 ‘They listened intently.’

³⁶ Paamese, Vatlongos, and Lewo permit serialisation of the same verb in V1 and V2 position. This process is not considered reduplication because reduplicated verbs have different meanings to synonymous nuclear serialisation.

In terms of their semantic integration, nuclear SVCs generally encode “single scenes” in which the situations expressed by the serialised verbs can be understood to happen simultaneously or within very quick succession (Barbour, 2012, p. 317). Verbs in nuclear SVCs normally have iconic order, matching the real-world sequence of events or actions in the proposition. Subsequent verbs can often express the result of the action denoted by the initial verb. When the actions or state of affairs denoted by the verbs in the SVCs can be interpreted as occurring simultaneously, the subsequent verb often indicates the manner in which the initial verb is undertaken. However, there is often a degree of semantic bleaching of the subsequent verb, which removes some of its specific meaning and allows it to function more like a modifier than a verb (Healey, 2013, p. 302). Many complex nuclei, including nuclear SVCs, have varying degrees of non-compositionality in their meaning (Barbour; 2012, p 317; Crowley, 2002, p. 104; Early, 1994, p. 357). The examples below all display varying degrees of non-compositionality.

- 3.33 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 104)
- a) *kai ʔanian suai*
kaie Ø-ʔaniani suai
 3SG 3SG:REAL-eat disappear
 ‘(S)he was eating in secret.’
- Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 340)
- b) *ne-kra-wali-a*
 1SG-glance-find-3SG:OBJ
 ‘I noticed her.’
- Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 307)
- c) *i-sav sol na-konineu.*
 3SG:REAL-sharpen peel NMLZ-drinking.coconut
 ‘He cut the top off the drinking coconut.’
- Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 293)
- d) *ni-pol rilomun-ni nim ak i-tep?*
 1SG:DFUT-make return.V2-TR house PROXIMAL 3SG:DFUT-how
 ‘How would I rebuild this house?’
- Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 294)
- e) *la-sa vuol-ni holesok na-n xil*
 3PL:NFUT-give completely³⁷-TR thing CL.GEN-POSS:3SG PL
 ‘They handed over all her things.’

³⁷ As a verb in a nuclear SVC, *vuol* means “be exhausted” (Ridge, 2019, p. 294).

Barbour (2012, p. 314) reports that in Neverver instances of nuclear serialisation can range from highly productive patterns to some one-off constructions. This observation appears to be consistent with the descriptions of nuclear SVCs in other Central Vanuatu languages, in which authors tend to comment on the lack of productivity. This lack of productivity appears to be result of the asymmetricality of nuclear SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages, which tend to have a limited inventory of elements that can occur following V1 in complex nuclei. Of these, only a small number are independent verbs. Early (1994, p. 356) comments that the verbs “make”, “say”, “see”, and “carry” can occur with almost all complex nuclear elements attested in the Lewo corpus. The following example shows the verb “clean” serialising with two different initial verbs. In these examples “clean” is expressing the resulting state of the initial verb.

- 3.34 Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 310)
-
- a) ***mi-kas*** ***moten-i***
 3SG:NFUT-wash clean-3OBJ
 ‘They wash it clean.’
- b) Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 310)
-
- di*** ***o-moul*** ***moten-i***
 CONT.REAL 2SG:NFUT-weed clean-3OBJ
 ‘You weed it clear.’

The exception to this lack of productivity appears to be Uluveu, which allows the subsequent position in nuclear SVCs to be filled by an open class of verbs (Healey, 2013, p. 314). Lelepa also permits a wide variety of verb to form serial constructions on the nuclear layer.

Inceptives are signalled using the verb “start” as the initial verb.

- 3.35 Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 310)
-
- dati-tuḃat*** ***ṽuruy*** ***na-loḃulat.***
 1PL.INCL:IRR-start read NMLZ-book
 ‘Let’s start reading the book.’

Prior movement is encoded using an initial basic motion verb

- 3.36 Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 312)
-
- ari-a*** ***mabul*** ***nə-maniok.***
 3DU:IRR-go plant NMLZ-manioc
 ‘They’ll go plant manioc.’

Subsequent motion verbs encode directionality.

3.37	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 374)
	<i>ar=to</i> <i>se,</i> <i>ar=sfa</i> <i>llu</i> <i>panmei</i>	
	1DU.EXCL=stay while 1DU.EXCL=run return come	
	‘We (two) stayed, then we ran back.’	

Subsequent verbs that denote states and characteristics combine with an initial dynamic verb to encode resultatives.

3.38	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 374)
a)	<i>ur=self</i> <i>nmal</i> <i>nkas</i> <i>tete</i> <i>na</i> <i>e=roa</i> <i>wane</i> <i>napua</i>	
	3PL=be.beside trunk tree some REL 3SG=fall lie road	
	‘They were next to a tree trunk which had fallen on the road.’	

	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 374)
b)	<i>a=ta</i> <i>ṗrae</i> <i>kopea,</i> <i>a=ta</i> <i>ṗrae</i> <i>kerak.</i>	
	1SG=cut split stern 1SG=cut split prow	
	‘I split the stern in two, and I split the prow in two.’	

	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 358)
c)	<i>a=pu</i> <i>rarua</i> <i>kiki</i> <i>skei</i> <i>pi</i> <i>tena</i>	
	1SG=pull canoe small INDEF COP SBST.DEM	
	<i>ur=ga</i> <i>lo</i> <i>tae</i> <i>konou=s</i>	
	3PL=IRR look know 1SG=3OBL	
	‘I held a little canoe so that they could recognise me with it.’	

Stative verbs can also encode manner.

3.39	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 380)
	<i>e=pat</i> <i>wia-ki-nia,</i> <i>go</i> <i>e=tuṃalua.</i>	
	3SG=make be.good-TR-3SG:OBJ and 3SG=leave	
	‘He made it properly, then he left.’	

Finally, postural verbs often encode position.

3.40	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 378)
	<i>e=kāt</i> <i>mat</i> <i>wane</i> <i>napua.</i>	
	3SG=CERT dead lie road	
	‘He lay dead on the road.’	

The examples of nuclear SVC presented prior to 3.35-3.40 also tend to fit into these semantic types.

3.3.1.2 Coverbial Constructions

All of Central Vanuatu languages³⁸ surveyed in this study, including the three case study languages of Northwest Malekula, present constructions that superficially appear to be nuclear SVCs; however, because of the criterion of independent verbhood in the identification of SVCs presented in the previous chapter, they cannot be classified as nuclear SVCs because one (or both) of the elements involved in the construction does not fit that criterion. These verb-like morphemes cannot function as the sole verb in simple verbal clauses. In this work, these morphemes are identified as *coverbs*.³⁹

Amberber, Baker and Harvey (2007, p. 209) say that coverbial constructions are a kind of complex predicate involving a finite verb that is modified to display verbal categories like tense, called a light verb,⁴⁰ and a coverb which appears to be similar to a verb but does not inflect. The coverbs are non-finite, inherently predicational and generally express the main meaning in complex predicates (Baker & Harvey, 2010, p. 14). Some Australian languages have quite small closed verb inventories, and use coverbs which appear to be a more open word class to create the bulk of their meanings in predicates (Amberber et al, 2007, p. 216; Baker & Harvey, 2010, p. 15). This is not the case in the Central Vanuatu languages which appear to be the inverse, with an open class of true verbs and a smaller closed group of coverbs, which are used to modify the semantic meaning of the open class independent verbs. In the languages presented in this survey, systems which involve coverbs can be quite productive, with some of the items occurring regularly in the data. The number of coverbs in each language varies considerably, as shown in Table 3.3.

Language	Coverbs	Position
Uluveu	73	Non-initial
Neverver	10	Initial and non-initial
Paamese	30+	Initial and non-initial
Lewo	88 ⁴¹	Initial and non-initial
Lelepa	6	Non-initial

Table 3.3: Number of coverbs per language

³⁸ Ridge (2019) does not specifically identify coverbs in Vatlongos but she does mention that not all elements in “root contiguous constructions” act as independent verbs.

³⁹ Coverb constructions are common in Ethio-Semitic, Cushitic, Omotic, and Australian languages (Amberber et al, 2007, p. 210). The term is only now beginning to be applied to Vanuatu languages.

⁴⁰ The term “light verb” is not used in this work as there is no real basis for distinguishing these from independent verbs.

⁴¹ Early (1994, p 354) lists 104 items that can occur as V2 in nuclear SVCs but says that 16 of those items can occur as independent verbs (Early, 1994, p. 361), thus, the figure of 88 is used to reflect these coverbial elements.

Coverbs cannot function as verbs in their own right. Compare example 3.41 with 3.42 a) and b).

3.41	Paamese	(Crowley, 2002, p. 96)
	<i>*nivini:n</i>	<i>vuas</i>
	<i>ni-vinii-nV</i>	<i>vuasi</i>
	1SG:DIST.FUT- FATAL -OBJ	pig
	*‘I will kill the pig.’	

The term coverb has not been used previously to identify these morphemes in the descriptions of these Vanuatu languages. In Paamese, Lewo, and Uluveu, coverbs were considered a type of verb restricted to nuclear SVCs. In Lelepa, they were analysed as a kind of restricted post-verbal modifier called “post verbs” (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 382) and in Neverver, they were analysed as varying types of morphemes depending on their morphosyntactic properties. In the three case study languages they were previously labelled as “semantic modifier suffixes” in V’ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014), “nuclear adverbs” in Tirax (Brotchie, 2009) and simply as “serial verbs” in Tape (Crowley, 2006). This variation in terminology shows that linguists are often unsure how to analyse these verb-like morphemes because they do not fit neatly into a particular word class. A sample of coverbs from the selected Central Vanuatu languages is shown in the list below.⁴²

⁴² While coverbs typically follow the independent verb in complex nuclei, Dimock reports that in Nahavaq, a language of Western Malekula, twenty-two of thirty-seven coverbs occur in the initial position, which would be the place of V1 in an SVC; the other fifteen coverbs occur in the subsequent V2 position. Dimock (2009, p. 157) says “apart from lacking status as independent verbs, [they] function just like any other V1 or V2”. While Dimock recognised these morphemes do not behave like canonical verbs in Nahavaq, she none the less analysed structures in which they are found as SVCs, stating that the language specific definition of SVCs should be expanded to include the morphemes (Dimock, 2009, p. 157).

Language	Coverb	Meaning
Uluveu	<i>batriŋriŋ</i>	‘irritatingly’
	<i>hoi</i>	‘determinedly’
	<i>lab</i>	‘purposelessly’
	<i>pəpahw</i>	‘expectantly’
	<i>pənpəau</i>	‘one on one’
	<i>sob</i>	‘astray’
Lewo	<i>koll</i>	‘join’
	<i>lalaē</i>	‘careless’
	<i>lari</i>	‘remove’
	<i>māri</i>	‘kill’
Neverver	<i>delvis</i>	‘around’
	<i>lu</i> ⁴³	‘out’
	<i>gor/kor</i>	‘block’
	<i>tetes</i>	‘quickly’
	<i>dor</i>	‘partly/incomplete’
Lelepa	<i>punu</i>	‘dead’
	<i>lwa</i>	‘removed’
	<i>gor</i>	‘block’
Paamese	<i>vinii</i>	‘kill’
	<i>kole</i>	‘cover’
	<i>maleini</i>	‘do for free’
	<i>tali</i>	‘pierce’

Table 3.4: Selected coverbs

A number of grammatical features make coverbs very similar to independent verbs. They are attested as being able to undergo reduplication, a morphological process typically associated with verbs in Oceanic languages (Crowley, 2002, p. 85; Early, 1994, p. 361; Healey, 2013). In Lewo, some coverbs have alternate forms that resemble the initial consonant alternations associated with independent verbs (Early, 1994, p. 361). They accept verbal suffixes and enclitics, particularly bound pronominal object morphemes (Crowley, 2002; Healey, 2013). Many coverbs are ambitransitive, and can occur in complex nuclei with either a transitive or an intransitive verb. Some coverbs however, have a transitivity value in their own right and must be transitivized in order to occur with an object argument (Crowley, 2002; Early, 1994, p. 363). Alternatively, some must be detransitivized when an object is not expressed (Healey, 2013). As with

⁴³ Barbour analysed *lu* “shoot” as an independent verb which, when occurring as the second verb in nuclear SVCs, becomes bleached and acts as an “internal aspectual marker” indicating completive aspect. Cognates in other Malekula languages, and its usage presented in Barbour (2012), suggest that there two homophonous lexemes; one a verb “shoot” and one a coverb “out”.

nuclear SVCs, negation surrounds complex nuclei involving coverbs (Crowley, 2002). These features are illustrated with data from Paamese.

3.42 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 38)

- a) **isal** **vini:n** *vuas*
i-sali *vinii-nV* *vuasi*
 3PL:DIST.FUT-spear FATAL-OBJ pig
 ‘They will spear the pig to death.’

Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 38)

- b) **irosal** **vini:tei** *vuas*
i-ro-sali *vinii-tei* *vuasi*
 3PL:DIST.FUT-NEG₁-spear FATAL-NEG₂ pig
 ‘They will not spear the pig to death.’

Coverbs appear to be used in a similar way to verbs in nuclear SVCs. In Paamese, Lewo, and Vatlongos, most subsequent elements in complex nuclei come from a limited inventory of items, the vast majority of which are coverbs instead of independent verbs (Crowley, 2002, p. 96; Early, 1994, p. 361; Ridge, 2019, p. 289). Examples 3.43 and 3.44 both display the same independent verb as V1 occurring with different coverbs in a) and b). These examples show how coverbs can change the overall meaning of the independent verb.

3.43 Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 314)

- a) **i-pen** **bun** *ne-man.*
 3SG:REAL-shoot FATAL NMLZ-bird
 ‘He shot down the bird.’

Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 318)

- b) **i-pen** **sil** *na-buluk.*
 3SG:REAL-shoot AT NMLZ-cow
 ‘He shot at the cow.’

3.44 Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 292)

- a) **mi-da** **pas** *vesehi*
 3SG:NFUT-NFUT.cut BREAK pawpaw
 ‘She cuts the pawpaw.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 292)

- b) *inou* **na-da** **vul** *ap* *ak*
 1SG 1SG:NFUT-NFUT.cut BREAK.ACROSS firewood PROX
 ‘I cut this firewood.’

Some specific meanings are only expressed in the Central Vanuatu languages with coverbs in combination with a generalised independent verb such as “make”, “cause”, “do”, or “stay” (Crowley, 2002, p. 98-100; Lacrampe 2014, p. 386). This can be seen in example 3.45 where the Paamese coverb meaning “try” occurs in a coverbial construction with the independent verb “do”. In many of the Central Vanuatu languages, “kill” is expressed with the independent verb “hit” in combination with a coverb meaning “to death/to exhaustion”.

3.45	Paamese	(Crowley, 2002, p. 98)	
a)	<i>nisak</i>	<i>vi:s</i>	<i>sauen</i>
	<i>ni-saki</i>	<i>viisi</i>	<i>sauene</i>
	1SG:DIST.FUT-do	TRY	song
	‘I will try the song.’		

It is possible for multiple coverbs to modify a single independent verb in a complex nucleus. When this occurs, the coverbs appear to be ordered so that the ones that have meanings more closely related to the verb occur closer to the verb; those that have meanings which apply to the situation as a whole appear to occur further to the right of the verb (Early, 1994, p. 364).

3.46	Lewo	(Early, 1994, p. 364)	
a)	<i>a- te</i>	<i>wowa</i>	<i>pae-a</i>
	3PL-cut	SPLIT	DO.TOGETHER-3SG:OBJ
	‘They cut and split it together.’		

It is possible for coverbs to occur together with other coverbs to form verbs. In such cases, it is possible that previously independent verbs have lost the ability to function as verbs in their own right. Barbour (2012, p. 319) gives examples of the coverb *gor* “block” combining with lexemes which are not seen elsewhere in her corpus to form verbs. These two verbs are *gliv-gor* “cover a door way with coconut fronds” and *jos-gor* “decorate back of waistband with leaves”. Barbour (2012, p. 319) also identifies some lexical items which she analyses as being composed of a verb and another verb-like morpheme. Using the framework of complex nuclei established for this project, these complex structures could be analysed as a type of compound.

3.47	Neverver	(Barbour, 2012, p. 319)	
	<i>mas-driv</i>	‘be unconscious’	from <i>mas</i> ‘dead’ and <i>driv</i> ?
	<i>khas-glek</i>	‘chew to taste’	from <i>khas</i> ‘bite’ and <i>glek</i> ?

Looking at the form and function of the coverbs in the Central Vanuatu languages, it appears safe to say that these morphemes originated diachronically from independent verbs. They have undergone varying degrees of semantic bleaching and deverbalization and are no longer able to act as independent verbs; however, they still maintain many characteristics of verbs. This is noted by Crowley (2002), Early (1994), Healey (2013), and Ridge (2019). In fact, Early identified this process of change in different Lewo-speaking communities, where one community used a particular lexeme as an independent verb while another community only accepted the lexeme if it occurred in complex nuclei (Early, 1994, p. 363). Future cross-linguistic analysis of the morphemes identified as coverbs in this work is warranted in the Central Vanuatu languages in order to establish whether this is indeed a useful label to apply to these verb-like morphemes. This would involve testing each morpheme identified as a coverb to see if they can still be used as independent verbs in any context.

Coverbs also appear to be a site of ongoing grammatical change, with some coverbs further deverbalizing to become prepositions, aspect morphemes, and adverbs (Barbour, 2012; Healey, 2013, Ridge, 2019). In other cases, coverbs are becoming completely inseparable from specific initial verbs, resulting in compounds (Healey, 2013).

3.3.1.3 Object Incorporation

Another common type of complex nuclei in the Central Vanuatu languages involves incorporated objects. These are structures in which a generic object argument is incorporated into a transitive verb stem, forming an intransitive verb (Lynch et al, 2002, p. 46). The intransitive status of these constructions is shown by their ability to occur without an object argument. If an object argument is expressed, the incorporated object nucleus undergoes grammatical valence increase. Barbour (2012, p. 309) also reports that some verbs are detransitivized through reduplication when occurring in incorporated object constructions. The additional argument often takes the role of benefactor as the patient role of the incorporated object is already expressed in the verb complex. Object incorporation is identified as a structural feature of Neveve, Lewo, and Uluveu. The Neveve and Uluveu languages of Malekula have preserved the historic nominalizer *nV-* with many of their general nouns. The initial *nV-* is generally inseparable from the noun itself; however, when it is incorporated into the nucleus, the

initial nV- is removed from the noun and the remaining nominal root is positioned contiguous to the verb root (Barbour, 2012, p. 309; Healey, 2013, p. 235).

Examples of incorporated object constructions from Neverver, Uluveu, and Lewo are presented below, incorporating the nouns *nakha* “wood”, *nə-wag* “canoe”, and *kapi* “fire” respectively.

- 3.48 Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 309)
- a) *nat-uv* *nat-jal-jal-kha*
1PL.EXCL:REAL-go 1PL.EXCL:REAL-DUP-scrape-wood
‘We went and prepared staked for the yams.’
- b) Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 236)
- lu-ta* *wag* *a* *lau.*
3PL:REAL-cut canoe LOC sea
‘They are canoe carving at the waterfront.’
- c) Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 145)
- a-kla-kapi-ni-a*
3PL-make-fire-TR-3SG:OBJ
‘They made a feast for it.’

As with nuclear SVCs and complex nuclei involving coverbs, object incorporation appears to be a site of ongoing language change. The process appears to be losing productivity in all of the languages mentioned and there are a number of indications, such as non-compositional meanings and phonological changes, suggesting that the incorporated object constructions are becoming lexicalised as verb+noun compounds.⁴⁴

3.3.1.4 Verbal Compounds

Verbal compounds have been mentioned several times in the previous sections of this of this chapter and also in the previous chapter. Unlike nuclear SVCs, complex nuclei with coverbs, and incorporated object constructions, compounds are not considered to be a type of complex nucleus. The reason for this is that unpredictable phonological changes occurring as a result of lexical roots being compounded suggests that they are not considered as separate words occurring together in a complex nucleus, but as new words that speakers have to learn. Word internal phonological changes, such as those that disallow consonant clusters as a result of affixation or other similar phonological

⁴⁴ Healey elaborates on this process in Uluveu (2013, p. 236).

changes, can signal that lexemes are compounding rather than occurring as complex nuclei comprising separate lexemes. These phonological changes can often couple with non-compositional meanings, indicating that the resulting compound is both phonologically and semantically distinct from its component parts.

The compounding process is explained in detail for Uluveu. Healey (2013) identifies verbal compounds in Uluveu that are structurally distinguished from SVCs. There are phonological changes of the constituent verbs, and changes to the morphological marking of compound verbs when compared with serial constructions. Some of these phonological changes include: the merger of consonants, deletion of consonants and/or vowels from the first verb, deletion of the final part of the first verb and the initial part of the second, or the appearance of epenthetic vowels (Healey, 2013, p. 257). This contrasts with the observation made by Barbour of how nuclear SVCs in Neverver do not trigger the occurrence of epenthetic vowels between normally unacceptable consonant clusters (Barbour, 2012, p. 317). Ridge (2019, p. 299) points to epenthetic vowels as well as vowel harmony as signals of compounds in Vatlongos.

Morphosyntactically, there can be a change in the valence of verbs in compound structures, indicated by the omission of the obligatory object enclitic on some of the verbs (Healey, 2013, p. 256). Additionally some verbal compounds have non-compositional meanings such as the verbs *lele* “awake” and *duŋ-i* “immerse-3SG” compounding to make *leleduŋ* “see reflection”.

Recalling the typological discussion of SVCs from Chapter Two, the unpredictable phonological changes arising from the verbs occurring in sequence provide evidence that these complex nuclei constitute new lexemes. While Healey (2013, p. 301) reports that verb-verb compounds are uncommon in Uluveu, he says that native speaker intuitions of compound verbs supports the analysis that they are single lexemes. Healey (2013, p. 302) argues that verb-verb compounds likely develop from lexicalised nuclear SVCs and gives examples of the same verbs, *bis* “enter” and *tur-i* “pierce”, occurring in a verbal compound and nuclear SVC, shown in example 3.49 a) and b) below.

3.49	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 302)
a)	<i>e-bisutur</i>	<i>bopita</i>
	3SG:REAL-enter.through	NMLZ-door
	‘He entered through the door.’	

	Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 302)			
b)	<i>e-ḥis</i>	<i>tur</i>	<i>lohoim</i>	<i>gegai</i>
	3SG:REAL-enter	pierce	inside	here
	‘He went inside through here.’			

In 3.49 a), the two verbs appear in a compound structure and in b) they form a nuclear SVC. The compound form occurs with an epenthetic /u/ between the verbs, which is not present in the SVC form. Healey (2013, p. 302) describes a difference in the semantics of these two structures with 3.49 a) meaning “pass through a large opening” and b) meaning “pass through a small opening to a particular location.”

Some other examples of Uluveu verb-verb compounds that display phonological changes are presented in 3.50 (Healey, 2013, p. 257).

3.50	Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 257)			
	<i>pespesəhot</i>	“collide”	from <i>pes</i> “pass” and <i>səhot-i</i> “strike”	
	<i>pitav</i>	“around waist”	from <i>pis</i> “lash” and <i>tav-i</i> “wear.encircle”	
	<i>menəveu</i>	“picked green (of fruit)”	from <i>men</i> “ripe” and <i>veu</i> “green”	

3.3.2 Core SVCs in Central Vanuatu

Core SVCs show core constituents being joined at the core layer of the clause. SVCs of this type would be considered concordant marked SVCs following Aikhenvald (2018, p. 99). While the elements in complex nuclei share a single argument structure and are treated like single verbs in terms of inflection, the verbs in core SVCs have their own argument structure and are inflected separately,⁴⁵ although there are often restrictions on the inflection of the subsequent V2 elements, particularly on the expression of mood and negation. The juncture between verbs in core SVCs is a function of argument sharing because there is identity between an argument of the initial V1 and an argument of the subsequent V2. There are three recurring identity sharing patterns in Central Vanuatu languages: same-subject, switch-function, and inclusory. A fourth pattern, same-object, is possible but it is not attested in the Central Vanuatu languages. Ambient SVCs, also known as event-argument SVCs, are also attested in the Central Vanuatu

⁴⁵ Verbs in Uluveu can occur uninflected in connected speech when the subject of a verb is clear though context to represent rapid sequences of actions (Healy, 2013, p. 179). This is also possible in core SVCs.

languages. In ambient SVCs, the subsequent V2 does not share an argument with the initial V1; rather V2 takes the preceding proposition (the verb and its arguments) as its argument.

While subsequent V2s in SVCs are generally inflected with pre-verbal subject indexing morphology, they are not permitted to have their own subject noun phrase (Crowley, 2002, p. 55; Early, 1994, p. 367). This is because subject referent of V2 is expressed as one of the arguments of the initial V1.⁴⁶

Verbs in core SVCs are generally understood to display the same TAM values. In Neverver and Uluveu, there is concordance in mood between the initial and subsequent verb(s) in core SVCs (Barbour, 2012, p. 333; Healey, 2013, p. 304). In Paamese and Vatlongos the marking of tense or mood on the subsequent verb in SVCs is dependent on the tense or mood and polarity marking of the initial verb (Crowley, 2002, p. 57, Ridge, 2019, p. 260). For example, a Paamese V1 coded with realis mood and negative polarity requires the V2 to be inflected with immediate future tense and positive polarity (Crowley, 2002, p. 57).

The interaction of the marking of negation with core layer SVCs is an area of variation among the languages. In Uluveu, serialised verbs are negated individually in core SVCs (Healey, 2013, p. 303), while in Neverver and Paamese, only the initial verb is negated (Barbour, 2012, p. 338; Crowley, 2002, p. 57). As mentioned above negative marking of the subsequent verb in Vatlongos is dependent on the tense/mood and polarity of the initial verb. One can infer that negative marking on a subsequent verb preceding a verb with positive polarity is a signal of separate or subordinate clausehood.

As with nuclear SVCs, there can be no overt marking of coordination or subordination between the constituent verb complexes in core SVCs.

Before providing examples of the different argument sharing patterns in core SVCs, it should be noted that examples from each Central Vanuatu language will not be given for each type of core SVC, due to restrictions of space. As noted previously, Lacrampe (2014, p. 350) does not analyse Lelepa as having core SVCs and so there are no examples from Lelepa in this section.

⁴⁶ Subsequent verbs with subject NPs that are co-referential with the previous subject are analysed as conjoined coordinate clauses in Paamese rather than serial verbs (Crowley, 2002, p. 55).

3.3.2.1 Types of Argument Sharing

In same-subject core SVCs, the subjects of the initial V1 and subsequent V2 display identity. Identity is expressed through the concordant coding of subject categories in Paamese, Vatlongos and Neverver.

- 3.51 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 60)
- a) *meatin kali avalu aumai*
meantine kaile a-valusi au-mai
 person PL 3PL:REAL-row 3PL:REAL-come
 ‘The people rowed hither.’
- Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 252)
- b) *mat-ketteh mat-pus makon*
 1PAU.EXCL:NFUT-look 1PAU.EXCL:NFUT-see flying.fox
 ‘We (looked and) saw a flying fox.’
- Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 341)
- c) *na nim-bbu nim-das lon nokhos*
 1SG 1SG:IRR-go 1SG:IRR-go.down LOC garden
 ‘I’ll go down to the garden.’

Switch-function SVCs occur when the object of the initial V1 displays identity with the subject of the subsequent V2. In instances of switch-function SVCs, the inflection on the subsequent verb matches the person and number values of the object of the initial verb, as illustrated in data from Paamese, Lewo and Uluveu.

- 3.52 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 55)
- a) *inau naus vuas hemat*
inau ni-uasi vuasi hee-mate
 1SG 1SG:DIST.FUT-hit pig 3SG:DIST.FUT-die
 ‘I will hit the pig to death.’
- Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 368)
- b) *o-la playu kokani Ø-imi*
 2SG-take knife small 3SG-IRR.come
 ‘Bring/Give (me) the small knife.’
- Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 321)
- c) *nə-taytan e-riŋ na-bilite*
 NMLZ-hermit.crab 3SG:REAL-put NMLZ-empty.hollow
i-pat len tas.
 3SG:REAL-lie in sea
 ‘The hermit crab left its empty shell in the sea.’

Inclusory SVCs, also called cumulative subject SVCs, are the result of the subject and object arguments of the initial V1 acting together as the subject of the subsequent V2. The subsequent verb is inflected with subject morphology that is concordant in person but has a higher number value than the number value that is indexed in the preverbal complex of V1. Data from Paamese, Lewo, Vatlongos and Neverver illustrate this type of core SVC.

- 3.53 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 61)
- a) *visuvon ni-sa:ni-k lehe-ha: en sukul*
visuvoni ni-saani-ko lehe-haa eni sukulu
 tomorrow 1SG:DIST.FUT-send-2SG 1DU:INCL:DIST.FUT-go SP school
 ‘Tomorrow I will send you to school (with me).’
- Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 381)
- b) *Ø-to-mña a-mio ka-na mama lala*
 3SG-stay-TA 3PL-with POSS-3SG mother PL
 ‘He stayed with his mother and the others.’
- Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 258)
- c) *na-po tuvava ma-mmei igak*
 1SG:NFUT-carry baby 1DU:EXCL.NFUT-come here
 ‘I carried the baby over here.’
- Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 356)
- d) *i-rev mokh nimkhut at-das tang*
 3SG:REAL-pull all person 3PL:REAL-go.down there
 ‘He persuaded all the men to go down there (and they went).’

Ambient SVCs occur when V2 acts like a modifier for the previous proposition. In all of the following examples, the ambient serial verb is inflected with third-person singular subject indexing morphology.

- 3.54 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 74)
- a) *iselu:s hetahos*
i-seluusi he-tahosi
 3PL:DIST.FUT-speak 3SG:DIST.FUT-good
 ‘They will speak well.’
- Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 381)
- b) *o-mu-n lole Ø-po?*
 2SG-drink-TR lolly 3SG-REAL.good
 ‘Do you like eating lollies?’

- c) Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 303)
a-nana *i-pat* *i-voi*
 PERS-mum 3SG:REAL-sleep 3SG:REAL-good
 ‘Mum slept well.’
- d) Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 258)
na-pol *gehik*
 1SG:NFUT-work 3SG:NFUT.strong
 ‘I worked hard.’
- e) Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 355)
ari-ssor *i-gang*
 3DU:REAL-talk 3SG:REAL-like.so
 ‘They spoke like that.’

Among the sampled languages, negation is marked differently in core SVCs. In Uluveu, there is concordant negation.

- 3.55 Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 303)
a-nana *Ø-sə-pat* *Ø-sə-voi.*
 PERS-mum 3SG:REAL-NEG-sleep 3SG:REAL-NEG-good
 ‘Mum didn’t sleep well.’

Paamese negates only the first verb. In the example below, the negated realis V1 is followed by V2 indexed for immediate future.

- 3.56 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 58)
inau *na-ro-muas-tei* *vuas* *vo:mat*
inau *na-ro-muasi-tei* *vuasi* *voo-mate*
 1SG 1SG:REAL-NEG₁-hit-NEG₂ pig 3SG:IMM.FUT-die
 ‘I did not hit the pig to death.’

The example below from Paamese shows how negation is dependent on the initial verb rather than the subsequent verb. These two structures are interpreted as separate clauses when the initial verb is affirmative and the second is negated.

- 3.57 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 59)
kail *amuas* *vuas* *ro:mattei*
kaile *a-muasi* *vuasi* *Ø-roo-mate-tei*
 3PL 3PL:REAL-hit pig 3SG:REAL-NEG₁-die-NEG₂
 ‘They hit the pig but it did not die.’

Negation interacts with tense in a variety of different ways in core SVCs in Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 260). The initial V1 can receive double negation while the subsequent verb is only inflected with the preverbal negator, as in 3.58 a) and b). In c) and d), only the initial verb is negated and V2 is then inflected with subject prefix from a specific tense.

3.58 Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 273)

- a) *mut-naa-va* =*ti* *mut-naa-pat?*
 2PAU:DFUT-NEG-go =NEG 2PAU:DFUT-NEG-sleep
 ‘Aren’t you going to go and sleep?’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 261)

- b) *hura* *xal* *naa-luk* =*ti* *naa-ve* *igak*
 yam PROX 3SG:FUT.NEG-grow =NEG 3SG:FUT.NEG-go.to here
 ‘This yam won’t grow here.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 253)

- c) *na-taa-sepin* =*ti* *va-hik* *mi-ni*
 1SG:NFUT-NFUT.NEG-speak =NEG 3SG:IFUT-strong to-3SG:OBJ
 ‘I didn’t shout at him.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 263)

- d) *ona-kaakau* =*ti* *an-he* *bien!*
 2SG:PROH-walk =NEG 2SG:PROH-go.to sea
 ‘Don’t walk to the sea!’

A final point to make regarding the structure of SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages is the way in which complex nuclei can function as the initial or subsequent verb in core SVCs. Examples 3.59 a) and b) show complex nuclei functioning within core SVCs.

3.59 Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 373)

- a) *leriko Ø-kla-ruru* *ma-la* *togi Ø-mono-ga* *mratava*
 elf 3SG-do-do.well POSS-3PL mat 3SG-lay-just doorway
 ‘The elf prepared a mat for them at/across the doorway.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 290)

- b) *u-sa* *rat-i* *i-tel* *xat* *sepini-en* *ok*
 2SG:DFUT-give out-3OBJ 3SG:DFUT-with right speak-NMLZ PROX
 ‘You have to give it away along with this instruction.’

It is also possible for SVCs of different types to occur in sequence. Examples 3.60 a) and b) display core SVCs with up to four inflected verbs in sequence.

3.60 Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 255)

a)	<i>lu-but</i>	<i>lu-ba</i>	<i>lu-di</i>
	3DU:NFUT-NFUT.jump	3DU:NFUT-NFUT.go	3DU:NFUT-NFUT.stay
	<i>e-n</i>		
	LOC-3SG:OBJ		
	'They jumped out into it [a canoe].'		

b) Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 371)

	<i>Ø-kusi</i>	<i>Ø-pito</i>	<i>Ø-sin-wani</i>	<i>Ø-m̃e-ke</i>	<i>e</i>
	3SG-carry	3SG-REAL.go.down	3SG-bury-hide	3SG-stay-TA	LOC
	<i>none</i>				
	sand				
	'He carried it down and buried it in the sand. '				

3.3.3 Semantic Functions of SVCs

Core SVCs have a number of commonly occurring semantic functions in the Central Vanuatu languages. Each semantic functions displays structural similarities across the surveyed languages. Only the most common semantic functions of SVCs are presented in this section, rather than all of the possible functions present in the Central Vanuatu languages. On examining the semantic functions of SVCs presented in the following sections, it can be seen that there are more identifiable types of asymmetrical SVCs than symmetrical SVCs. In asymmetrical SVCs there is a restriction on the type of verb that occurs as the initial or subsequent verb in the constructions. The semantic types identified in the survey include Directional, Movement/Action, Resulting States, Locational, Manner, Aspectual, Goal, Locution and Thought, and Causative SVCs. These functional types of SVCs are consistent with those presented in §2.4.

3.3.3.1 Directional SVCs

SVCs encode directional meanings in both same-subject and switch-function core SVCs. Some languages also allow directionals to occur in ambient SVCs. Directional SVCs are asymmetrical as the subsequent verb is restricted to a subset of verbs that encode movement. The most common subsequent verbs are those that encode basic movement such as “go”, encoding movement away from a reference point, “come”, movement towards a point, “descend”, movement following gravity, and “ascend”, movement contra to gravity.

In same-subject SVCs, directionals encode the movement of the subject of the initial V1 and the subsequent V2, as shown in examples 3.61 a) – d).

- 3.61 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 68)
- a) *nisuvul* *nihia* *netan*
ni-suvulu *ni-hiitaa* *netano*
 1SG:DIST.FUT-climb.down 1SG:DIST.FUT-descend down
 ‘I will climb down.’
- Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 374)
- b) *amiu-lua* *a-kom* *pe* *ne* *a-pimi?*
 2PL-two 2PL-pass where DEIC 2PL-come
 ‘You two have passed by where to come?’
 (i.e. ‘Where have you two been?’)
- Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 275)
- c) *mi-kaakau* *bemei*
 3SG:NFUT-walk 3SG:NFUT.come
 ‘He walked over here.’
- Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 341)
- d) *na* *nim-bbu* *nim-das* *lon* *nokhos*
 1SG 1SG:IRR-go 1SG:IRR-go.down LOC garden
 ‘I’ll go down to the garden’

The subsequent V2 also expresses directional meaning in switch-function directionals; however, in this type of directional, the subsequent verb encodes the directional movement of the object of V1 caused by the action expressed by that verb.

- 3.62 Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 373)
- a) *a-pure* *Ø-pami* *mapena* *Ø-talova*
 3PL-REAL.pull 3SG-come.up (place) 3SG-marry
 ‘They brought her up/south to Mapena to marry.’
- Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 327)
- b) *nino* *lo-səvat* *gəlaru* *van.*
 yesterday 3PL:IRR-send 2DU go
 ‘Yesterday they sent them off (on their way).’
- Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 257)
- c) *lu-leh-i* *ba*
 3DU:NFUT-take-3OBJ 3SG:NFUT.go
 ‘They took it away.’

Neverver						(Barbour, 2012, p. 350)
d)	<i>ale</i>	<i>nitlele</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>gar-dev</i>	<i>nakhabb</i>	<i>ang</i>
	then,	small.child	ANA	3DU:REAL-carry	fire	ANA
	<i>i-vu</i>					
	3SG:REAL-go					
	‘Then the small children carried the fire away.’					

The example from Vatlongos is an instance of an ambient directional SVC.

3.63	Vatlongos				(Ridge, 2019, p. 275)
	<i>la-ketteh</i>	<i>bemei</i>	<i>vari</i>	<i>bien</i>	
	3PL:NFUT-look	3SGNFUT.come	at.once	sea	
	‘They looked over at the sea.’				

3.3.3.2 Prior Motion SVCs

Prior Motion SVCs are same-subject SVCs which express a sequence of a subject moving to a location expressed by V1 then performing a particular action expressed by V2.

3.64	Vatlongos					(Ridge, 2019, p. 272)
a)	<i>inou</i>	<i>na-mmei</i>	<i>na-pus</i>	<i>sista</i>	<i>na-van</i>	
	1SG	1SG:NFUT-come	1SG:NFUT-see	sister	CL.GEN-POSS:1SG	
	<i>tang</i>	<i>igak</i>				
	just	here				
	'I've just come to see my sister here.'					
	Neverver					(Barbour, 2012, p. 342)
b)	<i>nat-uv</i>	<i>nat-lev</i>		<i>ni-khan-ian</i>		
	1 PL.EXCL:REAL-go	1 PL.EXCL:REAL-take		NMLZ-eat-NMLZ		
	'We went and got the food.'					

3.3.3.3 Resultative SVCs

Switch-function SVCs with a dynamic initial V1 and a subsequent stative or adjectival V2 tend to encode resultative meanings where the object of the initial verb gains the quality expressed by the subsequent verb as a result of the action expressed by the initial verb.

- 3.65 Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 325)
- a) *e-kə-kas-i* *i-masil*
 3SG:REAL-DUP-wash-3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-clear
 ‘She washed it clear.’
- Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 249)
- b) *xi bas ueili met*
 3SG 3SG:NFUT.hit pig 3SG:NFUT.die
 ‘He killed the pig.’
- Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 55)
- c) *inau naus vuas he:mat*
inau ni-uasi vuasi hee-mate
 1SG 1SG:DIST.FUT-hit pig 3SG:DIST.FUT-die
 ‘I will hit the pig to death.’
- Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 71)
- d) *lijin huli vales*
Ø-liji-n hulii va-le-se
 2SG:IMP-leave-OBJ dog 3SG:IMM.FUT-stay-only
 ‘Just leave the dog alone.’

3.3.3.4 Positional SVCs

Similar to the resultative SVCs, positional SVCs involve a dynamic V1 and a stative V2. In this type of SVC, the subsequent V2 encodes the resulting position of the object of the initial V1. The subsequent verb is generally an existential or a postural verb. Aikhenvald (2018, p. 65) describes SVCs using this type of minor verb as adding locations to events.

- 3.66 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 70)
- a) *apare mul*
a-pare-e Ø-mule
 3PL:REAL-tie-3SG 3SG:REAL-exist
 ‘They tied it up.’
- Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 303)
- b) *lo-tuan gail e-suh a ut.*
 3PL:REAL-arrange PL 3SG:REAL-stay LOC place
 ‘They lined them up (for viewing) on the shore.’
- Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 373)
- c) *a-yete-ari tawa nene Ø-mene e laki nene*
 2PL-tie-carry canoe DEIC 3SG-stay.at LOC tree DEIC
 ‘Tie up the canoe to this tree!’

		Neverver			(Barbour, 2012, p. 351)	
d)	<i>i-okh</i>	<i>ku-solikh</i>	<i>vivang</i>	<i>i-lukh</i>	<i>man</i>	
	PERS-2SG	2SG:REAL-hide	woman:ana	3SG:REAL-stay	EMPh	
	<i>bbukhut</i>	<i>tang</i>				
	inside	there				
	‘Are you hiding the woman inside there?’					

Same-subject positional SVCs are also possible.

3.67	Vatlongos		(Ridge, 2019, p. 270)			
	<i>tatal</i>	<i>xa</i>	<i>val</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>vatit</i> <i>vak</i>
	snake	REL	big	3SG:NFUT:sleep	3SG:NFUT.be.at	tree banyan
	‘A big snake slept on the banyan tree.’					

3.3.3.5 Manner SVCs

The manner in which an action is under taken is often encoded using ambient SVCs.

Examples of this type of SVC were presented in §3.3.2.

3.3.3.6 Aspectual SVCs

Different types of SVCs function in the Central Vanuatu languages to encode aspectual meanings including both same-subject and ambient SVCs.

Same-subject SVCs in which the initial V1 is “come” and the subsequent V2 is a stative, adjectival, or copular verb normally express inchoative aspect where the subject of both verbs gains the characteristic expressed by the subsequent verb, shown in example 3.68 a) and b). Aikhenvald (2018, p. 59) identifies this type of construction as a “change of state” SVC. Where the subsequent V2 is a copular verb, as in c), the subject of the initial verb becomes the entity expressed as the copular object.

3.68	Paamese		(Crowley, 2002, p. 78)	
a)	<i>kosa</i>	<i>ro:mai</i>	<i>rolonolon</i>	
	<i>kosaa</i>	<i>roo-mai</i>	<i>ro-olonolo</i>	
	now	1PL.INCL:REAL-come	1PL.INCL:REAL-knowledgeable	
	‘Now we have become knowledgeable.’			

- b) Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 281)
hariken bemei geih
hurricane 3SG:NFUT.come 3SG:NFUT.strong
‘The hurricane got strong.’
- c) Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 379)
naga Ø-pimi Ø-pe kimi
3SG 3SG-REAL.come 3SG-REAL.be devil
‘He became a devil.’

Inchoative aspect can also be encoded with an initial V1 meaning start.

- 3.69 Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 226)
i-tabatn i-ve niar an nokhos ang
3SG:REAL-start 3SG:REAL-make fence NMOD garden ANA
‘He started making the garden fence.’

Progressive aspect is commonly expressed using same-subject core SVCs. In this case, the V1 is often a postural or existential verb and the subsequent V2 is a dynamic action verb. It is also possible for ambient SVCs verbs like “go” to express progressive aspect, as in example 3.70 c).

- 3.70 Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 379)
a) *sisi kokan la a-su-m̃a a-tag ke-ga wa*
child small PL 3PL-be.at-TA 3PL-cry CTS-just yet
‘The children are still crying.’
- b) Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 225)
ba i-tokh i-patel i-gang be
when 3SG:REAL-exist 3SG:REAL-paddle 3SG:REAL-like.so but
nibisbokh ang tu i-tokh i-khan nauj
rat ANA too 3SG:REAL-exist 3SG:REAL-eat pawpaw
ang
ANA
‘When he was paddling like so, the rat too was eating the pawpaw.’
- c) Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 389)
a-m-yal Ø-pano-o
3PL-REAL-walk 3SG-REAL.go-DUR
‘They walked (it went) on and on.’

Verbs meaning “finish” can function as ambient serial verbs to encode completive aspect.

3.71 Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 82)

- a) *aus hous hevus ni:mai*
ause ho-use he-vusi nii-mai
 rain 3SG:DIST.FUT-rain 3SG:DIS.FUT-finish 1SG:DIST.FUT-come
 ‘When it has finished raining, I will come.’

Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 388)

- b) *a-kinana Ø-pisi*
 3PL-eat 3SG-finish
 ‘They have finished eating.’

Uluveu (Healey, 2013, p. 323)

- c) *namtu-lotu i-noŋ ale a-Tsals*
 1PL.EXCL:REAL-worship 3SG:REAL-finish then PERS-Charles
i-ke...
 3SG:REAL-CMPZ
 ‘We finished worshipping then Charles said...’

3.3.3.7 Goal SVCs

Verbs meaning “reach”, “touch”, and “go to” are often used as the subsequent V2 in core SVCs to encode the goal of the action expressed by the initial verb. The goal can be a real world place, as in example 3.72 a), or a figurative place or time, as in b). Goals can be expressed in both same-subject and switch-function SVCs. In same-subject SVCs, the entity reaching the goal displays identity with the subject of the initial V1, while in switch-function SVCs, illustrated in example 3.72 e), it is the object of the initial verb that moves towards the goal.

3.72 Lewo (Early, 1994, p. 379)

- a) *kia-u mrapa Ø-vito Ø-tol Filakara*
 POSS-1SG road 3SG-IRR.go.down 3SG-reach (place)
 ‘My road (the road for my trip) will go down to (reach) Filakara.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 270)

- b) *da doxoh xosaliak*
 3SG:NFUT.stay 3SG:NFUT.reach today
 ‘It continues until today.’

Neverver (Barbour, 2012, p. 345)

- c) *ba nat-lem nati-sber aiyem*
 when 1PL.EXCL:REAL-carry 1PL.EXCL:REAL-reach home
 ‘When we carried (the boys) all the way home.’

	Vatlongos		(Ridge, 2019, p. 278)
d)	<i>xil</i>	<i>la-loh</i>	<i>la-be</i> <i>Sahuot</i>
	3PL	3PL:NFUT-run	3PL:NFUT-NFUT.go.to Sahuot
	'They ran to Sahuot.'		

	Vatlongos		(Ridge, 2019, p. 280)
e)	<i>o-ling-i</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>upang</i>
	2SG:NFUT-put-3SG:OBJ	3SG:NFUT.go.to	fire
	'You put it on the fire.'		

3.3.3.8 Utterance, Locution, and Thought SVCs

A common pattern of SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages is one in which the verb meaning “say” is serialised with verbs of locution such as “say”, “ask”, “sing”, or “call”, or verbs of mental processes, such as “think”. The subsequent verb functions to introduce the complement of utterance/locution or thought. These structures are identified as serialization of complement-clause-taking verbs in Aikhenvald (2018, p. 62). Examples 3.73 a) to c) involve an initial V1 of locution. The complement follows the serialised subsequent verb “say”. This pattern is used for both reported speech and direct speech.

3.73	Lewo		(Early, 1994, p. 379)
a)	<i>mapi-na</i>	<i>Ø-pisa-taĩe-a</i>	<i>Ø-sape inu</i>
	grandchild-POSS:3SG	3SG-REAL.say-answer-3SG:OBJ	3SG-say 1SG
	<i>ne-to-m̃a</i>	<i>e nini</i>	
	1SG-be.at-TA	LOC DEIC	
	'Her grandchild answered her, saying, OK, I will stay on here.'		

	Neverver		(Barbour, 2012, .p 347)
b)	<i>i-sus-ikh</i>	<i>adr i-ver</i>	<i>ar amt-uv</i>
	3SG:REAL-ask-APPL	3NSG 3SG:REAL-say	3NSG 3PL:IRR-go
	<i>abi</i>		
	where		
	'He asked them where they were going.'		

	Vatlongos		(Ridge, 2019, p. 276)
c)	<i>mi-kes-i</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>"M. ...</i>
	3SG:NFUT-call-3SG:OBJ	3SG:NFUT.say	M.
	'He called him saying, "M, ...'		

The following example shows the complement of an initial mental process verb being introduced by the serialised verb “say”.

3.74	Lewo	(Early, 1994, p. 379)			
	<i>naga</i>	Ø-kilia	Ø-sape	<i>ane-na</i>	Ø-mare-ṗan
	3SG	3SG-know	3SG-say	mother-POSS:3SG	3SG-die-sudden
	<i>narui</i>				
	now				
	‘He knew then that his mother had died all of a sudden.’				

3.3.3.9 Causative SVCs

The final function of SVCs that occurs in many of the Central Vanuatu languages is to create causative meanings. Causative SVCs are switch-function core SVCs in which the subject of the initial V1 meaning “do”, “cause”, or “make” acts on its object argument. The subject causes the object to do the action or have the quality that is expressed by the subsequent V2. Examples 3.75 a) and b) show actions caused by the subject of the initial verb while in c) and d) the initial subject caused the state encoded by the second verb.

3.75	Paamese	(Crowley, 2002, p. 81)			
a)	nesakini	komusau			
	<i>ne-sakini-e</i>	<i>ko-musau</i>			
	1SG:REAL-cause-3SG	2SG:REAL-sing			
	‘I made you sing.’				

	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 303)			
b)	Ø-i-gol	<i>galit</i>	I-o-bilas	<i>gəlaru</i>	
	3SG-REAL-make	3PL	3PL-REAL-whip	3DU	
	‘He made them whip them.’				

	Lewo	(Early, 1994, p. 373)			
c)	<i>na</i>	Ø-kla	<i>sisi</i>	Ø-m-inana	<i>keviu</i>
	3SG	3SG-make	child	3SG-REAL-ill	big
	‘It made the child very sick.’				

	Uluveu	(Healey, 2013, p. 325)			
d)	<i>a-son</i>	Ø-i-gol	<i>na-kuvkuv</i>	<i>sagw</i>	Ø-i-masig
	PERS-Jean	3SG-REAL-make	NMLZ-axe	my	3SG-REAL-lost
	‘Jean lost my axe.’				

3.3.4 Auxiliary Verb Constructions

When compared to nuclear SVCs, core SVCs seem to be more stable synchronically; however, while nuclear SVCs appear to grammaticalize into coverbs or lexicalize as compounds, core SVCs appear to have grammaticalized into auxiliary constructions in at least two Central Vanuatu languages, these being Vatlongos and Lelepa.⁴⁷ In Vatlongos, auxiliary constructions encode aspectual meanings and indicate prior motion, while in Lelepa, they encode aspectual and modal meanings.

Auxiliary verbs are distinguished from complex nuclei in the Central Vanuatu languages because they occur either outside of the preverbal complex, or as part of the preverbal complex, rather than following the preverbal complex. They are distinguished from core SVCs because they cannot be inflected with the full range of morphology from the preverbal complex, and in some case, they cannot be inflected with any morphology from the preverbal complex. This indicates that they are not fully independent verbs when functioning as auxiliaries. Most auxiliary verbs have undergone a significant amount of semantic bleaching and no longer contribute much lexical content to the clauses in which they occur. Auxiliary verb constructions share many semantic properties with those core layer SVCs that encode aspectual meanings and those that encode movement/action sequences. Furthermore, many of the modal distinctions that are encoded using auxiliary verb constructions in Lelepa are expressed using coverbs in other Central Vanuatu languages.

As there are major structural differences between the auxiliary verb constructions in Vatlongos and Lelepa, relevant data in this section is organised by language rather than by function.

There are seven auxiliary verbs in Vatlongos, six indigenous auxiliary verbs and one borrowed from Bislama: *mas* “must”. The indigenous auxiliary verbs encode continuous and inchoative aspect and prior motion (Ridge, 2019, p. 310). The auxiliary verbs are also attested in Ridge’s work functioning as independent verbs but they have slightly different lexical meaning to their grammatical auxiliary meaning (Ridge, 2019, p. 312). Verbs meaning “stay” encode continuous aspect and the verb meaning “go”

⁴⁷ Auxiliary verb constructions are also attested in Nafsan, another language from Efate (Thieberger, 2007). Some data from Lewo (Early, 1994) also appears to display Vatlongos-type auxiliary constructions, with an uninflected auxiliary verb (my analysis) positioned at the left edge of the verb complex, followed by a fully inflected lexical verb.

encodes prior movement away from a point. The auxiliary *mei*, derived from “come”, has two possible meanings: inchoative aspect and prior motion towards a point.

Auxiliary verb constructions are very productive in Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 312).

The verbs are fully inflected when used lexically. When occurring as auxiliary verbs, verb initial consonant alternations are the only kind of inflections that occur (Ridge, 2019, p. 310). Auxiliaries are positioned after the subject NP and before the lexical verb which is inflected with subject indexing morphology (Ridge, 2019, p. 313). If the subject NP is clear though context, it can be omitted, meaning that clauses can begin with an auxiliary verb. The examples in 3.76 show auxiliary verb constructions in Vatlongos. Examples 3.76 a) and b) display aspectual auxiliaries, c) shows a prior motion auxiliary, and d) shows the borrowed Bislama auxiliary.

3.76 Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 328)

- a) *lii* *da* *mavul*
 wood CONT.REAL 3SG:NFUT.break
 ‘the wood was breaking.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 335)

- b) *vatiang* *mei* *mi-seten*
 wind INCH 3SG:NFUT-strong
 ‘The cyclone became strong.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 321)

- c) *ba* *lute-ti* *rute* *tei*
 GO.REAL 3DU:PRI-stay place one
 ‘They’d gone and stayed in one place.’

Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 335)

- d) *mas* *la-vas* *vueili* *tei...*
 must 3PL:IFUT-IFUT.kill pig one
 ‘They have to kill a pig...’

Auxiliary verb constructions in Vatlongos differ from both nuclear and core SVCs seen in other Central Vanuatu languages. Auxiliaries sit outside the inflected lexical verb, on the left edge of the verb complex. The elements that combine in nuclear SVCs combine within a single verb complex, while those in core SVCs are expressed in two distinct verb complexes.

Auxiliary verb constructions in Lelepa are substantially different from auxiliary constructions in Vatlongos. Lacrampe (2014 p. 352) considers auxiliary verb

constructions to be a sub-type of complex predicates along with SVCs, post-verbs (called coverbs in this work), and clause final particles. They appear very similar to serial verb constructions in Lelepa except that the benefactive pronoun or prepositional phrase can occur between an auxiliary verb and a lexical verb.

Lacrampe (2014, p. 352) analyses Lelepa as having an optional position in the preverbal complex for auxiliary verbs. The auxiliary position in the preverbal complex follows the obligatory subject indexing clitic and many of the other optional clitics in the preverbal complex that encode grammatical features like mood, aspect, and negation. When an auxiliary verb is present, it carries grammatical modification that would otherwise occur on the lexical verb. Lelepa has twelve independent verbs, two of which are borrowed from Bislama, that can occur in auxiliary position of the preverbal complex. A thirteenth verb, *mas*, from Bislama also functions as an auxiliary verb but it is not attested as an independent verb. When these verbs occur in the auxiliary position, their lexical meanings are semantically bleached (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 359). Besides the change in meaning, auxiliary verbs can be distinguished from nuclear SVCs because the benefactive phrase can occur between the auxiliary verb and the independent verb indicating its membership in the preverbal complex.

In example 3.77 a) *to* “stay” is functioning as the lexical verb in a simple verbal clause. In b), *to* is functioning as an auxiliary verb, encoding imperfective aspect, and the benefactive pronoun *mnaara* is positioned between the auxiliary and the main lexical head.

3.77	Lelepa (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 360)				
a)	<i>ur=to</i>	<i>Numea...</i>			
	3PL=stay	Noumea			
	‘We stayed in Nouméa....’				
	Lelepa (Lacrampe, 2014, p. 360)				
b)	<i>Taatia</i>	<i>naara</i>	<i>e=to</i>	<i>mnaara</i>	<i>kuku=s</i>
	maternal.grandmother	3PL:POSS	3SG=IPFV	3PL.BEN	cook=3OBL
	<i>se</i>	<i>ar=to</i>	<i>paam=ia.</i>		
	while	3DU=IPFV	eat=3SG:OBJ		
	‘Their grandmother used to cook it for them while they used to eat it.’				

In the following example, the verb “want” occurs in an identical structure, with the benefactive pronoun again positioned between the auxiliary and the lexical head.

3.79	Lelepa	(Lacrampe, 2014, p. 363)						
	A=mro	msau	magmu	til	naleti	skei	a=pa	tagau.
	1SG=AGAIN	want	2PL.BEN	tell	day	INDEF	1SG=go	fish
	'I want to tell you about a day I went fishing.'							

Because there is only one set of obligatory verbal morphology associated with the auxiliary verb and lexical head in combination, auxiliary constructions most resemble the nuclear SVCs seen in other Central Vanuatu languages rather than core SVCs. However, auxiliary constructions in Lelepa differ from nuclear SVCs in that the auxiliary verb can be separated from the lexical verb. Absolute contiguity is not required in auxiliary constructions.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, Serial Verb Constructions in six languages of Central Vanuatu have been compared. Two structural types are clearly established in the literature, these being nuclear SVCs and core SVCs. Nuclear SVCs involve two contiguous verb stems (PREVERBAL COMPLEX-V₁=V₂ POST-VERBAL COMPLEX) with a single set of verbal morphology that surrounds the nucleus. Nuclear SVCs differ from a variety of other constructions, including coverbial constructions, verbal compounds, and incorporated object constructions in that both elements surrounded by the verb complex are independent verbs. Nuclear SVCs display absolute contiguity between V1 and V2. Nuclear SVCs also differ from Lelepa-type auxiliary constructions which permit an intervening benefactive expression (INDEX AUX BENE V).

In the Central Vanuatu languages, Core SVCs are characterised by the separate verbal morphology that occurs with each verb in the construction ([PREVERBAL COMPLEX-V₁] (Object) [PREVERBAL COMPLEX-V₂] (Object)). Core SVCs differ clearly from clauses that are overtly coordinated or subordinated, and from Vatlongos-type auxiliary verb constructions, which display only a single set of preverbal morphology in the construction, associated with the main lexical head (AUX PREVERBAL COMPLEX-V).

Verbs in SVCs display three possible argument sharing patterns: same-subject, switch-function, and ambient. Nuclear SVCs attested in all six of the surveyed languages. As nuclear SVCs have a single argument structure, with a single subject participant, in at least some cases they can be understood to present same-subject argument sharing. Five

of the surveyed languages employ core SVCs. Same-subject, switch-function, and ambient argument sharing types are attested in all of the languages that use core SCVs.

In the comparative survey, SVCs were found to perform a number of similar semantic functions in the Central Vanuatu languages. The most commonly attested functional types of SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages are: directionals, prior motion, manner, resultatives, positionals, and SVCs that provide aspectual meanings.

Chapter Four

Serial Verb Constructions in the Northwest Malekula Sub-Group

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. Firstly, it covers the identifying features of independent verbs in Northwest Malekula then it describes the two major structural types of SVC are present in the Northwest Malekula languages. Nuclear SVCs are described in §4.2 and core SVCs are described in §4.3. While nuclear SVCs are rare in the languages of Northwest Malekula, in §4.2.4 nuclear SVCs are described as a pathway to grammaticalization of independent verbs as coverbs. Many of structural types of SVCs presented in this chapter display the feature of sharing subject argument identity. Identity between subjects is seen in same-subject core SVCs, and inclusory SVCs. Non-identity between subjects is a characteristic of switch-function core SVCs, where the participant expressed as the object of V1 shares identity with the participant functioning as the subject of V2. In ambient SVCs, the subject of V2 is understood to be the entire proposition expressed by V1 and its arguments. The chapter ends with analysis of symmetry in SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages.

In Chapter Two, a number of features were identified as definitional for recognising SVCs in this work (§2.6). Firstly, and most importantly, SVCs in this work are defined as those structures that comprise independent verbs. The identifying features of independent verbs in the Northwest Malekula languages are described in §4.1. The notion of independent verthood is important in the Northwest Malekula languages as it limits the scope of the discussion of SVCs to morphemes which can clearly be defined as verbs. It excludes forms identified as coverbs, which prove difficult to assign to a specific class of morphemes (see §4.2.4). Secondly, the meaning created by verbs in SVCs should be compositional; however, slight semantic shift is permitted provided the meaning of the SVC is clearly related to the meanings of the constituent verbs. Thirdly, the SVCs must not be lexicalised. Lexicalised multi-verb constructions can be identified due to their non-productivity, and phonological dependence. In lexicalised multi-verb constructions, one verb may undergo unpredictable phonological changes,

which indicate that the verbs have become so integrated that they should be considered a new lexical item. Finally, SVCs are defined as monoclausal, meaning that the verbs in the SVCs share the same clause level categories of TAMP.

The analysis of Tirax in this work varies from that presented by Brotchie (2009), who recognised ambient SVCs as the only “true” type of SVC in the language. According to Brotchie (2009, p. 259) core SVCs consist of a non-initial intransitive verb inflected with third person subject morphology that functions similarly to an adverb. Most of the other instances of sequences of verbs are analysed as clause chains by Brotchie (2009, p. 247-258). The clause chains in Brotchie’s work share a striking number of the properties of SVCs identified in §2.6 as they comprise independent verbs, with no evidence of coordination (Brotchie, 2009, p. 247), and they share a core argument (Brotchie, 2009, p. 248), presenting both same-subject and switch-function patterns. Brotchie’s clause chains have concordant marking, like the core SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages. Brotchie (2009) analyses clause chains as expressing simultaneous or sequential events and refers to the structure of clause chains as having either equal or unequal status, which roughly aligns to the terms symmetrical and asymmetrical used in this work. Although Brotchie (2009) does not use this terminology, she identifies structures which display the following functional types: prior motion, position, goal and limit, and direction. Brotchie appears to have based her classification of these constructions as clause chains rather than core SVCs on the observation the clause chains do not express a single event: “there is no independent evidence of how the events are being cognised by the speakers” (Brotchie, 2009, p. 252). She also points to intonational and prosodic features, such as the possibility of a pause between verbs (Brotchie, 2009 p. 247). However, following the framework presented in Chapter Two, single eventhood and intonation patterns are considered unreliable methods of identifying SVCs. As such, this work extends Brotchie’s (2009) initial analysis of SVCs in Tirax in a number of places, and identifies a range of structural and functional types of multiverb constructions in Tirax as SVCs.

4.1 Independent Verbhood in the Northwest Malekula Languages

One of the defining features of SVCs in this comparative work is that verbs comprising them must be independent verbs in order for a structure to be considered a serial verb construction. In Chapter Two, independent verbs are deemed to be verbs that can

function as the sole verb in a simple verbal clause in their own right while displaying the language specific morphosyntactic properties of verbs. The notion of independent verbhood is very important in the Northwest Malekula languages because lexemes from different word classes in the languages can display grammatical properties associated with verbs. Some of the lexemes are clearly not verbs although they have some verb-like properties. Other lexemes appear to function in ways that closely resemble independent verbs, but they fail to meet key criteria of independent verbhood. Certain types of inflectional morphology in these languages are typically associated with specific word classes but there is some degree of fuzziness around the edges. For example, V'ënen Taut has both noun-like and verb-like prepositions. The former accept nominal possessive inflections and the latter accept verbal object inflections (Dodd, 2014, p. 2013). Verb-like prepositions still fall into the class of prepositions because they occur outside of the verb complex, function to introduce non-core arguments, and position nominals in space, even though they accept inflections typically associated with verbs. Other morphemes are less clearly non-verbal; for example, some verbal modifiers are able to be inflected with verbal pronominal object enclitics. Their position can be analysed as occurring within the verb complex of V'ënen Taut.

Considering that there are some items in the three Northwest Malekula languages that morphologically resemble verbs, it is possible to define which lexical items are considered independent verbs based on their occurrence as the sole verb in clauses in combination with their morphosyntactic properties. Because lexemes from different word classes in the Northwest Malekula languages can be modified with morphology typically associated with verbs, the ability to take any such morphology is excluded as a defining feature of independent verbhood. Having this as a defining characteristic of independent verbs would also exclude many intransitive verbs, which cannot be inflected with post-verbal object morphology but which are independent verbs. In the three Northwest Malekula languages, verbs that function as the sole verb in standard simple verbal predicates are obligatorily inflected with bound pre-verbal morphology that indexes the person and number of the subject argument and also encodes mood, aspect, and polarity. Unlike the post-verbal morphology, the bound preverbal subject morphology can only occur on verbs.⁴⁸ Furthermore, verbs must be inflected with subject morphology when they are used in a simple verbal clause with declarative

⁴⁸ There is one exception: the V'ënen Taut preverbal coverb *wir* “carry”. See §4.2.4 for further details.

force; they cannot occur as uninflected stems.⁴⁹ Independent verbs in the Northwest Malekula languages are therefore defined as lexemes that accept inflection by pre-verbal morphology when occurring as the head of a verb phrase in a simple verbal clause. This definition encompasses a large number of lexical items that express a wide variety of meanings and have different grammatical functions, including prototypical transitive and intransitive verbs, numerals, and some adjectives that also function as verbs.

4.2 Nuclear Serial Verb Constructions in Northwest Malekula

Nuclear SVCs are single marked constructions. All nuclear SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages comprise independent verbs which when combined, have one grammatically marked subject argument. If the nuclear SVC is transitive, there is one object argument. Beyond subject morphology, nuclear SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages can be identified by the manner in which they are inflected with verbal morphology. Nuclear SVCs only accept one set of bound preverbal morphology on V1 and one set of post-verbal morphology after V2. Nuclear SVCs are single marked for the categories of subject person, subject number, mood, aspect, and polarity.

Subject [PREVERBAL COMPLEX +V1=V2+POST-VERBAL COMPLEX] (Object)

Figure 4.1: Structure of nuclear SVCs in Northwest Malekula

Consider the following examples from Tape. The independent verb status of “be small” is shown in example 4.1 a) where it occurs as the sole verb in a simple verbal clause. In example 4.1 b) “be small” functions as the second verb in a nuclear SVC. It is not inflected with preverbal morphology and it functions like a manner adverbial providing the meaning “a little”.

4.1	Tape	[nwm-mrs-24:20]	[02:16.6-02:23.3]
a)	<i>mekar-ien</i>	<i>i-pēs</i>	<i>ogi...</i>
	work-NMLZ	3SG:REAL-be.small	only
	‘The work is only small...’		

⁴⁹ It is noted that uninflected verb stems are a method of indicating imperative force.

	Tape		[nwm-mrs-19:30]	[03:01.4-03:05.8]
b)	<i>gi</i>	<i>kě-lis</i>	<i>i-mdakh</i> _{V1}	<i>pēs</i> _{V2}
	REL	2SG:REAL-see	3SG:REAL-grow	be.small
	‘The one that you see has grown a little.’			

The single marking of verbal grammatical categories is shown in the examples in 4.2. The V1 is the only verb in nuclear SVCs to be inflected with prefixes which show subject, mood, and polarity. These categories have scope over the entire nuclear serial construction. A good example of this is example 4.2 a) below in which the V1 *lev* “take” is marked with a subject index that denotes hypothetical mood and the negative prefix because the speaker is speculating about something. The speculative mood quality also has scope over the following verb *m’alet* “return”. There are no examples of negated nuclear SVCs in the analysed Tirax corpus for this project; however Brotchie (2009, p. 141) reports that nuclear SVCs precede the post-verbal negative morpheme.

4.2	V'ënen Taut		[nwm-nmb-20:27]	[01:44.3-01:44.3]		
a)	<i>...khin</i>	<i>im-a-lev</i> _{V1}	<i>m'alet</i> _{V2}	<i>a</i>	<i>p'ak-n</i>	<i>mël</i>
	3SG	3SG:HYP-NEG-take	return	EXT.P	skin-POSS:3SG	again
	<i>i-tamamu</i>					
	3SG:REAL-first					
	‘....(if) she had not taken back her skin again.’					

	Tape		[nwm-mrs-36:16]	[01:22.3- 01:23.4]
b)	<i>mě-ska-n-metër</i> _{V1}	<i>pīj</i> _{V2}		
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-NEG-PL-sleep	be.good		
	‘We did not sleep well.’			

	Tirax		(Brotchie, 2009, p. 142)
c)	<i>na-r-teltax</i>	<i>nalxah</i>	<i>tè</i>
	1nsg:real-du-trail.behind	do.slowly	neg
	‘We didn’t slowly trail behind.’		

While nuclear SVCs are attested in the data, it should be noted that they are rather uncommon in the Northwest Malekula languages. This is likely due to the grammaticalization of a number of lexemes into the category of coverbs (§4.2.4). This grammaticalization process must have taken place in an ancestral form of Northwest Malekula, because there are a number of cognates in the coverb inventories of the three languages and because coverbs are seen in a number of related languages as well. This

being said, a small number of nuclear structures occur with regularity in the corpora, and nuclear serialisation can be established as a structural type in the three Northwest Malekula languages. Where nuclear SVCs do occur, they are mostly used to indicate the manner in which an action was carried out.

As the data concerning nuclear SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages are quite limited, it is not possible to make strong claims about the symmetry of nuclear SVCs but the data suggest that V2 is limited to types of verbs that express attributive, resultative, or manner meanings and locational and directional meanings. All of the identified nuclear SVCs types in the Northwest Malekula languages appear to be asymmetrical.

SVC Type	V1	V2	Tirax	Tape	V'ënen Taut
Manner	intransitive transitive	stative adjectival	✓	✓	✓
Resultative	transitive	stative adjectival	✓	✓	✓
Repetition	intransitive transitive	<i>m'alet</i> “come”			✓
Together	intransitive transitive	<i>p'ëlt</i> “together”			✓
Leave	motion verb	“leave”	✓	✓	
Direction		motion verb	✓		
Around	motion verb	<i>una nut</i> “around the place”			✓
Hide	‘sit’	“hide”	✓		✓

Table 4.1: Asymmetrical nuclear SVCs

Number of different patterns relating to the composite transitivity of SVCs have emerged from the data. These are shown in table 4.2 below.

Transitivity of Verbs			Tape	V'ënen Taut	Tirax
intransitive	+	intransitive	intransitive	intransitive	intransitive
intransitive	+	transitive	transitive	transitive	transitive
transitive	+	intransitive	transitive	O-function encoded with <i>a(n)</i>	O-function encoded with <i>xini</i>

Table 4.2: Transitivity of nuclear SVCs

4.2.1 Nuclear SVCs Comprising Two Intransitive Verbs

In the analysed corpora, there are examples of nuclear SVCs consisting of two intransitive verbs creating intransitive nuclear SVCs. Both of the verbs comprising the nuclear serial verb have only one argument: a subject. In these constructions, the V2 contributes a property, attribute, manner, or direction to the situation described by V1. Manner and attributives are encoded with verbs meaning “be small”, “be good”, “be slow”, and “hide” and directional meaning is expressed using the verbs “return” and “go”

In nuclear SVCs independent verbs lose their own subject argument when occurring in V2 position, signalling the grammaticalization observed with coverbs in §4.2.4. As will be seen, coverbs have lost the capacity to function as independent verbs with their own arguments.

Examples 4.3 a)-d) have adjectival verbs in V2 position that express size when used independently. When occurring in nuclear SVCs they contribute manner or duration to the action expressed by V1 rather than expressing the actual size of the subject of the whole nuclear SVC. Examples 4.3 a) and b) have involuntary stative verbs in V1 position followed by the stative verb “be small” in V2 position. In both instances, V2 contributes a manner. In example 4.3 a), the verb “be small” is referring to the action of being on fire and is not describing the entity that is on fire and in b) it refers to the action of growing and it is not describing that plant that is growing. Example 4.3 c) and d) have volitional intransitive verbs in V1 position and the serialized “be small” is contributing durational meaning.

4.3	V'ënen Taut			[nwm-nmb-51:36.1]	[05:18.8-05:20.1]
a)	<i>...a-la</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>i-ven</i> _{V1}	<i>pa</i> _{V2}	
	IMPRS-see	SUB	3SG:REAL-be.alight	be.small	
	‘...people see that it is on fire a little.’				
	Tape			[nwm-mrs-19:30]	[03:01.4-03:05.8]
b)	<i>gi</i>	<i>kë-lis</i>	<i>i-mdakh</i> _{V1}	<i>pës</i> _{V2}	
	REL	2SG:REAL-see	3SG:REAL-grow	be.small	
	‘The one that you see has grown a little.’				

	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-40:69]	[04:28.3-04:29.8]
b)	<i>m-a-Ø-lak</i> _{V1}	<i>p'arei</i> _{V2} <i>asn-n</i>	
	2:HYP-NEG-SG-stay	be.long near-POSS:3SG	
	'Don't stay too long next to it (the laplap).'		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-48:19]	[02:08.5-02:10.1]
d)	<i>...n-dah</i> _{V1}	<i>bih</i> _{V2} <i>K....</i>	
	1SG:REAL-work	be.small K.	
	'...I worked for a little in K.'		

Similarly in example 4.4, the subject of this SVC is “the children” and it is the semantic subject of the verb “sleep”; however, “the children” is not the semantic subject of the verb “be good” as it is not the children that are being good. Rather “be good” acts as a modifier for the action of sleeping.

4.4	Tape	[nwm-mrs-36:27]	[02:24.3-02:28.2]
a)	<i>enisi</i> <i>netite</i> <i>i-n-metër</i> _{V1}	<i>pij</i> _{V2}	
	now child	3:REAL-PL-sleep be.good	
	'Now children sleep well.'		

Example 4.5 shows a nuclear SVC comprising a postural verb as V1 and the verb “to hide” in V2 position. As can be seen in the translation, the postural verb and “to hide” can be understood to be happening simultaneously.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ In Tirax, *drung* “to hide” is analysed as a potential coverb. Brotchie (2009, p. 144) reports that this form means “be in pain” when used as a verb. This meaning appears not to be related to the meaning of hiding which suggests that these items are separate lexemes. The use of *drung* to mean “hide” is attested in Brotchie’s work when the form functions non-verbally; this is also the case in the data collected for this project. When *drung* is reduplicated, it is likely an iconic representation of the plurality of the subject of the SVC.

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-19:20]	[01:41.4-01:43.2]
a)	<i>i-tur</i> _{V1}	<i>drung</i> _{V2} <i>i-lèh</i> <i>tè....</i>	
	3SG:REAL-stand	hide 3SG:REAL-see	SUB
	'he stood hiding and he saw that ...'		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-27:78]	[06:03.5- 06:06.5]
b)	<i>...si-at</i> _{V1}	<i>dru-drung</i> _{V2} <i>lenih</i> <i>tërtra</i>	
	3PL:REAL-sit	DUP-hide bush	old
	'...they sat hidden deep in the bush'		

4.5	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-57:21]	[02:06.4-02:08.4]
	<i>i-lak</i> _{V1}	<i>tituakh</i> _{V2}	<i>lakhara</i> <i>kë-p'e=i</i> <i>dav'a</i>
	3SG:REAL-sit	hide	DEM ES-watch=3SG:OBJ DUR
	<i>dav'a...</i>		
	DUR		
	'She sat in hiding and watched it on and on...'		

Examples 4.6 a) to c) have verbs of motion in V2 position and they have intransitive verbs in V1 position. The V2 in the examples provides directionality to the action described by V1. The sun in example 4.6 a) could be interpreted as the subject of both “come” and “return”. However, in example 4.6 c) *tatè han* “his father” is the subject of the verb “look” but an interpretation in which *tatè han* “his father” is also the subject of the verb “go” is less plausible as the subject of “look” is not actually moving. In both examples, the V2 is indicating directionality.

4.6	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-37:37]	[03:34.1-03:36.4]
a)	<i>...neiel</i> <i>i-ma</i> _{V1}	<i>m'alet</i> _{V2}	<i>mël</i> <i>khilakha</i>
	sun 3SG:REAL-come	return	again now
	'...the sun had come back again now.'		
	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-36:24]	[03:36.8-03:43.8]
b)	<i>kam'em'</i> <i>në-vra-v'a</i> _{V1}	<i>m'alet</i> _{V2}	<i>kë-v-an</i> <i>risej</i>
	1NSG.EXCL 1REAL-PL-go	return	ER-PL-make research
	<i>arne-n...</i>		
	on-POSS:3SG		
	'We went back and did research on it...'		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-19:42]	[03:05.9- 03:07.3]
c)	<i>tatè</i> <i>han</i> <i>i-ri</i> _{V1}	<i>van</i> _{V2} ⁵¹	<i>lain...</i>
	father POSS:3SG 3SG:REAL-look	go	home
	'His father looked towards home...'		

When occurring in V2 position with verbs that do not encode movement, *m'alet* indicates that the action described by V1 is repeated. As can be seen in example 4.7 and also in 4.10 d).

⁵¹ The verb *ri* “look” is intransitive; however, it can accept a stimulus participant, the entity being looked at, so long as it is introduced by *xini*. In this example, the locative noun *lain* is not acting as the object of *ri van* or as an additional participant.

4.7	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-06:78]	[06:08.1-06:10.4]
	... i-tkhal _{V1}	m'alet _{V2}	mël
	3SG:REAL-wake.up	return	again
	'...he came back to life.'		

4.2.2 Nuclear SVCs Comprising an Intransitive Verb and a Transitive Verb

SVCs comprising an intransitive V1 and a transitive V2 have a clearer composite argument structure. The addition of V2 creates a composite transitive argument structure with the A-function contributed by the argument of the intransitive V1, and the O-function contributed by the O-function argument of the transitive V2. The subject of V2 shares identity with the subject of V1 but it is not expressed in nuclear SVCs nor is it encoded on V2 with preverbal subject morphology. Instead it is encoded solely with the subject of the initial V1. The subsequent V2 is transitive and has both a subject and an object argument. The object of the V2 is expressed after the V2 in its typical post-verbal position in the clause and receives no special marking. In all the examples, the objects of this type of nuclear SVC are common nouns (§3.1). In many of these constructions the V2 contributes a location object, orienting the V1 situation in space. In example 4.8 a) the location is the object of “leave” and in example 4.9 it is the object of “surround” or “go about”.

In examples 4.8 a) and b), the initial verb, “go away” is an intransitive verb of motion and the verb in V2 position is the transitive verb “leave”. The subject of both V1 and V2 can be interpreted as being the same entity. The object of V2 “leave” expresses the source of the movement. As a single unit, the nuclear SVC forms a transitive clause.

4.8	Tape	[mwn-mrs-05:03]	[00:42.6- 00:46.5]
a)	<i>i-n-vër</i>	“pa-n-riu _{V1}	lëng _{V2} <i>nit</i> <i>ese</i> <i>nakëd</i> ”
	3:REAL-PL-say	1NSG:IRR-PL-go.away	leave place POSS 1NSG:INC
	‘They said “Let’s abandon our place.”’		
b)	Tirax	[nwm-mme-52:6]	[00:56.1- 00:57.3]
	da-r-vëla _{V1}	lixdrë _{V2}	<i>nòx</i>
	1NSG:IRR-DL-go.away	leave	2SG
	‘We are going to leave you (here at home).’		

4.9	Tirax	[mwm-mme-35:59]	[03:34.7- 03:36.1]
a)	... <i>kēnen</i> <i>drul</i> <i>na-s-at</i> _{V1} <i>drèl</i> _{V2} <i>nalòk</i> <i>xari</i> 1NSG:EXCL all 1NSG:REAL-PL-sit surround laplap DEM '...we all sat around the laplap.'		
	Tirax	[mwn-mme-21:7]	[00:58.8- 01:05.3]
b)	<i>sē-mēkan</i> _{V1} <i>drèl</i> _{V2} <i>nòxmò</i> ... 3NSG:REAL-dance surround slit.drum 'They danced around the slit drum...'		
	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-89:95.1]	[05:54.7-05:56.2]
c)	... <i>m'anēkh</i> <i>i-tetëv</i> _{V1} <i>una</i> _{V2} <i>nut</i> <i>waki</i> bird 3SG:REAL-fly go.about place only '...the bird just flies about.'		
	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-63:38.1]	[02:34.8-02:37.0]
d)	<i>i-v'el</i> <i>a</i> <i>Dikson</i> <i>lara</i> , <i>i-v'a</i> _{V1} 3SG:REAL-walk LOC Dickson.Reef DEM 3SG:REAL-go <i>una</i> _{V2} <i>kar</i> <i>nut</i> go.about COVER place 'He went to Dickson Reef, he went everywhere.'		

SVCs comprising a transitive V1 and intransitive V2 are more complicated in regard to their grammatical structure than the nuclear constructions described in §4.2.1 and §4.2.2 above. This is because the V1 has two grammatical arguments, subject and object, when used independently, while the V2 only has one argument when used independently. As verbs comprising nuclear SVCs are contiguous, the object of V1 must occur after V2. The way in which the undergoer participant of V1 is encoded grammatically in this type of nuclear SVC varies by language. In this section, the V2 contributes manner, resultative, and directional meanings to the situation expressed by V1.

In Tirax and V'ënen Taut the O-function of V1 is positioned after the intransitive V2 and it is generally introduced using a valence increasing device. In V'ënen Taut it is introduced with *a(n)*⁵² and in Tirax it is introduced using *xini*.⁵³ These two morphemes appear to be reflexes of the Proto-Oceanic **akin[i]* which was used to introduce non-agent participants to the clause (Evans, 2003, p. 195). The V1 describes the action and the V2 contributes either resultative meaning, as in examples 4.10 a) and b), or

⁵² Dodd (2014, p. 199) labels the morpheme *a/an* as the “extended participant” morpheme. It is a valence increasing device that can increase the number of participants in a clause with both intransitive and transitive verbs. The additional participant can take the semantic role of patient, theme, source, instrument, or stimulus. The following examples that show an additional participant occurring with intransitive verbs.

V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014, p. 200)

<i>nav'ëkh</i>	<i>i-kharis</i>
Malay.apple	3SG:REAL-be.finished
‘The Malay apples are finished’	

V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014, p. 201)

<i>kë-r-kharis</i>	a	<i>tim'akh</i>
ES-PAU-be.finished	EXT.P	food
‘We finished the food’		

V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014, p. 201)

<i>n-ruk</i>	an=i
1:REAL-run.away	EXT.P=3SG:OBJ
‘I ran away from it (a snake)’	

V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014, p. 202)

<i>p'ëlahk</i>	<i>i-vëtma</i>	an=i
banded.rail	3SG:REAL-laugh	EXT.P=3SG:OBJ
‘The banded rail laughed at it’		

The following examples show an additional participant occurring with transitive verbs.

V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014, p. 204)

<i>i-tu</i>	<i>nëmakh</i>	<i>i-amëk</i>	an=r
3SG:REAL-give	house	3SG:REAL-one	EXT.P=3NGS:OBJ
‘He have a house to them’			

V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014, p. 204)

<i>i-uln</i>	<i>tan</i>	an=i
3SG:REAL-let.go	gun	EXT.P=3SG:OBJ
‘He fired a gun at him’		

V'ënen Taut (Dodd, 2014, p. 206)

<i>kë-v-al</i>	<i>p'ën=i</i>	a	<i>nap'</i>
ES-PL-burn	FATAL=3SG:OBJ	EXT.P	fire
‘They burned it to death with fire’			

⁵³ Brotchie (2009, p. 180) labelled this morpheme the “oblique preposition” which she said functions to introduce “core arguments, oblique phrases and demoted direct objects”. However, because *xini* can be used to introduce more than just oblique arguments, which Brotchie also acknowledges, and because it functions similarly to the extended participant morpheme in V'ënen Taut, in this work it is also analysed as an extended participant marker.

4.10

a) Tirax [nwm-mme-13:17] [01:19.6-01:21.6]
na-s-tès_{V1} ***bi-bih***_{V2} *xini* *nebu valih...*
 1NSG:REAL-PL-cut DUP-be.small EXT.P soft bamboo
 ‘...we cut up the soft bamboo into small bits...’

b) Tirax [nwm-mme-43:48] [03:12.9-03:14.1]
i-kih_{V1} ***bi-bih***_{V2} *xini* *nalòk*
 3SG:REAL-pinch.off DUP-small EXT.P laplap
 ‘She pinched off small bits of laplap.’

c) V’ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-36:44.1] [05:24.7-05:26.7]
...vakha ***ně-v-an***_{V1} ***p’ělt***_{V2} *an=i*
 or 1:REAL-PL-make be.together EXT.P=3SG:OBJ
 ‘...if we do them together (planting crops) in one place.’

d) V’ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-12:24] [02:13.5-02:16.7]
kě-r-tin_{V1} ***m’alet***_{V2} *a* *rane-n* *i-v’a* *al*
 ES-PAU-bury return EXT.P branch 3SG:REAL-go in
takh...
 hole.in.ground
 ‘They bury the (kava) cuttings back in the hole.’

4.11	Tape		[nwm-mrs-43:23]	[02:00.302:02.5]
a)	<i>kě-jej</i> _{V1}	<i>pēs-pēs</i> _{V2}	<i>en</i>	<i>i-mos</i>
	2SG:REAL-cut	DUP-be.small	3SG	3SG:REAL-be.finished
	‘You finish cutting it up into bits.’			
	Tape		[nwm-mrs-23:13]	[01:18.99-01:20.9]
b)	<i>i-n-jej</i> _{V1}	<i>pij</i> _{V2}	<i>jere</i>	
	3:REAL-PL-cut	be.good	COMPL	
	‘They finished cutting it well.’			

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identified as coverbs in this work (§4.2.4). This has resulted in some lexemes, which I speculate to have been former independent verbs, losing some of their verbal properties.

4.2.4 Coverbs in Northwest Malekula

Having defined independent verbs in §4.1, it is important to briefly address a set of morphemes which have proved difficult to analyse during this project. These morphemes have a similar function and distribution in the Northwest Malekula languages, occurring in complex nuclei; however, they lack the property of independent verbhood. This has resulted in them being identified as different grammatical elements in the existing works on each language. In V'ënen Taut, they were analysed as bound post-verbal semantic modifier suffixes and as adverbs (Dodd, 2014; Fox, 1979), in Tape they were analysed as verbs occurring in a sub-type of SVC (Crowley, 2002), and in Tirax they were analysed as two types of adverb that Broatchie (2009, p. 148) called “nuclear adverbs”.

Recalling from Chapter Three, the surveyed Central Vanuatu languages have inventories of varying sizes consisting of morphemes which display verbal properties but are not attested functioning as independent verbs. The morphemes were also analysed as belonging to a range of word classes in the languages, although most authors considered them to be a sub-type of verb. As per the previous chapter, in this work, these morphemes are identified as coverbs. The term coverb emphasises the resemblance that coverbs have to independent verbs but also signals that they are not considered true independent verbs. Coverbs are grammatically similar to independent verbs in various ways. Coverbs often accept inflectional morphology typically associated with verbs. Some coverbs can reduplicate, a grammatical feature commonly associated with verbs in Oceanic languages. They occur within the verb complex and often from a single phonological unit in combination with the verb that they occur alongside. Semantically, coverbs tend to encode meanings typically associated with adverbs, although some also encode meanings that are more commonly associated with canonical verbs.

As this work is focused on analysing SVCs in Northwest Malekula languages and because SVCs are defined as comprising at least two independent verbs, grammatical

constructions comprising an independent verb along with a coverb are definitionally excluded from being SVCs. Because coverbs are encountered in many languages of Central Vanuatu, further cross-linguistic analysis of the grammatical/semantic properties of coverbs may be warranted in the future.

Coverbs in the Northwest Malekula languages are presented in table 4.3 below.

Coverbs display a number of similar grammatical and semantic properties, the main property being that they only ever occur with an independent verb or form a lexicalised compound verb with another non-independent verbal element. The coverbs display a number of other properties beyond their basic dependent status. Firstly, they are mostly post-verbal. Secondly, the coverbs have a very close relationship with the verb, occurring directly after the verb and before the object argument of transitive verbs.

Where the object is expressed using bound morphology, most coverbs accept the bound object marker. Some coverbs are phonologically integrated with the independent verb, while others are less phonologically integrated and are pronounced as separate words. Brotchie (2009) noted an orthographical preference for Tirax speakers to represent the independent verbs occurring with phonologically integrated coverbs as single words while less integrated coverbs were written separately from the verb. Thirdly, as stated previously, some coverbs can undergo reduplication. The coverbs that have been recorded reduplicating in the corpora are listed in the table with their reduplicated affix in brackets. Reduplication of coverbs, like reduplication of independent verbs, generally reflects repetition of the action expressed by the verb or in this case, the combination of independent verb and coverb.

Coverbial constructions appear to be similar to nuclear SVC in that they encode closely related events with the coverb expressing some further semantic property of action expressed by the independent verb. Coverbs tend to encode the manner in which the subject carried out the action expressed by the independent verb or they express a property that is gained by either the subject or object participant of the construction as a result of the action expressed by the independent verb. Applying the terminology of the functional types of SVCs, these could also be identified as manner, resultative, or cause-effect constructions. There are a number of instances in the corpora, and in existing literature, of coverbs interacting with nuclear SVCs. While there are limited examples, the data shows that coverbs occur after the V2 in the SVC. Furthermore, it is possible for more than one coverb to modify the independent verb(s) in a clause. This is

seen in the project data and also reported in Brotchie's (2009) grammar of Tirax. There is internal ordering in which coverbs occur when multiple coverbs modify the same independent verb(s). Ordering appears to reflect the level of integration each coverb has with independent verbs. In V'ënen Taut, *mamakh* "well" is one coverb that is observed occurring with other coverbs, being positioned after the first coverb and before the object. Brotchie (2009) identifies more lexemes that can occur in that position; however, many of these were not observed in the data for this project.⁵⁴

Coverbs are distinguished from other verbal modifiers, such as adverbs, by their position in the clause. Coverbs must be contiguous with an independent verb or with another coverb. Morphemes which can occur outside the clausal nucleus are not considered coverbs because they are not sufficiently verb-like. For example, some morphemes that can occur close to verbs, such as between a transitive verb and its object, can also occur outside of the verb complex. Morphemes like these are better analysed as adverbs or particles instead of coverbs. An examples of such a morpheme is the completive adverb *sara* from V'ënen Taut. *Sara* normally occurs directly after verbs and before object arguments and it accepts object morphology when appropriate; however, it can also occur clause initially as a discourse marker. This means it has more possible positions in the clause than coverbs, which are restricted to the nucleus. Similar examples from Tirax involve a class of morpheme that Brotchie (2009) identified as 'particles'. Some particles most commonly occur directly after verbs but they can also occur after nominals and adverbs too, meaning that they are not coverbs.

As can be seen in table 4.3 a variety of meanings are expressed using coverbs in the Northwest Malekula languages. Furthermore, some meanings are expressed using cognate forms in two or all three of the languages.

⁵⁴ This is likely due to the limitations of my data collection methodology that relied on text collection rather than data elicitation. Not all possible structures were captured in the corpus.

V'ënen Taut	Tape	Tirax	Meaning
<i>p'ën</i>	<i>(bën)bëni</i>	<i>din</i>	FATAL
<i>(p'r)p'r/(p'e)p'ra</i>	<i>bëri</i>		BREAK, SPLIT
<i>(kër)kar</i>	<i>(kër)kër</i>	<i>xoro</i>	BLOCK, COVER, PROHIBIT
<i>la/(lu)lua</i>	<i>(lu)luo</i>	<i>lue</i> ⁵⁵	REMOVE
<i>(us)us</i>	<i>(uj)uj</i>	<i>(vès)vès</i>	SEVER
<i>(du)du/(du)dau</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>dro</i>	ABILITY
	<i>jējën</i>		TIGHT
<i>(da)da</i>			HOLD
<i>p'ela</i>			FORGET
<i>et</i>			INTS
<i>dr</i>			ABILITY (physical)
<i>smën</i> ^{*56}			BUGLE
	<i>këvin</i>		NO REASON
<i>mamakh</i>		<i>mumux</i>	WELL
		<i>kreh</i>	THROUGH
		<i>vëxah</i>	BREAK IN TWO
		<i>tròn*</i>	CONT
		<i>navòn*</i>	TOO MUCH
		<i>mënet</i>	IN VAIN
	<i>duil</i>		DEEPLY
	<i>jëjar</i>		TOGETHER
		<i>bòrbòr</i>	DREAM
		<i>(drung)drung</i>	HIDDEN
<i>wir</i>			CARRY

Table 4.3: Coverbs in the Northwest Malekula languages⁵⁷

The examples below show the fatality coverb from the three Northwest Malekula languages occurring in a construction with the verb meaning “hit/kill”. The fatally morpheme indicates that, as a result of the act of hitting, the participant functioning as the object of the complex nucleus dies. In the three examples below, a) shows the use of the verb “hit/kill”⁵⁸ with “(slit) drum” as the object and b) shows “hit/kill” occurring with the fatality coverb. In each language, the fatality coverb is not attested as an independent verb.

⁵⁵ This coverb was analysed as an independent verb by Brotchie (2009) but is not observed functioning as such in the corpus collected for this project.

⁵⁶ The entries listed with *are marginal and need more targeted analysis.

⁵⁷ This table presents only those coverbs attested in the Northwest Malekula corpus. See Dodd (2014) and Brotchie (2009) for more possible entries in the coverb inventories.

⁵⁸ The independent verb in all three of these languages can mean either ‘hit’ or ‘kill’ when used on its own depending on the context; however, it always means ‘kill’ when occurring with the fatality morpheme.

- 4.12 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-03:11] [01:34.4-01:39.0]
a) *kana m'e=i a p'ënei n-r-rp*
1SG with=3SG:OBJ EXT.P maternal.uncle 1:REAL-PAU-hit
khëmau
drum
‘Me and my uncle played the drum.’
- V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-57:29] [02:41.6-02:44.6]
b) *ale kë-da-v'a kë-rp p'ën ki i-amëk*
then ER-CONST-go ER-hit FATAL PART 3SG:REAL-one
‘Then she went and killed one of them.’
- 4.13 Tape [nwm-mrs-70:13] [01:01.0-01:14.0]
a) *...i-n-khëj nokhmo ogi*
3:REAL-PL-hit slit.drum limiter
‘They just hit the drum.’
- Tape [nwm-mrs-75:60] [05:43.7-05:48.1]
b) *i-r-khëj bëni*
3:REAL-DU-hit FATAL
‘They killed it (the monster).’
- 4.14 Tirax [nwm-mme-19:22] [00:46.1-00:51.9]
a) *së-rub nòxmò*
3PL:REAL-hit slit.drum
‘So they hit the slit drum.’
- Tirax nwm-mme-19:22 [01:49.2-01:50.6]
b) *ale i-van i-rub din nas*
so 3SG:IRR-go 3SG:IRR-hit FATAL fish
‘So, he went and killed the fish.’

In a similar way to SVCs, the coverbial constructions can sometimes produce novel non-compositional meanings. In example 4.15 a), a speaker commented to another speaker that I was asking a lot of questions about a seemingly mundane topic: chickens. The fatality morpheme indicates that the activity is being carried out exhaustively.

- 4.15 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-46:146] [08:06.7-08:08.5]
a) *si lakha a-rulili p'ën=i*
something DEM 3NSG:REAL-turn.over FATAL =3SG:OBJ
‘This guy wants to know a lot’ (lit: ‘This is being turned over to death.’)
- V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-30:43] [03:12.0-03:14.1]
b) *i-a-v'akh p'ën sei ki*
3SG:REAL-NEG-think FATAL thing PART
‘People don’t worry about it.’

The V'enen Taut lexeme *rkhap'ëni* “die” is a complex form where the fatality coverb is attached to *rkha*; however, *rkha* is not attested occurring without *p'ën* in the corpus. It is therefore not an independent verb in its own right and, as such, this lexeme appears to be a lexicalized compound.

4.16	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-100:24]	[02:17.7-02:21.4]
	<i>lëpu i-rkhap'ën=i</i>	<i>al nata</i>	
	rat 3SG:REAL-die=3SG:OBJ	in sea	
	‘Rat died in the sea.’		

The example from Tape below shows how some coverbs can be reduplicated. In this example, the reduplication can be understood to indicate the repetition of both of the actions and/or the plurality of the fish.

4.17	Tape	[nwm-mrs-30:20]	[01:54.4-01:57.8]
	<i>më-n-lev</i>	<i>lu-luo</i>	<i>nëmej më-n-ve</i>
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-take	DUP-REMOVE	fish 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-make
	<i>bën-bëni</i>		
	DUP-FATAL		
	‘We take out the fish and kill them.’		

Some coverbs are attested in the analysed corpus as occurring with nuclear SVCs.

Brotchie (2009) also observes this patterning in Tirax. The meaning of such constructions appears to be compositional, with the V1 denoting the action and the V2 and coverb providing manner or resultative meanings.

4.18	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-63:38]	[02:35.2-02:37.6]
a)	<i>...i-v'a</i>	<i>una kar nut</i>	
	3SG:REAL-go	all.about COVER	place
	‘...he went to all the places.’		

b)	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-79:49]	[05:14.8-05:18.7]
	<i>nki a-v'es</i>	<i>pa pr=i</i>	<i>i-ru</i>
	some 3NSG:REAL-tear	be.small BREAK=3SG:OBJ	3SG:REAL-two
	<i>arane-n</i>		
	on-POSS:3SG		
	‘The ones that people tear two small ones from (bamboo).’		

Although coverbs are typically positioned after an independent verb, one coverb is attested as occurring between the bound preverbal morphology and the independent verb. The V'enen Taut preverbal coverb *wir* ‘carry’ is only attested with the verbs *v'a*

“go”, *ma* “come”, and *khau* “go home”. There are no preverbal coverbs seen in the Tape or Tirax data.

The preverbal coverb *wir* “carry” is only attested with verbs of motion. The carried item is normally clear through context and is not mentioned as the object; however it can be specified if required. As verbs of motion are intransitive, they cannot be inflected with object morphology. This means that constructions comprising *wir* are not attested accepting object morphology when the object is not expressed using a full noun phrase.

4.19	V'ënen Taut		[nwm-nmb-14:18]		[01:15.8-01:20.0]		
a)	<i>ně-v-khěl</i>	<i>udrlan</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>kě-v-wir</i>	<i>ma</i>		
	1:REAL-PL-dig	all	yam	ER-PL-CARRY	come		
	'We harvest all the yams and carry them back.'						
	V'ënen Taut		[nwm-nmb-43:03]		[00:52.6-00:57.8]		
b)	<i>misonari</i>	<i>i-wir</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>kospel</i>	<i>asn</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>D</i>
	missionary	3SG:REAL- CARRY	come	gospel	beside	PERS	D
	'The missionary brought the gospel to D.'						

Reflecting on the list of coverbs presented above, their use in the Northwest Malekula languages, and similar morphemes with similar usages in other languages, it appears likely that coverbs historically derive from independent verbs. The pathway for this change is that historic independent verbs which occurred regularly in nuclear SVCs have become grammaticalized as verbal modifiers, retaining some properties of verbs in the languages. As the languages undergo further changes, the coverbs could lose some of these properties and become more like adverbs with less restricted use in the languages. This appears to have occurred already with verb-like forms that can occur both within and outside of the nucleus, and that are classified as adverbs.

It is important to acknowledge that coverbial constructions can also be analysed as a type of nuclear serial verb construction. However, this view was not taken in this work because of the criterion of independent verbhood which was applied to the data to aid in this comparative study. That being said, further analysis of coverbs to establish them as a distinct morpheme type in the Northwest Malekula languages using targeted elicitation, grammaticality judgments, and negative evidence would be warranted in the future. Such work was planned to occur in a third fieldtrip to Northwest Malekula near

the end of this project; however, due to international travel restrictions as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, this work was not able to be completed.

4.3 Core Layer Serial Verbs

Like nuclear SVCs, core SVCs are monoclausal, sharing a number of properties: they share the same semantic mood (example 4.20), polarity (4.58 and 4.59), and aspect (4.25 c) values and illocutionary force (4.29 and 4.34 c) over the whole structure, and they display no evidence of coordination, subordination, syntactic dependency, or any other kind of linking. Core layer SVCs also comprise independent verbs; however, unlike nuclear SVCs where the serialised verbs are single marked, the verbs comprising core layer SVCs display concordant marking and are therefore individually inflected with bound preverbal morphology.

Core layer SVCs can display the following argument sharing types same-subject (§4.3.1), switch-function (§4.3.2), inclusory (§4.3.3), and ambient (§4.3.4). As with nuclear SVCs described previously, core layer SVCs can have a simultaneous or sequential temporal interpretation. The temporal interpretation of core SVCs is largely dependent on the combination of the inherent aspectual properties of the constituent verbs and their relative order. A simultaneous interpretation is observed only rarely in core layer SVCs. Core SVCs are less integrated structures than nuclear SVCs; likewise sequential events may be less integrated semantically when compared to simultaneous events. An analysis of symmetry in core layer SVCs is presented in §4.3.5.

4.3.1 Same-Subject Core SVCs

Same-subject core SVCs are less integrated than the nuclear SVCs described in §4.2. Same-subject core SVCs are marked concordantly so each verb in a same-subject core SVC is inflected by language specific obligatory preverbal morphology. This morphology normally marks person, number, mood, and other verbal categories (see §1.5). Each verb in a same-subject core layer SVC has its own argument structure, the subject arguments of which display identity.

Same-subject core SVCs are common in Tirax and Tape but they are rare in V'ënen Taut. This is because the same-subject identity that characterises same-subject SVCs

almost always triggers the use of echo-reference morphology in V’ënen Taut (see Chapters Six and Seven).

The following examples show same-subject core SVCs with simultaneous temporal interpretations. The first two examples show core SVCs in which the first verb is the postural verb “sit” and the second verb is “eat”. These actions in the examples presented can be understood to be undertaken by the same subject simultaneously. Concordant preverbal morphology can be seen in both examples.

4.20	Tape		[nwm-mrs-13:11]		[01:12.9-01:14.7]	
a)	<i>pa-n-liek</i> _{V1}		<i>pa-n-khan</i> _{V2...}			
	1NSG.INCL:IRR-PL-sit		1NSG.INCL:IRR-PL-eat			
	‘We will sit and eat...’					
	Tirax		[nwm-mme-43:39]		[02:37.6-02:39.1]	
b)	<i>...lot</i>	<i>tè</i>	<i>morti</i>	<i>dè-at</i> _{V1}	<i>dè-wès-i</i> _{V2}	
	place	SUB	person	3SG:IRR-sit	3SG:IRR-eat-3SG:OBJ	
	‘...the place where people will sit and eat it (the laplap).’					

One of the most commonly occurring types of same-subject core SVCs are those where V2 is a verb of motion, either “go” or “come”, and V1 includes movement as part of its semantic properties. This movement can be of the subject or the object argument, resulting from the action denoted by V1. V1 denotes the kind of movement and V2 indicates the direction of the movement, either away from a particular point of reference using “go” or towards a point of reference using “come”. The examples below display some of the most basic forms of this type of SVC. The V1 describes a volitional movement by the subject and V2 indicates whether the movement is away or towards a particular point. This contrast is particularly evident in examples 4.21 a) and b) which comprise the same V1 but have different verbs in V2 position. Examples 4.21 d) and e) do not comprise the same verbs, however they do contain the same lexeme as the goal of the movement.

4.21	Tape		[nwm-mrs-21:35]		[03:00.7-03:03.5]	
a)	<i>i-n-melet</i> _{V1}	<i>i-n-vin</i> _{V2}	<i>erenge</i>	<i>nëmakh</i>	<i>esar</i>	
	3:REAL-PL-return	3:REAL-PL-go	LOC	house	POSS:3SG	
	‘They went back to their houses.’					

- b)

Tape	[nwm-mrs-15:26]	[03:08.1-03:09.6]
<i>ipa-n-melet</i> _{V1}	<i>ipa-n-mo</i> _{V2}	<i>etlesi</i>
3NSG:IRR-PL-return	3NSG:IRR-PL-come	here
‘They will come back here.’		
- c)

Tape	[nwm-mrs-16:12]	[01:17.1-01:22.9]
<i>...i-n-jëpij</i> _{V1}	<i>i-n-vin</i> _{V2}	<i>erenge tes</i>
3:REAL-PL-jump	3:REAL-PL-go	LOC sea
‘...they jumped into the sea.’		
- d)

Tirax	[nwm-mme-15:10]	[01:10.2-01:11.6]
<i>...në-vial</i> _{V1}	<i>në-mè</i> _{V2}	<i>lain</i>
1SG:REAL-walk	1SG:REAL-come	inside
‘...I walked home.’		
- e)

Tirax	[nwm-mme-21:13]	[01:22.1-01:23.2]
<i>në-vëla</i> _{V1}	<i>në-van</i> _{V2}	<i>lain</i>
1SG:REAL-go.away	1SG:REAL-go	inside
‘I ran away and went home.’		

The following example from Tirax shows a same-subject core SVC in which the V2 is a verb of movement. V1 is not primarily a verb of movement but has movement as one of its semantic properties. It involves the verbs *ted* “grow” in V1 position and *mè* “come” in V2 position. V1 *ted* “grow” is not verb which solely expresses movement; however, yams, being a kind of vine that grow out of the ground and climb up other plants, can be interpreted as having a directional growth from the ground towards the plane of a person’s sight. This means that *mè* “come” is an appropriate verb to encode this meaning.

- 4.22

Tirax	[nwm-mme-14:25]	[01:53.4-01:54.9]
<i>i-ted</i> _{V1}	<i>i-mè</i> _{V2}	<i>linha...</i>
3SG:REAL-grow	3SG:REAL-come	up
‘It grew and came up.’		

While the previous examples comprise two intransitive verbs, directional same-subject core SVCs can also comprise a transitive V1 and an intransitive verb of motion as V2. Intervening between the constituent verbs is the object argument of the transitive V1. These utterances can be considered same-subject core SVCs because the subject of V1 and all subsequent verbs in the construction display identity. They also display the

illocutionary force.⁵⁹

4.23

a) Tape [nwm-mrs-32:18] [02:26.6-02:29.3]
*B.*, **mě-n-lau**_{v1} **mě-n-vin**_{v2} *e*
 B. 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-cross 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-go LOC
těvelkhas
 other.side
 ‘...B. river, we cross it and go to the other side.’

b) Tape [nwm-mrs-02:09] [00:55.9-00:59.7]
mě-n-lev_{v1} *nawok ese-n*
 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-take canoe CLF.GEN-POSS:3SG
mě-n-vin_{v2} *erenge-n...*
 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-go LOC-POSS:3SG
 ‘We took his canoe and went in it...’

c) Tirax [nwm-mme-13:12] [00:56.8-00:58.6]
*ale na-s-hlòx-i*_{v1} **na-s-van**_{v2} *dxi lain*
 so 1NSG:REAL-PL-carry-3SG:OBJ 1NSG:REAL-PL-go with to.house
 ‘So we carried it and went home with it.’

d) Tirax [nwm-mme-27:31] [02:32.2-02:34.4]
 ...*i-xoh*_{v1} **i-van**_{v2} *něnga sèè nain*
 3SG:REAL-pass.through 3SG:REAL-go LOC other.side house
 ‘...she passed through to the other side of the house,’

The following example from Tape also involves a V2 functioning to express the direction of movement; however, in this case V2 is the transitive verb *jovo* “follow” with its object *tes* “sea” used to specify the type of directional movement.

4.24	Tape	[nwm-mrs-14:10]	[00:56.9-00:59.7]
	... <i>en-längling</i> _{V1}	<i>en-jovo</i> _{V2}	<i>tes</i>
	1SG:REAL-walk	1SG:REAL-follow	sea
	'...I walked along the coast (looking for seafood).'		

Verbs of speech can occur in same-subject SVCs. In this type of construction, V1 indicates the manner of speech while V2 is always the verb meaning “say” which is followed by direct or indirect speech as the complement of V2.

⁵⁹ Examples 4.23 c) and d) also have transitive verbs in V1 position but their object arguments are not overtly expressed.

4.25	Tape	[nwm-mrs-39:48]	[03:19.9-03:21.3]
a)	<i>dě-n-tinge</i> _{V1}	<i>dě-n-vër</i> _{V2...}	
	1NSG.INCL:REAL-PL-tell	1NSG.INCL:REAL-PL-say	
	‘We tell (them) we say...’		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-54:9]	[01:01.2-01:04.2]
b)	<i>...ale</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>ngè i-kul</i> _{V1}
	so	man	DEM 3SG:REAL-sing
	‘The man sung saying/and said...’		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-19:35]	[02:41.7-02:43.9]
c)	<i>...i-tev</i> _{V1}	<i>i-vër</i> _{V2}	<i>sar xini tatè han...</i>
	3SG:REAL-callout	3SG:REAL-say	CONT EXT.P father POSS:3SG
	‘...he was calling out to his father saying...’		

The examples of same-subject core SVCs presented above have a simultaneous temporal interpretation. The focus will now move to core SVCs for which sequential temporal interpretations are more appropriate based on the inherent aspectual properties of the constituent verbs. One of the most common types of same-subject core SVCs are prior motion constructions where the subjects of the verbs in the SVC move to a particular location and once there perform a particular action. The movement verb takes V1 position and the action verb, which can be transitive or intransitive, takes V2 position.

4.26 a)

<u>Tape</u>	<u>[nwm-mrs-21:21]</u>	<u>[01:54.9-01:56.9]</u>
<i>ase</i>	<i>er i-n-vin</i> _{V1}	<i>i-n-metër</i> _{V2}
maternal.uncle	PL 3:REAL-PL-go	3:REAL-PL-sleep
<i>esar</i>		
POSS:3PL		
‘The uncles go and sleep in their houses.’		

b)

<u>Tape</u>	<u>[nwm-mrs-25:16]</u>	<u>[01:17.8-01:20.3]</u>
<i>ase</i>	<i>netite i-n-mo</i> _{V1}	<i>i-n-udi</i> _{V2}
maternal.uncle	child 3:REAL-PL-come	3:REAL-PL-eat
‘The children’s uncles come and eat.’		

c)

<u>Tirax</u>	<u>[nwm-mme-55:08]</u>	<u>[00:51.4-00:54.1]</u>
<i>ale xain i-mè</i> _{V1}	<i>i-tès</i> _{V2}	<i>nabu</i>
so 3SG 3SG:REAL-come	3SG:REAL-cut	bamboo
‘So she came and cut bamboo.’		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-13:44]	[03:01.6-03:05.6]
d)	<i>ale</i> <i>morti</i> <i>i-van</i> _{V1} <i>i-tò</i> _{V2} <i>male</i> <i>nan</i>		
	so person 3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-put foot POSS:3SG		
	<i>něnga-n</i>		
	LOC-POSS:3SG		
	‘People go and put their foot in it (rotten sago trunks).’		

A similar category of same-subject core SVCs are movement-postural SVCs. This type of construction involves a verb of movement in V1 position and a postural verb in V2 position.

4.27	Tape	[nwm-mrs-26:16]	[01:18.5-01:23.4]
a)	<i>kemru</i> <i>těvelën</i> <i>ipo-vin</i> _{V1} <i>ipo-ptir</i> _{V2} <i>erenge</i> <i>nakel pre</i>		
	2DU other 3SG:IRR-go 3SG:IRR-stand LOC ridge post		
	‘One of you two go stand by the ridge post.’		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-19:34]	[02:39.2-02:40.3]
b)	<i>i-an</i> _{V1} <i>i-tur</i> _{V2} <i>linha</i>		
	3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-stand up		
	‘He went and stood up high.’		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-44:8]	[01:02.4-01:04.3]
c)	<i>na-r-mě</i> _{V1} <i>na-r-at</i> _{V2} <i>něnga</i> <i>Nabawan....</i>		
	1NSG:REAL-DU-come 1NSG:REAL-DU-stay LOC Nambawan		
	‘We came to Nambawan (a garden)...’		

Another commonly occurring type of same-subject core SVC is the goals and limits SVC. This SVC is used to indicate movement to a certain place. It has a verb of movement as V1, followed by the transitive verb “reach/touch” as V2. The goal of the V1 movement verb is encoded as the object of V2.

4.28	Tape	[nwm-mrs-05:20]	[02:00.6-02:04.4]
a)	<i>mě-n-mo</i> _{V1} <i>mě-n-iar</i> _{V2} <i>e</i> <i>T.</i>		
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-come 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-reach LOC T.		
	‘We came to T.’		
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-48:10]	[01:10.6-01:12.9]
b)	<i>ně-van</i> _{V1} <i>n-sdër</i> _{V2} <i>Santo</i>		
	1SG:REAL-go 1SG:REAL-reach Santo		
	‘I went to (Espiritu) Santo.’		

In the Northwest Malekula languages, the verb meaning “reach/touch” also occurs in the same construction when the object of the verb is a physical object rather than a location like in example 4.28 above.

4.29	Tape	[nwm-mrs-26:27]			[02:16.8-02:21.8]
	<i>E.</i> ,	<i>p-ivin</i> _{V1}	<i>po-iar</i> _{V2}	<i>neiet</i>	<i>gi...</i>
	thatch	2SG:IRR-go	2SG:IRR-touch	thatch	REL
	‘E, go touch the thatch that...’				

There are many instances of same-subject-core SVCs which have no identifiable type but simply occur as a series of verbs which all share the same subject, have the same illocutionary force, and have a related meaning in the overall narrative flow of the text, with either a simultaneous or sequential temporal interpretation.

4.30	Tape	[nwm-mrs-09:07-08]			[00:45.2-00:48.4]
a)	<i>i-n-lev</i> _{V1}	<i>ro</i>	<i>mëtiu</i>	<i>i-n-vet</i> _{V2}	<i>tang</i>
	3SG:REAL-PL-take	leaf	coconut	3SG:REAL-PL-weave	basket
	‘They take coconut leaves and weave baskets (from them).’				

	Tape	[nwm-mrs-20:13]			[00:58.1-01:00.6]
b)	<i>pa-r-takhe</i> _{V1}	<i>nesip</i>	<i>pa-r-sar</i> _{V2}	<i>ogi</i>	
	1NSG.INCL:IRR-DU-take	knife	1NSG.INCL:IRR-DU-spear	only	
	‘We will just take a knife and stab it (pig).’				

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-35:28]			[01:54.5-01:56.3]
c)	<i>së-lev</i> _{V1}	<i>nlah</i>	<i>s-tò-i</i> _{V2...}		
	3NSG:REAL-take	cup	3NSG:REAL-put-3SG:OBJ		
	‘They take the cup and put it (down)...’				

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-54:07]			[00:51.3-00:55.3]
d)	<i>dè-rub-i</i> _{V1}	<i>dè-mëkan</i> _{V2}	<i>xini</i>		
	IMPRS:IRR-hit-3SG	IMPRS:IRR-dance	EXT.P		
	‘...they hit it (drum) and they dance with it.’				

The Tirax language has a unique kind of same-subject SVC which is not seen in the other Northwest Malekula languages. In this work they are identified as gradual change of state same-subject SVCs. The verb *van* “go” occurs as V1, followed by an intransitive adjectival verb as V2. The construction is used to indicate that a particular entity is slowly gaining the properties expressed by the adjectival V2, as shown by example 4.31 a). The duration of time over which the change takes place is highlighted

by the durative morpheme *vòvò*. In example 4.31 b), it can be understood that the sago palm was not flowering for some time and then it came into flower.

4.31	Tirax	[nwm-mme-13:38]	[02:39.1-02:42.2]
a)	<i>i-tòx</i> 3SG:REAL-be.located 'It (seed pod) is up high on and on and becomes dry...'	<i>linha</i> up DUR 3SG:REAL-go	<i>vòvò</i> <i>i-van</i> _{v1} <i>i-mërang</i> _{v2...}
			3SG:REAL-be.dry
	Tirax	[nwm-mme-13:35]	[02:48.8-02:31.1]
b)	<i>linha</i> up <i>i-tòx</i> 3SG:REAL-be.located 'The top (of sago palm) goes to flower, and its flower is up there.'	<i>i-vu</i> _{v2,} 3SG:REAL-flower flower	<i>navnga</i> nan POSS:3SG

4.3.2 Switch-Function SVCs

Switch-function core SVCs occur regularly in the three Northwest Malekula languages. As described earlier in this work, switch-function core SVCs are core SVCs which have an initial transitive verb in V1 position. The object argument of V1 displays identity with the subject argument of the subsequent V2. Object arguments are obligatorily expressed in V'ënen Taut and are almost always expressed in Tirax meaning that switch-function core SVCs are relatively easy to identify in these languages. However, in Tape object arguments are only optionally expressed when clear enough context, meaning that switch-function SVCs are only structurally identifiable when speakers choose to express the object argument. In instances where the object of V1 is omitted, the constructions are still considered SVCs because V1 is a transitive verb and the subject argument of V2 shares identity with the understood object of V1 even though it is not overtly expressed. For clarity, examples with fully expressed objects are mostly used in this section.

While same-subject core SVCs are not a particularly productive feature of V'ënen Taut, due to subject identity triggering the use of echo-reference constructions, switch-function core SVCs occur just as regularly in V'ënen Taut as in the other two Northwest Malekula languages. This being said, SVCs and ERCs are able to occur together in V'ënen Taut and also in Tape. This occurs when a transitive V1 is part of an ERC and the subject of V2 shares identity with the object of V1, resulting in the co-

Directional SVCs are one of the most common types of switch-function SVC in the Northwest Malekula languages. This type of SVC is asymmetrical, comprising a transitive verb in V1 position denoting an action, which has movement as one of its semantic properties, and a verb of motion, normally “go” or “come”, in V2 position. As was described in §4.3.1, verbs meaning “go” give the meaning of movement away from a particular reference point while “come” denotes movement towards the reference point. The examples in 4.32 all have “come” as V2 and a verb of transport as V1 which together create a meaning best expressed by the verb “bring” in English. The non-identity of the subject arguments is highlighted by the different subject/mood and number marking.

These next examples have the verb “throw”, a verb which normally involves movement of an object through the air, in V1 position and a verb of movement in V2 position, indicating the direction of the movement. Example 4.33 b) is of particular interest here because “throw” has the sea, a non-volitional force, as its subject argument.

- 4.33 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-51:63] [04:11.2-04:13.5]
- a) ***a-sëran***_{V1} *tim'akh* ***i-v'a***_{V2} *i-a-khapu...*
 IMPRS-throw food 3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-NEG-burn
 'People throw the food and it goes (on charcoal) and it does not burn...'
- V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-60:14] [01:31.6-01:35.7]
- b) ***i-sëran***_{V1} *nun na nata* ***i-ma***_{V2...}
 3SG:REAL-throw sand ASV sea 3SG:REAL-come
 'It (the sea) threw the sand ashore...'
- Tirax [nwm-mme-35:61] [03:39.2-03:40.7]
- c) ***na-s-serex***_{V1} *ròblat nan* ***i-van***_{V2} *sxi*
 1NSG:REAL-PL-throw dry.leaf POSS:3SG 3SG:REAL-go to
bëxòh
 pig
 'We throw its (laplap) dry banana leaves to the pigs.'

The following examples show manual manipulation of an object into a particular location. The V1 denotes the manner of manipulation while the place that the object is manipulated to occurs as an oblique locative after the verb of motion which takes V2 position, or it is a locative noun.

- 4.34 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-67:25] [01:48.7-01:51.4]
- a) *sare=i* ***në-v-khër=i*** ***i-v'a*** *al bag*
 COMP=3SG 1:REAL-PL-scoop.with.hands=3SG 3SG:REAL-go in sack
 'Then we scoop it up (dry copra) and it goes in the sack...'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-33:29] [03:14.9- 03:17.9]
- b) ***pa-n-sëngen***_{V1} *nakhanien* ***ipo-vin***_{V2} *erenge lib*
 1NSG.INCL:IRR-PL-full food 3SG:IRR-go LOC bamboo
 'We stuff the food into the bamboo.'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-70:27] [02:27.3- 02:28.4]
- c) *es* ***i-tikh*** *flag* ***i-vin*** *esoweies*
 who 3:REAL-pull flag 3:REAL-go up
 'Who pulled the flag up?'
- Tirax [nwm-mme-18:17] [01:41.3-01:42.7]
- d) ***...së-hngon-i***_{V1} ***i-van***_{V2} *lal nabu*
 3NSG:REAL-stuff-3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-go in bamboo
 '... they stuffed them (ants) in a bamboo.'

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-45:46]	[03:43.7-03:49.6]
e)	<i>a'a kaka, xain, xě-tělxen-i</i> _{V1}	<i>i-van</i> _{V2}	<i>něnga matu</i>
	yes yam 3SG 2SG:REAL-train-3SG:OBJ	3SG:REAL-go	LOC right
	'Yes, yams, you train them to go to the right.'		

Sometimes movement is not one of the main semantic properties of V1 but through the context in which the verb occurs it can be understood that the verb causes its object to move. In the examples below, the V2 expresses movement of its subject argument which is caused as a result of gravity.

4.35	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-91:26]	[02:48.2-02:50.8]
a)	<i>kě-v-khěr-khar</i> _{V1}	<i>nut m'ět lara i-v'a</i>	<i>arana</i>
	ES-PL-DUP-grate	place black DEM	3SG:REAL-go on
	<i>ru nai</i>		
	leaf tree		
	'We grate the black bit onto a leaf.'		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-35:39]	[01:58.2- 02:00.3]
b)	<i>s-hux</i> _{V1}	<i>nue xěbah i-van</i> _{V2}	<i>něnga-n...</i>
	3NSG:REAL-pour	tea 3SG:REAL-go	LOC-POSS:3SG
	'They poured the tea into it (the cup)...'		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-57:6]	[00:37.2- 00:39.2]
c)	<i>ně-vih</i> _{V1}	<i>nuwe nani i-van</i> _{V2}	
	1SG:REAL-express.coconut.cream	water coconut	3SG:REAL-go
	<i>něnga mit</i>		
	LOC meat		
	'I express the coconut cream onto the meat.'		

The verb “cut” can sometimes result in the movement of its object. In example 4.36 a) and b), the speakers are talking about the process of making yam growing posts which are made by cutting the branches off trees. A number of yams tubers are then planted around the post and their vines are trained to climb up the trunk. The shared argument in both examples is the branch.

4.36	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-19:07]	[00:24.1-00:28.0]
a)	<i>a-tr=i</i> _{V1}	<i>i-vral...</i>	
	IMPRS-cut=3SG	3SG:REAL-fall...	
	'It is cut (branches on tree) and it falls down...'		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-14:4]	[00:29.1- 00:30.5]
b)	<i>n-tès-i</i> _{V1}	<i>i-rus</i> _{V2}	<i>litan</i>
	1SG:REAL-cut-3SG:OBJ	3SG:REAL-fall	down
	‘I cut it (branch) and it falls down’		

The example below is similar to example 4.24 in the previous section; however, in this instance the verb “follow” is the V2 in a switch-function SVC rather than a same-subject core SVC.

4.37	Tirax	[nwm-mme-16:4]	[00:53.6-00:57.5]
	<i>xair</i> <i>së-tò</i> _{V1}	<i>nain</i> <i>bi-bih</i>	<i>i-srè</i> _{V2} <i>nhal</i>
	3PL 3NSG:REAL-put	house DUP-be.small	3SG:REAL-follow road
	<i>i-mè</i> _{V3} <i>èrwa</i>		
	3SG:REAL-come uphill		
	‘They put little houses following the road going uphill.’		

In some cases the verb of movement does not signify the literal movement of the shared argument but simply expressed the trajectory of the action expressed by V1. This is best exemplified by example 4.38 b) which is referring to a message being told to people on another island in Vanuatu.

4.38	Tape	[nwm-mrs-66:182]	[05:31.8-05:34.8]
a)	<i>...dë-n-khël</i> _{V1}	<i>tikh</i> <i>i-vin</i> _{V2}	<i>edeb</i>
	1NSG.INCL:REAL-PL-dig	hole 3SG:REAL-go	down
	‘...we dig the holes going down.’		
	Tape	[nwm-mrs-58:48]	[03:05.7-03:08.1]
b)	<i>i-n-tëting</i> _{V1}	<i>i-vin</i> _{V2} <i>e</i> <i>Noumea</i>	
	3:REAL-PL-talk	3SG:REAL-go LOC	Noumea
	‘.they sent word to Noumea.’		

Following on from directional switch-function core SVCs are resultative switch-function SVCs. As with all switch-function SVCs, V1 is an active transitive verb and for resultative SVCs, the V2 is an intransitive stative or adjectival verb. The basic meaning of this type of SVC is that as a result of the action performed by the agent of V1, its patient has entered the state denoted by V2.

- 4.39 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-91:08] [00:57.7-00:59.3]
- a) *i-tapkha* *tim'akh* *i-m'akh....*
 3SG:REAL-PL-roast.fire=3SG food 3SG:REAL-be.cooked
 "...it (coconut shells) cooks the food..."
- V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-81:45] [03:14.4-03:16.7]
- b) *...ipë-lue=i*_{V1} *ipë-mumu* *ipë-lakhmël*
 3SG:IRR-chew=3SG 3SG:IRR-be.rotten 3SG:IRR-be.quick
 '...termites will chew it (house post) and it rot quickly'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-07:14] [01:36.7-01:43.2]
- c) *më-n-mëlit*_{V1} *nau* *ar* *i-sëvsov*_{V2}
 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-pound vine PL 3SG:REAL-be.soft
 'we pound the vines until they are soft'
- Tirax [nwm-mme-53:09] [01:15.4-01:16.7]
- d) *...tè* *rë-huvhuv-i*_{V1} *i-vus*_{V2}
 SUB 3DU:REAL-scrape-3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-white
 'she scraped the yam until it was white'

In some cases, the agent of V1 can indirectly cause its patient to gain new qualities. In example 4.40 a) and b) below, natural forces cause the change in state of the shared argument but the agent of V1 indirectly causes the change by placing the item in a specific place where those natural forces would have an effect.

- 4.40 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-51:13] [00:57.1-00:58.2]
- a) *....kë-v-tau=i*_{V1} *i-m'aren*
 ES-PL-put=3SG 3SG:REAL-be.dry
 'We take them and put them so they can dry.'
- Tirax [nwm-mme-56:3] [00:30.3-00:32.7]
- b) *dè-s-tò-i*_{V1} *dè-nana*_{V2} *dè-nev*
 3:IRR-PL-put-3SG:OBJ 3:IRR-be.dry 3:IRR-be.finished
 'They would put it (the cotton wood bark) to dry completely.'

The example below is also a resultative switch-function core SVC, however, rather than the V2 being a stative or adjectival verb it is a numeral verb. It can still be considered a resultative SVC because as a result of the verb *ngar* "split" the bamboo, the object of V1, has entered the state of being "two".

4.41	Tape	[nwm-mrs-07:13]	[01:33.2- 01:35.8]
	mě-n-ngar _{V1}	i-ru _{V2}	<i>erenge-n</i>
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-split	3SG:REAL-two	LOC-POSS:3SG
	‘We split the branch into two pieces.’		

Positional switch-function SVCs are a less common type of switch-function core SVC in the Northwest Malekula languages. In this type of SVC, V1 is often a verb which means to “put”, “place” or “leave” an object somewhere and V2 is a postural verb, normally the verb “stay”, which indicates that the object stayed in position for a period of time, as in examples 4.42 a)-c).

4.42	V’ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-14:40]	[03:03.4-03:06.8]
a)	a-v-tiran _{V1}	<i>pai</i> i-tar	<i>mamakh arana</i>
	3NSG:REAL-PL-put.up	yam 3SG:REAL-be.at	WELL on
	<i>tratr</i>		
	yam.rack		
	‘They store the yams well on the yam rack.’		
	V’ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-23:52]	[03:53.3-03:54.3]
b)	...pě-ln=i _{V1}	ipa-tar	
	2:IRR-leave=3SG	3:IRR-be.at	
	‘...leave it (the tree) so it can stay there...’		
	Tape	[nwm-mrs-32:16]	[02:16.2-02:18.8]
c)	mě-n-lěng _{V1}	<i>porson</i> i-těkh _{V2....}	
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-leave	tractor 3:REAL-stay	
	‘We leave the tractor there...’		

Positional switch-function SVCs can have non-placement verbs in V1 position as well. Positional SVCs can invoke meanings like those in 4.43 a) and b), where an action is carried out to maintain a particular state of affairs. Alternatively they can invoke a meaning like that in c), where the subject of V1 carries out an action on an object, which is then put aside to be acted upon again later.

4.43	V’ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-13:20]	[02:08.6-02:10.9]
a)	a-v-span _{V1}	<i>nap’</i> i-tar	<i>těrtarn</i>
	3NSG:REAL-PL-feed.fire	fire 3SG:REAL-be.at	forever
	‘They fed the fire so it stayed forever.’		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-40:47]	[05:08.7-05:10.2]
b)	 <i>xě̀nò</i> , <i>ně̀ngè</i> , <i>hòk</i> , <i>n-hutxun-i</i> _{V1}		<i>i-tòx</i> _{V2}
	1SG the.one my 1SG:REAL-grip-3SG:OBJ		3SG:REAL-be.located
	'...me, my one, I hold it safe.'		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-43:6]	[00:36.2-00:38.4]
c)	<i>ně-xur</i> _{V1}	<i>nani</i> <i>na-n</i>	<i>i-tòx</i> _{V2}
	1SG:REAL-grate coconut CLF.GEN-POSS:3SG		3SG:REAL-be.loctaed
	'I grate the coconut for it and it is there ready.'		

Tape makes use of causative switch-function core SVCs. The V1 in this type of SVC is the verb *ve* “make/do” and the V2 is an intransitive verb. The subject of V1 can be a volitional agent or a natural force that causes its object to enter the state or carry out the action denoted by V2.

4.44	Tape	[nwm-mrs-09:2]	[00:23.9-00:23.9]
a)	... <i>ipa-n-ve</i> _{V1}	<i>mětiu</i> <i>ipo-mis</i> _{V2}	
	3NSG:IRR-PL-make coconut 3SG:IRR-be.cooked		
	'...they will cook the coconut.'		

	Tape	[nwm-mrs-42:49]	[02:51.9- 02:53.5]
b)	<i>dě-n-ve</i> _{V1}	<i>niet</i> <i>i-těkh</i> _{V2}	
	1NSG.INCL:REAL-PL-make thatch 3SG:REAL-stay		
	'We make the thatch stay there.'		

	Tape	[nwm-mrs-02:16]	[01:33.8- 01:39.9]
c)	<i>i-ve</i> _{V1}	<i>nawok</i> <i>ese</i> <i>kěmem</i> <i>i-vin</i> _{V2}	<i>elel</i> <i>tes</i>
	3SG:REAL-make canoe POSS 1NSG.EXCL 3SG:REAL-go in sea		
	'It (waves) made our canoe go down into the sea.'		

The final type of switch-function core SVCs that can be identified in the Northwest Malekula languages are transformational SVCs. This kind of SVC comprises an active V1 where the subject causes some kind of physical change in its object. The V2 is the copular verb and its object argument encodes the new entity which the object of V1 has become, as a result of the action denoted by V1.

- 4.45 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-68:34] [03:22.5-03:24.8]
a) *su rau=n lakha, nẽ-v-khẽsr=i* _{V1}
bone leaf-POSS:3SG DEM 1:REAL-PL-scrape=3SG
i-v'i sukhẽvir
3SG:REAL-COP broom
'The spine of its leaf (coconut), we scrape it and it becomes a boom bristle.'
- Tirax [nwm-nmb-13:27] [01:55.5- 01:58.5]
b) *ale rẽ-kẽlil* _{V1} *niat i-vẽ* _{V2} *nòxmò*
so IMPRS:REAL-cut sago 3SG:REAL-COP slit.drum
'So people carve sago palm into slit drums.'

4.3.3 Inclusory SVCs

Inclusory⁶⁰ SVCs comprise a transitive V1, of which both the grammatical subject and object display identity with the subject of V2. The examples below have intransitive verbs in V2 position but transitive V2 verbs are not a logical impossibility.

- 4.46 Tape [nwm-mrs-60:10] [00:49.8- 00:53.6]
a) *ale i-mo i-liek duwon-ẽk i-lev-ẽk* _{V1}
so 3SG:REAL-come 3SG:REAL-live with-1SG 3SG:REAL-take-1SG
mẽ-r-liek _{V2} *e T.*
1NSG.EXCL:REAL-DU-live LOC T.
'So he came and lived with me, he took me and we lived in T.'
- Tirax [nwm-mme-48:13] [01:31.7- 01:35.5]
b) *Polynesian i-hlòx* _{V1} *xẽnò na-s-van* _{V2}
Polynesian 3SG:REAL-take 1SG 1NSG:REAL-PL-go
na-s-sẽdẽr Kaledoni
1NSG:REAL-PL-reach New Caledonia
'The Polynesian (a ship) took me and we (speaker and other passengers) went to New Caledonia.'

There are only two instances of inclusory SVCs in the Tape and Tirax corpora. This is likely because the data used for this project were predominantly collected from non-elicited speech. Contexts where inclusory SVCs can be used occur rarely in natural speech. That being said, their presence in the data shows that they are grammatical and it is likely that targeted elicitation of this structure would show that they are productive.

⁶⁰ Aikhenvald (2018, p. 43) uses the term cumulative subject SVCs for inclusory SVCs.

Inclusory constructions are present in V'ënen Taut but occur in ERCs rather than SVCs (see §6.3)

4.3.4 Ambient SVCs

As has been described elsewhere in this work (§2.3.2 and §3.3.2) ambient SVCs⁶¹ do not do require the verbs in the serial construction to share arguments. Rather, the ambient serial verb has more of an adverbial function, providing further meaning to the proposition which it is modifying. It has been proposed that the whole previous proposition or event fills the role of the shared argument of the ambient serial verb (see Aikhenvald, 2006; Aikhenvald, 2018; Bisang, 2009; Crowley, 2002; Lynch, Ross, & Crowley, 2002).

In the Northwest Malekula languages, ambient serial verbs follow the propositions to which they add additional meaning. The ambient serial verb can follow directly after intransitive verbs and directly after the object argument of transitive verbs.

Additionally it can occur after verbal post-modifiers, prepositional phrases, and other non-core elements. Ambient serial verbs cannot have a nominal or pronominal subject; however, they are inflected with 3SG subject indexes, fulfilling the grammatical requirement that all verbs in the Northwest Malekula languages display subject indexes, except when they occur in some imperative constructions. Additionally, the subject indexes on ambient serial verbs serve to display the mood value of the ambient verb which, like the other types of SVCs described earlier, must be concordant with the verbs in the rest of the construction.

Ambient SVCs occur regularly in the Tirax and Tape. They also occur in V'ënen Taut but are less common. Most of the verbs which function as ambient SVCs in the languages are intransitive stative verbs which denote qualities rather than actions. Of these verbs, some but not all of them fall into a category analysed in this work as adjectival verbs. These are lexemes which primarily function syntactically as verbs when acting as predicates but they can also function as adjectives acting like attributive nominal modifiers. Only two transitive verbs have been observed functioning as an ambient serial verb in the texts surveyed for this project

⁶¹ Ambient SVCs are also called event-argument SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 18).

	V'ënen Taut	Tirax	Tape	Meaning
Intransitive	<i>kharis</i>	<i>nev</i>	<i>mos</i>	“be finished”
	<i>(su)supa</i>	<i>bih</i>	<i>pës</i>	“be small”
	<i>p'as</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>pij</i>	“be good”
	<i>lakhmël</i>	<i>mëtètètu</i>	<i>lelakhmël</i>	“be quick”
		<i>ladlad</i>	<i>lil</i>	“be big”
	<i>khua</i>		<i>khuos</i>	“be strong”
	<i>tamamu/tawamu</i>			“be first”
	<i>stu</i>			“be bad”
	<i>studau</i>			“be man”
	<i>tawatakh</i>			“be after/last”
Transitive	<i>iar</i>	<i>sèdèr</i>	<i>iar</i>	“reach”
	<i>sapa</i>			“follow”

Table 4.4: Ambient serial verbs in Northwest Malekula

The SVC from V'ënen Taut presented below illustrates how the ambient serial verb modifies the whole preceding proposition. The verb *studau* “be many” denotes how the verb *ua* “carry” is undertaken, rather than indicating the quantity of kava.

4.47	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-12:38]	[03:27.5-03:29.9]
	<i>[në-v-ua</i>	<i>khavan na m'alëkh]</i>	<i>i-studau</i> _{VAB}
	1:REAL-PL-carry	respect ASV kava	3SG:REAL-be.many
	‘We respected kava a lot.’		

In Tirax and Tape, one of the most commonly occurring verbs in ambient SVCs is “be finished” which indicates that the situation expressed in the preceding proposition is completed, performed until completion, or will be performed to completion. These different temporal interpretations are dependent on the mood and aspectual properties of the utterance in which “be finished” occurs. Example 4.48 a) describes an event that has finished while b) speculates about the completion of an event. Note that the ambient serial verb occurs after the entire initial clause including its optional instrumental oblique.

4.48	Tape	[nwm-mrs-34:08]	[00:54.3-00:59.1]
a)	<i>[dë-n-kij</i>	<i>kake en netnesi]</i>	<i>i-mos</i> _{VAB}
	1NSG.INCL:REAL-PL-peel	yam INST knife	3SG:REAL-be.finished
	‘We finish peeling the yam with a knife.’		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-56:7]	[00:42.5- 00:43.7]
b)	<i>[dè-s-vet-i]</i>	dè-nev _{VAB}	<i>ale...</i>
	3:IRR-PL-weave-3SG:OBJ	3:IRR-be.finished	then
	‘They will weave it (cotton wood bark) completely then...’		

Because ambient serial verbs occur at the end of propositions and provide further meaning to the whole clausal unit, it is possible for aspectual markers to occur modifying the serialised proposition in the ambient SVC.

4.49	Tape	[nwm-mrs-11:13]	[01:06.8-01:11.5]
a)	<i>[nib i-vang</i>	<i>divin divin divin divin]</i>	
	fire 3SG:REAL-burn	DUR DUR DUR DUR	
	i-mos _{VAB}		
	3GS:REAL-be.finished		
	‘The fire burned on and on and on until finished.’		

	Tirax	[nwm-mme-11:19]	[01:31.5- 01:33.7]
b)	<i>[na-s-xëbèn</i>	<i>vò vò]</i>	i-nev _{VAB}
	1NSG:REAL-PL-clear.garden	DUR DUR	3SG:REAL-be.finished
	‘We finish clearing the garden site which takes a while.’		

The adjectival verbs meaning “be good” and “be small” are used regularly in ambient SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. When “be good” is used in ambient SVCs, it indicates that the actions which occur before it are done well.

4.50	V’ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-40:02]	[00:38.7-00:44.7]
a)	<i>[imas tē-tr</i>	<i>nap’ nē-n]</i>	
	must 1:IRR-cut	fire.wood CLF:GEN-POSS:3SG	
	ipē-p’as _{VAB}		
	3SG:IRR-be.good		
	‘I must cut the fire wood well.’		
	Tape	[nwm-mrs-25:34]	[02:28.1-02:30.4]
b)	<i>[tiu, dē-n-vëngen]</i>	i-pij _{VAB...}	
	chicken 1NSG.INCL:REAL-PL-feed	3SG:REAL-be.good	
	‘Chickens, we feed them well....’		

Verbs meaning “be small” indicate that an action is only performed a little bit or that the situation expressed by the previous verb(s) happened or will happen for a short amount of time.

- 4.51 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-14:07] [00:33.1-00:35.2]
- a) *kana n-rn [të-vrur=i waki]*
 1SG 1:REAL-want 1:IRR-talk.about=3SG only
ipë-susupa
 3SG:IRR-be.small
 'I want to talk about it a bit.'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-03:15] [02:09.6-02:13.6]
- b) *gir ogi en-vër [be-tinge] ipo-pës_{VAB}*
 DEM only 1SG:REAL-want 1SG:IRR-discuss 3SG:IRR-be.small
 'That was all I wanted to talk about a little.'
- Tirax [nwm-mme-35:44] [02:48.6-02:49.9]
- c) *[nauh i-uh bõ] i-bih_{VAB} ...*
 rain 3SG:REAL-rain only 3SG:REAL-be.small
 'It just rained a bit...'

The following set of examples display the verb “be quick” occurring in ambient SVCs.

- 4.52 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-81:45] [03:14.2-03:16.4]
- a) *...[ipë-mumu] ipë-lakhmël_{VAB}*
 3SG:IRR-rot 3SG:IRR-be.quick
 '...it will rot quickly.'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-32:07] [01:13.6-01:18.3]
- b) *[mosi nuru ese khapot i-vërvër] i-l lakhmël_{VAB} ogi*
 today vehicle 3SG:REAL-run 3SG:REAL-be.quick only
 'Today vehicles just go quickly.'
- Tirax [nwm-mme 45:35] [02:56.4-02:58.1]
- c) *[...kaka hòk së-mëdrax] i-mëtètètù_{VAB}*
 yam my 3NSG:REAL-grow 3SG:REAL-quick
 '...my yams grow quickly.'

The following examples display a number of different verbs acting as ambient serial verbs in the Northwest Malekula languages.

- 4.53 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-23:31] [03:14.3-03:18.1]
- a) *maral lam [apë-vra-ma] ipë-tawatakh_{VAB} kha....*
 child REL₁ 3NSG:IRR-PL-come 3SG:IRR-be.after REL₂
 'The children who are yet to come...(not born yet)'

	Tape		[nwm-mrs-29:30]		[03:41.7-03:45.9]
b)	... <i>en-lis</i>	<i>[lang</i>	<i>i-khěj</i>	<i>Vila]</i>	<i>i-khuos</i> _{VAB...}
	1SG:REAL-see	cyclone	3SG:REAL-hit	Port.Vila	3SG:REAL-be.stong
	‘I saw that the cyclone struck Port Vila hard.’				

	Tape		[nwm-mrs-29:14]		[01:57.0-01:58.3]
c)	 <i>[i-khěj</i>	<i>Efate]</i>	<i>i-lil</i> _{VAB}		
	3SG:REAL-hit	Efate	3SG:REAL-be.big		
	‘...it (the cyclone) hit Efate seriously.’				

	Tirax		[nwm-mme 40:41]		[04:19.4-04:21.4]
d)	<i>txar</i>	<i>na,</i>	<i>[sě-lèh memne-i]</i>	<i>i-lalad</i> _{VAB} ...	
	foreigner	now	3NSG:REAL-like-3SG	3SG:REAL-be.big	
	‘Foreigners now, they like it (tobacco necklace) a lot...’				

The contribution of the ambient serial verb is shaped by the details of the proposition that it modifies, as shown by the ambient SVCs from Tirax displayed in example 4.54. In example 4.54 a), *nam* “be good” indicates that people are living well or happily while in example b) *nam* is indicating that people are able to move freely in modern times without fear of inter-tribal warfare.

4.54	Tirax		[nwm-mme-27:204]		[04:19.6-04:21.5]
a)	<i>[mërè</i>	<i>drul</i>	<i>si-at]</i>	<i>i-nam</i> _{VAB}	
	people	all	3PL:REAL-live	3SG:REAL-be.good	
	‘People are all living well/happily.’				

	Tirax		[nwm-mme-21:36]		[02:51.1-02:51.9]
b)	<i>[da-s-lango]</i>		<i>i-nam</i> _{VAB}		
	1:IRR-PL-wander		3SG:REAL-be.good		
	‘We wander around well/safely.’				

As mentioned earlier in this section, most of the verbs observed functioning as ambient serial verbs are intransitive stative verbs. The two exceptions are “reach”, in the three languages, and *sapa* “follow”, in V’ënen Taut. When “reach” is used as an ambient serial verb, it gives the meaning “until” and indicates that a particular state of affairs holds true until a particular time, which is expressed as the object of “reach”. This can be seen in the examples below.

- 4.55 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-71:25] [01:48.4-01:50.4]
- a) *[khilakha i-tar]* **i-iar**_{VAB} *dika*
 now 3SG:REAL-be.at 3SG:REAL-reach today
 'It (eel cave) is still there to this day.'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-59:15] [01:16.9-01:18.5]
- b) *[en-liek divin divin]* **i-iar**_{VAB} *enisi*
 1SG:REAL-live DUR DUR 3SG:REAL-reach now
 'I am still alive until today.'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-41:5] [00:40.3-00:45.6]
- c) *uren mosi [nuis ip-iu divin divin divin]*
 be.like today rain 3SG:IRR-rain DUR DUR DUR
ipo-iar_{VAB} *likhat*
 3SG:IRR-reach night
 'Like today, it will rain on and on until night time.'
- Tirax [nwm-mme-09:5] [00:50.6-00:57.4]
- d) *[da-s-at lot ha-n vò-vò-vò]*
 1:IRR-PL-stay place CLF:GEN-POSS:3SG DUP-DUP-DUR
i-sèdèr_{VAB} *bukulad*
 3GS:REAL-reach Christmas
 'We will stay at his place until Christmas.'

The V'ënen Taut example below displays the verb *sapa* “follow” functioning as an ambient serial verb. It indicates that the proposition for which it is acting as the ambient modifier occurred following another action undertaken by the subject of the non-ambient verb. In this case the action is drinking kava. The ambient status of *sapa* “follow” is verified by its inflection with the 3SG:REAL index. If the verb was occurring as part of a sequence of actions carried out by the man, it would be inflected with the echo-reference prefix which would indicate the co-referentiality of the subject of all the verbs in the sequence (see Chapter Six).

- 4.56 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-62:13] [01:22.9-01:25.7]
- [dui-n mël i-v'a kě-m'ën=i]*
 man-POSS:3SG again 3SG:REAL-go ES-drink-3SG
i-sape=i_{VAB}
 3SG:REAL-follow-3SG
 'His charge went again and drank (kava) following him.'

There are a number of non-prototypical examples observed in the data that can provide some interesting insights into the ambient SVC structure in the Northwest Malekula languages. Firstly, example 4.57 from Tape, displays an imperative construction including an ambient SVC. Note that the ambient verb is inflected with concordant mood marking.

4.57	Tape	[nwm-mrs-58:18]	[01:20.4-01:23.6]
	<i>[kēpa-n-ulul kake ese kem]</i>	<i>ipo-l lakhmēl</i>	_{VAB}
	2NSG:IRR-PL-sell yam POSS 2PL	3SG:IRR-quick	
	‘Sell your yams (to us) quickly!’		

Following a negated initial verb, the verbs in ambient SVCs occur inflected with irrealis subject indexes. This reflects the reality status of the V1.

4.58	V’ēnen Taut	[nwm-nmb-14:36]	[02:42.0-02:56.5]
a)	<i>...[neiel i-akh-v'a anl-n]</i>	<i>ipē-khua</i>	_{VAB} <i>dau</i>
	sun 3SG:REAL-NEG-go inside-POSS:3SG	3SG:IRR-be.strong	INTS
	‘..the sun does not go (shine) inside it (the house) strongly (because the walls are woven tight’		

Example 4.59 from V’ēnen Taut displays how its complex mood marking system interacts with ambient SVCs. The first verb is inflected with a subject/mood prefix in the hypothetical mood, which is used to indicate that the speaker is speculating about a particular event. It is also inflected with irrealis negation, indicated by the negative morpheme and the necessity morpheme *k-*. The combination of this mood and negation marking in V’ēnen Taut indicates that the speaker is speculating about something that should occur but for some reason does not occur. The ambient serial verb in this example, *lakhmēl* “be quick”, is not inflected with concordant mood and negation marking, but instead it occurs inflected with simple irrealis marking.

4.59	V’ēnen Taut	[nwm-nmb-89:96]	[05:56.5-06:00.7]
a)	<i>...[mē-k-akh-ma khilakha]</i>	<i>ipē-lakhmēl</i>	_{VAB,...}
	2:HYP-NES-NEG-come now	3SG:IRR-be.quick	
	‘...suppose you do not come quickly now...’		
b)	Tape	[nwm-mrs-79:21]	[02:40.9-02:42.6]
	<i>[i-ska-n-memes]</i>	<i>i-pij</i>	_{VAB}
	3:REAL-NEG:PL- PL-be.dry	3:REAL-be.good	
	‘They are not dry well.’		

	Tirax		[nwm-mmr-45:36]		[02:58.1-03:00.4]
c)	... <i>hëre</i>	<i>dëveve</i>	[<i>da-tèlxen</i>	<i>tè]</i>	<i>dè-mětètètù</i> _{VAB} ...
	because	if	1:IRR-wrap.vine	NEG	3:IRR-quickly
	'...because if you don't wrap the vines (around the stake) quickly...'				

It should be noted however that not all stative verbs occurring after a proposition are functioning as ambient SVCs. This is particularly true of verbs which mean “to finish” in these languages. Verbs meaning “to finish” also have a discourse function indicating the transition from one action to another in a narrative, creating a meaning like “then” or “after that”. Intonation differentiates between the ambient SVC usage of “to finish” and their use as a discourse markers. When acting as an ambient SVC, “to finish” occurs in a single intonation contour with the proposition that it is modifying, but when functioning as a discourse marker it has its own intonation contour separate from the proposition that precedes and the one that follows it. This can be seen in the following example from Tirax. Note that the break in intonation is shown using commas.

4.60	Tirax		[nwm-mme-55:6]		[00:42.4- 00:48.6]
	<i>ně-kes</i>	<i>wailu,</i>	<i>i-nev,</i>		
	1SG:REAL-cut	wailu.yam	3SG:REAL-be.finished		
	<i>n-drhe-i</i>	<i>něnga</i>	<i>besin</i>		
	1SG:REAL-grate-3SG:OBJ	LOC	dish		
	'I cut the wailu yam, then, I grate it into the dish.'				

4.3.5 Symmetricality in Core Layer SVCs in Northwest Malekula

Sections §4.3.1-§4.3.4 presented a variety of different types of core layer SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. In this section the different types will be analysed in terms of their symmetricality. As discussed in Chapter Two, symmetrical SVCs are serial constructions which do not have any restriction on the type of verbs that can occur in any position in the construction, so long as the meaning of the verbs and the order in which they occur make sense in terms of semantics. Alternatively, they are SVCs where both of the verbs come from equally restricted sub-groups of verbs.

Asymmetrical SVCs, however, are serial constructions where one or more of the verbs in the construction come from a restricted class of verbs. This restriction can be based on the semantic or the morphosyntactic properties of the constituent verbs.

4.3.5.1 Types of Asymmetrical Core Layer SVCs in Northwest Malekula

The infrequent occurrence of SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages, likely due to a shift towards the use of coverbs and ERCs, may have resulted in there being more identifiable types of asymmetrical SVCs than symmetrical SVCs. For this reason, it seems appropriate to analyse asymmetrical SVCs first.

Table 4.5 lists the identifiable types of same-subject core SVCs observed in the surveyed data. It is organised from the most to least commonly occurring types of SVC. The restrictions on either V1 or V2 position are also noted. The absence of same-subject core SVCs in V'ënen Taut is clearly displayed in this table when compared with the other languages in this section. This is due to its use of ERC under subject-person identity (Chapter Six).

SVC Type	V1	V2	Tirax	Tape	V'ënen Taut
Directional	movement verb	“go”	✓	✓	
		“come”	✓	✓	
	movement verb	“follow”		✓	
		transportation	✓	✓	
	action resulting in movement	“go”	✓	✓	
		“come”	✓	✓	
Positional	movement verb	postural verb	✓	✓	
Reach	movement verb	“reach”	✓	✓	
Until	stative verb	“reach”	✓		
Causative	ve ‘make’	open verb type		✓	
Locution	speech verb	“say”	✓	✓	
Speech direction	speech verb	movement		✓	
Change of state	movement verb	adjectival verb	✓		

Table 4.5: Asymmetrical same-subject core SVCs

Table 4.6 shows the types of switch-function core SVCs observed in the data. This sub-type of SVC is found in all three Northwest Malekula languages. It can be seen that there are a number of same-subject and switch-function SVCs that have the same name, such as directional and positional. The difference between these SVCs is that in same-

subject SVCs, the subject of V1 and V2 display identity while in switch-function SVCs the object of V1 displays identity with the subject of V2.

SVC Type	V1	V2	Tirax	Tape	V'ënen Taut
Directional	manipulation verb	“go”	✓	✓	✓
		“come”	✓	✓	✓
	action verb	“go”	✓	✓	✓
		“come”	✓	✓	✓
	manipulation verb	“follo”		✓	
Positional	movement verb	postural verb	✓	✓	✓
	action verb	postural verb	✓	✓	✓
Resultative	action verb	adjectival verb		✓	✓
		stative verb		✓	✓
		process verb			✓
		number		✓	
Transformational	active verb	copular verb	✓		✓
Reach	movement verb	“reach”	✓	✓	
Causative	ve ‘make’	intransitive verb		✓	

Table 4.6: Asymmetrical switch-function core SVCs

Table 4.7 shows that there are four identifiable types of ambient SVCs that are used in the Northwest Malekula languages. The last type of ambient SVC is presented in *italics* because there is only one example of this type in the V'ënen Taut analysed corpus, although it appears to fit the criteria for ambient SVCs.

SVC Type	V1	V2	Tirax	Tape	V'ënen Taut
Manner	any verb	stative or adjectival verb	✓	✓	✓
Until	intransitive verb	“reach”	✓	✓	✓
Completive	any verb	“be finished”	✓	✓	✓
<i>Following</i>		<i>sapa</i> “follow”			✓

Table 4.7: Asymmetrical ambient SVCs

4.3.5.2 Types of Symmetrical SVCs

There are a small number of symmetrical SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. These can be seen in the table below. The identified types are consistent with the findings of the typological review in Chapter Two (§2.4) and the survey of the form and function of SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages presented in the previous chapter.

SVC Type		V1	V2	Tirax	Tape	V'ënen Taut
Prior Motion	same-subject	motion verb	active verb	✓	✓	
Simultaneous Action	same-subject	any verb	any verb	✓	✓	
Cause-Effect	switch-function	any verb	any verb	✓	✓	✓

Table 4.8: Symmetrical SVCs

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, key findings from a comparative analysis of SVCs in the languages of Northwest Malekula have been presented. Independent verbs have been defined as lexemes that can be modified by bound preverbal morphology. Independent verbs are contrasted with a category of coverbs that occur with independent verbs in complex nuclei, but which cannot serve as the sole lexical head of the verb complex. Some coverbs are cognates across the three languages.

Regarding argument sharing, all three languages display nuclear SVCs with a composite argument structure. Core SVCs are found to be distributed by type. Only Tape and Tirax display evidence of same-subject core SVCs. Likewise, only Tape and Tirax display evidence of inclusory SVCs. In all three languages, there is evidence of switch-function core SVCs and ambient SVCs.

Regarding symmetry, there are more types of asymmetrical SVCs attested in the Northwest Malekula languages than symmetrical types. Common restrictions on verbs involved the use of a limited set of motion, postural, and stative verbs. Symmetrical SVCs tend to involve prior motion or simultaneous actions.

Overall, with the exception of unattested same-subject SVCs in V'ënen Taut, the languages of Northwest Malekula display very similar serializing properties when compared to the sampled languages from Central Vanuatu.

PART TWO: Echo-Reference Constructions

Part Two of this work covers echo-reference constructions (ERCs), a grammatical construction that is prevalent in the languages of Southern Vanuatu and, to a lesser extent, Central Vanuatu. Echo-reference constructions appear to be a sub-type of switch-reference construction that focuses on grammatically marking concordant subject reference (subject-person identity) between an anchor clause and the marked clauses that follow, rather than marking disjoint subject reference, which is typically marked in switch-reference system.

This section begins in Chapter Five with a short typological overview of switch-reference systems, identifying ERCs as a non-canonical type of switch-reference. It then surveys the form and function of ERCs in Southern Vanuatu. The survey finds that the form and function ERCs is very similar across the Southern Vanuatu languages, but there are some key differences concerning the level of grammatical reduction that is coded on subsequent *echo-reference* (ER) *verbs*. Chapter Five also provides a brief survey of less well-known ERCs in a small number of Central Vanuatu languages.

Chapter Six provides a detailed description of the previously identified but under described ERC system in V'ënen Taut. It also provides some detail concerning ERCs in Tape, where the construction is fading from use. The analysis of V'ënen Taut data in particular leads to the identification of subject-person identity being the key requirement for the use of ERCs. A number of constraints that block the use of ERC under subject-person identity are formulated, based in the analysis of the new V'ënen Taut data as well as the ERC data that is available for Tape.

Chapter Seven presents nine excerpts from the analysed corpus of recorded speech in V'ënen Taut. Each excerpt is analysed with reference to the subject-person identity requirement and the constraints on ERC formation established in Chapter Six. It finds that the ER system in V'ënen Taut is important for tracking participant reference in speech, and that the use of ER marking in subsequent clauses is sensitive to syntactic embedding, temporal continuity, and the packaging of events.

Chapter Five

Switch-Reference and Echo-Reference Constructions

This chapter provides a typological overview of switch-reference (SR) constructions and an overview echo-reference constructions (ERCs). These two types of constructions will be discussed together because ERCs are often considered a sub-type of switch-reference construction. The chapter will then conclude with a summary of the properties of ERCs in some of the languages of Southern and Central Vanuatu.

5.1 Switch Reference

The term Switch Reference first appeared in William Jacobsen's 1967 paper *Switch Reference in Hokan-Coahuiltecan*, in which he identifies and describes morphological markers in three Hokan-Coahuiltecan languages⁶² that indicate a switch in the subject or agent of clauses (Jacobsen, 1967, p. 240). Since then, switch-reference has been identified in many languages from a diverse range of languages families. The meaning of the term switch-reference itself has been expanded and narrowed over the years to fit the grammatical parameters of each language in which it occurs. As such, it resists having a formal definition applied to it; however, a definition that is often cited is given by Haiman and Munro (1983, p. ix) who say, "canonical switch-reference is an inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verb", where it is viewed as a kind of nominal reference marked on verbs. This definition is often seen as too narrow and it does not reflect the form and function of SR in many languages. Hilário de Sousa (2016, p. 56) states that various SR systems vary greatly in their less prototypical behaviours, meaning that a universal definition of SR has been difficult to develop. As such, newer definitions of SR are not as succinct as that given by Haiman and Munro (1983). Rather than neatly defining SR, newer definitions present a variety of parameters of grammatical features that SR systems tend to display

⁶² Hókán-Coahuiltecan is no longer considered to be language family and the three languages are now considered to be unrelated (van Gijn, 2016, p. 6).

regarding the form of SR morphology, the way in which (non-)identity is marked in SR constructions, and the ways in which SR interacts with discourse cohesion. The more parameters that an SR system of a particular language displays the better case one has for claiming that language uses SR. Because a language can display more or fewer characteristics of SR, linguists tend to refer to SR systems as being more or less canonical (Haiman & Munro, 1983; Stirling, 2006; van Gijn, 2016; de Sousa, 2016).

As this thesis is focused on comparing the function of SVCs and ERCs in the languages of Northwest Malekula, no attempt is made here to define SR systems further. SR is of interest in this work because ERCs are considered a type of non-canonical SR (van Gijn, 2016; de Sousa, 2016; Hammond, 2014; Lynch, 1983). Furthermore, Stirling (2006, p. 322), notes that clause chains involving SR appear to be related to serial SVCs. As such the discussion of SR provides context to the synchronic functional description of ERCs in Sothorn and Central Vanuatu that follows and the comparison between SVCs and ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages presented in the final chapter of this work.

5.1.1 Properties of Switch Reference

SR systems are marked with overt morphology (van Gijn, 2016, pp. 5, 18) that is specified as being non-nominal morphology⁶³ (Stirling, 2006, p. 317). An SR system requires speakers to select a verbal marker to indicate whether the events described in different clauses have the same subject or different subjects (Stirling, 2006, p. 316). Canonical SR languages should have at least one morpheme that indicates that clauses have the same subject (SS) and at least one different marker that indicates that the clauses have different subject (DS). Rik van Gijn (2016, p. 4) says that SR morphemes encode mutually exclusive values whose semantics include referential identity and/or non-identity. According to Hammond (2014, p. 68), a true switch-reference system involves verbal morphology that marks co-reference (SS) or disjoint reference (DS) across clauses, independent of person or number operators. The marking of the same subject/different subject dichotomy should be pervasive through many different grammatical constructions and SR continues to operate even when no

⁶³ Example: the overt use of a pronoun to mark subject non-identity in pro-drop languages is not considered SR because pronouns are nominal markers.

one would question the difference of two subjects (van Gijn, 2016, p. 11; Stirling, 2006, p. 319). SR does not track a specific participant through discourse. Instead, it tracks a grammatical role, canonically the subject that is fulfilled by a participant (van Gijn, 2016, p. 4). If a particular participant acts as the subject relation over two clauses, this will be marked with SS verbal morphology. If the subject relation of the two clauses is fulfilled by different participants, DS verbal morphology will be used. A variety of different types of morphemes are recorded serving as SR markers, such as verbal clitics and other particles, verbal subject morphology, competing sets of coordinators, or other free or bound morphemes associated with the verb. Stirling (2006, p. 319) states that switch-reference is different from other reference tracking devices because it is not marked on nominals

Regarding the domain of SR, the interpretation of SR constructions occurs across different clauses, not within the same clause (van Gijn, 2016, p. 4). The domain of SR is one level above the clause but below the entire discourse. SR thus sits somewhere between being a strictly syntactic structure and a structure whose domain lies more in aiding the interpretation of discourse. According to van Gijn (2016, p. 16), a purely syntactic definition of SR would down play the importance of the interaction between SR and wider discourse. For example in many SR languages, the DS marker may be used even though the subjects of the clauses display identity. This normally indicates discontinuity in some other parameter of the event sequence being described (Stirling, 2006, p. 321).

Haiman and Munro (1983, p. xii) establish the following terminology to use in the description of SR systems. The *reference clause* is the clause which the SR morpheme marks (non-)identity. The *marked clause* is the clause in which the SR morphology occurs. Another term, *anchor clause*, is given by van Gijn (2016, p. 18) and is useful for languages that allow for long sequences of marked clauses. An anchor clause refers to a reference clause that is not also a marked clause. *SR pivots* are the two subjects that are marked as displaying (non-)identity (de Sousa, 2016, p.58).

Since it was first identified in the then-called Hokan-Coahuiltecan language family of the Northwest of the United States, there have been several SR areas identified around the world (Stirling, 2006, p. 318). In each of these locations, SR is found in

several language families, some of which are not closely related. This has led some linguists to theorise that SR may develop in a language and then spread through language contact. These SR sites are found in Western North America (United States, Northwest Mexico), Western South America (Andes, upper Amazon), West and Central Australia, New Guinea (highlands) and Bougainville, and to some extent in several African languages and North-Eastern Eurasian languages (van Gijn, 2016, p. 42-47; Stirling, 2006, p. 317).

5.1.2 The Form, Position, and Referential Meaning of the SR Morpheme

SR is normally an inflectional category on the verb (Haiman & Munro, 1983, p ix). At minimum, the SR system must have a way of marking subject as having co-reference (SS) or disjoint reference (DS) (de Sousa, 2016, p. 62). Most SR markers are verbal affixes, but they can also be non-nominal words that are separate from the verb, typically occurring at clause-boundaries (de Sousa, 2016, p. 60). Ideally SR morphology functions only to indicate (non-)identity between the subjects of different clauses (de Sousa, 2016, p. 58). For example, SS verbs comprise the verb stem followed by a characteristic SS suffix, while DS verbs comprise the verb stem followed by a contrasting DS suffix (Haiman & Munro, 1983, p. x). SR marking is used in clauses regardless of person, number, gender, or other nominal values (de Sousa, 2016, p. 60); it does not just occur in places where interpretational ambiguity can occur, for example the two clauses have third person subjects.

SR is most prototypically marked on the verb (Haiman & Munro, 1983, p. ix), or alternatively on conjunctions (van Gijn, 2016, p. 10). Verbal SR morphology can serve only to signal SS and DS, or they can be merged with bound pronominal markers, resulting in dual paradigms for SS and DS (van Gijn, 2016, p. 11). The similarity between SR marking and verbal concord can lead to overlap between these two systems (Haiman & Munro, 1983, p. x). SR morphemes can be monomorphic (only encode SR), portmanteau (encode more than SR) or multi-morphemic (de Sousa, 2016, p. 58).

Some languages permit differences in the meanings expressed by the subject in the reference clause and meanings expressed by the SS marker in the marked clause. This phenomenon is called asymmetry in SR (van Gijn, 2016, p. 27). It normally involves

additional meanings being expressed in the marked SS clause. For example, some languages seem to be sensitive to whether or not the person value changes but are indifferent to differences in number value between the reference and marked clauses (van Gijn, 2016, p. 27).

Rik van Gijn (2016, p. 28) identifies three primary patterns for marking (non-)identity in SR languages. Firstly, the marked form signals identity. Conversely in the second type, the marked form indicates non-identity. The third pattern has marked forms for both identity and non-identity. The first and second marking types are the most common in SR languages.

Most languages that use SR have subject-object-verb (SOV) word order for their major clausal constituents and they tend to be head marking and freely allow the omission of arguments (Stirling, 2006, p. 318). Languages with SOV constituent order tend to prefer suffixation to prefixation and they tend to have modifier-head patterning; resulting in syntactically dependent clauses coming before independent clauses (Stirling, 2006, p. 318). This also influences SR marking. In these languages, the marked clause normally occurs before the reference clause in speech. Languages that have head-modifier patterning tend to prefer prefixation and their reference clause is often positioned before the marked clause.

SR constructions prototypically contain at most one anchor clause, and at least one marked clause. As mentioned previously, SR functions on the level above the clause. Languages tend to use SR in bi-clausal structures involving one anchor clause and one marked clause or in extended clause chains composed of multiple marked clauses (van Gijn, 2016, p. 20). While languages that prefer bi-clausal SR structures tend to overlap marked and subordinate clauses, languages that allow chains of marked verbs consist of relatively flat (non-hierarchical) structures (van Gijn, 2016, p. 20). Rik van Gijn (2016, p. 20) speculates that it would take too much cognitive power to keep track of multiple referents over multiple clauses.

Generally, the reference clause and the marked clause are adjacent to each other, but this is not always the case (Haiman & Munro, 1983, p. xiii). Instances where other material intervenes between the clause types are called clause skipping. Clause skipping occurs most often in marked clause chains and the skipped clauses are often said to depict background information (de Sousa, 2016, p. 56).

5.1.3 Function of SR

Haiman and Munro (1983, p. xi) initially claimed that the function of SR systems is to avoid ambiguity of reference. SR is sometimes important in helping the hearer understand who is being talked about, and who is doing what to whom (de Sousa, 2016, p. 70). However, SR clearly does more than just help avoid reference ambiguity. SR is obligatorily used for first and second person SR pivots even though reference ambiguity is very unlikely (de Sousa, 2016, p. 71).

SR is often considered to be primarily concerned with tracking referential identity. However, on examining its use in different languages it appears that it also functions to help with discourse cohesion; “SR is not just limited to isolated sentences; it is shown to have clear links with discourse-level phenomena” (van Gijn, 2016, p. 5).

Some languages have SR systems that are sensitive to event-related influences such as unity of place and/or time or links between events (van Gijn, 2016, p. 25).

Languages may use SR in novel ways to indicate this. For example, DS marking may occur in two sequential clauses that display subject identity because there has been a change in setting or time. Stirling (2006) identifies a number of discourse related factors that can affect SR marking: reference discontinuity (basic use of DS), changes in the agent of a clause (DS can occur when the agent changes between clauses but subject remains the same), changes in temporal properties between clause, and changes in setting, among others. In languages with multiple ways of marking SR, the choice of a particular switch-reference morpheme may indicate the syntactic relation between the two clauses as well as the other functions it has (Stirling, 2006, p. 319).

A further function of SR systems in many languages is the indication of participant continuity versus discontinuity of the salient participant(s) between two clauses (de Sousa, 2016, p. 71). This salience is signalled by markedness, in this case the occurrence of SR morphology. Interestingly, salience of participants is often signalled in languages by a reduction in overall phonetic value of the salient item. This can sometimes be achieved in SR systems because marked clauses have often have reductions in other markings and SR systems can make the utterance of noun phrase subject arguments unnecessary.

Hilário de Sousa (2016, p. 73) describes a number of discourse functions of SS and DS marking in “Papuan-type” SR systems.⁶⁴ He claims that the SS marker, in languages where the marked clause precedes the reference clause, indicates that the SS pivot will be salient again at some point after the marked clause in the text. The SS marker tells the hearer to keep the participant in mind. The DS marker indicates that the SR pivot is going to lose salience or there will be another type of discourse discontinuity (change in setting, change in temporal locus and the like). In languages where the reference clause precedes the marked clause, the opposite of these functions hold true. SS marking shows that the pivot is losing salience and DS indicates that a pivot will gain salience.

5.1.4 Non-canonical SR Systems

Rik van Gijn (2016, p. 8) says it is impossible to strictly separate SR from other similar constructions that deal with signalling referential (dis)continuity, because of the existence of non-canonical types of switch-reference. Because of this, several constructions that deal with marking referential (non-)identity between clauses are considered non-canonical forms of SR (van Gijn, 2016; de Sousa, 2016).

One non-canonical type of SR is the *Fourth Person* system. Languages that use fourth person systems are languages in which (non-)co-referentiality is fused with the pronominal system (van Gijn, 2016, p. 11). This generally only indicates (non-)co-referentiality with third person references, using special grammatical forms that occur if a participant displays identity with a participant that occurs elsewhere in the clause (van Gijn, 2016, p. 14; de Sousa, 2016, p. 77). Fourth person systems generally only occur with third person participants because these are the only categories where ambiguity arises. Fourth person systems are non-canonical because canonical SR systems are used for all person, number, and gender values. Another reason that fourth person SR systems are non-canonical is because they do not have discourse functions; they are only used for reference tracking.

⁶⁴ Papuan type SR systems tend to involve long chains of SS marked clauses followed by an anchor clause (de Sousa, 2016, p. 73). Clause skipping is common in Papuan SR systems with skipped clauses often expressing background information (de Sousa, 2016, p. 73). SR marking is often used to show other changes in discourse continuity besides participant discontinuity (de Sousa, 2016, p. 74).

Another non-canonical SR system involves inter-clausal relationships. These are SR systems where both SS and DS markers are used to mark relationships between clauses beyond marking SR pivots. For example, DS marking may occur with co-referential subject pivots to indicate some kind of discourse discontinuity (de Sousa, 2016, p. 75). While this function is common in SR systems, it is less common for SS marking to be used to link two clauses with subject referents displaying non-identity together simply because the clauses denote closely related events.

Finally, echo-reference constructions are identified as a type of non-canonical SR system. Echo-reference systems are compatible with the basic canonical SR systems as outlined in van Gijn (2016, p. 17). However, Crowley (2002, p. 179) calls ER systems anti-switch-reference because their main function is to signal reference maintenance, while SR systems emphasise changes in reference. ER systems occur in clause chains with the reference clause occurring first, and a special SS marker that occurs on marked clauses indicating that its subject referent should be echoed from the reference clause to marked clauses (van Gijn, 2016, p. 16; de Sousa, 2016, p. 80). ER verbs are frequent in texts (Hammond, 2014, p. 68). Crowley notes that the Sye echo-reference constructions are “pervasive” with over a third of all verbs in seven recorded texts being inflected with echo-reference morphology (Crowley, 2002, p. 181). Like SR, echo-reference is integral to text cohesion and text interpretation (Hammond, 2014, p. 69).

Many types of SR explicitly mark a change in subject identity with some form of marked morphology. In echo-reference systems, the marked form instead marks subject maintenance. If the ER marker is not used, then this indicates that the referent the clause is not coreferential with the subject of the previous clause (Hammond, 2014, p. 76). Lynch (1983, p. 210) notes a main point of difference between most SR systems and ER systems is that SR refers forward (the reference clause occurs subsequently to the marked clause) and ER refers back (the reference clause occurs before the marked clause).

ER systems are similar to SR systems found in Papuan languages. Like those systems, echo-reference marking is found in syntactically ‘flat’ chaining constructions that may stretch over sequences of clauses, allowing clause skipping, where embedded clauses are ignored by ERCs (Hammond 2014, p. 17).

Lynch (1983, p. 219) suggests that there is a historically related process that has led to the development of ER in the Southern Vanuatu languages and the small amount of data available suggests that some kind of SR system operates throughout the whole Southern Vanuatu sub-group. This observation of the use of ER in Southern Vanuatu has been confirmed by Crowley (2002), Lynch (2001), and de Sousa (2007). The development of ER in Southern Vanuatu must be relatively recent, as no ER system has been reconstructed in Proto Oceanic (Crowley, 2002, p. 181). Crowley suggests that ERCs have taken over functions of SVCs in some Vanuatu languages. A significant finding of this work is that ERC and SVCs can co-exist in the same language sub-group and indeed in the same language (see Chapter Eight).

Noting the functional similarities between SVCs and ERCs in several languages from Malekula, in addition to their distributed usage in the languages, Barbour and Dodd (2017) define ERCs as “initial-subsequent clause constructions comprising multiple independent verbs with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs, and coding reduction of S/A person under identity in subsequent clauses.” This definition is elaborated upon in considerable detail in Chapter 6. The terms “initial clause” and “subsequent clause” are employed for the description of ERCs to draw parallels between ERCs and SVCs, where “initial verb” and “subsequent verb” were used to describe multi-verb serial constructions.

5.2 Echo-Reference in Vanuatu

Echo-reference constructions have been documented in a number of Vanuatu languages, these will be surveyed in this section. ERCs are particularly associated with the languages of Southern Vanuatu where they are found in all the documented languages of that sub-group (Crowley, 2002; de Sousa, 2007; Hammond, 2014; Lynch, 1983). It is less well known that ER constructions are also found in a number of Central Vanuatu languages from Malekula, Pentecost, and Efate. The following subsections provide a review of the literature on ERCs in Vanuatu.

5.2.1 Southern Vanuatu

Since ERCs have received the greatest attention in the languages from Southern Vanuatu, this work will focus on these languages to begin with. In addition to the fact

that ERCs are best described in the languages of Southern Vanuatu, they are also the most similar in terms of form and function. The echo-reference (ER) morpheme in all of the documented Southern Vanuatu languages include the phoneme /m/ which has been theorised to be a reflex of the Proto Oceanic coordinator **ma* (Crowley, 2002; Lynch, 1993; de Sousa, 2007). Though a process of word final vowel deletion **ma* has grammaticalized as a pre-verbal inflectional morpheme marking ERCs in the Southern Vanuatu languages (Lynch, 2001, p. 177; de Sousa, 2007). The ER morpheme generally takes the position of a subject index in the verb complex. Providing further support to the diachronic origins of the ER morphemes in Southern Vanuatu is the fact that several of the languages in the sub-group continue to have a lexical coordinator, which includes /m/, in addition to using ERCs (Crowley, 1998, p. 278; Crowley, 1999, p. 224). These factors, along with how ERCs are used in the Southern Vanuatu Languages will now be summarised.

The languages that have been surveyed for this section are, travelling south along the Vanuatu archipelago, Sye and Ura from Erromango, North-Tanna, Lenakel, Whitesands, Kwamera, and South-West Tanna from Tanna, and Anejoñ from Aneityum. Most of the focus will be on Sye, Lenakel, and Whitesands because the ER systems in these languages are described in the greatest detail.

There were once three or four distinct languages spoken on Erromango, one of the southern islands of Vanuatu. Utahah and Enyau/Yocu are two possible languages that may have existed before any record of them could be made. Those languages are now extinct (Crowley, 1998, p. 3). The other two languages, Sye and Ura, were studied by Terry Crowley. Sye is the most widely spoken language on Erromango with an estimated 1400 speakers in 1998 (Crowley, 1998, p. 1). At the time of Crowley's research, the Ura language was spoken by only a small number of elderly speakers.

As with many languages in Vanuatu, some Sye verb roots undergo phonological alternations in certain environments. Additionally, some of its preverbal grammatical inflections have alternating standard and modified forms. This is the case for the ER prefixes. The modified ER paradigm is used if the immediately following verb root occurs in a verb-modifying environment, and the standard ER paradigm is used when the verb occurs in its basic form or preceding another verbal prefix (Crowley, 1998, p. 100). ER prefixes also occur in their modified form if the preceding *fully inflected*

verb with which it displays subject-person identity is occurring in its modified form (Crowley, 1988, p. 114). The Sye ER prefixes are presented in table 5.1 below.

	SG	NSG	1PL
Standard ER prefixes	<i>me-</i>	<i>mo-</i>	<i>mli-</i>
Modified ER prefixes	<i>m-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mle-</i>

Table 5.1: Sye ER prefixes

Three different number categories are marked using ER prefixes in Sye: singular, first-person plural, and non-singular. This marking of different subject properties, in addition to two distinct ER paradigms, is unique amongst the Southern Vanuatu languages, which make no distinctions in terms of subject properties in their ERC prefixes. This can be seen in table 5.2 which shows that the Ura ER prefix has a number of forms, but unlike the ER marking from Sye, the different Ura forms are allomorphs of a single ER prefix with *m-* serving as its underlying form. The variation in ER morpheme is triggered by phonological factors rather than grammatical ones.

Environment	Form
Before vowel	<i>m-</i>
Before /qV/ and /dV/	<i>mV</i> ⁶⁵ -
Before /w/	<i>mu-/mi-</i>
Elsewhere	<i>mi-</i>

Table 5.2: Ura ER prefixes

The situation in Tanna is a little different from that of Erromango. Firstly, all of the languages from Tanna have been documented to some extent⁶⁶ and secondly, as can be seen from table 5.3 below, the ER prefix takes the same form in all five of the Tanna languages. The Lenakel language was the first language to have its ER system described, when Lynch presented the system in Haiman and Munro's *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar* (1983). In that chapter, Lynch labelled the structure *echo subject*. Since this time, it has come to be called echo-reference,

⁶⁵ The vowel harmonises with first vowel of the verb root.

⁶⁶ Lenakel (Lynch, 1978), South-West Tanna (Lynch, 1982), and Whitesands (Hammond, 2014) have been researched by linguists who have undertaken fieldwork. Kwamera (Lindstrom & Lynch, 1994) has been described by an anthropologist with the assistance of an academic linguist. North Tanna (Sverredal, 2018) was the subject of a grammar sketch written by a masters student working from Bible translations. Whitesands and Lenakel are the most well documented of these languages while the other three languages have only been documented in small grammar sketches.

because in some languages, ER morphemes are recorded as being able to signal person identity with non-subject arguments.

Language:	North Tanna	Lenakel	Whitesands	Kwamera	South-West Tanna
ER Prefix:	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>

Table 5.3: Tanna ER prefixes

Unlike the other Southern Vanuatu islands mentioned previously, Aneityum is home to only one language; Anejoñ. This language also employs ER constructions and like Ura, the ER prefix has phonologically conditioned allomorphy, occurring as *m-* before vowels and *im-* elsewhere (Lynch, 2000, p. 148). It is important to note that Anejoñ is unique among the languages of Southern Vanuatu because it uses VOS constituent order, whereas the other Southern Vanuatu languages employ SVO constituent order. Besides this fact, ERCs in Anejoñ function similarly to ERCs in the other Southern Vanuatu languages.

Environment	Form
Before consonants	<i>im-</i>
Elsewhere	<i>m-</i>

Table: 5.4: Anejoñ ER prefix

The ER prefixes of the Southern Vanuatu languages clearly share the same historical origin. However, their form is not their only similarity; they are also similar in grammatical function.

Before discussing the ER systems of Southern Vanuatu, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the structure of verb complex of the initial verb in these languages. As with many languages from Vanuatu, the Southern Vanuatu languages are nominative-accusative languages that use constituent order and morphological indexing on verbs to signal morphosyntactic alignment. In these languages, S/A arguments are indexed on the verb using morphemes that agree in person and number with subject argument. All of the languages make distinctions between first, second, and third person. Clusivity is often also distinguished morphologically as well within the verb complex. All the Southern Vanuatu languages make a distinction between singular, dual, and plural number and some mark trial number too. Presented below is a diagram that outlines how the subject prefixes tend to be organised in Southern Vanuatu. There is some variation between the languages as some languages do not

grammatically mark all of the categories while in other languages, grammatical categories are expressed with portmanteau morphemes. For example, person, tense/aspect/mood, and number are often expressed using portmanteau morphemes. Number may be marked twice, firstly with the person prefix and secondly with a number prefix.⁶⁷

(Future) - Person - (Tense/Aspect) - (Negation) - Number - VERB

Figure 5.1: Southern Vanuatu Verb Complex

Presented below are some example sentences from Southern Vanuatu languages that aim to show the variation in form of the preverbal complex in the languages. For example, Ura and Sye use portmanteau morphemes to encode third person, number, and tense/aspect, while Lenakel and Whitesands are shown marking number separately from person. Also displayed is the different constituent order of Anejoñ, with its subject argument occurring after the verb and object, and its free type of subject agreement marking in preverbal position as in all the other surveyed languages.

- 5.1 Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 95)
- a) *ovoremla iram-alcai ra de*
 PL:person 3PL:PAST.HAB-float LOC sea
 ‘The people were floating in the sea.’
- Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 202)
- b) *hai nemetagi orog yi-ta-i nur Vila*
 INDEF cyclone big 3SG:DIST.PAST-strike-CONST place vila
 ‘A great cyclone hit Vila.’
- Lenakel (Lynch, 1978, p. 90)
- c) *pukas miin petimw taha-k k-n-ai-akimw ita*
 pig PL all POSS-1SG 3NSG-PFV-PL-run.away already
 ‘All my pigs have already ran away.’

⁶⁷ It must be pointed out that figure 5.1 is a simplification of the preverbal complex of the Southern Vanuatu languages. For example, Anejoñ has a very complex system for marking person, number, and tense with a wide array allomorphs in free variation. Furthermore, Anejoñ subject indexes have been analysed as separate words in the languages rather than inflectional categories on the verb itself (Lynch, 2000, p. 89).

- d) Whitesands (Hammond, 2014, p. 47)
- | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| <i>neṇau</i> | <i>k-ot-asu-pah</i> | <i>la-n</i> |
| canoe | 3:NPST-PL-paddle-seawards | DAT-3SG |
- ‘They paddled the canoe to the sea.’
- e) Anejoñ (Lynch, 2000, p. 115)
- | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>eris</i> | <i>leese-i</i> | <i>isji-tal</i> | <i>aarau</i> |
| 3PL:PST | take.PL-TR | fruit-taro | 3DL |
- ‘The two of them took the taro corms.’

As was discussed earlier in this chapter, echo-reference constructions involve a reduction in grammatical markings on non-initial verbs under subject identity. In the case of the Southern Vanuatu languages, this occurs in the preverbal subject agreement morphology by way of the ER prefixes being used in place of the person indexing morphology with subsequent verbs. Because the person prefixes in each of the Southern Vanuatu languages mark other grammatical categories in addition to person, the ER prefix by default also signals a reduction in overt grammatical marking of the other categories that happen to be marked by person prefixes in each of the languages. Such categories tend to be number and TAM distinctions. This reduction in overt marking is evident because all of the Southern Vanuatu languages, except for Sye, have only one ER prefix but a multitude of possible full subject indexes. In the examples below from Ura and Anejoñ, the categories of person, number, tense, and clusivity are marked with portmanteau forms with the initial verb but are reduced for the ER verb which is inflected with the ER index only.

- 5.2 Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 216)
- a)
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>ur_i-ebenim</i> | <i>m_i-adap</i> |
| 1PL.INCL:FUT-come | ER-sit.down |
- ‘We will come and sit down.’
- b) Anejoñ (Lynch, 2000, p. 148)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>ekris_i</i> | <i>apan</i> | <i>aarau_i</i> | <i>m_i=ago</i> | <i>nuṗut</i> | <i>m_i=ago</i> | <i>ihnii</i> |
| 3DL:PST | go | 3DL | ER-make | k.o.laplap | ER-make | finish |
- ‘They went and made the naṗut laplap and finished making it.’

In examples 5.3 a) and b), person, clusivity, and tense are expressed on the fully inflected (FI) initial verb but are not expressed on the ER verb. However, both the FI and ER verbs are inflected with plural number prefixes.

5.3	Whitesands (Hammond, 2014, p. 73)				
a)	<i>nati</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>kitah_i</i>	<i>k_i-om-ot-ol</i>	<i>m_i-ot-os</i>
	thing	what	1PL.INCL	1.INCL-PST-PL-make	ER-PL-hold
	'That thing that we made and took.'				
	Lenakel (Lynch, 1978, p. 46)				
b)	<i>k_i-ar-ol</i>	<i>vilivla</i>	<i>m_i-ai-alhaau-pn</i>	<i>pera-ahigi</i>	<i>le-n...</i>
	3NSG-PL-make	stretcher	ER-PL-put-there	woman-old	LOC-3SG
	'They made a stretcher and put the old woman on it...'				

The only documented language from Southern Vanuatu that still marks some grammatical categories with ER prefixes is Sye, as shown above in table 5.1. Examples 5.4 a) and b) display initial FI verbs that are inflected with subject prefixes expressing person, number, clusivity, and tense. The subsequent ER verb in example 5.4 a) is inflected with the ER prefix used when the initial FI verb has a subject argument with singular number. The ER verb in example 5.4 b) is inflected with the ER prefix that also marks 1PL, displaying concordance with the subject of the initial FI verb.

5.4	Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 248)				
a)	<i>y_i-owi</i>	<i>nur</i>	<i>Vila</i>	<i>m_i-tolki</i>	<i>eni-wi</i>
	3SG:DISTPAST-leave	place	Vila	ER:SG-return	POSS:3SG-TOP
	'S/he left Vila and returned home.'				
	Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 248)				
b)	<i>kamli_i-tour-i</i>	<i>ovon</i>	<i>kuri</i>	<i>mli_i-tantvi</i>	<i>nu...</i>
	1PL.EXCL:DISTPAST-lead-CONST	PL	dog	ES:1PL-cross	river
	'We led the dogs and crossed the river.'				

Examples 5.1 to 5.4 present ERCs from several of the Southern Vanuatu languages. They all display initial and subsequent verbs where the initial verb is inflected with full inflection prefixes and the subsequent verb/s are inflected with the echo-reference morpheme.⁶⁸ The initial verbs in all of these examples are modified with subject agreement morphology indicating person, tense, and number. In the ERCs that follow the initial FI verbs, the grammatical distinctions marked morphologically on the verb have all been reduced. However, the Tanna languages, which have a separate

⁶⁸ Anejoñ does not follow this pattern. Instead, the initial verb is preceded by a person-tense morpheme and the subsequent verb is not preceded by such a morpheme but is marked as being part of an ERC with the proclitic *m=*, as in example 5.2 b). The proclitic status of the echo morpheme in Anajoñ is proved by its ability to attach to a number of preverbal modifiers rather than being restricted to the same position before the verb root (Lynch, 2000, p 96).

morphological position for number marking, still mark number independently on the verb on subsequent ER verbs.

Verb roots in the languages from Erromango undergo changes in their form in certain circumstances. This process is neither inflectional nor derivational. Verbs simply have several forms, the occurrence of which is conditioned by the morpho-phonemic environment in which the verb occurs. This process is quite common in the languages of Central Vanuatu and is referred to as verb mutation (Crowley, 1991, p. 181; Ridge, 2019, p. 218), although in this work the term *alternation* is preferred. An example of this is Sye where verb roots occur in their alternate forms when they are marked for future or present tense and several other TAM categories. This affects ERCs in Sye and Ura because verbs inflected with the ER prefixes will occur in their standard form if the initial verb also occurs in its standard form. Alternatively, they will occur in their alternate form if the initial FI verb has undergone alternation. This is shown in the following examples from Sye.

Examples 5.5 a) and b) show that the initial FI verbs occur in their standard form because the prefix that attaches directly to the verb in both examples does not trigger verb alternation. Because the initial verb in example 5.5 b) occurs in its standard form, the ER prefix and the verb stem in the ERC both occur in their standard form.

5.5	Sye	(Crowley, 1998, p. 77)
a)	<i>c-aruvo</i> 3SG:RECPAST-sing 'S/he has just sung.'	
b)	<i>y_i-etu-velom</i> 3SG:DISTPAST-NEG-come 'S/he did not come and sing.'	<i>m_i-aruva</i> SG:ER-sing (Crowley, 1998, p. 78)

In example 5.6 a), the verb “sing” has an additional /n/ at the beginning when compared with 5.5 a). Verb “come” in example 5.6 b) also occurs in its alternate form with /am/ being added to the beginning and the initial fricative of the standard stem becoming a plosive in the alternate form. The ER prefix and the ER verb stem in example 5.6 b) also occur in their alternate forms.

5.6 Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 79)

- a) **co-naruvo**
3SG:FUT-sing
'S/he will sing.'

b) Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 80)

- c_i-ampelom* **me_i-naruvo**
3SG:FUT-come SG:ER-sing
'S/he will come and sing.'

A possible explanation for the occurrence of alternate verb stems in ERCs in Sye could be that the alternate forms in the language also mark changes in TAM properties of the clause. By using the alternate verb stem in ERCs too, the TAM distinctions represented by the alternate FI verb are echoed onto the ER verb.

The temporal relationship of events is an important element of ERCs. On examining the ERC examples in 5.3 to 5.6, it can be seen that ERCs are regularly used to signal a sequence of actions undertaken by the same actor/s. However, ERCs are not just limited to actions that occur sequentially in time, they can also be used in situations where the actions expressed by the verbs can be understood to be happening simultaneously, as in example 5.7. In this way, ERCs are similar to some types of same-subject core SVCs, such as those that express directionality. ERCs can function to provide directionality to initial FI movement verbs in examples 5.7 a) and b). Examples 5.8 a) and b) show the V2 of same-subject core SVCs functioning in the same way.

5.7 Sye (Crowley, 2002, p. 183)

- a) *y_i-ur-i* *nu* **m_i-yep**
3SG:DISTPAST-follow-CONST river SG:ES-descend
'S/he followed the river downstream.'

b) Southwest Tanna (Lynch, 1982, p. 21)

- k_i-u-aiu* **m_i-la-si-vhiaak** **m_i-la-ua**
3NSG-DU-run ES-DU-come.from-DIRECTION.EAST ES-DU-come
'The two of them came running from the east.'

5.8 Tirax [nwm-mme-15:10] [01:10.2-01:11.6]

- a) **...në_i-vial** _{v1} **në_i-mè** _{v2} *lain*
1SG:REAL-walk 1SG:REAL-come inside
'...I walked home.'

	Tape	[nwm-mrs-51:26]	[03:08.1-03:09.6]
b)	<i>ipa_i-n-melet</i> _{v1}	<i>ipa_i-n-mo</i> _{v2}	<i>etlesi</i>
	3NSG:IRR-PL-return	3NSG:IRR-PL-come	here
	'They will come back here.'		

A feature central to ERCs is that ER morphemes indicate subject identity between the initial FI verb and subsequent ER verb. This is true of almost all ERCs in the Southern Vanuatu languages, although there are some exceptions that will be discussed later in this section. If the occurrence of an ER prefix on a subsequent verb indicates subject identity with the initial verb, this means that the occurrence of a full index with subsequent verbs that could grammatically take ER indexing should indicate non-identity. While this is not of particular importance in situations involving first and second person, it is very important for third person where it is essential in many languages for reference tracking. The occurrence of sequential verbs modified with full indexes encoding the same person value generally indicates that the subjects of those verbs do not display identity. This is shown in examples 5.9 a) to c).

5.9	Lenakel	(Lynch, 1983, p. 212)			
a)	<i>r_i-im-va</i>	<i>(kani)</i>	<i>r_j-im-augin</i>		
	3SG-PST-come	and	3SG-PST-eat		
	'He _i came and he _j ate.'				
	Whitesands	(Hammond, 2014, p. 76)			
b)	<i>t_i-iwoŋ</i>	<i>t_j-eni=ahu...</i>			
	3SG.NPST-jump	3SG.NPST-say=down			
	'He _i jumped and she _j scolded...'				
	Ura	(Crowley, 1999, p. 91)			
c)	<i>y_i-obu</i>	<i>y_j-iva</i>	<i>mi_j-tanvu</i>	<i>legen</i>	<i>nesau</i>
	3SG:DISTPAST-make	3SG:DISTPAST-go	ER-cut	branch	nesau
	soku	nowiran.			
	SIM	bone			
	'He _i made him _j go and cut _j the branch of a nesau tree as his _j bones.'				

It should be noted that the occurrence of two verbs in sequence marked with the same type of person index does not always indicate non-identity between the subject of the initial FI verb and subsequent ER verb. In some languages, the juxtaposition of two FI clauses is a method of marking coordination. In situations like this, intonational cues and contextual factors mean that the hearer is unlikely to have issues discerning

between there being one or two subjects. For example, in Anejoñ clause juxtaposition occurs regularly, including with clauses that have the same subject. Sequential verbs with the same referential subject do not always take the ER proclitic (Lynch, 2000, p. 141).

Another reason that there may be two sequential clauses comprising two FI verbs inflected with the same subject indexes and displaying subject identity is because ERCs are only sensitive to the subject of verbs on the same clausal level. This means that when a subordinate or complement clauses occurs, it is possible to have an FI verb followed by another FI verb with which it displays subject-person identity because ERCs cannot form over embedded clause boundaries.

While ERCs appear to fill a functional space similar to that of coordinating conjunctions in the Southern Vanuatu languages, all of the documented languages of this language sub-group also have a lexical conjunctive coordinator. ERCs appear to be the preferred method for indicating sequential actions when there is subject identity. In some cases, lexical coordination can be used with ERCs. Some examples of this are seen in example 5.10.

- 5.10 Whitesands (Hammond, 2014, p. 73)
- a) *ia_i-k-ot-os* *naw* ***kani*** ***ko*** ***m_i-ot-oh*** *rakis*
 1.EXCL-NPAST-PL-hold knife and and.then ER-PL-hit off
nima
 house
 ‘We get a knife and then we take off its handle.’
- Southwest Tanna (Lynch, 1982, p. 56)
- b) *l_i-imn-uh* *mana* *m_i-vaan* *m_i-aan* ***kini*** ***m_i-apil***
 3SG-PST-kill chicken ER-roast ER-eat and ER-sleep
 ‘He killed the chicken, roasted it, ate it, and slept.’
- Lenakel (Lynch, 1978, p. 114)
- c) *kuri_i* *ka* *r_i-im-kis* *io* (***kani*** ***ka***) ***m_i-akimw***
 dog that 3SG:PST-bite 1SG and that ER-run.away
 ‘The dog bit me and then ran away.’

ERCs are also documented in several of the Southern Vanuatu languages occurring with other conjunctions. For example, ERCs can inflect subsequent verbs in utterances with the adversative and alternative conjunctions in Southwest Tanna if there is subject identity between the conjoined clauses.

5.11 Southwest Tanna (Lynch, 1982, p. 57)

- a) *li-immn-elhakin* *kuli* *kapa-n* *melig* *mi-am-apwah*
 3SG-PST-look.for dog POSS-3SG but ER-CONT-not
n-aam-ien
 NMLZ-see-NMLZ
 ‘He looked for his dog but could not find it.’

- b) Southwest Tanna (Lynch, 1982, p. 57)
li-immn-avin *ie* *nipe* *ua* *mi-immn-am-ol* *ielkwanu?*
 3SG-PST-go LOC dance or ER-PST-CONT-do LOC.village
 ‘Did he go to the dance or stay at home?’

Some languages allow ERCs to occur with a restricted set of coordinators. For example, Whitesands allows ERCs to occur in coordinate clauses following *kani* “and”, *ko* “and then”, *wə* “or” but they cannot occur in clauses following *metou* “but/because” (Hammond, 2014, p. 90-97). The Sye and Ura languages from Erromango do not allow ERCs to be used when the clauses are joined with a coordinating conjunction. This is because the conjunctive coordinator, *im* “and” in both of these languages is very similar to their ER prefix/s. Additionally, the coordinating conjunction in the Erromangan languages can be articulated as a clitic that attaches to the beginning of following verb and sounds very similar to the ER prefix; however, Crowley (1998, p. 279) argues that the cliticized usage of the coordinator is distinct from ERCs distribution and function in the Erromangan languages.

5.2.2 Tense and Aspect Marking in ERCs in Southern Vanuatu

The ER prefixes in the languages of Southern Vanuatu tend to fill the subject position in the verb complex. The languages that have a separate morphological position for number also must also have this position filled.⁶⁹ This leaves the other grammatical categories associated with the verb, like tense, aspect, mood, and polarity, available for possible marking on subsequent ER verbs. There is some variation between the Southern Vanuatu languages when it comes to marking these categories in ER clauses.

⁶⁹ The languages that separately mark number all use “zero marking” for singular person number, so often this position appears not to be marked when in fact it is signalling singular number. This separate marking of number allows non-prototypical use of ERCs in these languages (§5.2.6).

The languages that mark person, number, and tense with portmanteau morphemes display the greatest reduction of morphological marking in ERCs. Ura, like Sye, marks most person, tense, and aspect distinctions with distinct portmanteau subject index paradigms (Crowley, 1998, p. 157-163). In ERCs, the ER prefix *m-* takes the place of the subject index for subsequent verbs and echoes the person, tense, and number properties of the subject prefix inflecting the FI verb. Normally the aspect properties of the initial verb are also shared by the ER verb as shown by example 5.12.

5.12	Ura	(Crowley, 1999, p. 86)				
	<i>qu</i>	<i>qimrem_i-eba</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>m_i-arkobu</i>	<i>uhnomu.</i>
	or	1PL.EXC:PAST.HAB-go	LOC	sea	ES-look.for	fish
	'Or we would go to the sea and look for fish.'					

Ura marks some aspectual distinctions using either verbal prefixes or suffixes that are separate from person marking. These aspect categories are also often echoed onto the subsequent ER verb,⁷⁰ as seen in the example below where the verb *arail* “sweep” has perfective aspect.

5.13	Ura	(Crowley, 1999, p. 216)				
	<i>Dalwan_i</i>	<i>c_i-obahlini-ye</i>	<i>sugai</i>	<i>arka</i>	<i>m_i-arail.</i>	
	Dalwan	3SG:RECPAST-repair-PFV	house	POSS:2SG	ER-sweep	
	'Dalwan has repaired your house and swept it.'					

However, sometimes aspectual markers are also overtly expressed with the subsequent ER verb. In such cases, the aspectual marking is concordant with the FI verb in the initial clause.

5.14	Ura	(Crowley, 1999, p. 91)		
	<i>m-oco</i>	<i>y_i-obu-ye</i>	<i>m_i-ormun-ye</i>	
	ER-say	3SG:DISTPAST-make-PFV	ES-bake-PFV	
	'And he said he had already made it and baked it.'			

It is also possible in Ura for the ER verb to be independently inflected with aspect morphology. Example 5.15 shows the perfective morpheme indicating that *eni* “eat”

⁷⁰ Grammatical categories and semantic properties that are echoed onto verbs are those that are explicitly marked on FI verbs. They are not grammatically marked on ER verb but are understood as being expressed on the ER verb.

has been completed before the verb *teti* “return” occurs.⁷¹

5.15	Ura	(Crowley, 1999, p. 218)			
	<i>yarmis_i</i>	<i>Ø_i-ip</i>	<i>m_i-eni-ye</i>	<i>neveg</i>	<i>mi_i-tamli</i>
	devil	3SG:DISTPAST-descend	ER-eat-PFV	food	ER-finish
	<i>mi_i-teti.</i>				
	ER-return				
	‘The devil went down and ate the food and then he came back.’				

As with Sye and Ura, grammatical tense is not marked on subsequent ER verbs in Anejoñ. Subject agreement morphology in Anejoñ consists of a several paradigms of portmanteau morphemes encoding the person and number properties of the subject argument as well as indicating various tense and aspect distinctions (Lynch, 2000, p. 92-95). While the ER clitic in Anejoñ has a different structural position in the language, it is not able to co-occur with other subject agreement morphology (Lynch, 2000, p. 149). This means that tense and aspect are not individually marked on subsequent ER verbs in Anejoñ. The ER prefix takes the place of subject agreement morphology in subsequent ER clauses under identity. Anejoñ has five preverbal aspect-mood particles that are positioned directly after the subject-tense particles in the preverbal complex. These particles indicate definite future, indefinite future/polite future/hortative, subsequent/sequential, perfective, and prohibitive. Anejoñ does not allow the verbs in ERCs to be modified by any of the preverbal aspectual/modal morphology. If the speaker wishes to express a distinct aspect or mood with a subsequent verb, they must use other grammatical structures besides ERCs, such as clause chains (Lynch, 2000, p. 148). Example 5.16 below shows that the second verb *le* “take” is not inflected with the ER proclitic because it is modified by the perfective particle *m̃an*.

5.16	Anejoñ	(Lynch, 2000, p. 148)					
	<i>et_i</i>	<i>m̃an_i</i>	<i>apan</i>	<i>aen_i,</i>	<i>m̃an_i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>injaṽ</i>
	3SG.AR	PFV	go	3SG	PFV	take.SG	salt
	‘He went and got salt there.’						

⁷¹ Ura also has a grammaticalized use of the independent iterative aspect morpheme *oumi-* in ERCs where it is used to indicate the direction of a verb of motion back to a point of origin.

Ura	(Crowley, 1999, p. 165)	
<i>ir-va</i>	<i>u-dohmus</i>	<i>m-oumi-venim.</i>
3PL:PST-go	LOC-garden	ER-IT-come
‘They went to the garden and came back’		

Tense is primarily marked in Whitesands using verbal prefixes that occur directly after the person prefix, distinguishing between past and non-past; although Hammond (2014, p. 35) states that tense is often interpreted as relative after an initial finite verb and is either unmarked or marked with non-past tense after a verb marked with past tense. Hammond (2014, p. 82) also states that it is ungrammatical for a subsequent verb inflected with the ER prefix to be also inflected with a tense prefix because ER clauses are temporally unspecified, taking their temporal interpretation from the initial FI verb. Verbs inflected with ER morphology in Whitesands always describe either simultaneous or subsequent events. The temporal location of an ERC is dependent on the initial clause in Whitesands.

Four tense/aspect distinctions are marked with verbal prefixes on FI verbs in Whitesands. These are progressive aspect, perfective aspect, prospective tense, and sequential tense. Whitesands treats the morphological marking of tense/aspect as independent verbal morphology and allows initial FI verbs and subsequent ER verbs to be independently inflected for these temporal properties (Hammond, 2014, p. 83). In some cases, the initial verb is inflected by a tense/aspect prefix and the ER verb is not, or visa-versa. Furthermore, it is possible in Whitesands for the initial verb and ER verb to be inflected with different aspect prefixes, as seen in example 5.17.

5.17	Whitesands	(Hammond, 2014, p. 85)				
	<i>k_i-on-h-uven</i>	<i>m_i-onawt-us</i>	<i>pəkah_j</i>	<i>kati</i>	<i>naliŋ_k</i>	<i>t_k-am-eles</i>
	3-PRF-PL-go	ER-PROS.PL-bite	pig	one	trap	3SG-PST-hold
	‘They had gone and were about to bite the pig caught by the trap.’					

Like Whitesands, Lenakel indicates subject person and number with prefixes in separate morphological positions in the verb complex (Lynch, 1978). Lenakel also has separate morphemes for tense and aspect. There are four tense-aspect morphemes in Lenakel (Lynch, 1978, p. 47). They are positioned directly after the person prefix and make the following aspectual distinctions: present/habitual, past, stative/progressive, and sequential. A further temporal property, continuative aspect, is marked morphologically in its own position after the aspect categories mentioned previously (Lynch, 1978, p. 52). The ER prefix fills the person position on subsequent ER verbs in Lenakel and, like Whitesands, person-number is obligatorily marked in a separate morphological position (Lynch, 1983, p. 212). The ER verb can be unmarked for aspect or tense when the sequence of events and their temporal

relation to each other is clear through context (Lynch, 1983, p. 212) as seen in example 5.18.

5.18	Lenakel	(Lynch, 1978, p. 49)		
	<i>r_i-im-va</i>	<i>nenav</i>	<i>m_i-iru</i>	<i>menuk</i>
	3-PST-come	yesterday	ER-shoot	bird
	‘He came yesterday and shot the bird.’			

Nevertheless, it appears that there is no restriction on the marking of tense and aspect on subsequent verbs in ERCs in Lenakel by using the third and fourth order prefixes⁷² provided it does not violate the sequential or simultaneous event property. There are many examples in Lenakel grammar (Lynch, 1978) of ER verbs that are inflected with an aspect morpheme when the initial FI verb is not inflected with aspect morphology. There are also examples of the initial FI verb and subsequent ER verb being inflected differently for aspect. Example 5.19 shows a verb inflected with the ER prefix and concordant tense marking but with additional aspect marking.

5.19	Lenakel	(Lynch, 1978, p. 53)		
	<i>kahau_i</i>	<i>r_i-im-eai</i>	<i>m_i-im-eai</i> ,	<i>merou</i>
	rat	3-PST-swim	ER-PST-swim	but
	‘Rat swam and swam, but then he began to tire.’			
				<i>m_i-n-am-apou</i>
				ER-PST-CONT-tired

5.2.3 Negation in ERCs in Southern Vanuatu

Like tense and aspect, negation is also often marked independently in ERCs in Southern Vanuatu. Hammond (2014, p. 87) reports that negation only has scope over the verb that is inflected with the negative circumfix in Whitesands meaning that an ER verb does not automatically have negative polarity if initial FI verb is inflected with negative morphology. Because of this, the subsequent ER verb must be morphologically negated in order for it to express negative polarity (Hammond, 2014, p. 86). Because negation is marked individually on each verb, it is possible in Whitesands for initial FI verbs and subsequent ER verbs to display discordant polarity. Example 5.20 a) shows an initial FI verb with positive polarity followed by an ER verb with negative polarity. The negation only has scope over the ER verb. Example 5.20 b) shows a sequence of ER verbs the first two verbs display positive

⁷² Future tense is marked with a first order prefix which occurs before the person prefix. Future tense cannot occur on ER verbs.

polarity while the third ER verb in the sequence is negated and the negation only has scope over the third ER verb. Example 5.20 c) displays an instance of a negated initial FI verb followed by a subsequent negated ER verb. Also present in c) are two instances of grammaticalized ER verbs of motion indicating direction. Hammond (2014, p. 141) argues that these verbs can still be interpreted as sharing identity with the preceding verb and that their reduction in grammatical marking is a result of grammaticalization; in this case there is a reduction of number and negative marking.

5.20 Whitesands (Hammond, 2014, p. 95)

- a) *...metou* *ia_i-k-a-l-ue* *m_i-əs-l-eni=iien* *mə...*
 but 1.EXCL-NPST-a-TRI-go ER-NEG-TRI-say=NEG COMP
 ‘...but when we go there we don’t say that...’

Whitesands (Hammond, 2014, p. 86)

- b) *m_i-Ø-am* *rakis* *la* *ko* *m_i-Ø-asua-akan,*
 ER:2-SG-let.go off DAT and.then ER-SG-paddle-troll
m_i-as-Ø-asua *pək=iie*
 ER-NEG-SG-paddle a.lot=NEG
 ‘And you will throw it out and troll by paddling, (but) you don’t paddle a lot.’

Whitesands (Hammond, 2014, p. 115)

- c) *k_i-on-os-os=iie* *kastom* *m_i-Ø-uven* *aha* *ie*
 1.INCL-PRF-NEG.PL-hold=NEG kastom ER-SG-go that LOC
nafakien-iken, *m_i-os-os=iie* *nafakien*
 church-place ER-NEG.PL-hold=NEG church
m_i-Ø-ua *u* *kastom-iken*
 ER-SG-come PROX kastom-place
 ‘We (pl.incl) can’t take kastom to where the church is, we can’t take the church to where the kastom is.’

Lynch does not discuss the interaction between ERCs and negation in his work on Lenakel; however there is one example in his grammar sketch that displays an initial FI verb with positive polarity followed by an ER verb that has negative polarity (Lynch, 1978, p. 51). With this example, and the knowledge that Whitesands and Lenakel are closely related languages, it can be hypothesised that negation is individually marked on the initial and subsequent verbs in Lenakel and that verbs only have negative polarity if they are inflected with the negative circumfix.

According to Crowley, the languages of Sye (Crowley, 1998) and Ura (Crowley, 1999) from Erromango require marking of negation on ER verbs if that verb has

negative polarity. Like Whitesands, the Erromangan languages also permit the initial FI verb and the subsequent ER verb to display different polarity and there are examples of sequences of ER verbs displaying different polarity from the Ura language. Examples 5.21 a) and b) display initial FI verbs with positive polarity being followed by negated ER verbs in Ura and Sye. In these instances, negation only has scope over the ER verb. Example 5.21 c) displays an initial FI verb and two subsequent ER verbs displaying positive polarity; however, the third ER verb is inflected with the negative prefix and negation only has scope over the negated ER verb. Example 5.21 d) shows an initial FI verb followed by three ER verbs. The FI verb has positive polarity and the following ER verb has negative polarity. The subsequent two ER verbs are not inflected with the negative prefix and can be interpreted as having positive polarity. Examples 5.21 a) to d) support an analysis in which polarity only has scope over verbs inflected with the negative morpheme; however, examples 5.21 e) and f) show that the polarity of ER verbs can sometimes be dependent on the FI verb. In these examples, only the FI verb is negated morphologically but it can be understood through context that the event expressed by the ER verb also did not occur. It may be the case in Ura and Sye that negation is echoed from FI verbs to ER verbs but that ER verbs following FI and other ER verbs with positive polarity can be independently negated; however there is insufficient data to fully explore this observation.

5.21 Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 102)

- a) *yi_i-va* *isut* ***mi-etw-erpa***
 3SG:DISTPAST-go long.way ER-NEG-wake.up
 ‘He was sound asleep and he didn’t wake up.’

Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 248)

- b) *yoco_i-navan* ***mi-etw-antvani***
 1SG:FUT-walk ER:SG-NEG:FUT-spit
 ‘I will walk and not spit.’

Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 85)

- c) ***qimir_i-va*** *u-novlelmut* ***mi-obu*** *sugai* ***mi-amon***
 1PL.EXCL:PAST-go LOC-bush ER-make house ER-hide
mi-etw-era *u-dahlwa* *ra* *nemetet* *i-veni*
 ER-NEG-live LOC-village because fear 3SG:DISTPAST-become
dahmas.
 much
 ‘We went to the bush and made houses and hid and didn’t live in the village because fear became great.’

- d) Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 217)
- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| <i>i_i-tani</i> | <i>nelou</i> | <i>m_i-etu-tadumwi</i> | <i>m_i-avai-gi</i> |
| 3SG:DISTPAST-take | canoe | ER-NEG-ask.permission | ER-load-INSTPRO |
| <i>ovnalalau</i> | <i>m_i-va</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>nobun qivin nivenu.</i> |
| PL:child | ER-go | goal | head mouth place |
- ‘(S)he took the canoe without asking permission and loaded it with children and went to the point.’
- e) Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 149)
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>y_i-etu-venim</i> | <i>m_i-arufa</i> |
| 3SG:DISTPAST-NEG-come | ER-sing |
- ‘(s)he did not come and sing’
- f) Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 115)
- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <i>yam_i-etw-avan</i> | <i>m_i-etvani</i> |
| 1SG:DISTPAST-NEG-walk | SG:ER-spit |
- ‘I did not walk (some time ago) and spit.’

5.2.4 Functional Uses of ERCs in Southern Vanuatu

As with SVCs in the Central Vanuatu languages (§3.3.3) and the Northwest Malekula languages (§4.2 and §4.3.5), ERCs have a variety of functional uses in the Southern Vanuatu languages. These uses are described extensively in Crowley’s Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 250-254) and Ura (Crowley, 1999) grammars and in his work on SVCs in the Oceanic languages (Crowley, 2002, p. 178-194). Functional uses of ERCs do more than encode simultaneous or sequential actions in a way that is similar to coordination (Crowley, 2002, p. 183). As with the functional use of verbs in SVCs, functional ERCs often involve some degree of semantic shift of the ER verb.

A very common type of functional ERC in the Southern Vanuatu languages is the directional ERC. As with directional SVCs discussed in Part One, these involve a verb of motion; however, rather than occurring as the V2 in a core layer SVC, the verb of motion occurs as the subsequent ER verb after an initial FI verb which also denotes some kind of motion. Verbs meaning “go” are used to indicate movement away from a reference point while “come” indicates movement towards a reference point.

- 5.22 Sye (Crowley, 2002, p. 183)
- a) *kam_i-alou* *m_i-ve*
- | | |
|------------------------|----------|
| 1PL.EXCL:DIST.PAST-run | ER:PL-go |
|------------------------|----------|
- ‘We ran away.’

	Sye		(Crowley, 2002, p. 183)
b)	<i>y-ur-i</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>m-yep</i>
	3SG:DIST.PAST-follow-CONT	river	ER:SG-descend
	'S/he followed the river downstream.'		

Some other motion verbs that are documented as undergoing semantic shift in ERCs are: “follow” which means “along”, “hold” and “touch” used to mean “as far as” or “until”, and “go past” meaning “past” or “more”. Verbs with these meanings are used in serialising languages to encode the same types of meanings but the subsequent verb is inflected with standard subject indexes instead of using ER prefixes. The verb “go past” is also used in ERCs in Sye to create comparative constructions.

5.23	Sye	(Crowley, 2002, p. 183)		
	<i>nur</i>	<i>Vila_i</i>	<i>rame_i-nau-au</i>	<i>me_i-ntelwoŋ-i</i>
	place	Vila	3SG:PRES-hot-CONST	ER:SG-go.past-CONST
	<i>nur</i>	<i>eromaŋa_k</i>		
	place	Erromango		
	'Port Vila is hotter than Erromango.'			

Verbs meaning “say” function in a number of ways in ERCs in Sye and Ura. The most common of these is to introduce the complement of a verb of utterance or locution.

5.24	Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 218)				
a)	<i>y_i-ovlipohgi</i>	<i>m_i-oeo:</i>	<i>“Afro,</i>	<i>navyan-qa</i>	<i>armai-ves</i>
	3SG:DISTPAST-tell:3SG	ER-say	brother	voice-2SG	good-very
	<i>baean.”</i>				
	only				
	‘He told him: “Brother, your voice is very good.”’				
	Sye (Crowley, 2002, p. 188)				
b)	<i>y_i-aruvo</i>	<i>m_i-oru,</i>	<i>“Narem pontan votete”</i>		
	3SG:DISTPAST-sing	ER:SG-say	nacem	pontan	votee
	‘He came and was singing, “Nacem pontan votete.”’				

Verbs meaning “say” are also often used to introduce a complement clause of verbs of locution in serialising languages in Central Vanuatu. However, locution verbs used in this manner in serialising languages are inflected with concordant subject indexes rather than an ER prefix.

5.2.5 Clause Embedding and ERCs in Southern Vanuatu

It has been mentioned at several points in this chapter that verbs that display subject identity and simultaneous or sequential temporal alignment with the immediately preceding verb do not always trigger the use of ERCs. One of reasons for this is because of clause embedding (Crowley, 1998, p. 249; Hammond, 2014, p. 98-103). It appears that in the languages of Southern Vanuatu, verbs can only form ERCs with other verbs that are on the same clausal level. This means verbs that occur in subordinate clauses are, in general, not treated as subsequent verbs even if there is subject identity with the verb on the superordinate level and all other conditions for forming ERCs in that language are met. Hammond (2014, p. 98) notes that the use of ER in Whitesands is prevented by clause embedding. For example, in example 5.25 an ERC fails to form across the main-relative clause boundary. The relative clause is modifying the subject of the main clause. Subordinate clauses in ER structures are indented on new lines as shown below and continuing through the rest of this work.

5.25	Whitesands	(Hammond, 2014, p. 100)
	<i>tem_i</i>	
	person	
	<i>t_i-akaku</i>	
	3SG.NPST-small	
	<i>t_i-am-elis</i>	<i>Namruken</i>
	3SG-PST-hold	Namruken
	‘The one that is smallest took Namruken.’	

Example 5.26 shows how ERCs are able to form between two sequential verbs under subject identity if the initial FI verb and subsequent ER verb occur on the same level of the clause (Hammond, 2014, p. 100). In this case, they are both part of the relative clause.

5.26	Whitesands		(Hammond, 2014, p. 101)
	<i>nati_i</i>	<i>nak</i>	
	thing	what	
	<i>kitah_j</i>	<i>k_j-om-ot-ol</i>	<i>m_j-ot-os</i>
	1PL.INCL	1.INCL-PST-PL-make	ER-PL-hold
	‘That thing that we made and took.’		

The following example shows what can occur when a relative clause occurs inside an ER sequence. In Sye, verb *nempu* “ferment” is in a relative clause and is inflected

with full verbal prefixes. This is expected because it is the first verb in a newly embedded clause. The verb *ampai-pelac* “take out” which occurs directly after *nempu* “ferment” is inflected with the ER prefix; however, its subject argument is not co-referential with *nempu* “ferment” but instead it displays identity with *antipe* “put down”. This is evidenced by the verb *ampai-pelac* “take out” being inflected with the plural form of the ER prefix rather than the singular form, which displays disjoint reference with *nmar* “breadfruit”, and by the fact that breadfruit are inanimate and therefore cannot be the subject of a verb like *ampai-pelac* “take out”.

5.27	Sye	Crowley, 1998, p. 249)			
	<i>kakemli-antipe</i>	<i>nulgo-n</i>	<i>ntaiki_j</i>	<i>mle_i-nali</i>	
	1PL.EXCL:FUT-put.down	leaf-CONST	k.o.banana	ER:PL-crumble	
	<i>nmar_k</i>	<i>mori</i>			
	breadfruit	REL			
	<i>cam_k-nempu</i>				
	3SG:PRES-ferment				
	<i>ml_i-ampai-pelac</i>	<i>ov-novsi</i>			
	ER:PL-take-out	PL-breadfruit.seed			
	‘We put down the <i>ntaiki</i> leaves and crumble the breadfruit which is fermenting and remove the breadfruit seeds.’				

Complement clauses tend to interact with ERCs in the same manner as relative clauses in the Southern Vanuatu languages. The first verb in the complement clause is normally treated as an initial verb in a new initial-subsequent verb structure. This is shown in the example below where both the main verb and the verb in the complement clause are inflected with the same subject and TAM prefixes even though the subjects of the verbs display identity.

5.28	Whitesands	(Hammond, 2014, p. 101)			
	<i>na_i-k-olkeikei</i>	<i>mə</i>			
	2-NPST-like	COMP			
	<i>na_i-k-ol</i>	<i>raha-m=ikən...</i>			
	2-NPST-make	POSS-2SG=place			
	‘You want to make your place....’				

It is also common for languages to signal some types of complement clauses with a change of TAM marking, as in this desiderative example from Ura.

5.39 Ura (Crowley, 1999, p. 89)

<i>yi-venim</i>	<i>m_i-oco</i>	
3SG:DISTPAST-come	ER-want	
<i>ce_i-qeni</i>	<i>umcas</i>	<i>aryi</i>
3SG:FUT-eat	pig	POSS:3SG
'It came and wanted to eat his pig.'		

Another way of marking some verbal complement clauses is the use of a functional ER verb. Lynch (2000, p. 163) says that the verb *ika* “say” inflected with the echo morpheme is the most common way to introduce the complements of verbs of locution, perception, or intention. This is shown in example 5.30 where the Anejom verb *mika* “say” acts as the complementizer that introduces the sentential object complement of the verb *atakta* “think”. In this example, the verb *atakta* “think” is in the main clause and verb in the complement clause *adumoj* “return” display subject identity. Because *adumoj* “return” occurs in an embedded clause, it is not inflected with the ER prefix.

5.30 Anejom̃ (Lynch, 2000, p. 163)

<i>is_i</i>	<i>atakta-i</i>	<i>aan_i</i>	
3SG.P	think-TR	3SG	
<i>m_i-ika</i>			
ER-say			
<i>yu_i</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>adumoj</i>	<i>aan_i</i> .
3SG.INCP	HORT	return	3SG
'S/he wondered whether s/he would go back.'			

Direct speech breaks a sequence of ER verbs in a similar way to other embedded clauses (Crowley, 1998, p. 249). It can also be inserted into ER sequences as shown in example 5.31.

5.31 Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 249)

nocwem_i *yi_i-velom*
 pacific-pigeon 3SG:DISTPAST-come

m_i-ocəh-i

ER:SG-see-3SG

m_i-ocu

ER:SG-say

“*yacam_k-naigi-i*

1SG:PRES-want-CONST

kakw_{k+j}-ampculac”.

1DL.INCL:FUT-get.married

mem_i-aruvo

ER:SG-sing

‘The pacific pigeon came and saw and he said “I want us to get married”. And he sang.’

5.2.6 Non-prototypical uses of ERCs

While ERCs are generally used to echo the subject argument of the initial verb on all subsequent verbs inflected with the ER index, there are also a number of non-prototypical uses that can be highlighted.

One such non-prototypical use involves inclusory ERCs. This type of ERC is most evident in languages that have a separate morphological position for number in the verb complex. Inclusory ERCs are similar to inclusory SVCs (§2.3.1) because the subject and object of the initial verb combine as the subject of the subsequent ER verb. In inclusory SVCs, V2 takes the preverbal morphology of the person and number category represented by the combination of the subject and object arguments of V1. For example, if the subject of V1 was 1SG and the object was 2SG, the subject of V2 would be 1DU.INCL. In inclusory ERCs, the structural position used by morphology marking person on the subsequent verb is filled with the ER morpheme, constituting a reduction in person marking; however, the number position will be occupied by a number morpheme representing the combined number of subject and object of the initial verb. Inclusory ERCs are documented to occur in Sye (Crowley, 1998, p. 246) in which the ER prefixes also mark number, and in Lenakel (Lynch, 1983, p. 215) where number is encoded in a separate structural position to person in the verb complex. An example of an inclusory ERC in Lenakel is presented below.

5.32	Lenakel	(Lynch, 1983, p. 215)				
	<i>Magau</i>	<i>r_i-im-aamh</i>	<i>Tom_j</i>	<i>kani</i>	<i>m_{i+j}-u-akimw</i>	
	Magau	3SG-PST-see	Tom	and	ER-DU-run.away	
	'Magau saw Tom and they both ran away.'					

An interesting feature of ERCs in Sye is that it is possible for a non-verbal clause to function as an initial clause of an ERC. For this reason, it is preferable to use the term echo-reference rather than echo-subject, as was used previously (see Crowley, 2002; Lynch, 1983) when describing echo phenomena, because *m-* is not referring to a previous verbal subject.

5.33	Sye	(Crowley, 2002, p. 183)				
	<i>kau_i</i>	<i>viroɾ</i>	<i>m_i-eti</i>			
	cow	small	ER-calve			
	'The cow is small and it has calved.'					

In Lenakel, the ER verb in ERCs have been documented as displaying identity with the object argument of the initial FI verb, rather than the subject (Lynch, 1983, p. 215). This can only occur under strict grammatical and semantic conditions. This is seen where the number morphology inflecting the subsequent ER verb indicates that the subject of the initial FI verb and that of the subsequent ER verb do not display identity. It can also occur where the semantic properties of the subsequent ER verb are such that the object argument of the initial verb is the more logical referent (Lynch, 1983, p. 216). Example 5.34 bears a resemblance to an inclusory ERC; however, the verb *akimw* “run away” is inflected with dual person number meaning that it can only refer to “Tom and Siak” rather than all three of the of the participants associated with the initial verb.

5.34	Lenakel	(Lynch, 1983, p. 215)				
	<i>Magau_i</i>	<i>r_i-im-ho</i>	<i>Tom_j</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>Siak_k</i>	<i>kani m_{J+k}-u-akimw</i>
	Magau	3SG-PST-hit	Tom	and	Siak	and ER-DU-run.away
	'Magau hit Tom and Siak and they ran away.'					

In example 5.35, the semantic properties of the verb *pwalhepwalhe* “splatter” do not allow it to have a human as its patient (Lynch, 1983, p. 216). Even if it could have a human as its patient, it makes logical sense that the ER prefix inflecting *pwalhepwalhe* is referencing the “pawpaw” rather than “I” because spattering is the logical result of a pawpaw being dropped.

5.36	Lenakel	(Lynch, 1983, p. 216)
	<i>i_i-im-alak-hiaav-in</i>	<i>kesi_k</i> <i>m_k-pwalhepwale</i>
	1EXCL-PST-throw-down-TR	pawpaw ER-splatter
	'I dropped a pawpaw and it splattered.'	

5.2.7 Central Vanuatu

In the previous sections of this chapter, the focus has been on the languages of Southern Vanuatu; however, ERCs are also observed in several languages of the Central Vanuatu sub-group from Pentecost, Malekula, and Efate. While ERCs are quite similar in all the Southern Vanuatu languages, there is significant variation in form of ERC morphology in the Central Vanuatu languages. The shared form of ERCs in Southern Vanuatu provides an apparent diachronic pathway for the historic development of ERCs whereas this is not the case in Central Vanuatu. At the time that research on ERCs in Southern Vanuatu began, many of the Central Vanuatu languages remained undocumented or under-documented. It is important to look at ERCs outside of Southern Vanuatu in order to develop an understanding of ERCs in the Vanuatu languages more broadly.

There are two languages from Pentecost what have been documented as using ERCs: Ske (Johnson, 2014) and Sa⁷³ (Elliot, 1976). In Ske the ER index has been analysed as a proclitic *la=*, which attaches to the first element in the verb complex. In Sa, the ER morpheme takes the form of a prefix *e-*, which occurs in the subject marking position of the verb complex. A feature that appears to distinguish ERCs in the Pentecost languages from those in Southern Vanuatu is that lexical conjunctions occur more often in ERCs in Ske and Sa. The conjunctions occur between the fully inflected verb and the ER verb and they can occur within sequences of ER verbs.

As with the Southern Vanuatu languages, ERCs in the Pentecost languages are most often used to show that the actions or states denoted by the initial FI verb and the subsequent ER verb occur either simultaneously or sequentially. Examples in 5.36-5.38 display simulations actions.

⁷³This language was analysed before Lynch proposed ERCs as a unique grammatical structure. Because of this, the term “echo” was not used in this work. Elliot (1976, p. 111) referred to *e-* as a same-subject prefix.

5.36 Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 82)

a) *mwal_i nier be_i=wrut la_i=ve sao-sao*
 child PL 3PL.IPFV=walk ES=PL DUP~sing
 ‘The children walk and sing.’

b) Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 230)

a=zo la_i=anrah
 3SG.PFV=sit ES=eat.steal
 ‘He used to steal food.’

Example 5.37 from Sa shows the copular verb inflected with the ER prefix to indicate that a noun has more than one characteristic at one time. In this case the properties that *ut na dam* ‘yam garden’ displays are the properties of “two”, “big”, and “good”.

5.37 Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 130)

nan ut na dam_i be_i ru ai e_i-be tlap
 POSS:3SG field of yam COP two and ER-COP big
ai e_i-be tu
 and ER-COP good
 ‘He has two yam gardens and they are big and good.’

The following example uses the FI verb *me* ‘come’ to show that *manra* ‘light’ is entering the state expressed by the ER verb.

5.38 Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 98)

manra-na-n_i m_i=me la_i=watic
 light-ASV-POSS:3SG 3SG.IPFV=come ES=small
 ‘Its light gets small/weaker.’

Examples 5.39 and 5.40 display differences between Ske and Sa in relation to the interaction of ERCs and other morphological marking on verbs. Johnson (2014, p. 76) reports that no TAM distinctions are expressed on verbs which carry an ER prefix in Ske, however; number is marked on ER verbs, as shown in 5.39 b).

5.39 Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 82)

a) *ti_i=rarae aglo kzo-n ri_j de_j=peh*
 2SG.FUT=be.careful lest container-CONST water 3SG.FUT=fall
ae la_j=mser
 and ES=shatter
 ‘Look out or the water bottle will fall and shatter.’

	Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 82)				
b)	<i>mwal_i</i>	<i>nier</i>	<i>be_i=wrut</i>	<i>la_i=ve</i>	<i>sao-sao</i>
	child	PL	3PL.IPFV=walk	ES=PL	DUP~sing
	'The children walk and sing.'				

ER verbs in Sa are optionally inflected with TAM morphology. This is shown below with the ER verbs in examples 5.40 c) and d) receiving their temporal properties from the initial FI verb. The ER verb in example 5.40 c) is independently inflected with concordant TAM marking and in example 5.40 d) the ER verb is inflected with TAM morphology that does not occur on the initial verb.

5.40	Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 112)			
a)	<i>i_i</i>	<i>met-kor</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>e_i-lsi</i>
	3SG	IRR-run	and	ER-see
	'He will run and see.'			

	Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 111.)			
b)	<i>i_i</i>	<i>nga-kor</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>e_i-lsi</i>
	3SG	RCNT.PAST-run	and	ER-see
	'He ran and saw.'			

	Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 111)			
c)	<i>i_i</i>	<i>nga-kor</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>e_i-nga-lsi</i>
	3SG	RCNT.PAST-run	and	ER-RCNT.PAST-see
	'He just now ran and saw.'			

	Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 111)			
d)	<i>i_i</i>	<i>madmi-dmi</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>e_i-nga-kli</i>
	3SG	think-DUP	and	ER-RCNT.PAST-know
	'He thought and thought and just now understood.'			

As with the Southern Vanuatu languages, the same illocutionary force is shared by FI initial verbs and all subsequent ER verbs. Examples 5.41 a) and b) from Ske show how fully inflected initial verbs share imperative force with the ER verbs which follow.

5.41	Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 86)					
a)	<i>ti_i=ba</i>	<i>la_i=vsi</i>	<i>bwó</i>	<i>nier</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>en=dae</i>
	2SG:FUT=go	ES=hold.TR	pig	PL	two	place=DIST
	'Go and take hold of the two pigs over there.'					

	Ske (Johnson, 2014, p 120)				
b)	<i>ti_i=bwoze</i>	<i>li-m</i>	<i>nanae</i>	<i>la_i=pri</i>	<i>pamli</i>
	2SG:FUT=tie.TR	hair- POSS:2SG	then	ES=turn.TR	again.TR
	<i>nanae</i>	<i>la_i=ga</i>	<i>bwo</i>	<i>tat=ne</i>	
	then	ES=ASP	tie	tight=TR	
	'You tie your hair and then you turn it again and then you tie it tight.'				

It is possible in Ske for the ER prefix to occur inflecting initial verbs; however, this is restricted to prohibitives like in example 5.42

5.42	Ske (Johnson, 2014, p 76)					
	<i>kare</i>	<i>la=ra</i>	<i>peh</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ri o!</i>
	NEG	ES=DU	fall	go	at	water hey!
	'Hey, don't (you two) fall in the water!'					

Durative aspect can be shown in Ske by repeating *ba* “go” inflected with the ER prefix. This is also possible in the echoing Northwest Malekula languages.

5.43	Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 214)					
	<i>bwabwebweh</i>	<i>m_i=rov</i>	<i>la_i=ba</i>	<i>la_i=ba</i>	<i>la_i=ba,</i>	<i>la_i=ba</i>
	red-head	3SG:IPFV=move	ES=go	ES=go	ES=go	ES=go
	<i>do</i>	<i>ra-n</i>	<i>udia</i>			
	sit	on-POSS:3SG	wood			
	'The bird flies away and flies and flies and flies and goes and sits in a tree.'					

A further similarity in the use of ERCs in Pentecost and in the languages of Southern Vanuatu is the way the way ERCs interact with subordinate clauses and with utterance complement clauses. These types of structures involve clause embedding and it is not possible for ERCs to form between a superordinate clause and subordinate clauses, such as relative clauses or utterance complement clauses. Example 5.44 a) and b) show instances of relativisation. Example 5.44 b) displays how ERCs are sensitive to clause embedding as both *du* “exist” and *me* “come” are treated as initial verbs even though they occur in sequence. This is because the first verb *du* “exist” occurs in a relative clause. It cannot act as an initial verb and form an ERC with *me* “come” because that verb is in the main clause. However, *me* “come” does act as an initial verb for the verb *bal* “be cold” which occurs after. This is possible because they occur on the same clausal level, within the main clause.

5.44 Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 208)

- a) *antunir_i*
people
en sa matbe_i ni_j ai e_i-botgiti ni
who what hold 1SG and ER-tie.up 1SG
'Some who people caught me and tied me up.'

b) Ske (Johnson, 2014, p. 215)

- ri_i*
water
ne m_i=du lo-n aisbokis
REL 3SG:IPFV=exist in-CONST freezer
m_i=me la_i=bal-bal kong
3SG:IPFV=come ES=DUP-be.cold very
'The water which is in the freezer is getting very cold.'

There is a functional usage of the ER verb *pe* "say" in Sa where it is used to introduce speech complement clauses.

5.45 Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 215)

- a) *Taisngul_i mpe_i ba ni isin kon e_i-pe*
Taisangul say go by.way.of wife taboo ER-say
nin ma
gut.POSS:3SG come
'Taisnagul told his taboo wife that he was angry.'

b) Sa (Elliot, 1976, p. 57)

- i_i madmi to e_i-pe bulbul_j ma_j ma_j ti*
3SG think already ER-say boat come come already
'He hoped the boat had come'

A further Pentecost language, Abma, also appears to have an echo-reference system. Schneider (2010) identifies this structure as clause chain constructions in which multiple clauses are linked together with the connector prefix *ne-* that attaches to non-initial verbs. Schneider (2010, p. 218) says these constructions are used when events occur simultaneously or in rapid succession. Verbs inflected with *ne-* are dependent on an initial verb for their person, number, and TAMP values. These properties match those that have been identified for ER systems more widely in Vanuatu. However, Schneider (2010) does not analyse *ne-* as filling the subject position in the verb complex meaning that these clauses chains are not a true ER system. It is possible, however, that further analysis of this construction may reveal that *ne-* is acting like other morphemes in the preverbal complex which cliticise to verbs when there is no

overt person morpheme for them to attach, meaning that it could be considered an echo-reference system, albeit a non-canonical one. While a full re-analysis is beyond the scope of this project, some examples of this construction are presented in 5.46, with data coded as ER prefixes. Example 5.46 a) displays sequential events, b) shows simultaneous events, and c) shows dependant polarity.

5.46	Abma	(Schneider, 2010, p. 219)
a)	<i>...kaa_i=m</i> <i>sib</i> <i>ne_i-wesa</i> <i>le</i> <i>sileng</i> 1PL.EXCL=IPFV go.down ER-wash LOC water ‘...we go down and wash them in the water.’	
	Abma	(Schneider, 2010, p. 222)
b)	<i>Ut_i</i> <i>te_i</i> <i>vaawo</i> <i>ne_i-bung</i> ... place 3SG:PFV start ER-be.dark ‘When it starts to get dark...’	
	Abma	(Schneider, 2010, p. 219)
c)	<i>te_i=ba</i> <i>sibma=nga</i> <i>ne_i-bwel</i> 3SG:IPFV=NEG.1 come.down=NEG.2 ER-dance ‘He didn’t come down to dance.’	

Echo-reference constructions are also reported in the Aulua language (Eastern Malekula) (Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005, p. 63). Aulua allows long sequences of chained ER clauses (Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005, p. 63). ER coding takes the form of the prefix *ana-* that is positioned in the subject prefix order of non-initial verbs. It signals that the ER verb shares subject identity with the preceding FI verb.⁷⁴ In examples 5.47 a) and b), the ER verb can be understood to happen sequentially to the FI verb. Aulua allows the independent marking of aspect on ER verbs, as shown in 5.47 b) where the ER verb is inflected with the inchoative morpheme. It is likely that this is permitted because the act of beginning to eat is subsequent to taking the eggs.

5.47	Aulua	(Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005, p. 67)
a)	<i>tabal-tarab_i</i> <i>hal</i> <i>i_i-ben</i> <i>ana_i-lev</i> <i>medlu-q</i> <i>her</i> woman-old DEM.here 3SG-REAL.go ER-take egg-POSS:1SG PL ‘The old woman went and took my eggs.’	

⁷⁴ The data in Paviour-Smith & Makenzie (2005) also suggest that the ER marker may also inflect verbs that have the most salient actor in the discourse as their subject; however, there is a lack of available data to examine this hypothesis. The North-Tanna language is also reported to use ERCs in this manner (de Sousa, 2007, p. 23).

	Aulua	(Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005, p. 69)
b)	<i>i_i-lev-a_j</i> 3SG-take-3SG:OBJ 'She took them and began eating them.'	<i>bene</i> come ER-INCH-REAL.eat-3SG:OBJ

Example 5.48 shows the ER verb being used to show durative aspect though repeated subsequent events indicated by the same verb occurring as the FI and ER verb.

5.48	Aulua	(Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005, p. 67)
	<i>i_i-bies</i> 3SG-REAL.bear.children 'She (hen) laid and laid.'	<i>ana_i-bies</i> ER.bear.children

Aulua also allows an FI verb to share identity with a verb following a skipped subordinate clause.

5.49	Aulua	(Paviour-Smith & Makenzie, 2005, p. 66)
	<i>....ale</i> so <i>lahas</i> like	<i>tabal-trab_i</i> woman-old <i>i_j-bies</i> 3SG-REAL.bear.children
	<i>ana_i-ben</i> ER-REAL.go	<i>ana_i-lev</i> ER-take
	<i>neduln-ar</i> egg-PL	<i>neto finpar</i> hen
	'...the old woman _i knew that she _j (hen) had laid eggs and went _i and took _i them.'	

Finally, the Nafsan language, also known as South Efate, is attested as employing ERCs. The ER morpheme takes the form of the proclitic *kai=* which takes the same position in the verb complex as the subject proclitics (Thieberger, 2006, p. 111). The ER clitic is invariant for person and number and it can only additional TAM marker that it can occur with is the perfect aspect marker *pe*. Examples 5.50 a) and b) show initial FI verbs coded for different person-number categories followed by ER verbs occurring with the same ER morpheme.

5.50	Nafsan	(Thieberger, 2006, p. 113)
a)	<i>go</i> and 'And I stayed and called out "James."'	<i>a_i=na</i> 1SG:REAL=want <i>a_i=tok</i> 1SG:REAL=stay <i>kai_i=sos</i> ER=call "Jemis" Jemis

b)	Nafsan	(Thieberger, 2006, p. 113)
	<i>ra_i=slat</i> 3DU:REAL=carry 'They carried everything from the garden and they went.'	<i>semale</i> everything <i>ni</i> of <i>talrfiat</i> garden <i>kai_i=pa</i> ER=go

Thieberger (2006, p. 114) also reports that ER verbs can have inclusory subject referents; however, as example 5.51 displays, the ER verb is not coded separately for number, and so it is difficult to test the claim by appealing to grammatical marking alone.

5.51	Nafsan	(Thieberger, 2006, p. 114)				
	<i>go</i>	<i>spun</i>	<i>i_i=tir</i>	<i>plet_j</i>	<i>kai_{i+j}=sef</i>	<i>pan.</i>
	and	spoon	3SG:REAL=put	plate	ER=escape	go
	‘And the spoon took the plate and (they) ran away.’					

As mentioned above, ER verbs can be modified by the perfect aspect morpheme *pe*. This does not seem to change the interpretation of the order of the verbs in ERCs.

5.52	Nafsan	(Thieberger, 2006, p. 167)				
	<i>tetwei</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>apu_i</i>	<i>neu</i>	<i>i_i=min</i>	<i>nmalok</i>
	long.ago	3SG	grandfather	POSS:1SG	3SG:REAL=drink	kava
	<i>tefla</i>	<i>kai_i=pe</i>	<i>pa=n</i>	<i>mature</i>		
	thus	ER=PRV	go=DST	sleep		
	‘Long ago, my grandfather drank kava like that and went to sleep.’					

As with the languages described above, Nafsan allows chains of ER verbs, provided that they all display subject identity with the FI verb

5.53	Nafsan	(Thieberger, 2006, p. 113)				
	<i>ale,</i>	<i>ntuam_i</i>	<i>i_i=na</i>	<i>i_i=to</i>	<i>kai_i=slat-lu</i>	
	then	devil	3SG:REAL=want	3SG:REAL=stay	ER=take- REMOVE	
	<i>nua-nait_j</i>	<i>iskei</i>	<i>kai_i=pam-i-Ø_j</i>			
	fruit-fig	one	ER=eat-TR-3SG:OBJ			
	‘Then the devil stayed and took a fig and ate it.’					

Lastly, as with the other ER languages described above, FI verbs can share identity with subsequent ER verb following skipped subordinate clauses.

5.54	Nafsan	(Thieberger, 2006, p. 112)				
	<i>ale</i>	<i>pak_i</i>	<i>etan</i>	<i>esan_j</i>		
	okay	go.to	down	place		
		<i>ru_k=sos-o-Ø_j</i>		<i>ki</i>	<i>Emlemasei_j</i>	
		3REAL=call-TR-3SG:OBJ		PREP	p.name	
	<i>kai_i=pak</i>	<i>Emēlpat_i</i>				
	ER=go.to	p.name				
	‘Okay, down to the place they call Emlemasei then to Emēlpat.’					

5.3 Properties Previously Described Echo-Reference Systems

Having examined ERCs in the languages from Southern and Central Vanuatu, there are a number of observed properties shared by ERCs across the languages. Many of these properties are tendencies rather than definitional properties, while other properties are definitional.

Verbs in ERCs are distinguished from fully inflected initial verbs by their marking with a distinct preverbal echo morpheme (ER index). The ER index occurs in a mutually exclusive pattern with the full morphological subject indexing paradigms in the languages. As the ER index is a subject marker, it is always used to encode the subject argument of subsequent ER verbs, even though it does not always echo the subject of the initial verb (as seen in Lenakel). In the Southern Vanuatu languages, the ER index has the base form (V)*m*(V)-, which appears to show a grammaticalization pathway from the Proto Oceanic coordinator **ma* to the ER index in the Southern Vanuatu languages. The source of the ER indexes in the Central Vanuatu languages is more speculative (see Chapter Eight for a further discussion pertaining to the tentative origin of ERCs in Central Vanuatu)

The canonical function of ERCs is to signal co-referentiality between the subject arguments of the initial FI verb and the subsequent ER verb. In this work, this has been referred to as sharing or displaying identity. ERCs cannot occur where one or two of the arguments of the initial FI verb and subject argument of the subsequent ER verb do not display identity. The ER index always indexes the S/A arguments of the subsequent verb(s), however, it has no semantic value on its own. Generally, it gains its semantic value from one of the arguments of the fully inflected initial verb. In some cases, it takes its semantic value from an argument of a previous non-verbal predicate, as in Lenakel. Person is the primary value that is echoed from the initial verb. Generally, the person value of the ER verb is dependent on the person value of subject of the initial verb; however, the A and O arguments of the initial verb can combine and display identity with the subject of the ER verb. Some languages also permit the O argument of the initial verb to share identity with the S/A argument of the ER verb if it is the most logical subject based on the semantic properties of the proposition.

In all of the surveyed languages, ERCs are sensitive to clause hierarchy. A verb can only act as an initial FI verb and share its grammatical information with subsequent verbs that occur on the same clause level. This means that the first verb in a subordinate clause is treated like an initial verb, even when identity is shared between the subject of the verb in the superordinate clause and the subject of the first verb in a subordinate clause. ERCs are able to form within embedded clauses themselves, meaning that in complex clauses where there are multiple embedded clauses, it is possible for a number of ERCs to occur, each on a different level of the clause.

In addition to person value, the ER index also echoes other grammatical properties of the morpheme type with which it is mutually exclusive. This means that number is echoed from the initial verb to ER verbs in languages that mark person and number with portmanteau morphemes. In languages that mark the person and number of subjects with separate morphemes in the verb complex, person is echoed but number is fully expressed on ER verbs.

The interaction between the temporal properties of the initial verb and that of the ER verb is important. In many of the languages, tense/mood is indicated in a portmanteau morpheme with the person value of the subject. This means that tense/mood cannot be overtly marked on ER verbs. This effectively means that ER verbs in many languages display relative temporal properties. Verbs marked with the ER index are interpreted as encoding events that occur simultaneously or sequentially in time with the initial FI verb. Most commonly, the verbs in ERCs are understood to occur sequentially to the FI verb and to each other. For this reason, it is possible to have long sequences of verbs marked with the ER index provided that the subjects of the verbs display identity. It is also grammatical in some of the surveyed languages for an independent coordinating conjunction to occur between the initial FI verb and the ER verb, and for a coordinator to intersect sequences of ER verbs.

There is often a degree of grammaticalization and semantic bleaching that occurs when a fully inflected initial verb and subsequent ER verb are interpreted as occurring simultaneously. For example, when the ER verb is a basic motion verb, it is generally used to indicate directionality. If it is a verb meaning “reach” or “touch”, it tends to indicate a goal of movement for the initial verb.

Grammatical aspect is generally expressed in a separate morphological position to person, number, and tense/mood in the surveyed Southern and Central Vanuatu languages. As such, it is not uncommon for ER verbs to be independently inflected with aspect morphology. ER verbs are seen with both concordant and disjoint aspectual marking to that displayed on the initial FI verbs. This is possible because unlike tense/mood, which positions events in time or in reality, verbs themselves have their own inherent aspectual properties. Additionally events/actions can occur in time relative to each other, as indicated by the ER index, but they can have their own internal temporal make up. Generally, aspect is not indicated on ER verbs because the aspectual properties of the verb are clear through the aspectual interpretation of the initial verb and the inherent aspectual properties of the ER verb, however as needed, grammatical aspect can be independently specified on ER verbs.

In Sye, Ura, and Whitesands, polarity is a grammatical property that is, for the most part, not shared by fully inflected initial verbs and subsequent verbs in ERCs. In these languages an initial verb with positive polarity can be followed by an ER verb with negative polarity, and a sequence of ER verbs can display changes in polarity. ER verbs that follow a negated initial verb are not inherently deemed to have negative polarity. In some case, the following ER verb is also negated, as in Whitesands, and in Ura and Sye the following ER verb is unmarked but is interpreted as having negative polarity.

5.4 Summary

Echo-reference constructions have been analysed as a non-canonical type of switch-reference construction which occur primarily in VO languages, unlike canonical switch-reference systems which occur in OV languages (Crowley, 2002; Hammond; 2014; Lynch, 1983; de Sousa, 2016). ERCs are analysed in this work as initial-subsequent clause constructions comprising multiple independent verbs with coding reduction of S/A person under identity in subsequent clauses. In ERCs, the reference clause, referred to in this work as the fully inflected (FI) clause, takes the initial position in the ERC. The verb in the FI clause receives full subject person, number, and TAMP modification. The marked clause, called the ER clause in this work, is the subsequent clause. The verbs in subsequent ER clauses are coded with a special morpheme (ER index), which signals that its subject displays identity with an

argument, generally the subject, of the initial FI clause. The ER index is invariant for person, and generally invariant for number. TAMP marking is commonly restricted in ER clauses. While ERCs are most common in Southern Vanuatu, they have been documented in several languages of Central Vanuatu (Nafsan, Aulua, and Ske) and plausible ER systems are seen in several others (Sa and Abma); however more data is needed on ERCs in these languages before a full analysis can be presented.

Chapter Six

Echo-Reference Constructions in Northwest Malekula

Presented in this chapter is an in-depth analysis of echo-reference constructions in V'ënen Taut and Tape, the two of the three languages in the Northwest Malekula subgroup that employ ERCs. Tirax does not use ERCs.

The basic structure of ERCs in V'ënen Taut and Tape will be described in this chapter followed by a description of the uses of ERCs in V'ënen Taut and Tape. The following topics will be discussed: the form of the ER morphemes in V'ënen Taut and Tape; the types of participants that can act as the subject arguments of fully inflected initial verbs upon which the person and mood values of subsequent ER verbs depend; the other grammatical features that are obligatorily or optionally marked on ER verbs; the temporal relationship between the situations expressed by the fully inflected initial verb and those expressed by the subsequent ER verb(s); and finally the interaction between the clause type of the initial clause and that of the subsequent ER clause. The focus of the chapter is mostly on V'ënen Taut because there are not many examples of ERCs being used in the Tape corpus; however, where relevant data from Tape is available, it is included in this work. The apparent loss of ERCs in Tape is likely a result of the decline of the language.

This chapter is organised by the interaction of echo-reference constructions with a number of different grammatical properties on different levels of language. It firstly explains how ERCs function to display same-subject identity, focusing on semantics. It then covers how ERCs interact with number, polarity, and aspect marking, which concerns morphology in these languages. Next, on the level of syntax, the use of ERCs and their interaction with embedded clauses and serial verb constructions is discussed. The area of pragmatics is touched on when ERCs are analysed in reference to illocutionary force. Finally, the use of ERCs in wider discourse is described when looking at how ERCs are used in different narrative structures.

6.1 The Echo-Reference Prefix

The preverbal complexes of V'ënen Taut and Tape were summarised in Chapter One, along with a brief description of the different combinations of verbal prefixes that occur in speech.⁷⁵ In this chapter the preverbal complex is further elaborated upon, introducing the echo-reference prefix, one of the most important features of the preverbal complex, particularly for V'ënen Taut.

The echo-reference prefix in V'ënen Taut takes the form *kě-*. It functions syntactically as a first-order verbal prefix. Although it appears to be in paradigmatic relationship to the other person prefixes, its distribution is restricted to subsequent clauses. Its position as a first order prefix is supported by the position of the prefixes in the preverbal complex in relation to the ER prefix, including number prefixes and the very rare occurrence of the aspect prefixes. Table 6.1 below shows a summary of the basic forms of the subject/mood prefixes in V'ënen Taut.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ The preverbal complex from V'ënen Taut and Tape are repeated below from Chapter One.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Subject/Mood	(Necessity)	(Aspect)	(Negation)	Number	(Habitual) VERB
V'ënen Taut preverbal complex					

I	II	III	IV	V
Subject/Mood	(Aspect/Mode)	(Negation)	Number	(Proximal) VERB
Tape preverbal complex				

⁷⁶ The same ER prefix is used with type-two intransitive verbs that are distinguished by the unique type-two preverbal morphemes which are repeated below from Chapter One.

Person	Realis	Irrealis	Hypothetical	Imperative
1	<i>n(ě)-</i>	<i>ta-/p'a-</i>	<i>m'a-</i>	
2	<i>k(ě)-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>dakh-</i>
3SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>ipa-</i>	<i>ima-</i>	
3NSG	<i>a-</i>	<i>apa-</i>	<i>am-</i>	
IMPRS	<i>a-</i>	<i>apa-</i>	<i>am-</i>	
V'ënen Taut first order subject/mood prefixes (Type 2)				

Prefix Order	Prefix	Function
II	<i>ka-</i>	Necessity
III	<i>da-</i>	Continuative
	<i>ta-</i>	Perfective
	<i>p'ěkh-</i>	Proximal
IV	<i>akh-</i>	Negative
V	Ø-	Singular
	<i>r-</i>	Paucal
	<i>vra-</i>	Plural
VI	<i>mur-</i>	Habitual
V'ënen Taut prefixes (Type 2)		

Person	Realis	Irrealis	Hypothetical	Imperative	Echo
1	<i>n(ë)-</i>	<i>të-/p'e-</i>	<i>m'(ë)-</i>		<i>kë-</i>
2	<i>k(ë)-</i>	<i>pë-</i>	<i>m(ë)-</i>	<i>da-</i>	
3SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>ip(ë)-</i>	<i>im-</i>		
3NSG	<i>a-</i>	<i>ap(ë)-</i>	<i>am-</i>		
IMPRS	<i>a-</i>	<i>ap(ë)-</i>	<i>am-</i>		

Table 6.1: V'ënen Taut first order subject prefixes

The ER prefix in Tape takes the form *dë-*. It also functions syntactically as a first order prefix and is analysed as being in a paradigmatic relationship with the subject/mood prefixes in Tape.

Person	Realis	Irrealis	Echo
1SG	<i>en-</i>	<i>be-</i>	<i>dë-</i>
2SG	<i>kë-</i>	<i>po-</i>	
3SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>ipo-</i>	
1NSG:INCL	<i>dë-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	
1NSG:EXCL	<i>më-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	
2NSG	<i>ka-</i>	<i>këpa-</i>	
3NSG	<i>i-</i>	<i>ipa-</i>	
IMPRS	<i>a(r)-</i>	<i>ap-</i>	

Table 6.2: Tape subject prefixes

The ER prefix in V'ënen Taut and Tape occur in paradigmatic distribution with the full subject/mood prefixes. The use of the echo-reference prefix is restricted to inflecting the verbs in subsequent clauses that display subject identity with the fully inflected verb in the initial clause. With reference to a range of Vanuatu languages that employ ERCs, Chapter Five established that some of the semantic-grammatical properties of subsequent ER verbs are dependent on the semantic-grammatical properties of the initial FI verb. This is also the case for V'ënen Taut and Tape in which all grammatical person values are reduced in ER clauses.

A unique feature of the ER prefixes in Northwest Malekula is that they are homophones with another full subject indexing prefix. The ER prefix is homophonous with the second person realis prefix in V'ënen Taut and in Tape it is homophonous with the first person non-singular inclusive realis prefix. In both languages, the homophonous subject/mood prefix occurs regularly in the corpus. In some contexts, it is difficult to tell if a particular verb is inflected with a full inflection or the ER prefix. This will be discussed in more detail between examples 6.6 and 6.7.

To begin this description of the use of ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages, a series of basic examples of ERCs is presented, showing their use with the different person, mood, and number combinations available in V'ënen Taut and Tape. ERCs in Northwest Malekula display the properties of subject-person identity with all members of the subject/mood paradigms.

6.2 Subject-Person Identity in ERCs

The following sections examine how the person and mood value of the initial FI verb in ERCs intact with ER marking in subsequent clauses.

6.2.1 Subject-Person Identity under Realis Mood

The most commonly used mood in V'ënen Taut and Tape is the realis mood. Realis mood encodes situations that are currently occurring, have occurred, or that occur habitually. The examples in this section demonstrate that the ER prefix is capable of echoing the semantic properties of all realis person and number combinations. The examples below display initial verbs inflected with the first person realis prefix and the subsequent verb inflected with the ER prefix.

In the rest of this work subsequent ER clauses are presented on a new line in the examples. Participant identity is tracked on nominals and verbal inflections. Finally embedded clauses are presented on new lines and are indented.

Example 6.1 from V'ënen Taut displays the initial verb marked for first person by the prefix *n-* “1REAL” and singular number, which is zero-marked in V'ënen Taut. This verb is fully inflected. The subject prefix *n-* indexes the pronominal noun phrase subject, *kana* “1SG”. The subsequent ER verb is inflected with the echo prefix *kë-* that takes its person and mood value from the initial verb. The ER verb is not modified by a number prefix, which indicates concordant zero-marking of singular number.

6.1	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-73:7]				[00:45.8-00:51.1]		
	<i>lakara</i>	<i>kana_i</i>	<i>n_i-khap'r</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>wal</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nut</i>
	DEM	1SG	1:REAL-climb	EXT.P	tree.top	tree	ASV	place
	<i>lara</i>							
	DEM							
	<i>kë_i-tr=i</i>							
	ER-cut=3SG:OBJ							
	‘Then I climbed the trees in that place and cut it (branch).’							

Example 6.2 from Tape also displays an ERC. Tape marks more person and number combinations as portmanteau morphemes in its verbal subject prefixes paradigms than V'ënen Taut. Tape has separate prefixes for singular and nonsingular number for most person combinations, as shown in table 6.2. However, number is still marked separately in the preverbal complex with number prefixes. Like V'ënen Taut, singular number in Tape is zero-marked, as seen in example 6.2. The ER prefix in Tape is invariant in terms of singular/nonsingular distinction. The initial verb in example 6.2 is inflected with a subject prefix encoding first person, singular number, and realis mood. The number prefix position is not filled, indicating singular number. The subsequent ER verb is inflected with the ER prefix echoing first person and realis mood. The ER verb is also uninflected for number indicating singular.

6.2	Tape	[nwm-mrs-60:59-60]	[03:13.9-03:18.2]
	<i>...ale</i>	<i>en_i-mën</i>	
	so	1SG:REAL-drink	
	<i>dë_i-liek</i>	<i>ogi...</i>	
	ER-stay	limiter	
	'So I take (the Panadol) and I just stay here.'		

The next set of examples display initial FI verbs inflected with first person subject person prefixes and dual/paucal number. Example 6.3 a) from V'ënen Taut shows an initial verb inflected with the prefix encoding first person and realis mood and a number prefix encoding paucal number. The example shows sequential actions. Both the subject and object arguments in this example display identity between the initial FI clause and the subsequent ER clause but only the subject participant is encoded on the verb with echo morphology on the subsequent ER verb.

Examples 6.3 b) and c) from Tape also illustrate an initial verb expressing first person, nonsingular number, and realis mood. However, unlike V'ënen Taut, Tape has unique subject prefixes that encode first person, nonsingular number, and realis

mood. A further distinction is made in Tape based on clusivity for first person nonsingular that is not present in the pronominal subject prefix paradigms of V'ënen Taut. In example 6.3 b), the initial verb is inflected with the first person exclusive, nonsingular number, and realis mood prefix. The grammatical number of the subject is specified with the dual number prefix. The subsequent ER verb, which encodes a simultaneous action, is inflected with the ER prefix and concordant dual number marking. The initial verb in c) is inflected with the first person nonsingular inclusive, realis mood prefix and the dual number prefix. The subsequent ER verb, denoting a sequential action, is inflected with the ER prefix subject and the dual number prefix.

- 6.3 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-03:24] [03:06.6-03:08.4]
a) ***n_i-r-tr=i_j***
 1:REAL-PAU-cut=3SG:OBJ
 kë_i-r-khan=i_j
 ER-PAU-eat=3SG:OBJ
 'We cut it (rib) and ate it.'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-51:09] [00:47.3-00:49.7]
b) ***më_i-r-wo***
 1NSG.EXCL:REAL-DU-carry
 dë_i-r-mo *emakh*
 ER-DU-come home
 'We carried it (the pig) home.'
- Tape [nwm-mrs-75:30] [02:00.8-02:03.8]
c) "*Ale, ariap, dë_i-r-ve jere*
 ale be.quick 1NSG.INCL:REAL-DU-make then
 dë_i-r-vin *elo*"
 ER-DU-go out.to.sea
 "'Right, hurry up, let's do it and go to the sea.'"

The initial verb in example 6.4 a) is inflected with the first person realis and type-two plural number prefixes, indexing the independent first person plural exclusive pronoun acting as the subject of the clause. The subsequent verb is inflected with the ER prefix and the plural number prefix. Because *la* "see" is a type-one intransitive verb, it is inflected with the type-one number prefix rather than the type-two number prefix as seen with the initial FI verb. The requirement to use special morphology is not echoed from the initial verb to subsequent verbs.⁷⁷ The subsequent verb in this

⁷⁷ In the Erromango languages Ura and Sye, ER verbs are required to occur in their alternate forms if the initial fully inflected verb occurs in its alternate form, even though the ER indexes do not generally create an environment where verb stem alternation is required (see §5.2.1).

example occurs with the knowledge coverb *du*, forming *la du*. This complex nucleus normally means “recognise (a person) by sight” but here it gives the sense of looking for and identifying objects of interest amongst others similar items. In this case, it refers to people looking amongst fresh pandanus leaves on a tree for dry ones to use for weaving.

6.4	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-96:24]	[02:44.9-02:51.7]
	...ale kam'em' _i ně_i-vra-v'a		
	then 1NSG:EXCL 1:REAL-PL-go		
	kě_i-v-la du <i>nki</i> <i>ti...</i>		
	ER-PL-see ABILITY some SUB		
	“...then we go and look for the ones that...”		

The Tape examples 6.5 a) and b) display verbs inflected with first person nonsingular prefixes and plural number. Example a) uses the exclusive prefix and example b) uses the inclusive prefix. The subsequent ER verb in both examples are inflected with the invariant ER prefix and the plural number prefix. Both ER clauses denote sequential actions that occur in time after the event denoted by the initial FI verb.

6.5	Tape	[nwm-mrs-67:19]	[00:57.6-00:00.7]
a)	mě_i-n-mo		
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-come		
	dě_i-n-liek <i>Sande</i>		
	ER-PL-stay Sunday		
	‘We came and stayed on Sunday.’		
b)	Tape	[nwm-mrs-66:180]	[05:28.3-05:32.3]
	dě_i-n-jej <i>ne</i>		
	1NSG.INCL:REAL-PL-cut wood		
	dě_i-n-sěkh <i>ejkh-ën</i>		
	ER-PL-push.in.ground to:PERS-POSS:3SG		
	‘We cut a bit of wood and stand it up in the ground next to (the yam).’		

Examples 6.6 a) and b) display constructions where the initial verb is fully inflected with the second person realis prefix. Example a) shows an initial verb inflected with the full second person realis prefix and is zero-coded for singular number. This indexes its pronominal noun phrase subject *nakēm* “2SG”. The FI initial verb in example b) is also inflected with the second person realis prefix and with the plural number prefix. As can be seen in these examples, the second person realis prefix and the ER prefix are homophones. To establish whether an ERC is being used in

instances where the subject of the initial verb has a second person subject and displays realis mood, the grammatical and semantic properties under which ERC can form must be relied upon, rather than morphophonemic properties of the inflected verbs under analysis. Where there is no indication of a change of subject in the subsequent clause(s) and none of the constraints on ERC usage are broken, analysing the clauses as forming part of an ERC is appropriate. Ambiguity between FI and ER verbs involving second person singular realis subjects does not always occur due to the special morphology that is used when inflecting type-two verbs (as in 6.7 a).

6.6	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-94:36]	[02:39.0-02:42.2]
a)	nakēm_i kē_i-lak		
	2SG 2:REAL-stay		
	kē_i-p'a <i>drna-m</i> <i>lena</i>		
	ER-look.at ear-POSS:2SG DEM		
	'You sit and look at your ears.'		
	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-96:36]	[04:00.7-04:03.2]
b)	...kē_i-v-lak <i>asn-n</i> <i>khinlakha</i>		
	2:REAL-PL-sit beside-POSS:3SG now		
	kē_i-v-an=i_j <i>i-nap'=i</i> <i>kha...</i>		
	ER-PL-make=3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM		
	'You are sitting next to it now and doing that...'		

The possible ambiguity between verbs inflected with the second person realis prefix and those inflected with the ER prefix is reduced in ERCs involving type-two intransitive subsequent verbs. This is because subsequent ER verbs are obligatorily inflected with the construct morpheme *da-* when they are type-two intransitive verbs with a singular subject. This is shown in example 6.7 a) where the initial FI verb is inflected with the second person realis prefix and the subsequent ER verb is inflected with the ER prefix and the construct morpheme, *da-*; however, the following ER verb is not inflected with the construct morpheme because it is not a type-two intransitive verb. Although this prefix takes the same form and position in the preverbal complex as the continuative prefix, it is analysed as a construct morpheme rather than a true aspect morpheme with type-two intransitive ER verbs. The construct morpheme is not required when the subject of a type-two intransitive ER verb is nonsingular and followed by a plural morpheme, as shown in b).

- 6.7 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-89:118] [07:23.4-07:29.0]
a) *ale* ***këi-lev'*** *nam'etj*
then 2:REAL-take snare
këi-da-ma
ER-CONST-come
këi-takhe=i_j *atlara* *ra...*
ER-stick=3SG:OBJ there now
‘Then you take the snare and come and stick it there now...’
- V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-52:44] [04:59.4-05:05.2]
b) *...n-la* *kam'i_i* *linggwistik* ***këi-v-nelnal***
1:REAL-see 2NSG linguist 2:REAL-PL-be.many
këi-vra-ma *atka*
ER-PL-come here
‘...I see many of you linguists come here...’

Example 6.8 from Tape displays an initial verb inflected with the full second person singular realis subject prefix⁷⁸ followed by a subsequent ER verb denoting a sequential action.

- 6.8 Tape [nwm-mrs-12:10] [01:06.1-01:09.9]
ko_i-mo
2SG:REAL-come
dëi-jej *ne* *gi*
ER-cut tree one
‘You come and cut a piece of wood.’

Due to the data collection method employed in this project, instances of verbs with second person subjects occur infrequently in the corpora. This means that there are no examples of initial verbs inflected with second person realis and paucal number in the analysed V'ënen Taut corpus that are followed by an ERC; however, as the pattering of ERCs is very consistent in the data, it is most likely that it functions predictably.

The next examples from V'ënen Taut display initial verbs with third person subjects. Example 6.9 shows the initial verb inflected with the third person singular prefix. In V'ënen Taut, the grammatical categories of third person and singular number are represented morphologically with unique portmanteau prefixes in the subject/mood prefix paradigms. The example below shows an ERC in which the FI and ER verb

⁷⁸ In this instance an allomorph of the first-person singular realis prefix occurs but it has no impact on the form of the following ERC.

display simultaneous temporal alignment with *khau* “go home” in the ER clause providing directional information to the initial verb *kharëv* “crawl”.

6.9	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-04:111]	[09:22.2-09:24.6]
	<i>npakh_i</i>	<i>i_i-kharëv</i>	
	turtle	3SG:REAL-crawl	
	<i>kë_i-da-khau</i>	<i>al nata</i>	
	ER-CONST-go.home	in sea	
	‘The turtle crawled all the way back to the sea’		

In examples 6.10 a) and b), the initial verbs are inflected with the third person nonsingular realis prefix. The initial verb in example 6.10 a) has two subject participants encoded using the paucal number prefix. The person and mood value of the subject is echoed onto the subsequent ER verb but the number value is expressed using the paucal number prefix. Example 6.10 b) shows that the initial FI verb is inflected with the plural number prefix because the subject of “take” is a group of men expressed by the noun phrase subject *m'ertarep* “male elder”.⁷⁹ As with example a), plural number is encoded morphologically on both the FI and ER verbs. In example 6.10, the events denoted by the FI and ER verbs display sequential temporal alignment.

6.10	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-04:18]	[01:11.2-01:14.7]
a)	<i>a_i-r-v'a</i>		
	3NSG:REAL-PAU-go		
	<i>kë_i-r-tr</i>	<i>kinu-ar...</i>	
	ER-PAU-cut	canoe-POSS:3NSG	
	‘They went and carved their canoe...’		
	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-68:48]	[04:05.8-04:10.4]
b)	<i>...m'ertarep'_i</i>	<i>a_i-v-lav'=i_j</i>	
	elder.men	3NSG:REAL-PL-take=3SG:OBJ	
	<i>kë_i-v-an=i_i...</i>		
	ER-PL-make=3SG:OBJ		
	‘... the men take it (coconut shell) and make it....,’		

Example 6.11 a) shows the verb *ivin* “go” inflected with the third person realis prefix and is zero-marked for singular number. The two subsequent ER verbs are inflected with the ER prefix echoing the third person and realis mood categories from the FI

⁷⁹ This word is normally used to describe the elder males of the community or male ancestors; however, it can be used to refer to a specific elder male.

verb. The lack of an overt number prefix signals singular number. The FI verb in examples b) and c) are also inflected with the third person realis prefix. The former is inflected with the dual number prefix and the latter with plural number. In both examples, the ER verb(s) are inflected with the echo prefix and a concordant number prefix.

6.11 a)

Tape	[nwm-mrs-101:4]	[00:31.8-00:35.3]
<i>i_i-ivin</i>		
3:REAL-go		
<i>dē_i-lo</i>		
ER-plant		
<i>dē_i-lo</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>rivi</i>
ER-plant	thing	all
‘He went and planted, he planted all different things.’		

b)

Tape	[nwm-mrs-75:44]	[03:51.7-03:57.7]
<i>i_i-r-sëvsiv</i>		
3:REAL-DU-swim		
<i>dē_i-r-mo</i>		
ER-DU-come		
<i>dē_i-r-lev</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>uren ër</i>
ER-DU-take	wood	like that
‘They swam back and took a piece of wood like that.’		

c)

Tape	[nwm-mrs-55:3]	[00:27.8-00:32.3]
<i>ale</i>	<i>i_i-n-sëkh</i>	<i>nëvet</i>
so	3:REAL-PL-push.in.ground	stone
<i>dē_i-n-sëkh</i>		
<i>nokhmo</i>		
ER-PL-push.in.ground		
slit.drum		
‘So they planted the stones and the slit drums in the ground.’		

Examples 6.12, from V'ënen Taut, and example 6.13, from Tape, show ERCs in which the initial verb is inflected with the impersonal realis prefix and the subsequent verb is inflected with the ER prefix. Impersonal constructions are used when speakers do not need to specify the subject referent of a verb. As described in Chapter One, impersonal constructions are formed in V'ënen Taut when a verb is inflected with a 3NSG prefix and is zero-marked for number.

6.12	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-51:47]	[03:14.2-03:19.0]		
	<i>a_i-v'a</i>	<i>kë_i-tëktak</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>p'ien</i>	<i>na nap'</i>
	IMPRS:REAL-go	ER-collect	EXT.P	tinder	ASV fire
	‘People go and collect tinder for the fire.’				

Unlike V'ënen Taut, Tape verbs in impersonal constructions are inflected with dedicated impersonal subject prefixes. Verbs inflected with impersonal subject prefixes are also able to function as the initial FI verb followed by a verb inflected with the ER prefix. The subsequent echo verb in this type of ERC is inflected with the ER subject prefix and is normally also inflected with the dual number prefix.⁸⁰

6.13	Tape	[nwm-mrs-49:3-4]	[01:08.4-01:11.0]
	<i>ar_i-sēli</i>	<i>i-khabu</i>	<i>rivi,</i>
	IMPRS:REAL-burn	3:REAL-be.burnt	all
	<i>ale dē_i-r-lo1</i>		
	ale ER-DU-plant		
	'People burn (the garden) and it is completely burnt, then they plant.'		

The ability for ERCs to have an initial verb inflected with the impersonal subject indexes is a point of difference between Northwest Malekula languages and several of the Southern Vanuatu languages, where impersonal verb forms cannot function as the initial FI verb in ERCs. Hammond (2014, p. 220) explains the ungrammaticality of impersonal verbs functioning as initial verbs in ERCs in Whitesands by saying that the ER index indicates that interlocutors know the identity of subject referent of the initial verb. Because impersonal constructions do not reference a specific entity as the subject of the verb, they cannot function as the initial verb in ERCs in Whitesands. This limitation is not present in the Northwest Malekula languages as verbs inflected with impersonal prefixes regularly function as the FI verb in ERCs, particularly in V'ënen Taut where ERCs are very common.

Looking further into the ability of ERC constructions to form with FI initial verbs that have non-referring subjects, there are several instances in the V'ënen Taut analysed corpus where the initial verb can be analysed as being a non-referential subject. These are then followed by an ER verb, which due to the semantically dependant nature of the ER prefix, can also be understood to have no semantic subject participant. These constructions are different to the previously mentioned impersonal constructions because there is an implied but unspecified human actor in impersonal constructions but there is no possible actor in these temporal ER constructions.

⁸⁰ There are several instances of the subsequent impersonal ER verb being inflected with just the ER prefix in the Tape corpus. There are not enough tokens of this structure in to ascertain whether the dual prefix is optional or whether these instances are production errors.

6.14	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-99:21]	[02:30.2-02:33.3]
	<i>lakhara i-ma</i>	<i>këi-iar</i>	<i>1990, a m'ertarep'</i>
	DEM 3SG:REAL-come	ER-reach	1990 PERS elder.men
	<i>i-m'a</i>		
	3SG:REAL-die		
	'Now it came to 1990, and the old man died.'		

6.2.2 Subject-Person Identity under Irrealis Mood

ERCs are able to form when the initial FI verb is inflected with subject prefixes that encode irrealis mood in the Northwest Malekula languages. The same echo prefix that is used to inflect subsequent verbs for realis mood in V'ënen Taut and Tape is also used for irrealis mood. As described in Chapter One, irrealis mood is generally used to indicate that the actions or states denoted by the verb will happen after the moment of speech, or after a particular reference time in an utterance. An ER verb following an initial irrealis coded FI verb can be understood also to refer to events, processes, or states that occur at the time of or after the temporal location of the situation described by the initial irrealis FI verb.

Examples 6.15 a), b), and c) from V'ënen Taut show initial verbs inflected with first person irrealis prefixes and singular, paucal, and plural number followed by subsequent ER verbs. Example a) displays simultaneous temporal alignment between the initial FI verb and the ER verb, while b) and c) display sequential actions performed by the same participants.

6.15	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-05:54]	[04:05.5-04:10.3]
a)	<i>kana_i ta_i-v'a</i>		
	1SG 1:IRR-go		
	<i>këi-trakh a suada-dr</i>		
	ER-search EXT.P food-POSS:1PAU.INCL		
	'I will go in search of some food for us.'		
	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-94:36]	[00:55.3-01:02.4]
b)	<i>....au, tẽi-r-v'a</i>		
	yes 1:IRR-PAU-go		
	<i>këi-r-tr nawëk-ad ip-amëk</i>		
	ER-PAU-cut canoe-POSS:1NSG.INC 3SG:IRR-one		
	'...yes, we will go and cut a canoe for us.'		

	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-73:50]	[03:53.4-03:54.8]
c)	... <i>au</i> <i>kam'em'</i> _i <i>udran=i</i> <i>p'ëi-vra-v'a</i> yes 1NSG:EXCL all=3SG:OBJ 1:IRR-PL-go <i>këi-v-an</i> <i>parei</i> ER-PL-make work '...yes we all will go and do work.'		

The Tape examples in 6.16 a), b), and c) display instances of ERCs in which the initial verb has a first person subject and is coded for irrealis mood. As ERCs in Tape occur rarely in the analysed corpus, examples of all possible irrealis first person, number, and clusivity combinations are not attested in data; however, those that are attested are presented below. Example a) shows an initial verb inflected with the first person nonsingular exclusive subject and dual number prefixes. The subject of the initial verb in b) is inflected with first person nonsingular exclusive irrealis subject prefix and the plural number prefix. The subsequent ER verbs are both inflected with the same ER prefix used with realis verbs and with concordant number inflections.

6.16	Tape	[nwm-mrs-51:02]	[00:27.3-00:39.4]
a)	<i>ba_i-r-vin</i> 1NSG.EXCL:IRR-DU-go <i>dë_i-r-wolesen</i> <i>përpar</i> ER-DU-look.for pig 'We will go and hunt pigs.'		
	Tape	[nwm-mrs-58:06]	[00:36.1-00:44.8]
b)	<i>meteveren,</i> <i>ba_i-n-takhe</i> <i>kake</i> morning 1NSG.EXCL:IRR-PL-take yam <i>dë_i-n-vin</i> ER-PL-go <i>dë_i-n-ululen</i> ER-PL-sell 'In the morning, we will take yams and go and sell them.'		

Example 6.17 shows an initial verb inflected with the first person nonsingular inclusive subject and dual number prefixes. In this example both the FI and ER are co-hortative.

6.17	Tape	[nwm-mrs-75:58]	[05:35.5-05:40.0]
	<i>pa_i-r-vërvër</i> 1NSG.INCL:IRR-DU-run <i>dë_i-r-mo...</i> ER-DU-come 'Let's come running...'		

The next three examples from V'ënen Taut show initial verbs inflected with the second person irrealis prefix and the subsequent verbs inflected with the ER prefix. Example 6.18 a) shows an ERC where the subject referent has singular number, in b) the subject referent displays paucal number, and in c) the subject referent has plural number.

- 6.18 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-05:09] [00:48.9-00:52.4]
- a) **...pë_i-khap'r** *a* *nav'ëkh*
 2:IRR-climb EXT.P malay.apple
kë_i-da-v'a
 ER-CONST-go
kë_i-lak
 ER-stay
kë_i-khan *ki*
 ER-eat PART
 '...you will climb the Malay apple all the way and sit and eat some.'
- b) V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-95:92] [05:32.8-05:36.5]
pë_i-r-ue=i
 2:IRR-PAU-carry=3SG:OBJ
kë_i-r-khau
 ER-PAU-go.home
 '...you will carry it home.'
- c) V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-23:49] [03:38.4-03:41.5]
pë_i-v-lak
 2:IRR-PL-stay
kë_i-v-p'a *si* *udrlan=i...*
 ER-PL-look.at something all=3SG:OBJ
 'You will be there and look after all the things...'

Initial verbs inflected with the second person singular irrealis prefix are attested in Tape as well. However, there are no other number categories seen in the data besides second person singular.

- 6.19 Tape [nwm-mrs-61:45] [02:31.2-02:33.3]
- a) **po_i-jej** *lib*
 2SG:IRR-cut bamboo
do_i-mo⁸¹
 ER-come
 'Cut some bamboo and bring it here.'

⁸¹ The ER prefix form *do-* appears to be a rarely occurring allomorph of the Tape ER prefix *dë-*, likely arising through a pattern of vowel harmony. In a parallel process, the second person realis prefix *kë-* is articulated as *ko-* before *mo* 'come'. Unfortunately, there are no other tokens in the corpus of this articulation the ER prefix.

	Tape	[nwm-mrs-61:53]	[02:51.7-02:54.4]
b)	po_i-vkar	<i>luop</i>	<i>ale</i>
	2SG:IRR-split.open.one.side	first	ale
	dë_i-jële	luo	<i>erenge</i>
	ER-serve	REMOVE	LOC
			bamboo
	‘You just split it open then you serve (the laplap) from out of the bamboo.’		

The next two examples from V’ënen Taut show initial verbs inflected with the third person nonsingular irrealis prefix. In example 6.20, the verbs are inflected for paucal number.

6.20	V’ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-93:05]	[00:42.9-00:48.9]
	apa_i-r-v’a		
	3NSG:IRR-PAU-go		
	kë_i-r-le=i_j	<i>a</i>	<i>uni-ar_j</i>
	ER-PAU-see=3SG:OBJ	PERS	mother-POSS:3NSG
			LOC
	<i>na nata</i>		<i>tveliel</i>
	ASV	sea	other.side
	‘They will go and see their mother on another island.’		

The verbs in example 6.21 are inflected with the plural number prefix. This example is of note because it displays the use of an ERC with a locative phrase occurring between the FI verb and the subsequent ER verb. The initial verb *la*⁸² “see” is inflected with both subject and object morphology and the following verb is inflected with the ER prefix and the same number morpheme as the initial verb. This indicates identity between the entities performing the act of seeing and those performing the act of running away and excludes the possibility that subject participant of the ER verb shares identity with the object of the FI verb which displays singular number. These clauses are further linked because the object argument of the initial verb is also the extended participant of the subsequent ER verb.

6.21	V’ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-07:52]	[06:17.0-06:20.8]
	apë_i-v-le=i_j	<i>a</i>	<i>navanel</i>
	3NSG:IRR-PL-see=3SG:OBJ	LOC	road
	kë_i-v-ruk_h	<i>an=i_j</i>	
	ER-PL-run.away	EXT.P=3SG:OBJ	
	‘They will see him (my husband) on the road and they will run away from him.’		

⁸² The basic form of this verb is *la* however, morphophonemic processes change its form to *le* when the 3SG:OBJ enclitic attaches to it.

As with ERCs displaying realis mood, V'ënen Taut allows for verbs in impersonal constructions displaying irrealis mood to act as the initial verb in ERC.

6.22	V'ënen Taut	nwm-nmb-89:104	[06:17.0-06:26.4]
a)	...ap_i-an	<i>nëkhau_j</i>	
	IMPRS:IRR-make	laplap	
	kë_i-tau=i_k	<i>arane-n_j</i>	
	ER-put=3SG:OBJ	on-POSS:3SG	
	'... a laplap will be made and a bird _j will be put on it.'		

Examples of impersonal constructions coded with irrealis mood functioning as the FI verb in an ERC are not attested in the Tape data.

6.2.3 Subject-Person Identity under Hypothetical Mood

Verbs that are inflected with hypothetical mood prefixes and that display positive polarity occur very rarely in the V'ënen Taut corpus. Example 6.23 shows the only clear example in the analysed corpus of an ERC that has an initial FI verb displaying hypothetical mood and positive polarity. The hypothetical nature of this utterance of is established with the word *imakhei* “if not”.

6.23	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-20:28]			[01:47.9-01:55.2]
	<i>ima-khei,</i>	<i>dika,</i>	<i>m'ertu</i>	<i>im-nap'=i</i>	<i>ra,</i>
	3SG:HYP-be.not	today	people	3SG:HYP-be.like=3SG:OBJ	now
	nki_i	im_i-lak	<i>dav'a</i>		
	some	3SG:HYP-stay	DUR		
	kë_i-da-v'a	<i>arana</i>	<i>nawei</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>ra</i>
	ER-CONST-go	on	water	DEM	now
	'If not, today, people would be like this now, some people would live on and on and then go to the pool ⁸³ now.'				

Because verbs inflected with hypothetical morphology occur very rarely in natural speech, such verbs were not captured well in the V'ënen Taut corpus. The data used for this project is comprised almost entirely of recordings of natural speech gathered through the collection of monologues and dialogues. The collection of targeted grammatical structures through elicitation exercises might produce further examples.

⁸³ This example refers to a place in Big Nambas folklore similar to a “fountain of youth”.

6.2.4 The Subject-Person Identity Requirement

The previous sections have shown many examples of ERCs in both V'ënen Taut and Tape, displaying a variety of different person, clusivity, mood, and number combinations. In regard to person, all of the examples so far have displayed shared subject-person identity between the initial FI verb and the subsequent ER verb occurring on the same clausal level (see §6.6 for more detail on embedding). In all instances, the subject of the verb in the ER clause is an entity that is retrievable from the previous context of speech. In almost all of the examples in the corpus where an ER clause occurs, the subject of ER verb displays subject-person identity with the subject of the preceding FI verb.⁸⁴ The ER prefix in the subsequent ER clause indicates that the subject of the verb in the previous FI clause is maintained as the subject of the verb in the ER clause. Multiple ER clauses can occur in sequence provided that the subjects of the ER verbs display identity with each other and the previous FI verb.

The subjects of ER verbs are required to share identity with the subject referent of a previous verb. This requirement is the basis of ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages and is formulated as the *Subject-Person Identity Requirement*.

Subject-Person Identity Requirement:
The subject referent of subsequent ER verbs includes the same referent as the
subject of an initial verb.

6.3 Number Marking in ERCs

Section 6.2 focused on the relationship between the ER prefix and the first order subject/mood prefixes; specifically, how the person and mood properties of subsequent ER prefixes are dependent on the properties of the initial fully inflected verb. Subsequent ER verbs are analysed as having the same person and mood values of the preceding FI verb on which they are dependent. The ER verbs are generally understood to occur either sequentially or simultaneously in time with the FI verb.

⁸⁴ An exception to this is shown in §7.2, line e) of example 7.2; however, this exception appears to result from the way in which some emotions are expressed in V'ënen Taut and the semantic subject of the verb can be understood to be “cat” even though it is not the grammatical subject of the verb.

As established in the previous chapter, the meaning of ER morpheme in Vanuatu languages is generally semantically dependant on the index type that it replaces in the fully inflected verb complex. Languages that are highly concatenating generally allow or require other additional morphology to occur with ER marked verbs in order for them to be grammatical. In V'ënen Taut, the replaced index is the subject prefix which indicates grammatical person and mood. Verbs in V'ënen Taut are also generally inflected for number with a prefix that occurs in the penultimate position in the preverbal complex: either with *r*-PAU or *v-/vra-* PL. Singular number is indicated by the absence of the number prefix, glossed as Ø- in Dodd (2014) and but not glossed in this work. This general pattern applies to first and second person. When there is a change in mood, this indicated with the use of a different portmanteau subject/mood prefix while the number prefixes remain the same. Third person is slightly more complex because third person and singular number are marked with a unique portmanteau morpheme. This morpheme does not co-occur with paucal or plural number prefixes. There is a third person nonsingular prefix that co-occurs with the nonsingular number morphemes. The third person nonsingular subject prefix can also be unmarked for number signalling impersonal constructions. The way that number is marked in ERCs in V'ënen Taut gives interesting insights into the nature of identity and the coding of reference in the language.

Like V'ënen Taut, Tape verbs are inflected separately for number in the penultimate position of the preverbal complex. The language makes more morphosyntactic distinctions in its subject/mood prefix paradigms than V'ënen Taut, marking most person, number, and clusivity combinations with separate subject prefixes. Singular number is zero-marked in Tape (Crowley, 2006d, p. 141) and verbs with nonsingular subjects are inflected with either *r*-DU or *n-* PL. As in V'ënen Taut, the same number prefixes are used to inflect verbs coded with a subject prefix from either the realis or irrealis subject prefix paradigms.

Table 6.3 below presents the number prefixes used in V'ënen Taut and Tape and figure 6.1 displays where these prefixes occur in the preverbal complex of the languages.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Note that necessity has its own prefix position in V'ënen Taut, but in Tape it occurs in the aspect/mood position.

	Tape	[nwm-mrs-58:06]	[00:36.1-00:44.8]
c)	<i>meteveren</i> , <i>ba_i-n-takhe</i> <i>kake</i> morning 1NSG.EXCL.IRR-PL-take yam <i>dē_i-n-vin</i> ER-PL-go <i>dē_i-n-ululen</i> ER-PL-sell 'In the morning, we will take yams and go and sell them.'		

The focus for the rest of this chapter will shift on to V'ënen Taut because there are not enough examples of ERCs in the Tape corpus to make strong generalisations about how ERCs are used in that language.

Examples 6.25 from V'ënen Taut show ERCs in which the initial verb is inflected with a first person prefix. Example 6.25 a) and b) show irrealis mood and c) shows realis mood. As with the Tape examples above, the person and mood value of the ER verb is dependent on the FI verb but the number value of the ER verb is marked concordantly.

6.25	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-20:09]	[00:31.4-00:34.8]
a)	<i>...kana_i</i> <i>ta_i-v'a</i> 1SG 1:IRR-go <i>k_i-av</i> <i>ra</i> ES-bathe now '...I will go and bathe now.'		

	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-94:35]	[02:35.8-02:38.9]
b)	<i>khilakha</i> <i>tē_i-r-vrvr</i> now 1:IRR-PAU-run <i>kē_i-r-v'a</i> <i>al</i> <i>nawei</i> ES-PAU-go in water <i>kē_i-r-p'a</i> <i>nakēd</i> <i>al</i> <i>nawei</i> ES-PAU-look.at 1NSG:INC in water 'Now we will go to the water and look at ourselves in the water.'		

	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-03:03]	[02:36.0-02:38.9]
c)	<i>nē_i-vra-v'a</i> <i>a</i> <i>Alnisi</i> 1:REAL-PL-go EXT.P Alnisi <i>kē_i-v-selebretem</i> <i>Malampa.Day</i> ES-PL-celebrate Malampa.Day 'We went to Alnisi and celebrated Malampa Day.'		

The data shown in examples 6.24 from Tape and 6.25 from V'ënen Taut establish that concordant number marking, along with the ER prefix indicates subject identity.

It would be expected that discordant number marking between sequential verbs inflected with FI prefixes indicates subject non-identity; this is indeed the case. Example 6.26 displays how a change in subject number can indicate non-identity between the subject arguments of a sequence of verbs. In that example, both of the verbs are inflected with first person irrealis prefixes. The first verb is marked for paucal number, while the second verb is marked for singular number. The change in number from paucal (referring to two people: the speaker and hearer) to singular (indicating just the speaker) means that *vrur* “talk about” cannot be inflected with the ER prefix.

6.26	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-89:135]	[08:38.2-08:41.9]
	<i>ale, khilakha, tĕ_i-r-lak</i>		
	then now 1:IRR-PAU-stay		
	<i>tĕ_j-vrur si kinkin an=ëkh_k kinkin</i>		
	1:IRR-talk.about something some EXT.P=2SG:OBJ some		
	‘So, now, we (you and I) will sit and I will talk to you about something else.’		

From this observation, one might speculate that a defining feature of ERCs, at least in V'ënen Taut, is that the FI and ER verb in ERCs must display concordant number marking; however, this is not always the case. The relationship between the participants of the FI verb and the participants of the ER verb, along with the context in which the ERC occurs, can impact upon number marking in ERCs. There are several ways that number coding can vary from concordant marking

As presented in the previous chapter, some languages allow inclusory ERCs. Inclusory ERCs, like inclusory SVCs, occur when a transitive verb acts as the initial verb in a multi-verb construction and the subject and object of the initial verb combine to become the subject of the subsequent verb. This is demonstrated in example 6.27 where the initial verb displays third person singular and realis mood for the subject and it has a nonsingular object indicated by the reduplicated adjective *pa* “be small”. The subsequent verb is inflected with the ER prefix signalling that there is subject-person identity between the initial verb and the ER verb. However, the ER verb is also inflected with the plural number prefix. The plural number prefix inflecting the ER verb indicates that there has been an increase in the number of entities between the FI and ER verbs acting as the subject of the verbs.

6.27	V'ënen Taut		[nwm-nmb-57:21]	[02:10.8-02:12.5]
	... <i>i_i-v'av'a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>nat-n_j</i>	<i>pa-pa</i>
	3SG:REAL-lead	EXT.P	child-POSS:3SG	DUP-be.small
	<i>kë_{i+j}-vra-ma...</i>			
	ER-PL-come			
	‘...she (mother bird) led her little chicks and they (mother and chicks) came...’			

Considering the semantic properties of example 6.27, it is clear that the example displays an inclusory ERC. When an entity “leads” a different entity, both the actor and undergoer are moving, but only the actor can be considered to be performing the action of “leading”. If the subsequent verb in this utterance were to be inflected with the third person nonsingular realis prefix instead of the ER prefix, it would imply that the mother bird somehow led her chicks somewhere without moving, which is unlikely. Instead, the ER prefix occurs, signalling that the mother bird and chicks came together.

It is common for ERCs to be composed of sequences of several ER verbs with the use of the ER prefix signalling subject identity with the initial FI verb throughout the entire sequence of ER verbs. Each ER verb has its own argument structure and object arguments generally do not trigger any variations in the use of ER prefix on subsequent verbs. It is possible for inclusory ERCs to form in a sequence of ER verbs, as displayed in example 6.28. In this example, the same participant, Father L., is one of the subject arguments of all the verbs. The transitive verb *lev'* “take” is the initial verb. Its object, the Maristella (a ship), does not affect the number marking on the following verb *ma* “come”. If it did, it would imply that a person accompanies a ship rather than travels on it. The next occurrence of *lev'* “take” is inflected with the ER prefix and singular number indicating that its actor participant remains Father L. An additional participant, K., is introduced as the object of this verb. The final two verbs are both inflected with paucal number and ER prefixes. The ER prefix signals that there is still subject-person identity with the previous verbs in the ERC sequence because Father L. remains one of the subject participants throughout the construction. However, there has been an increase in the number of participants acting as the subject from the previous verb *lev'* “take”. The object argument of second instance of *lev'* combines in an inclusory pattern with the subsequent verbs. This indicates that

Father L. is joined by K. and they together act as the subject of the remaining verbs in the sequence.

6.28	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-63:44-45]	[02:47.8-02:57.8]
	<i>a</i> <i>p'er</i> <i>L_i</i> <i>i_i-lev'</i> <i>Maristella</i>		
	PERS father L. 3SG:REAL-take Maristella		
	<i>kë_i-da-ma</i>		
	ER-CONST-come		
	<i>kë_i-lev'</i> <i>a</i> <i>K_j</i> <i>a</i> <i>Tontar</i>		
	ER-take PERS K. LOC Tontar		
	<i>kë_{i+j}-r-vrvr</i> <i>dav'a</i> <i>dav'a</i>		
	ER-PAU-run DUR DUR		
	<i>kë_{i+j}-r-ma</i> <i>a</i> <i>Wilikh</i>		
	ER-PAU-come LOC Wilak		
	'Father L. Took the Maristella and came and took K. In Tontar and they travelled (on the ship) to Wilak.'		

Another other type of inclusory ERC that in the V'ënen Taut corpus occurs when the subject arguments of two separate FI verbs act together as the combined subject argument of a subsequent ER verb. Example 6.29 displays this kind of ERC. These utterances are describing the process of preparing coconuts. Part of this activity involves grating cooked coconut flesh with shells. The first two clauses show actions carried out separately by two individuals. The non-identity of the subject is signalled by the use of the pronouns “you” and “I” and the use of FI prefixes to index these person categories directly on the verb.

6.29	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-91:22-23]	[02:34.5-02:40.7]
	<i>...nakëm_i</i> <i>pë_i-ua</i> <i>natu</i>		
	2SG 2:IRR-carry shell		
	<i>kana_j</i> <i>të_j-ua</i> <i>natu</i>		
	1SG 1:IRR-carry shell		
	<i>ale</i> <i>kë_{i+j}-r-rupële=i...</i>		
	then ER-PAU-turn.over=3SG:OBJ		
	'You will take a clam shell and I will take a clam shell, then we will turn them over' (of coconuts while they roast).'		

The verb *rupëla* “turn over” is inflected with the ER prefix, indicating that its subject participant shares identity with a previous subject. The immediately preceding actor in this instance is *kana*, 1SG. However, this would mean there is discordant number marking between the ER verb and FI verb. Paucal number in V'ënen Taut is generally used to indicate two participants, so in this case it indicates that the subject participant

of the ER verb must include more than just “I”. In this instance, the other available participant is *nakēm* “you”. Thus, “you” and “I” combine in the ER verb as the paucal subject “we”.

A final context in which inclusory ERCs occur is when additional participants are retrieved from the wider discourse context rather than an immediately preceding clause. Example 6.30 a) and b) are utterances taken from folk tales, which include two main characters. At the point in the narrative when the examples occur, the speaker is talking about the action of one of the characters; however, it is possible to signal with a change in number marking that both of the established protagonists act together as the subject referent of the subsequent verb.

6.30	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-05:56]	[04:13.8-04:21.2]
a)	<i>pe tam'a_i lakhara i_i-vër</i> but evil.spirit DEM 3SG:REAL-say <i>ti ipë_i-trakh a tim'akh lakhara</i> SUB 3SG:IRR-search EXT.P food DEM <i>kë_i-wir ma</i> ER-CARRY come <i>kë_{i+j}-r-an nëkhu në-n...</i> ER-PAU-make laplap CLS:GEN-POSS:3SG ‘But the monster said that he would look for the food and carry it back and they (the monster and the child) could make laplap with it...’		
b)	V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-93:20] [02:09.4-02:14.8] <i>kë_i-tëp=i</i> ES-peck=3SG:OBJ <i>kë_i-tëp=i</i> ES-peck=3SG:OBJ <i>kë_{i+j}-r-v'el</i> ES-PAU-walk ‘And it (the kingfisher) pecked and pecked it (taro) and they (kingfisher and rat) went...’		

Example 6.31 displays a variation on the contextual use of inclusory ERCs. In this case, the additional participants that occur with the ER verb are not understood to come from previous narrative context. Instead, they come from the speaker’s understanding of the world in general. In rural Vanuatu, people normally travel in groups on the back of pick-up trucks. In the situation below, one person jumps onto the back of a truck and travels with the other passengers already there, as well as any others who will be picked up on the way to their destination. It is the other passengers

6.31	V'änen Taut	[nwm-nmb-03:37-38]	[04:31.2-04:33.6]
	<i>khin_i</i>	<i>kë_i-sikhavës</i>	<i>arana trak</i>
	3SG	ER-jump	on truck
	<i>kë_{i+j}-vra-v'a...</i>		
	ER-PL-go		
	'He jumped on the back of the tuck and they went...'		

6.32 V'enen Taut [nwm-nmb-93:40] [03:37.2-03:40.7]
tĕ_i-ua=kh_j *dav'a*
 1:IRR-carry=2SG:OBJ DUR
kĕ_i-da-v'a
 ER-CONST-go
kĕ_i-ln=ĕkh_j *a tveliel*
 ER-leave=2SG:OBJ LOC other.side
 'I will carry you and go until I leave you on the other side.'

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6.3.1 The Number Constraint

When reviewing the examples so far, several observations can be made concerning the use of number inflections on verbs in ER clauses. The first is that number coding on the FI verb and the ER verbs in ERCs is normally concordant. The ER prefix indicates identity of participants and number is an important factor in encoding identity. However, subsequent ER verbs can have discordant number marking with FI verbs in cases where there is an increase in the number of participants. The subject participants of the inclusory ER verb must be understood to include the previous subject(s) and the other participant(s) expressed as arguments of subsequent verbs or they must be retrievable from the narrative context. This increase in subject participants is expressed with either paucal or plural number prefixes on subsequent ER verbs. The collected corpus shows that it does not appear possible for ERCs to occur when there is a decrease in the number of actor participants over a sequence of verbs. Identity cannot be established between the subject of an initial verb and subsequent verb when the subsequent verb does not include all of the subject participants encoded on the initial verb. Number marking in ERCs can be formulated as followed: $ER_{NUM} \geq FI_{NUM}$. This relationship is expressed as *Number Constraint*.

Number Constraint:

The number value of ER verb(s) must be equal to or greater than the number value of the initial FI verb or previous ER verb(s).

6.4 Polarity Marking in ERCs

While the previous sections have focused on the use of ERCs to show participant identity, the following sections will focus on how the ER prefix and ERCs as a whole interact with clause types. It also establishes that ERCs are not only used to express participant identity but they are also used to show continuity of polarity over multiple ER clauses.

Up to this point, all of the initial FI verbs in the examples of ERCs have displayed positive polarity and all of the ER verbs have also displayed positive polarity. The impact of negation on ERCs will now be considered. As described in §1.5.1, V'ënen Taut uses a verbal prefix to signal negation. There are two basic negative prefixes with their distribution being lexically conditioned.

Examples 6.33 a) and b) below display sequences of verbs where the subject arguments display identity meaning that the subject-person identity requirement is met. In both cases, the second clause has negative polarity. This prevents an ERC from forming. They are inflected with FI prefixes instead of the ER prefix.

6.33 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-57:15] [01:43.3-01:45.3]

- a) ...**tavet**_i *lakhara* **i**_i-**ma**
 woman DEM 3SG:REAL-come
i_i-**a-m'ën** **du** *nawei* *lakhara*
 3SG:REAL-NEG-drink ABILITY water DEM
 'The woman came and could not drink that water.'

- b) V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-01:04] [00:08.6-00:12.6]
ar *m'ertarep'*_i *na* *tituwei*, **khir**_i **a**_i-**v-m'ën** *m'alëkh*
 PL elder.men ASV before 3PL 3NSG:REAL-PL-drink kava
m'arën,
 dry
a_i-**kha-v-m'ën** *m'alëkh* *m'ëdakh*
 3NSG:REAL-NEG-PL-drink kava green
 'The elder males of before, they used to drink dry kava, they did not drink fresh kava.'

Examples 6.33 a) and b) show an important restriction on ERCs in V'ënen Taut: ERCs must display concordant polarity. There are no examples of verbs that are simultaneously inflected with the ER prefix and the negative prefix in the analysed corpus. ER verbs with positive polarity are unmarked because positive polarity is unmarked. ER verbs are dependent on the initial FI verb for their polarity value. As ER verbs are not marked for polarity, this constitutes a reduction in morphological marking.

Examples 6.34 a) and b) show two utterances that comprise an initial verb inflected with FI subject indexes, the negative prefix, and, where relevant, a number prefix. The subsequent ER verbs are inflected with the ER prefix and the appropriate number prefix but they are not inflected with the negative prefix. Nevertheless, it can be understood from the semantic properties of these utterances that the action denoted by the ER verb is not realised, just as the action denoted by FI verb is not realised.

6.34 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-03:30] [03:31.6-03:35.0]

a) **n-a-vi-ut nut**

1:REAL-NEG-PL-walk.around

kë-vra_i-v'a al namël

ES-PL-go in garden

‘We did not wander around and go to the garden.’

V'ënen Taut nwm-nmb-71:52 [02:28.0-02:29.5]

b) **a_i-kha-rn dau=i**

IMPRS:REAL-NEG-know=3SG:OBJ

sena ti a_i-khakh-v'a asn-n

because SUB IMPRS:REAL-NEG-go beside-POSS:3SG

kë_i-le=i

ER-see=3SG:OBJ

‘People don’t know because people don’t go to it and look at it.’

Where ERCs occur that comprise a sequence of ER verbs which display the same polarity, a change of polarity to the negative means that the ER sequence ends. This shown in example 6.35.

6.35 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-60:15-16] [01:38.7-01:41.7]

a_i-r-lak

asn-n

3NSG:REAL-PAU-stay beside-POSS:3SG

kë_i-r-khël=i

ER-PAU-dig=3SG:OBJ

kë_i-v-khël=i⁸⁶

dav'a

dav'a

ER-PL-dig=3SG:OBJ DUR DUR

a_i-kha-v-khël

lua

navet

3NSG:REAL-NEG-PL-dig REMOVE stone

‘They sat next to it and dug it out, they were digging and digging it out on and on but they did not dig out the stone.’

Irrealis mood prefixes are not compatible with negation so negated future events are signalled with a complex sequence of morphemes as shown on the initial verb in example 6.36. FI verbs that are inflected with irrealis mood prefixes and that display positive polarity are followed by ER verbs that are inflected with the invariant ER prefix (see §6.2.2). Initial verbs with future time reference and negative polarity are

⁸⁶ It is not uncommon for speakers of V'ënen Taut to switch number marking from paucal to plural without any apparent change in meaning. This appears to occur only when more than two entities are being signalled by the paucal number prefix. There are no instances where number making switches from plural to the lower value of paucal.

also followed by verbs inflected with the same ER prefix and, like the ERCs in 6.2.2 and 6.2.3, they are not inflected with the negative prefix.

6.36	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-08:02]	[00:00.3-00:07.3]
	<i>a mēlin, m'ertu, marēdel a_i-k-a-vra-v'a</i>		
	PERS chief people child 3NSG:REAL-NES-NEG-PL-go		
	<i>kē_i-v-pas p'ēla nut-an a mēlin</i>		
	ER-PL-step.on FORGET place-POSS:3SG PERS chief		
	'In regard to the chief, people and children should not go and walk around the chief's yard (for no reason).'		

In example 6.37, the FI verb is marked with negative polarity and displays future time reference. This followed by a verb inflected with irrealis mood and positive polarity. As for examples 6.33 a) and b), these clauses cannot form an ERC. While the subject of these verbs meet the subject-person identity requirement and clearly refer to related events, they do not display polarity continuity and so an ERC is not used.

6.37	V'ënen Taut	nwm-nmb-80:75	[05:04.3-05:06.7]
	<i>nēmakh kilakha, n_i-k-a-tu neiet aran-en</i>		
	house this.one 1:REAL-NES-NEG-put thatch on-POSS:3SG		
	<i>tē_i-tu tapolen nomo aran-en</i>		
	1:IRR-put tarpaulin only on-POSS:3SG		
	'This house here, I am not going to put thatch on it, I am just going to put tarpaulin on it.'		

In example 6.37, the use of the irrealis mood on the second verb supports the analysis that the combination of prefixes on the first verb signals future time reference. Secondly, the example shows that changes in polarity from negative to positive affect the formation of ERCs. If an ERC were used in the subsequent clause in 6.37, the meaning of the utterance would be something like “this house here, I am not going to put thatch on it nor am I just going to put tarpaulin on it”. This meaning was not intended by the speaker.

6.4.1 The Polarity Constraint

Looking at the examples shown in §6.4 a generalisation can be made about the interaction between the polarity of initial FI verbs and the polarity of subsequent ERCs. The polarity of ER verbs is dependent on the polarity of the initial FI verb. ER verbs are uninflected with the negative prefix even when the initial FI verb is

inflected with the negative prefix. An ERC cannot form where a subsequent verb has a different polarity value to the previous verb, even when the subject-person identity requirement is met. A change in polarity during a sequence of ER verbs will stop the sequence and trigger the use of FI prefixes. This can be formulated as $ERPOL=FIPOLE$ and is referred to as the *Polarity Constraint*.

Polarity Constraint:
The polarity of the ER clause is dependent on the polarity of the FI clause.

6.5 Morphological Aspect and ERCs

Section §6.4 showed how polarity in ER clauses is dependent on the semantic properties of the FI clause. In contrast to this pattern, verbs in ER clause are not dependent on the FI clause for some of their aspectual properties. These aspectual properties are those signalled morphologically in the preverbal complex of V'ënen Taut. As explained in the previous chapter, verbs have their own aspectual characteristics that are inherent to the action described by the verb itself or that are made clear from the context in which the verb is used. Morphological aspect is sometimes marked on FI verbs but not on subsequent ER verbs and visa-versa depending on the meanings that are being conveyed in many languages that use ERCs.

In regard to morphological aspect marking in V'ënen Taut, the two aspect prefixes that are of note here are the perfective and the proximal prefixes. The continuative⁸⁷ and “ever” prefixes will not be discussed because they occur rarely in the data.

Example 6.38 shows an initial verb which is a verb of movement and the subsequent verb provides directional meaning. The initial verb in this construction is inflected with the perfective prefix to show that movement had already occurred. The ER verb is not inflected by the perfective morpheme showing that the cyclone had not yet reached the relevant location yet.

⁸⁷ It should be noted that the continuative prefix is used as a construct morpheme with many ER verbs. While in some cases one could analyse this prefix as providing continuative aspect, its distribution shows that it generally provides no such meaning.

6.38	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-37:32]	[02:36.3-02:37.7]
	<i>...nalen</i> i-t-muv ⁸⁸		
	cyclone 3SG:REAL-PFV-move		
	këi-da-ma		
	ER-CONST-come		
	‘...the cyclone had moved towards us.’		

Example 6.39 shows an ERC where only the initial verb is inflected with the perfective prefix and the ER verbs are uninflected for perfective aspect. This gives the sense that the sequence of verbs inflected by the ER prefix are dependent on the completion of the event expressed by the initial verb.

6.39	V'ënen Taut	nwm-nmb-91:72	[06:35.0-06:45.5]
	<i>narën</i> a-t-khu <i>udraln</i> <i>pai</i> <i>arana</i> <i>nai</i>		
	when IMPRS:REAL-PFV-tie all yam on stick		
	<i>av'etlam'el,</i>		
	at.nasara		
	k_i-akh=i <i>asn</i> <i>pai</i>		
	ER-push=3SG:OBJ beside yam		
	këi-da-v'a		
	ER-CONST-go		
	këi-lev' <i>npap...</i>		
	ER-take germinated.coconut...		
	‘When all the yams have been tied to the posts in the nasara, people stand it up next to the yam, then go and get germinated coconuts...’		

In example 6.40 a) and b), both the FI verb and the subsequent ER verbs are inflected with the perfective prefix.

6.40	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-93:50]	[04:22.9-04:27.4]
a)	<i>lëpu</i> <i>pa,</i> <i>khin_i</i> <i>narën</i> i-t-vrvr		
	rat be.small 3SG when 3SG:REAL-PFV-run		
	këi-ta-v'a <i>aut</i>		
	ES-PFV-go ashore		
	këi-t-ruk_h ...		
	ES-PFV-run.away		
	‘.... little rat, when he had gone running ashore and run away...’		

⁸⁸ This verb is a borrowed word from Bislama.

	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-60:45]	[03:45.0-03:48.8]
b)	<i>turis i-amëk i-ta-ma këi-të-rn ti...</i>		
	tourist 3SG:REAL-one 3SG:REAL-PFV-come ER-PFV-want SUB		
	'A tourist had come and he wanted to...'		

There are several instances of the proximal aspect prefix occurring in ERCs. This prefix can indicate proximal aspect as well as act as a limiter, as in the examples below.

6.41	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-01:32]	[01:58.7-02:02.1]
a)	<i>...narën a-p'ëkh-tëp' m'alëkh na</i>		
	when IMPRS:REAL-PROX-pour.out kava now		
	<i>këi-p'ëkh-v'a avaren...</i>		
	ER-PROX-go outside		
	'...when people just tipped the kava out now, people will just go outside...'		

	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-57:42]	[03:52.3-03:55.0]
b)	<i>ale këi-da-v'a</i>		
	then ER-CONST-go		
	<i>këi-p'ëkh-tëkhtakh-an</i>		
	ER-PROX-burn.garden.site-POSS:3SG		
	'Then she went and just burned her garden site.'		

These examples show that aspect marking is not one of the features that is grammatically reduced in ERC in V'enen Taut.

6.5.1 The Temporal Flow Constraint

At this stage, it is important to introduce another key feature of ERCs that is focused on the temporal relationship between the event expressed by the initial FI verb and the event(s) expressed by the subsequent ER verb(s). For a verb to be inflected with the ER prefix, the event it expresses must occur either simultaneously with or sequentially to the event coded by the initial verb. There are no examples in the analysed corpus in which an ER verb is inflected with the perfective prefix and the initial FI verb not inflected with the perfective prefix. This would indicate that the ER verb occurred before the FI verb in time. This does not mean, however, that a text has been organised as a sequence of events that flow sequentially through time. In fact, the temporal reference point in texts shifts regularly as speakers recount their stories. Rather, events inflected with ER prefixes form part of a sequence of actions that have

linear temporal flow. When there is a shift in temporal reference, a new sequence of events is established which may begin a new ER sequence, provided other relevant conditions are met. This sequencing requirement is identified as the *Temporal Flow Constraint*. This constraint will be further exemplified in Chapter Seven where a number of extended examples of ERCs are analysed.

Temporal Flow Constraint:
ER verbs encode events that have a simultaneous or sequential temporal relationship with the event encoded by the FI verb.

6.6 Syntactic Embedding and ERCs

There are a number of situations where ERCs are unable to form, even when subject participants of sequential verbs meet the subject-person identity requirement and other continuity conditions are met. One of these situations involves syntactic embedding.

Subordinate clauses are normally introduced with a general subordinator *ti* in V'ënen Taut. The general subordinator is used to introduce relative clauses, complement clauses, and some adverbial clauses. Relative clauses, however, also can also be introduced with one of two other subordinators: the two part relativizer *lam... kha(ra)* or the relativizer *we*.⁸⁹ In some cases, relative clauses are unmarked.

6.6.1 Relative Clauses

As with the Southern and Central Vanuatu languages surveyed in §5.2, ERCs cannot form over the boundary between a main clause and subordinate clauses. Example 6.42 shows three verbs that all display subject identity. The first verb occurs in a relative clause and it is fully inflected. The relative clause modifies the subject of the main clause. The second verb is in the main clause. It is also fully inflected and it acts as the FI verb for the following verb on the same level of the clause signalling a sequential event. A similar example is shown in example 6.42 b).

⁸⁹ This relativizer is borrowed from Bislama and is used in free variation with the V'ënen Taut relativizer *ti* with no apparent change in meaning.

6.42 V'enen Taut [nwm-nmb-99:16] [02:01.3-02:05.4]

- a) **...khir a nat-n_i**
 3PL PERS child-POSS:3SG
lam a_i-v-lak al nata kha
 REL₁ 3NSG:REAL-PL-stay in sea REL₂
a_i-v-v'el
 3NSG:REAL-PL-walk
kë_i-vra-v'a asn-n
 ES-PL-go beside-POSS:3SG
 ‘.. his children who lived on the coast walked and went to him.’

V'enen Taut [nwm-nmb-63:35] [01:25.6-01:30.0]

- b) **...m'ertu_i**
 people
lam a_i-v-v'i m'ata mëlin na nam'el kha
 REL₁ 3NSG:REAL-PL-COP lesser.chief ASV nakamal REL₂
a_i-v-m'ën=i
 3NSG:REAL-PL-drink =3SG:OBJ
kë_i-v-sape=i
 ER-PL-follow=3SG:OBJ
 ‘The men who are lesser chiefs of the nakamal drink it (kava) after him (the paramount chief).’

While in the previous examples, the first verb occurs in relative clause that modifies the subject of the main clause, in the next example it is the subsequent verbs that are in the relative clause. The verb in the main clause and the verbs in the relative clause display subject identity. The verb in the main clause is inflected with FI prefixes for first person irrealis and plural number. The second verb which occurs in a relative clause modifying a prepositional object is also inflected with FI prefixes because it is in an embedded clause. The third verb is part of the relative clause. It is modified with ER prefixes echoing the semantic information of the FI verb in the relative clause.

6.43 V'enen Taut [nwm-nmb-36:51] [07:05.4-07:09.3]

- namba tu wik në_i-vra-v'a arna topik-am'em'*
 the.second week 1:REAL-PL-go on topic-POSS:1NSG:EXCL
we në_i-vra-v'a
 SUB 1:REAL-PL-go
kë_i-v-an risej-am'em'
 ES-PL-make research-POSS:1NSG:EXCL
 ‘On the second week we go onto the topic that we go and do our research on.’

6.44

	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-73:16]	[01:19.2-01:23.3]
a)	<i>Au,</i>	<i>n_i-sisi</i>	<i>lakhara</i>
	yes	1:REAL-climb.down	DEM
	<i>kē_i-lev'</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>kinkin</i>
	ER-take	something	some
		<i>a-tapkhe=i</i>	
		3NSG:REAL-roast=3SG:OBJ	
	<i>kē_i-khan=i</i>		
	ER-eat=3SG:OBJ		
	'Yes, I climbed down then I took some of the things that were cooked and ate them.'		

b)

	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-89:110-101]	[06:42.5-06:47.3]
	<i>kē_i-wan</i>	<i>m'anēkh</i>	<i>lara</i>
	ER-squeeze.coconut.milk.over	bird	DEM
	<i>n-sēr=i</i>		
		1:REAL-snare=3SG:OBJ	
	<i>ra</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>p'ēt</i>
	now	LOC	middle
			place
	<i>kē_i-tup'an=i</i>		
	ER-cook.in.earth.oven=3SG:OBJ		
	'They squeeze coconut milk over the bird, that I caught, in the middle (of the laplap) and they cook it.'		

6.6.2 Complement Clauses

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Many complement taking-verbs require their verbal complements to be inflected with a subject prefix from the irrealis paradigm. This can result in discordant mood marking that also prevents the formation of ERCs. The desiderative construction in example 6.45 illustrates this pattern.

6.45	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-66:03]	[00:12.9-00:20.0]
	...n_i-rn		
	1:REAL-want		
	<i>ti</i>	të_i-vër	<i>a nakëd...</i>
	SUB	1:IRR-say	EXT.P 1NSG:INC
	'...I want to say to us...'		

The complement clauses of utterance verbs are also fully inflected as displayed in example 6.46.

6.46	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-89:40]	[02:35.0-02:38.3]
	në_i-vër		
	1:REAL-say		
	<i>ti</i>	n_i-tu	<i>p'ët nam'et</i>
	SUB	1:REAL-put	head snare
	'... I say that I am making the snare.'		

The example below is interesting because it displays multiple verbs with subject-participant identity but they occur over multiple embedded clauses. Only the verbs on the same clausal level form an ERC.

6.47	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-93:05]	[00:42.9-00:48.9]
	<i>ale</i>	a_i-r-lak	<i>dav'a</i>
	then	3NSG:REAL-PAU-stay	DUR
	kë_i-r-vër		
	ES-PAU-say		
	<i>ti</i>	a_i-r-rn	
	SUB	3NSG:REAL-PAU-feel	
	<i>ti</i>	apa_i-r-v'a	
	SUB	3NSG:IRR-PAU-go	
	kë_i-r-le=i	<i>a</i>	<i>uni-ar a</i>
	ES-PAU-see=3SG:OBJ	PERS	mother-POSS:3NSG LOC
	<i>tveliel</i>	<i>na nata</i>	
	other.side	ASV	sea
	'So they were at home and they said that they wanted to go and see their mother on the other island.'		

It is the beginning of the speech event, either direct or reported, that triggers a new sequence of verbs beginning with an FI verb and not the occurrence of the verb of utterance/locution itself. This is shown in the example below, which displays a common discourse feature of V'ënen Taut where a verb of locution occurs firstly to indicate the goal of the speech followed by the verb *vër* “say”, inflected with ER morphology, introducing the speech act. The speech act itself begins with an FI verb.

6.48	V'ënen Taut		[nwm-nmb-93:36]	[03:20.0-03:22.7]
	<i>lakhara</i>	<i>npakh</i>	<i>i_i-vër</i>	<i>an=i</i>
	DEM	turtle	3SG:REAL-say	EXT.P=3SG:OBJ
	<i>kë_i-vër</i> ,			
	ES-say			
	“ <i>i-nap</i> '= <i>i</i> ?”			
	3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ			
	‘Then the turtle said to him, “what’s up?”’			

6.6.3 Augmentative Subordination

Augmentative subordination adds emphasis to an action or property denoted by a verb. The term augmentative subordination is adapted from a structure Haspelmath (2007) calls “augmentative conjunction”. He describes this construction as a combination of identical elements, by use of a conjunction to express intensity (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 25). Augmentative coordination uses a coordinator between the identical words to show intensity. However, as the morpheme between the identical elements in V'ënen Taut, and several other Malekula languages, is a subordinator, it has been labelled here as augmentative subordination in this work. The intersecting subordinator can be the V'ënen Taut subordinator *ti* but more commonly it is the subordinator *we*, borrowed from Bislama. The augmenting verb is not inflected with the ER prefix but occurs inflected with concordant verbal prefixes.

6.49	V'ënen Taut		[nwm-nmb-36:20]	[03:04.1-03:09.6]
	<i>pai</i>	<i>i_i-valau</i>	<i>we</i>	
	yam	3SG:REAL-climb	SUB	
		<i>i_i-valau</i>	<i>arna</i>	<i>nai</i>
		3SG:REAL-climb	on	tree
	‘The yams climb and climb all over the trees.’			

Another similar construction is shown in example 5.50. In this instance, the durative marker *dav'a* is functioning as the augmentative morpheme.

6.50	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-91:38]	[03:50.7-03:54.6]
	<i>narën</i>	<i>kë-vav=i,</i>	<i>i_i-sist</i>
	when	2:REAL-rub.on.body=3SG:OBJ	3SG:REAL-be.greasy
		<i>i_i-sist</i>	DUR
		3SG:REAL-be.greasy	
	'When you rub it on your body, it is very greasy.'		

The occurrence of FI subject prefixes, rather than the ER prefix, indicate that this structure involves subordination, rather than coordination

6.6.4 The Embedding Constraint

Sections 6.6.1 to 6.6.3 have provided an overview of the interaction of different kinds of embedded clauses with ERCs. It has shown that ERCs cannot form when the subject-person identity requirement is met if the verbs occur on different clausal levels. ERCs are able to skip embedded clauses or they can form internally within embedded clauses. This constraint on ERC formation is called the *Embedding Constraint*.

Embedding Constraint:
FI clause level and ER clause level are on the same syntactic level.

6.7 Echo-Reference Constructions and Serial Verb Constructions

There are several ways in which ERCs are observed interacting with SVCs in the corpus that shed light on the importance of semantic roles that participants take in situations. As V'ënen Taut does not make use of same-subject core SVCs or inclusory SVCs, this section will focus on the interactions of switch-function SVCs (§4.3.2) and ambient SVCs (§4.3.4) with ERCs.

The greatest complexity regarding the interaction of SVCs and ERCs occurs with switch-function SVCs. This is because a switch-function SVC generates two possible subjects with which the subsequent ER verb can display subject-person identity. ER verbs that follow switch-function SVCs can display subject-person identity with the subject participant of V1 or the shared O-function of V1 and S/A-function of V2. The selection of the antecedent appears to be based on semantic properties of the proposition. If the ER verb following the SVC expresses a situation or action that is most logically undertaken by the shared O-function of V1 and S/A-function of V2,

then the subsequent ER verb displays subject-person identity with the V2 in the switch-function SVC. If the ER verb following the SVC expresses a situation or action that is most logically undertaken by the subject participant of V1, then the subsequent ER verb displays subject-person identity with subject participant of V1 in the switch-function SVC, there by skipping the V2 subject in the switch-function SVC.

Examples 6.51 and 6.52 display instances in which the ER verb displays subject-person identity with the subject of the V2 in a switch-function SVC. In example 6.51 the speaker is describing the process of staking yams. The first verb *spil* “stake” is inflected with the 2:REAL subject prefix. This is echoed on the following verb *tlan* “train yam” which also functions as the V1 in a switch-function SVC. The following verb *v’a* “go”, functioning as the V2 in the SVC, is inflected with the 3SG:REAL subject prefix because it displays subject-person identity with the object of V1. It encodes the yam shoot as subject. The final verb in the example, *valau* “crawl”, is inflected with the ER prefix. In this instance, the participant with which *valau* “crawl” most logically displays subject-person identity is the subject of V2 (*si pai* “yam shoot”) rather than the subject of V1 “you”. This is because after a yam vine is trained onto a stake, it will climb up the stake. Additionally, grown people tend not to move about their gardens by crawling.

6.51	V’ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-19:49]	[02:37.0-02:42.3]
	këi-spil		
	2:REAL-stake		
	këi-tlan _{V1}	<i>si</i>	<i>pai_j</i>
	ER-train.yam	shoot	yam
			i_j-v’a _{V2}
			3SG:REAL-go
			<i>arana</i>
			on
			<i>nai</i>
			stick
	këj-valau		
	ER-crawl		
	‘You stake (the yams) and train the yam shoots to go on the stake and it climbs (lit. it crawls).’		

In example 6.52, the speaker talking about clearing a garden. The switch-function SVC is part of a longer ER sequence. The V2 of the switch-function SVC and the following ER verb, which is not part of the SVC, display subject-person identity. The subject of the V2 in the SVC is garden rubbish and it displays identity with the object of V1 “burn”. The garden rubbish is expressed using bound pronominals. The verb *m’aren* “be dry” most logically shares subject-person identity with the subject of *tar*

“be located” rather than the subject of *l* “burn” because people are not often described as “dry” and because it is important for burnt garden rubbish to become dry before it can be raked away.

6.52	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-19:08]	[00:27.9-00:30.6]
	<i>kë_i-l_{V1}</i>	<i>sare=i_j</i>	<i>i_j-tar_{V2}</i>
	ER-burn	COMP=3SG:OBJ	3SG:REAL-be.located
	<i>kë_j-m'aren</i>		<i>dav'a</i>
	ER-be.dry		DUR
	'They finish burning it (garden rubbish) and it stays there until it is dry.'		

Examples 6.53 and 6.54 display instances in which the ER verb displays subject-person identity with the V1 in a switch-function SVC. Example 6.53 is describing the process of making yam posts by cutting branches off trees. The V1 in the SVC has an impersonal subject cutting a branch. The branch is expressed using the third person singular object enclitic. The V2 in the SVC displays subject identity with the object of the verb *tr* “cut”. Following the SVC are two ER verbs. The first ER verb *v'a* “go” could logically display subject-person identity with the subject of either *tr* “cut” or *vral* “fall” expressing the subsequent movement of the impersonal subject of V1 or the directional movement of the verb *vral* “fall”. However, appealing to the following verb *l* “burn”, it can be understood that the most logical subject of the two ER verbs is the impersonal subject of *tr* “cut”. This is because the transitive verb *l* “burn” is an action that must be performed by a volitional agent, meaning that the branch, the subject of *vral* “fall”, is not a possible antecedent.

6.53	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-19:07]	[00:24.1-00:27.8]
	a_i-tr _{V1=i_j}	i_j-vral _{V2}	sare=i
	IMPRS:REAL-cut=3SG:OBJ	3SG:REAL-fall.down	COMP=3SG:OBJ
	kë_i-da-v'a		
	ER-CONST-go		
	kë_i-l=i_j		
	ER-burn=3SG:OBJ		
	'People cut it and it falls down then they go and burn it.'		

Like example 6.53 above, the following example displays an instance of a switch-function SVC occurring in an ER sequence. Example 6.54 comes from a narrative in which a monster wants to eat a boy. At this point in the narrative the monster has captured the boy in a basket and has taken him back to its home. The monster is the subject participant of all the ER verbs in the example and the boy is the subject of the

FI verb *lak* “sit”, which functions as the V2 in a switch-function SVC with the ER verb *tau* “put” functioning as the V1. In this example, the monster or the boy are semantically capable of being the subject of the verb *ples* “close” because they are both animate entities capable of closing a door; however, at this point in the narrative the boy is tied up in a basket, and so the most logical subject participant of *ples* “close” is the monster.

- 6.54 V'enen Taut [nwm-nmb-05:50-52] [03:54.1-04:01.5]
kē_i-da-v'a
 ER-CONST-go
kē_i-tau_{V1}=**i** **i_j-lak**_{V2}
 ER-put=3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-sit
kē_i-ples *kar* *liu_k*
 ER-close COVER door
 '...it went and put him (boy) there to stay and it closed the door..'

It appears that ambient SVCs can be skipped, much like embedded clauses in V'enen Taut (§6.6). The following two examples show ambient SVCs occurring in ER sequences. The occurrence of the FI ambient SVC does not trigger the use of FI inflections on the verbs that follow. Instead, the ER prefix occurs, and its antecedent is the subject of the verb preceding the ambient verb (or subject of the preceding FI verb, where ER prefixes occur in a series of verbs).

- 6.55
- a)
- | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| V'ënen Taut | [nwm-nmb-75:121-123] | | | [09:55.5-10:03.2] |
| ... këi-khitav' = i_j | <i>da</i> | <i>da</i> | <i>da</i> | i_{AB}-kharis |
| ER-grate=3SG:OBJ | DUR | DUR | DUR | 3SG:REAL-be.finished |
| këi-lev' | <i>nëkhu_k</i> | <i>në-n</i> | | <i>lara</i> |
| ER-take | laplap | CLS.GEN-POSS:3SG | | DEM |
| këi-da-ma... | | | | |
| ER-CONST-come | | | | |
| '...you grate it (banana) on and on and on until finished and you take its
grated flesh and you come...' | | | | |
- b)
- | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| V'ënen Taut | [nwm-nmb-05:73-74] | | | [05:35.6-05:39.8] |
| ... këi-klau | i_{AB}-v'a | <i>eia</i> | <i>arana</i> | <i>didì</i> |
| ER-see | 3SG:REAL-go | up | on | palm.tree |
| këi-la | <i>maral</i> | <i>pa_j</i> | <i>lakhara...</i> | |
| ER-see | child | be.small | DEM | |
| '...it looked up in the palm tree and saw the child...' | | | | |

Ambient SVCs are functionally similar to coverbial constructions, with the ambient V2 modifying the V1 proposition. Where coverbs have become fully grammaticalized

modifiers, ambient V2s appear as verbs in form but their modifying function means their subject are not available as antecedents to the subsequent ER prefix.

The examples presented in this section indicate that the Subject-Person Identity Requirement (§6.2.4) needs to be refined.

Subject-Person Identity Requirement: The subject referent of subsequent ER verbs includes the same referent as the subject of an initial verb. Following a switch-functions SVC, the speaker may select either the subject of V1 or the subject of V2 as an ER antecedent. Ambient V2s are not available as potential antecedents of ER verbs.
--

6.8 Illocutionary Force and ERCs

Most of the examples of ERCs displayed thus far have demonstrated declarative illocutionary force. Although imperatives, like hypotheticals, are rare in the corpus, there are examples that show them interacting with ERCs. Imperative constructions are formed in V'ënen Taut in a variety of different ways.⁹⁰ Several of these are observed acting as the initial FI clause in ERCs. The most commonly occurring form of imperatives in the analysed corpus uses the second person irrealis prefix, as in example 6.56.

6.56	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-94:32]	[02:28.0-02:29.5]
	<i>pë_i-tkhal</i>		
	2:IRR-wake		
	<i>kë_i-p'a</i>	<i>kana</i>	
	ER-look.at	1SG	
	'Wake up and look at me.'		

The second imperative strategy is to use the third person plural/impersonal realis prefix.

⁹⁰ For a more detailed description of imperative constructions in V'ënen Taut see Fox (1979, p. 59-61).

6.57	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-51:93]	[06:33.5-06:34.4]
	<i>a_i-v'a</i>		
	IMPRS-go		
	<i>kë_i-pëlen</i>	<i>tup</i> ⁹¹	
	ER-make.fire	earth.oven	
	'Go and make an earth oven.'		

The irregular imperative form *nëma* “come” is the third way imperatives are observed to form in the corpus, as shown in example 6.58. There are no other verbs that are observed to form imperatives in this way in the V'ënen Taut analysed corpus.

6.58	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-93:39]	[03:35.9-03:37.3]
	... <i>nëma_i</i>		
	2:IMP.come		
	<i>kë_i-lak</i>	<i>arna</i>	<i>du-k</i>
	ER-stay	on	back-POSS:1SG
	'... come and sit on my back.'		

The three examples above display ERCs where the initial FI clause has imperative illocutionary force that is followed by a subsequent ER clause with the verb inflected with the ER prefix. The ER clause is understood to have imperative illocutionary force transferred from the initial FI clause. The semantic properties of the utterances also support an analysis where the imperative illocutionary force is echoed from the FI clause to the ER clause because the two actions described by the verbs in the clauses function together to form a single sequence. The action described by the ER verb is temporally linked to the action denoted by the FI verb.

Prohibitives are negative imperatives. In V'ënen Taut they are marked on FI verbs with a prefix from the hypothetical paradigm followed by the necessity prefix, the negative prefix, and the appropriate number prefix. The prohibitive illocutionary force of the initial clause is echoed onto the subsequent ER clause(s). The ER verbs are only inflected with the ER prefix and a relevant number prefix. This is shown in example 6.59. The prohibitive illocutionary force is continued from the initial clause to both of the subsequent ER clauses in the ERC.

⁹¹ The traditional pronunciation of *pëlen* and *tup* uses the linguo-labial plosive rather than the bilabial plosive; however, the speaker of this utterance was drawing attention to how the language of some younger speakers has changed and they no longer make a distinction between the lingo-labial and bilabial phonemes.

6.59	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-19:28]	[01:22.7-01:25.5]
	më_i-k-a-khan	<i>nata</i>	
	2:HYP-NES-NEG-eat	salt	
	kë_i-da-v'a		
	ER-CONST-go		
	kë_i-lu-lau		
	ER-DUP-plant		
	'You must not eat salt then go and plant in the garden.'		

Example 6.60 comes from a text where the speaker is talking about a number of activities that a person should not do before going to plant a new garden. The speaker in this text lists several forbidden activities in a row; each new sequence of related activities begins with an FI verb inflected as a prohibitive followed by subsequent actions, marked with the ER prefix. Each new prohibition is marked with FI prefixes because it is not considered a subsequent action to the other prohibited actions.

Example 6.60 is an extension to example 6.59.

6.60	V'ënen Taut	nwm-nmb-19:28	[01:22.7-01:25.5]
a)	më_i-k-a-khan	<i>nata</i>	
	2:HYP-NES-NEG-eat	salt	
	kë_i-da-v'a		
	ER-CONST-go		
	kë_i-lu-lau		
	ER-DUP-plant		
	'You must not eat salt then go and plant in the garden.'		
	V'ënen Taut	nwm-nmb-19:29	[01:25.5-01:28.0]
b)	më_i-k-a-khan	<i>m'ales</i>	
	2:HYP-NES-NEG-eat	left.overs	
	kë_i-da-v'a		
	ER-CONST-go		
	kë_i-lu-lau		
	ER-DUP-plant		
	'You must not eat left over food then go and plant in the garden.'		
	V'ënen Taut	nwm-nmb-19:30	[01:28.0-01:34.5]
c)	më_i-k-a-m'atr	<i>a</i>	<i>khëpëi</i>
	2:HYP-NES-NEG-sleep	EXT.P	sleep.over
	kë_i-da_i-v'a	<i>al</i>	<i>namël....</i>
	ER-CONST-go	in	garden
	'You must not sleep at someone else's house then go to the garden...'		

There are many instances throughout the V'ënen Taut analysed corpus where sequences of verbs that share subject identity and display prohibitive illocutionary force occur but the verbs are fully inflected, as seen in the example below. This may appear to be a situation where an ERC could form but the use of an ERC in this utterance would change its semantic properties substantially. In example 6.61, the speaker is talking about two conceptually different actions that a person must not do. If the second instance of “kill” were coded as an ER verb, the meaning of the clause could be understood as “if you kill one, you must not eat it and kill one”, which incorrectly orders the sequence of events.

- 6.61 V'enen Taut [nwm-nmb-71:42] [02:34.4-02:36.2]
 ...*pëi-rp* *ki*
 2:IRR-kill PART
m_i-k-a-khan=i,
 2:HYP-NES-NEG-eat=3SG:OBJ
m_i-k-a-rp *ki*
 2:HYP-NES-NEG-kill PART
 '...if you kill one you must not eat it, you must not kill one.'

As with the other types of illocutionary force described in this section, interrogatives can be formed using ERCs. Polar (yes/no) interrogatives are typically signalled using declarative clause structure and rising interrogative intonation. As shown in the example below.

- 6.62 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-92:107] [08:28.7-08:31.6]
kilakha_i i-khap'r
 this.one 3SG:REAL-bend
kë_i-nap'=i lakha?↗
 ER-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM
 'Is it the one that bends like this?'

Interrogative constituents are also used to create interrogative clauses. An initial verb can have an interrogative noun acting as one of its arguments and be followed by an ER verb. This is shown in the example below. Note that the structure as a whole has interrogative force.

6.63	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-93:06]	[00:48.9-00:55.2]
	... tē_i-r-an	<i>v'ata</i>	
	1:IRR-PAU-make	what	
	kē_i-r-v'a	<i>a tveliel na nata?</i>	
	ER-PAU-go	LOC other.side ASV sea	
	'...what will we do to get to the other island?' (lit: the other side of the sea)?'		

6.8.1 The Force Constraint

The examples in the previous section allow for another generalisation about ERC formation to be made. This generalisation, the *Force Constraint*, can be described as the requirement for the illocutionary force of the initial FI clause to be also be shared by the subsequent ER clause.

Force Constraint:
The illocutionary force of ER clause(s) is the same as the force of the FI clause.

6.9 Narrative Features and ERCs

Section 6.5.1 introduced the temporal flow constraint. This constraint states that the FI verb and the ER verb(s) must display linear temporal organisation. The ER verb is interpreted as taking place either simultaneously with or sequentially to the FI verb. All subsequent ER verbs are interpreted as having either a simultaneous or a sequential temporal relationship to an FI or ER verb that occurs previously. To exemplify this property, an example from §6.2.2 is presented again. In §6.2.2, this example was shown to display several occurrences of ER verbs that share subject identity with the FI verb *khap'r* “climb”. The example is repeated below because it displays some interesting temporal features.

6.64	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-05:09]	[00:49.0-00:52.0]
	... pē_i-khap'r	<i>a nav'ëkh</i>	
	2:IRR-climb	EXT.P malay.apple	
	kē_i-da_i-v'a		
	ER-CONST-go		
	kē_i-lak		
	ER-stay		
	kē_i-khan	<i>ki</i>	
	ER-eat	PART	
	“...you will climb the Malay apple tree all the way and sit and eat some.”		

The initial FI verb *khap'r* “climb” has motion as an inherent semantic feature. The first subsequent ER verb provides directionality to the initial verb by indicating that the motion is happening away from the spatial point of reference of the utterance. The next ER verb *lak* “sit”⁹² occurs sequentially to the climbing. This can be interpreted from the semantics of the clause; it is impossible for a person to sit in one place while simultaneously climbing. It is possible, however, for a person to sit and eat at the same time. The action of eating is denoted by *khan*. This leads to two possible interpretations of the temporal relationship between “sit” and “eat”. One interpretation is that the sitting and eating happen concurrently and the second is that the actions happen one after the other. The interpretation that seems to best suit this situation is that sitting and eating happen simultaneously. The actor participant is sitting the same environment where they are consuming food. Furthermore, the actor in this situation is being told to eat some Malay apples, not just one, an action that has duration like the action of sitting.

The influence of the temporal flow constraint is very important for the use of ERCs over wider discourse. In this section it will be examined further by looking at several different narrative features and how they interact with the temporal flow constraint.

6.9.1 Recapitulative Constructions

ERCs interact with recapitulative constructions in two different ways that are influenced by the temporal flow constraint. Following Brotchie’s (2009) analysis of Tirax narratives, there are two types of recapitulative constructions identified in V’ënen Taut. These are tail-head linkages and recapitulative clauses. Tail-head linkages are a common linguistic device in Vanuatu languages (Barbour, 2012, p. 407; Brotchie, 2009, p. 298; Early, 1994, p. 454; Hyslop, 2001, 426; Ridge, 2019, p. 182). Tail-head linkages involve starting a new construction with a repetition of the previous clause. Tail-head linkage is thought to be a narrative device that helps speakers to deliver narratives online by giving them time to think about and organise their texts (Brotchie, 2009). They are also used to help speakers create narrative tension to keep their listeners engaged, and they help the listener to understand the story by repeating key points (Brotchie, 2009, p. 419-424).

⁹² The verb *lak* is glossed as “stay” but it can have a variety of meanings like “sit”, “live”, “stay”.

Speakers may choose to repeat the entire tail clause of the previous textual unit as the head of the new textual unit, they may only repeat part of the tail, or they may modify the tail slightly when it occurs as the head (Brotchie, 2009, p. 292-303; Early, 1994, p. 454; Hyslop, 2001, p. 427). Following Brotchie (2009), in this work, tail-head linkages where new information is added into the head are called recapitulative constructions.

A trend in the type of subject inflection occurring on verbs in the head clause can be seen when examining the interaction between ERCs and tail-head linkages. It appears that, for the most part, the subject marking in the head clause is sensitive to the subject inflections occurring in the tail clause. If the verbs in the tail clause are inflected with full inflections, then the verbs in the head clause will also be fully inflected. If the verbs in the tail clause are inflected with ER prefixes, then the verbs will be inflected with ER prefixes in the head. As the tail and the head effectively refer to the same actuality, they constitute a pause in the narrative flow, rather than a continuation. This is best illustrated by the full inflection of the head verb when the tail verb is fully inflected. This is shown in the example below.

6.65	V'ënen Taut[	nwm-nmb-94:03-05]	[00:37.2-00:43.9]		
	<i>i-v'a-amëk</i>	<i>lip'akh_i</i>	<i>i-amëk</i>	<i>m'a</i>	<i>lapët_i</i>
	3SG:REAL-MULT-one	dog	3SG:REAL-one	with	cat
	[a_i-r-lak] _{TAIL}				
	3NSG:REAL-PAU-stay				
	[a_i-r-lak		<i>aut-ar</i>] _{HEAD}		
	3NSG:REAL-PAU-stay		place-POSS:3NSG		
	a_i-r-lak		<i>dav'a</i>	<i>dav'a</i>	
	3NSG:REAL-PAU-stay		DUR	DUR	
	kë_i-r-lak	<i>dav'a</i>	<i>v'e</i>	<i>lapët_j</i>	<i>i_j-ma</i>
	ER-PAU-stay	DUR	and	cat	3SG:REAL-come
	k_j-ulfala				
	ER-get.old				
	‘Once a dog and a cat lived together, they lived at their place, they lived on and on and on and the cat became old.’				

The example above shows how the verb in the head of a tail-head linkage is inflected with FI prefixes if the tail is also inflected with FI morphology. However, where the tail verb is inflected with ER prefixes, the verb in the head of the tail-head linkage will also be inflected with ER prefixes, as in example 6.66.

6.66	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-94:06-07]	[00:44.2-01:01.2]
	<i>...kěj-lu tim'akh na-r dav'a ti</i>		
	ER-plant food CLS.FOOD-POSS:3NSG DUR SUB		
	<i>[kěj-da-ma av'etlim]</i> _{TAIL}		
	ER-CONST-come home		
	<i>[kěj-da-ma av'etlim]</i> _{HEAD}		
	ER-CONST-come home		
	<i>v'e kěj-la ti</i>		
	and ER-see SUB		
	<i>lapëtj ij-m'atr waki</i>		
	cat 3SG:REAL-sleep only		
	'He was planting their food then he came home, he came home and he saw that cat was just sleeping.'		

There can be slight changes between the tail and the head clause in tail-head linkage constructions. On occasion, more information is added to the head clause or sometimes information is reduced. Examples that show changes in clause structure or additional information being added to the head clause are shown below. In example 6.67 a) the speaker adds a verb of movement to the utterance that he did not use in the tail clause. The verb in the tail clause becomes a subsequent ER verb in the head clause after following the addition of a new initial FI verb. The new initial verb in the head clause is fully inflected because the verb in the tail clause is fully inflected. In example 6.67 b) the speaker repeats the tail but adds an instrument participant.

6.67	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-47:64-65]	[02:52.9-02:56.1]
a)	<i>[i-rës arna nai]</i> _{TAIL}		
	3SG:REAL-go.down on tree		
	<i>[i-tetëv kěj-da-rës arn nai]</i> _{HEAD}		
	3SG:REAL-fly ER-CONST-go.down on stick		
	'It lands on the tree. It flies and lands on a tree.'		
b)	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-60:147]	[01:55.3-02:03.9]
	<i>...[nata_i i-tin udran=i]</i> _{TAIL}		
	sea 3SG:REAL-bury all=3SG:OBJ		
	<i>[i-tin a nun na nata]</i> _{HEAD}		
	3SG:REAL-bury EXT.P sand ASV sea		
	'... the sea had buried it all, it buried it in sand.'		

6.9.2 Narrative Asides

Narrative asides occur when a speaker takes a break in their text to make a comment about something in the real world (Brotchie, 2009, p 306). Sometimes it is a meta-statement about the text itself and sometimes it is a statement about another time or event relevant to the text. Narrative asides constitute new timelines as they shift the temporal reference point from the narrative timeline to another time. Like embedded clauses, narrative asides can be skipped by ERCs. Examples of narrative asides and their interaction with ERCs will be given in the next chapter where longer examples of ERCs in context will be analysed.

6.9.3 Episodic Boundaries

An important feature of the way in which ERCs interact with the structure of texts centres on the packing of events that are called episodes in this work. In narrative analysis, episodes⁹³ are considered a portion of text that comprises utterances that relate to a series of connected events forming a single thematic unit (Brotchie, 2009, p. 436; Ji, 2002, p. 1260; Ji, 2008). The transition between episodes tends to be overtly marked (Ji, 2008). Brotchie notes that episode boundaries are marked with falling intonation, longer intonation breaks than sentential units, and episode initial discourse markers (Brotchie, 2009, p. 436). An episode in this work is a series of clauses that all focus on one overall package of related events. Some features that can be used to identify episodes are that they tend to involve the same agent throughout, they tend to take place in the same space and time, and they can be salient and ordered parts of a process. At its smallest, an episode can comprise a single clause. More often, episodes are made of multiple clauses, each with their own verbs and argument structures, but the clauses are related as components of a larger unit of meaning. For example, a procedural text can be split onto different episodes based on the salient steps of the procedure that the speaker is describing. Each of these steps, or episodes, may be themselves be made of several actions. In the surveyed texts of the V'ënen Taut analysed corpus, there are occurrences of contiguous FI verbs that meet the subject-person identity requirement (§6.2.4) and do not break any of the ER constraints mentioned to this point, yet, the speaker chooses to use FI inflections on a

⁹³ Brotchie (2009) uses the term “sequence” rather than episode.

verb to indicate that its action is not linked to the action expressed by the previous verb. Situations like this often occur at episodic boundaries and the re-establishment of FI indexes morphologically signals the transition between episodes.

New episodes can continue the narrative flow of the story in a linear trajectory or they can signal a shift in the temporal focus of the text. Indeed, new episodes are able to create new timelines in a narrative itself. Due to the temporal flow constraint, new timelines need to begin with an initial FI clause, even if subject-person identity is maintained. As for narrative asides, examples of this feature of ERCs will be given in Chapter Seven.

6.9.4 The Episode Constraint

Thematic episodes are sequences of clauses that all focus on one overall proposition. Provided there is subject-person identity between the clauses that comprise an episode, all subsequent verbs can be coded as ER clauses following the FI clause at the beginning of the episode. New episodes begin with FI clauses, even under subject-person identity with the clause in the preceding episode. This is called the *Episode Constraint*.

Episode Constraint:
ERCs do not form over episode boundaries.

6.10 Production Errors

When production errors occur and speech continues and happens to display identity with a verb in the previous clause, an ERC does not occur. False starts and repetitions thus do not trigger the use of ERCs if they are coded as FI verbs. An example of a false start is displayed in example 6.68.

6.68	V'enen Taut	[nwm-nmb-47:147]	[08:09.0-08:11.6]
	nē-v_i-an	<i>sei</i> ,..	
	1:REAL-PL-make	something	
	nē-v_i-an	<i>pari a m'anëkh waki</i>	
	1:REAL-PL-make	work EXT.P bird only	
	'We do things... We just do things with the birds.'		

6.11 Summary

In this chapter, the subject-person identity requirement was established as the overarching requirement that must be met in order to form ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages of V'ënen Taut and Tape. Following this a series of constraints were identified as operating in the data. The constraints explain why ERCs form in some circumstances, but not in others. When the subject-person identity requirement is met, the following constraints must all apply for an ERC to form. If any one of the constraints is not met, an ERC will not form. These are the morphologically coded number constraint, polarity constraint, and temporal flow constraint, the embedding constraint, which operates at the level of syntax, the force constraint which functions in the domain of pragmatics, and finally the episode constraint, and to an extent, the temporal flow constraint, which concern discourse. Chapter Seven will go to describe the use of ERCs over longer stretches of discourse.

Chapter Seven

Echo-Reference Constructions: Analysis of Extended Examples

In Chapter Six, the form and use of ERCs were examined in shorter sequences of clauses. It showed how ERCs form in subsequent clauses following an initial verb. The initial verb is inflected with a full verbal prefix that encodes a variety of grammatical meanings including subject-person, number, mood, polarity, and aspect. The verb(s) in the subsequent clause(s) are inflected with an invariant echo prefix that occurs in the subject prefix position of the verbal complex. The semantic properties of the ER prefix are dependent on the subject-person, mood, and polarity value of the initial fully inflected (FI) verb. The chapter established most importantly that ERCs can only occur in environments where an initial FI verb is followed by a subsequent verb whose subject referent displays identity with the subject referent of the FI verb. The subsequent clause must not break any of the constraints that prevent ERC formation. These constraints are listed in the table below.

Requirement	Meaning
Subject-Person Identity	The subject of one or more sequential verbs includes the same referent as the subject of an initial verb.
Constraint	Meaning
Number	$ER_{NUM} \geq FI_{NUM}$ The number of the subject of the ER verb is equal or greater than the number of the subject of the FI verb.
Polarity	$FI_{POL} = ER_{POL}$ The polarity of the FI clause is maintained in the ER clause.
Temporal Flow	ER verbs encode events that have simultaneous or sequential temporal relationship with the FI verb.
Embedding	ERCs can only form on the same clausal level as the FI verb.
Force	The ER clause displays the same illocutionary force as the FI clause.
Episode	ERC do not form over episode boundaries

Table 7.1: Parameters for ERC Formation

While the previous chapter focused on displaying how these constraints influence the formation of ERCs in isolated examples, this chapter goes further by displaying how

these constraints operate over longer excerpts of speech. Examining ERCs over wider discourse is important because ERCs do not occur in isolation in natural speech.

ERCs function to aid reference tracking in speech. One of the primary functions of ERCs is to mark subject continuity in speech, meaning that the use of the ER prefix over sequences of clauses grammatically encodes the continuity of the subject. The occurrence of clauses containing fully inflected verbs generally marks a change in the subject participant of a text. For this reason ERC are considered a non-canonical type of switch-reference construction (§5.1.4). The other primary function of ERCs is to maintain temporal flow in texts because ERCs can only form when clauses have a simultaneous or sequential temporal relationship with the previous FI or ER clause.

This chapter presents nine extended examples of the usage of ERCs in wider discourse in V'ënen Taut. Each of the excerpts has been extracted from a recording of naturally occurring speech collected from V'ënen Taut speakers. The excerpts are presented clause by clause with indentations indicating embedded clauses and arrows represent intonation. Pauses are noted in seconds in brackets.

Table 7.2 displays the different constraints that each of the excerpts display.

Excerpt	Subject-Person Identity	Subject-Person Changes	Number	Polarity	Temporal Flow	Embedding	Multiple Episode	Other Narrative influence
1	✓	✓						
2	✓	✓	✓					
3	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓
4	✓	✓				✓		
5	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓
6	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓
7	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		
8	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓
9	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓

Table 7.2: ER constraints displayed in V'ënen Taut excerpts

There are no excerpts of texts in Tape presented in this chapter. This is because Tape speakers employ ERCs only sporadically in speech. The two main functions of ERCs identified in V'enen Taut discourse are not exemplified well in the Tape data.

7.1 Example One: Subject-Person Identity Maintenance and Change

The excerpt in example one demonstrates that sequences of ERCs can occur when the subject-person identity requirement is met consistently over a series of clauses without breaking any of the ERC constraints. This excerpt shows a sequence of seven echo clauses which ends only when the subject referent changes, meaning that the subject-person identity requirement is no longer met.

This excerpt comes from near the end of a fable that explains the reason cats have ears that are shorter than those of dogs. The cat and the dog are the main characters in this story. They live together and the dog is annoyed that the cat is lazy, sleeping all day, and not helping with any of the household work. One day, the dog decides to trick the cat and he ties up his own ears so they look short. He then tells the cat that his ears are too long. When the cat sees the dog's shorter ears, he cuts his own ears short. Since then, all cats have had short ears.

- 7.1 V'enen Taut [nwm-nmb-94:39-42] [02:46.6-03:05.0]
- a) *narën lapët_i i_i-rn i-*nap'*=i lara ↗*
 when cat 3SG:REAL-hear 3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM
- b) (1s) *kë_i-vrvr* →
 ER-run
- c) *kë_i-da-ma a nakh-ën nëmakh* →
 ER-CONST-come LOC front-POSS:3SG house
 'When cat heard (what dog said) like that, he ran, coming towards the house.'
- d) *kë_i-da-ma a nakh-ën nëmakh*
 ER-CONST-come LOC front-POSS:3SG house
*i-*nap'*=i lara*
 3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM
- e) *kë_i-lev' tali-an_j* →
 ER-take knife-POSS:3SG

- f) (.5s) *kěi-da-v'a*
ER-CONST-go
- g) (*kěi-tr us*) *kěi-tr us udran aaa drne-n_k* ↘
ER-cut SEVER ER-cut SEVER all HESITATION ear-POSS:3SG
'He came back to the house like that, and took his knife, and went and cut his ears off completely.'
- h) (.5s) *kěi-tr us drne-n_k...* ↗
ER-cut SEVER ear-POSS:3SG
'He cut off his ears...'

Clause a) establishes the cat as the subject referent at this point in the narrative with a noun phrase followed by the full subject prefix inflecting the verb “hear”. The cat remains the subject referent in clauses b) through h).

There are two transitive verbs in this excerpt: “take” in clause i), and “cut off” in clauses g) and h). These transitive verbs show that object arguments do not have any effect on sequences of ERCs, provided subject identity is maintained.

Clauses a) and d) display the idiomatic phrase *inap'i lara* “like that”. This phrase, and other similar ones, are almost never considered part of the narrative or temporal flow of the events that the speaker is narrating. They are a narrative device used to allow speakers to think about what they are saying and to hold the attention of their listeners. As such, they are not considered part of the sequence of events and so they do not interrupt ERC sequences in spite of carrying third person subject morphology, which may differ from the subject index being echoed.

The story continues with a change of the subject referent in clause i).

- i) (.8s) *ale khilakha lip'akh_j ij-lak*
then now dog 3SG:REAL-stay
- j) *kěj-větma an=i_i da da da da* ↘
ER-laugh EXT.P=3SG:OBJ DUR DUR DUR DUR
'Now dog sat and was laughing and laughing at him.'

The subject referent changes from “cat” to “dog” as indicated by the occurrence of the nominal subject *lip'akh* “dog” and full subject inflection on the verb “stay” in clause i). The subject referent “dog” is echoed from “stay” in clause i) to “laugh” in clause j) as signalled by the use of the ER prefix.

7.2 Example Two: Number Constraint

The excerpt in example two is a continuation of the narrative from example one. It is presented separately because it displays the effect of the number constraint on the subject-person identity requirement in the formation of ERCs. The number constraint permits ER inflection of subsequent verbs whose subject referent includes the subject referent of the previous verb as well as one or more additional referents that are retrievable through context. The number constraint is broken when there is a decrease in the number of subject referents functioning as subject referent between an initial and subsequent clause.

7.2	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-94:42-45]	[03:01.2-03:16.0]
a)	<i>ale khilakha lip'akh_i i_i-lak</i> then now dog 3SG:REAL-stay		
b)	<i>kë_i-vë_{tma} an=i_j da da da da da</i> ∇ ER-laugh EXT.P=3SG:OBJ DUR DUR DUR DUR DUR 'Now dog sat and was laughing and laughing at him.'		
c)	(1s) <i>kë_i-vë_{tma} an=i_j,</i> ER-laugh EXT.P=3SG:OBJ		
d)	<i>lapët_j nl-n_j i_j-rar an=i_i</i> cat inside-POSS:3SG 3SG:REAL-be.sore EXT.P=3SG:OBJ		
e)	<i>kë-r_{i+j}-faet</i> ∇ ER-PAU-fight 'He laughed at him, cat was cross with him and they got in a fight.'		
f)	(.6s) <i>kë-r_{i+j}-faet i-nap'=i lara ...</i> → ER-PAU-fight 3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM 'They fought like that...'		

In clause d), the subject referent changes to “cat” signalled by a nominal subject and full inflection on the verb. In this case, it is the cat’s innards that are the subject of the verb in clause d) that are irritated by the dog, who serves as the extended object participant of the clause.⁹⁴ Subsequently the cat and the dog serve together as the subject referent in clauses e) and f). The number constraint permits the formation of

⁹⁴ The phrase ‘inside-POSS be sore’ is an idiom that translates to “be angry” in English. The entity experiencing the anger is encoded as the possessor of the noun “inside” which acts as the grammatical subject of the verb “be sore”.

inclusory ERCs coded for paucal number. There is an increase in the number of participants acting as the subject referent in clause e). This increase includes the previous subject of clause d) “cat” and the additional participant, “dog” from clause a) to c). This instance of an inclusory ERC is interesting because the subject participant that immediately precedes “fight” in the excerpt is “its insides”. This participant is semantically incapable of carrying out the action “fight” because “insides” refers to an inanimate entity and the verb “fight” requires a volitional subject participant. However, the experiencer of the emotional state of being angry, expressed using the phrase “insides be sore”, is semantically specified in clause d) as “cat”, so it can be understood that the ER morphology is referencing “cat” as one of the paucal subject entities of “fight” rather than the “insides”. This shows that in V’ënen Taut ERCs are sometimes sensitive to the semantic subject of a proposition and not just to the morphosyntactic subject. The story continues with the dog chasing that cat in clause g).

- g) *v'e* *lip'akh_i* *i_i-tëkr* *an=i_j*
 but dog 3SG:REAL-chase EXT.P=3SG:OBJ
- h) *i_j-vrvr* *da* *da*
 3SG:REAL-run DUR DUR
- i) *kë_j-da-v'a*
 ER-CONST-go
- j) *kë_j-lak* *arna* *nai* *eia* ↘
 ER-stay on tree up
 ‘But dog chased him and he ran and went and sat in a tree.’

The number constraint is broken in clause g) because only one of the subject referents in preceding clauses e) and f), the dog, acts as the subject referent in this clause. This results in the use of full subject inflections on “chase”. The nominal subject in this clause disambiguates which of the previous actors is the sole subject of the verb.

The use of full index with the verb “run” in clause h) indicates that subject-person identity is not maintained from clause g) to h). The subject referent must be “cat” because it is only other participant available in the narrative. It is salient in the situation because it is the patient of “chase” in clause g) and it is the logical participant to perform the action of running up a tree.

7.3 Example Three: Changing Subject Identity

While the excerpts in examples one and two were selected to illustrate subject identity, example three was selected because it shows how subject non-identity prevents ERCs from forming. Subject non-identity occurs when the subject participants of verbs in contiguous clauses do not refer to the same real world entities. This is signalled most clearly when a noun phrase subject occurs in a text and it is indexed on a verb with full subject indexes. The next verb in the text has a different noun phrase as its subject argument and this is indexed on the verb with full subject prefixes. However, in some cases the same lexical item(s) invokes different referents, thereby preventing ERC formation. This shows how important the semantic properties of clauses are when it comes to using ERCs. In example three, there are multiple changes in the subject referent, including one instance of identical lexemes referring to distinct entities. Adding further to this complexity is how identity can be shared by arguments functioning as different grammatical relations of different verbs. For example, the object argument of a verb may share identity with the subject of a contiguous verb, creating a switch-function serial verb construction. On occasion, the V1 of switch-function serial constructions can be coded as an ER verb, but the V2 can never be coded as an ER verb because it involves a change in subject referent.

This example comes from the middle of a descriptive text where the speaker is talking about how to plant coconut palms using a germinated coconut fruit. The speaker describes the traditional and modern uses of the fruit and different parts of the palm.

7.3	V'änen Taut	[nwm-nmb-68:37-47]	[03:30.0-04:02.4]
a)	<i>ale nava-n</i> then fruit-POSS:3SG <i>něj-v-v'ër=i_i</i> ↗ 1:REAL-PL-plait-3SG:OBJ	<i>lakha, nil-n_i</i> DEM skin-POSS:3SG <i>lakha,</i> DEM	
b)	<i>kěj-v-an=i_i</i> ER-PL-make=3SG:OBJ		
c)	<i>i_i-v'i</i> 3SG:REAL-COP	<i>nid_k</i> ∨ coconut.rope 'So, the fruit, the skin, we plait it into coconut ropes.'	

The first instance of an ERC occurs in the transformational construction expressed over a switch-function construction in clauses b) and c). The subject of “plait” in a) shares identity with the subject of “make” in b) so it forms an ERC. The object argument of the verb in clause b) shares identity with the subject of the copular verb in clause c), meaning that, an ERC is unable to form. Because the subject-person identity requirement is not met, the verb in clause c) is fully inflected. The object of the copular verb is “coconut rope” and the clause encodes the resulting state of the transformation.

- d) (.8s) *kam'em'*_j *kinkin* *něj-v-khau* *a* *kinu* **✓**
 1NSG:EXCL some 1:REAL-PL-tie EXT.P canoe
 ‘Some of us tie them to our canoes.’

Clause d) introduces a new subject “some of us”, which is encoded on the verb using FI prefixes.

- e) (.8s) *kam'em'*_l *kinkin* *něj-v-lav'*=*i*_k **→**
 1NSG:EXCL some 1:REAL-PL-take=3SG:OBJ
- f) *kěj-v-dra* *nam'el* *Taut* *tituwei* **✓**
 ER-PL-attach.thatch nakamal Big Nambas before
 ‘Some of us take them and we use them to attach thatch to the traditional Big Nambas men’s house.’

The subject argument of clause e) is also “some of us”; however, it does not share identity with the “some of us” in clause d). Instead, it is presented in opposition to the subject in clause d) resulting in full inflection of the verb in clause e).

- g) (.5s) *m-m*
 yes
 yes
- h) (.8s) *nid*_k *něj-n* *lakha*,
 coconut.rope CLS:GEN-POSS:3SG DEM
 něj-v-dra *nakh* *nam'el* **✓**
 1:REAL-PL-attach.thatch front nakamal
 ‘Yes, the coconut rope, we use it to attach thatch to the front of the men’s house.’

Clause h) paraphrases the action expressed in clause f). It is not a continuation of the flow of activities under discussion but rather a comment on the point the speaker has made. As such, it is not inflected with echo morphology.

- i) (.7s) *m-m*
yes
yes
- j) (1.3s) *něj-v-an=i*
1:REAL-PL-make=3SG:OBJ
- k) *n_j-a-v-sëran* *nut* *ki_m* *mël* ∇
1:REAL-NEG-PL- throw place PART again
'Yes, we work it (coconut palms) and we do not throw away any part of it.'

Clause j) is a statement of fact about coconuts and does not continue the temporal flow of any of the timelines expressed previously in the excerpt. Clause j) is strongly separated from the previous content clause by a pause in speech of 1.3 seconds and the interjection in clause i). Because of this, it does not trigger the use of an ERC even though subject identity is shared with the verb in clause h). The verb “throw” in clause k) meets the subject-person identity requirement but an ERC cannot form because “throw” displays negative polarity thus breaking the polarity constraint.

- l) (.4s) *i-v'a* *i-iar* *dika*.
3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-reach today
- m) *tra-n_n,* ∇ (.8s) *něj-v-tr=i_n*
trunk-POSS:3SG 1:REAL-PL-cut=3SG:OBJ
- n) *i_n-v'i* *plang* (.5s) *na* *nëmakh_o* ∇
3SG:REAL-COP plank ASV house
'It is like that until today. The trunk, we cut it into house posts.'

Clause m) and n) present another transformational construction, like that in clauses b) and c). The object of the verb “cut” in clause m) shares identity with the subject of the copular verb in clause n). This transformational construction is a switch-function SVC, and the verbs in both m) and n) are fully inflected.

- o) (.9s) *n_j-a-v-sëran* *nut* *kinkin_p* ∇
1:REAL-NEG-PL-throw place some
'We do not throw away any part.'

The verb “throw” in clause o) displays subject identity with “cut” in clause m); however; it is fully inflected because the polarity constraint is broken.

- p) (.5s) *nil-n_q* *něj-v-iviv=i_q* ✓
 skin-POSS:3SG 1:REAL-PL-feed.fire.with=3SG:OBJ
 ‘We make fire with the skins.’
- q) (.4s) *tana-n_r* *něj-v-iviv=i_r* ✓
 shell-POSS:3SG 1:REAL-PL-feed.fire.with=3SG:OBJ
 ‘We make fire with the shells’.

Clauses p) and q) encode the same action completed by the same referential subject participant, “we”. The two occurrences of “make fire with” are presented as contrasting events undertaken with different parts of the coconut, rather than the same subject participant lighting different parts of the coconut in sequence. As such, the temporal flow constraint is broken and full inflections are required in clause q).

7.4 Example Four: Embedding Constraint

The excerpt in example four has been selected to show how the embedding constraint prevents the formation of ERCs in sequences of verbs that display subject identity but occur on different syntactic levels. The embedding constraint prevents ERC formation in relative and complement clauses and in some adverbial subordinate clauses. ERCs cannot form between a main clause and a subordinate clause or vice-versa. The excerpt below displays instances of both relative and complement clauses.

This excerpt has been extracted from near the end of a text where the speaker is recounting the arrival of the Catholic Church in Wilak Village. In making these comments, the speaker is referring to his audience of local people, who had gathered to listen when the recording was made.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| 7.4 | V'ënen Taut | [nwm-nmb-63:16-17] | [01:01.1-01:16.0] |
| a) | <i>khilakha,</i> <i>m'ertu</i> <i>udrlan=i</i> <i>a_i-v-lak</i> | | |
| | now people all=3SG:OBJ 3NSG:REAL-PL-stay | | |
| b) | <i>kěj-v-la</i> | | |
| | ER-PL-see | | |
| c) | <i>ti</i> <i>kana_j</i> <i>něj-v'ana.✓</i> | | |
| | SUB 1SG 1:REAL-talk | | |
| | ‘Now, all the people are sitting and see that I am talking.’ | | |

- d) *něj-věr* *v'ënen_k* *lil* *i_k-amëk*
 1:REAL-say language be.big 3SG:REAL-one
- e) *ti* *i_k-vi* *si_k* *i_k-amëk*
 SUB 3SG:REAL-COP thing 3SG:REAL-one
- f) *ti* *i_k-k-a-khiris* *narën* √
 SUB 3SG:REAL-NES-NEG-be.finished time
 'I am talking about an important thing that is something that will not ever
 end (it will be saved forever).'

The verb “say” in clause d) meets the subject-person identity requirement with the verb in clause c), as “I” remains the subject. However, clause d) is a new main clause and is thus introduced with a full inflection for “I”. The main clause status of clause d) triggers the embedding constraint because clauses c) and d) are positioned at different syntactic levels. Clause f) presents another embedded relative clause, modifying the object of clause e). Again, the verb is fully inflected.

7.5 Example Five: Recapitulative Constructions and ERCs

This example has been chosen to display how recapitulative constructions interact with ERCs in the context of traditional narratives. Recapitulative constructions include tail-head linkages, paraphrasing, and recapping constructions. These are all narrative devices that give the speaker time to think about what they are going to say next in the narrative. They also help oral story telling by keeping the listener engaged in the story by providing context and by building tension (Brotchie, 2009).

Recapitulative constructions do not add to the temporal flow of text, narrative or otherwise, so they generally occur with the same type of verbal inflection as the clause(s) that they are recapping. This is shown in several instances in example five.

The example comes from near the beginning of traditional story about a boy who is kidnapped by a monster. The boy escapes from a basket that he was caught in and climbs a palm tree. Whenever the monster tries to follow him up the tree, he throws biting ants that he has wrapped in leaves at the monster. The ants bite the monster and make it climb back down. When the monster almost catches the boy, he tells the palm tree to bend over and he jumps to another tree. The palm tree springs back and flings the monster away and it falls to its death in the bush. The excerpt begins after the boy has been left at home by his parents.

- 7.5 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-05:14-19] [01:03.3-01:31.1]
- a) *maral pa_i i-lak_i dav'a dav'a*
 child be.small 3SG:REAL-stay DUR DUR
- b) *kë_i-rn*
 ER-feel
- c) *ti i_i-rn m'am'ar* √
 SUB 3SG:REAL-feel hunger
 'The small child was there for a while and then he felt hungry.'

Clause c) displays the sentential object complement clause of “feel” in clause b). The verb in this clause shares subject-person identity with the verb in clause b) but it is inflected with full inflections because it breaks the embedded clause constraint.

- d) (.5s) *dui pa_i (1.1s) i_i-lak dav'a*
 man be.small 3SG:REAL-be.at DUR
- e) *kë_i-rn*
 ER-feel
- f) *ti i_i-rn m'am'ar lakhara* √
 SUB 3SG:REAL-feel hunger DEM
 'The boy was there for a while and felt that he was hungry now.'

Clauses d) to f) show the first instance of a recapitulative structure in this excerpt. The speaker repeats the previous action in the narrative with some slight changes in wording. As the recapitulative clause does not continue the narrative flow, its initial verb is not inflected with ER morphology. Such ER coding would imply it is a subsequent action rather than a restatement.

- g) (.8s) *i_i-khap'r a nav'ëkh*
 3SG:REAL-climb EXT.P malay.apple
- h) *kë_i-da-v'a eia* √
 ER-CONST-go up
 'He climbed up the Malay apple tree.'

After a pause of 0.8 seconds, the speaker expresses the initial part of a new action in clause g) with the FI verb “climb” which is fully inflected because it marks the beginning of a new episode in the narrative. The verb “go” in clause h) occurs

i) (2s) *i_l-khap'r* *a* *nav'ekh*
 3SG:REAL-climb EXT.P malay.apple

k) (1s) ...*këi-lak*
ER-stay

Following a pause of two seconds, a tail-head construction occurs in clauses i) and j) which repeats the previous two clauses verbatim with the same verbal inflections. As there is only one Malay apple tree mentioned in the story, the use of full inflections with “climb” in clause i) does not indicate a new episode in which the boy climbs another Malay Apple tree. Furthermore, there is no indication that this is a repeated action. This recapitulative construction is best analysed as a tail-head linkage where the speaker completely repeats the previous structure. However, the end of the head clause in clause j) is marked with rising intonation, rather than falling intonation as heard in the tail clause in clause h), which indicates further information will be provided. This information comprises the subsequent actions that the boy completes, which are expressed using ERCs in clauses k) and l).

n) *këi-khan* *nav'ëkh* *i-nap'=i* *lara* *du dav'a*
 ER-eat malay.apple 3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM DUR
du dav'a→
 DUR
 'He was sitting and eating Malay apples like that on and on and on.'

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morphology. This may be a stylistic choice of the speaker to give a more emphasis to the duration that the boy spent eating Malay apples as expressed by the continuation of the head clause in clause n) with “like that on and on and on”.

- o) (3.4s) *tam'a* *lilj* *ij-amëk, ʌ* (1.7s) *ij-ma ʌ*
evil.spirit be.big 3SG:REAL-one 3SG:REAL-come
- p) (.4s) *kěj-da-ma* *m'a* *naten-an ʌ*
ER-CONST-come with basket-POSS:3SG
‘A big monster, he came with his basket.’

After a pause of 3.4 seconds, clause o) introduces the antagonist of the story with the subject noun phrase “big monster”. Full inflections on “come” further indicate the change in subject, showing the subject-person identity requirement is not met. An ERC in clause p) signals that the monster remains the subject in the next clause.

7.6 Example Six: Episodic Use of ERCs

Example six shows how ERCs form over stretches of text and how FI verbs can be used to signal the start of a new episode, or event sequence, even when the subject-person identity requirement is met.

This excerpt has been extracted from the middle of a text where a community elder is talking about a large monolithic stone that is located near the village of Wilak. It is said that one end of the stone is found in the bush in the hills above the village and the other end emerges in the sea. The story is about a group of people who tried to dig the stone out of the sand but they were not able to do so. After several days of digging and having the stone buried repeatedly by the sea, they go and ask a magic practitioner to find the other end of the stone. To do this, he follows the stone transforming into several animals in the process. Eventually he discovers its other end up in the hills.

- 7.6 V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-60:29-32] [02:28.4-02:54.1]
- a) *a_i-v-lev* *duij* *ne-n* *lakhara,*
3NSG:REAL-PL-take man CLS:GEN-POSS:3SG DEM
- b) *ij-vi* *m'anëkh* *pa* *i-amëk ʌ*
3SG:REAL-COP bird be.small 3SG:REAL-one
‘They took that man and he became a small bird.’

- c) (1.1s) *kěj-da-v'a* 7
ER-CONST-go
- d) *kěj-v'el* *dav'a*
ER-walk DUR
- e) *kěj-iar* *atlakhara* *veti*
ER-reach there but
- f) *kěj-rn*
ER-feel
- g) *ti* *ij-a-nava*
SUB 3SG:REAL-NEG-be.enough
- h) *ti* *ipěj-vel* 7 (subordinate purpose)
SUB 3SG:IRR- walk
'And he travelled on and on until he got there, but he felt that he was not strong enough to walk.'

The verbs in clauses c), d), e), and f) form a sequence of ER inflected verbs. In each clause, the subject referents of the verb share identity with subject of the fully inflected verb in clause b). The ER sequence is interrupted in clause g), which presents the sentential object complement of the verb “feel” in clause f). The subject referent of the verbs in clauses f) and g) display identity; however, the embedding constraint is broken in clause g) and the verb must take a full inflection. Clause g) further breaks the polarity constraint.

Clause h) contains a subordinate purpose clause of the verb “be enough” in clause g). The verb is inflected with the full third person singular realis prefix. Once again, this full inflection does not signal a change in subject participant, but is a result of multiple echo constraints being breached. These include the embedding constraint, and the polarity constraint.

- i) (1.1s) *ij-ukh* (result)
3SG:REAL-change
- j) *kěj-vi* *lěpu* 7
ER-COP rat
'So he changed and became a rat.'

The narrative continues in clause i) with new sequence of events represented by the occurrence of full inflections on the verb “change”. The subject referent encoded by the third person singular realis prefix inflecting “change” shares identity with the subject referent of the previous verbs of clauses b) to h). It would be possible for the verb in clause i) to be inflected with the ER prefix; however, using a full inflection clearly indicates a return to the main clause level. In clause j) the copular verb is an ER verb and its subject referent shares identity with subject of the verb “change” in clause i). Falling intonation in clause j) indicates the end of the episode.

- k) (2.3s) *i_j-vi* *lěpu* ↘
3SG:REAL-COP rat
- l) *kěj-vel* *dav'a* *dav'a* *dav'a*
ER-walk DUR DUR DUR
- m) *kěj-da-ma* *dama* *dama*
ER-CONST-come DUR DUR
- n) *kěj-sape=i_k* *dav'a* *dav'a*,
ER-follow=3SG:OBJ DUR DUR
‘He was a rat now and he walked and walked following it (the stone),’
- o) (1.4s) *kěj-iar=i_k*
ER-reach=3SG:OBJ
- p) *kěj-la*
ER-see
- q) *ti* *pěne-n_k* *i_k-ta-ma* *al* *nata...* ↗
SUB half-POSS:3SG 3SG:REAL-PFV-come in sea
‘and came and he reached it, and he saw that half of it had come out in the sea....’

After a pause of 2.3 seconds, clause k) signals the beginning of a new event sequence with a tail-head linkage construction. Tail-head linkages generally repeat the verbs in the head clause with the same inflection type found in the tail clause. In the case of clause k), ER inflections would be expected. However, it is possible for the speaker to use tail-head linkages and mark the verb in the head clause with full inflections, as seen in clause k). The full inflection of the verb in the head clause could emphasise the beginning of a new episode within the larger narrative sequence, as appears to be the case in this example.

The motion verbs in clauses l) to n) work together to express the components of a single action: following the stone. The verb in clause l) gives the mode, the verb in clause m) gives the direction, and the verb in clause n) gives the path of motion. The verb “reach” in clause o) denotes the termination of the motion expressed in clauses l) to n).

The object complement clause of “see” is expressed in clause q), which introduces a new participant “half of it”. The new subject of the embedded clause is encoded on the verb using a full inflection.

7.7 Example Seven: Temporal Flow Constraint

The excerpt in example seven shows how ERCs are sensitive to the temporal flow of events in texts. The temporal flow constraint prevents ERCs from forming in situations where the subject-person identity requirement is met but the actions expressed by the contiguous clauses are not interpreted as having a linear temporal relationship. A linear temporal relationship means that the action denoted by the verb in a clause occurs in time simultaneously with or subsequent to the action denoted by the verb in the preceding clause. If a verb that meets the subject-person identity requirement describes an event that is understood to have occurred in time before the event encoded by the preceding verb, it cannot form an ERC. Furthermore, clauses that encode events that do not continue the temporal flow of events in the text generally do not permit the formation of ERCs under subject-person identity; however they can act as initial FI verbs in a new timeline of events in the text.

This excerpt comes from the middle a descriptive text where a man is talking about the work he did on the day of recording and activities that he had planned for the following day. In the excerpt, the speaker speculates about the activities that he might do the following day. Each speculation of an activity encodes a potential event, rather than temporally sequenced events and thus, the formation of ERCs is prevented.

7.7	V'ënen Taut [nwm-nmb-73:48-49] [03:33.4-03:46.4]						
a)	<i>m'ikh</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>p'ëi-vra-v'a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>lili</i>	<i>eia</i>	<i>lakha</i> ∇
	tomorrow	DEM	1:IRR-PL-go	LOC	bush	up	DEM
	'Tomorrow we will go up to the bush.'						

- b) *khin_j i_j-p'ëkh-vër parei*
 3SG 3SG:REAL-PROX-say work
- c) *të_i-v-an=i*
 1:IRR-PL-make=3SG:OBJ
 'He (the chief) will just say the work that we will do.'
- d) *n_k-a-rn dau=i*
 1:REAL-NEG-know=3SG:OBJ
 'I don't know.'

A new episode of events begins in clause a) with the phrase “tomorrow” clearly separating the new episode from the previous one. As this is the beginning of a new episode, the verb in clause a) is inflected with full subject prefixes. There is a change in the subject referent in clause b) indicated by the pronominal subject *khin* “3SG”, which refers to a chief, and full inflections on the verb “say”. Clause c) is a relative clause modifying the object argument of “say” in clause b). As this is a relative clause, it cannot form an ERC with any of the previous verbs on the main clause level.

The verb “know” in clause d) is inflected with full inflections denoting first person realis mood and negative polarity. The verb “know” is an FI verb because it does not share subject identity with the previous verb on the same clausal level, “say” in clause b).

- e) *p'e_i-v-tr urakh-an*
 1:IRR-PL-cut yam.post-POSS:3SG
 'Perhaps we will cut his yam posts,'
- f) *v'akha p'e_i-v-rakhëv-an*
 or 1:IRR-PL-clear.garden.site-POSS:3SG
 'or we will clear his garden,'
- g) *v'akha të_i-v-an takhpët-an*
 or 1:IRR-PL-make yam.hole-POSS:3SG
 'or we will plant yams,'
- h) *v'akha p'ë_i-v-tr m'ëtü-an,*
 or 1:IRR-PL-cut coconut-POSS:3SG
 'or we will cut his copra,'
- i) *v'akha...*
 'or'
 or...,

In clauses e) to h), the speaker speculates about the activities he and other people from his community will do for the chief on the following day. The first option is to “cut yam posts”. The verb “cut” is inflected with the full first person irrealis prefix and plural number. Accounting for the permitted increase in number, subject-person identity is maintained from clause d) into e) but an ERC is blocked from forming in e) because the temporal flow constraint is violated. The action of “cut” in clause e) does not occur as a subsequent action to “not know” in clause d). Instead, it can be interpreted as occurring on an alternate timeline of speculative actions. Because of this, it is encoded as a FI initial verb. Clauses f), g), and h) each display further speculations about the activities that the group might be doing on the following day. As with clause e) these verbs all display subject identity with the previous verbs in the excerpt; however, none of them continue the temporal flow of the text because they are not subsequent actions to “know” in clause d) or “cut” in clause e). Each speculation constitutes its own timeline in the text and is therefore inflected with FI morphology.

- j) *kana_k* *n_k-a-rn dau=i*
 1SG 1:REAL-NEG-know=3SG:OBJ
- k) *v'e* *tē_i-v-an* *parei* *m'ikh*
 but 1:IRR-PL-make work tomorrow
 ‘I do not know but we will work tomorrow.’

The excerpt ends in clauses j) and k) which are a recapitulative construction where the speaker reiterates that he does not know the work that he and his family will do for the chief on the following day.

7.8 Example Eight: Episodic Use of ERCS in an Excerpt with a Single Actor Participant

The excerpt in example eight presents part of a descriptive monologue in which the speaker is explaining how she makes laplap, a kind of food made from grated yams, taro, banana, or other tubers. It has been selected to show how sequences of related actions are broken into textual episodes by speakers when they are talking. Sequences of ERCs can occur internally in each episode while subject identity is maintained; however, the initial verb in each new episode is generally inflected with full verbal prefixes, even when subject identity is maintained between sequential episodes.

This excerpt comes from the beginning of a text where the speaker is explaining how she makes the laplap. At this point in the text, she is the only actor participant and she is the subject argument for almost all of the verbs in the excerpt. There are several instances in this excerpt where new episodes are started with fully inflected verbs, even though subject identity is maintained between the last verb in the previous episode and the first verb of the new episode. Each new episode roughly aligns with a different stage of making a laplap.

7.8	V'änen Taut	[nwm-nmb-40:05-22]	[00:51.5-01:492]
a)	<i>narën ti tĕi-vĕr</i>		
	when SUB 1:IRR-want		
b)	<i>ti-an nĕkhu paij</i> √		
	1:IRR-make laplap yam		
	‘When I want to make a yam laplap.’		

Clause a) begins with the adverbial subordinator *narën ti* “when” which causes the verb “want” to be inflected with full irrealis prefixes. The following clause encodes the sentential object of the verb in clause a). The verb “make” in clause b) is fully inflected because desiderative complements are positioned at a subordinate syntactic level.

- c) (.7s) *p'a_i-v'a*
1SG:IRR-go
- d) *kĕi-lkas=i_j* √
ER-peel=3SG:OBJ
‘I will go and peel it (yam).’
- e) (1.3s) *kĕi-khitav=i_j* √
ER-grate=3SG:OBJ
‘And grate it.’
- f) (1.2s) *kĕi-vsnen narau_k* √
ER-flatten laplap.leaf
‘and I will flatten the laplap leaf.’
- g) (1.3s) *kĕi-khar m'ĕtu₁* √
ER-grate coconut
‘I will grate coconut.’
- h) (1.9s) *ipa₁-tar* √
3SG:IRR-be.located
‘It will stay aside.’

Clause c) returns to the main clause level and to the main timeline. The speaker is talking about what she would do if she were going to make laplap, and the verb is inflected with the first person irrealis prefix. The subject-person identity requirement continues to be met and the narrative flow is maintained from clause c) to clause g) resulting in a sequence of ER verbs which all have the same referent, “I”, as their subject. This changes in clause h) when the object argument of the ER verb in clause g) becomes the subject of the verb in h).

- i) (.7s) *narën ti nap'm ipa_m-v'a a nade_p'* →
 when SUB fire 3SG:IRR-go LOC ground
 ‘When the fire burns down,’
- j) (1.5s) *p'a_i-v'a*
 1SG:IRR-go
- k) *kë_i-npa nëkhau_n* √
 ER-cover laplap
 ‘I will go and cover the laplap.’
- l) (1.5s) *kë_i-vës_nen narau_k* √
 ER-flatten laplap.leaf
- m) (1s) *kë_i-tu nuk_o eia* √
 ER-put island.cabbage up
 ‘I will flatten the laplap leaves and put the cabbage on top.’
- n) (1.3s) *kë_i-lev nëkhau_n*
 ER-take laplap
- o) *kë_i-rë_v=i_n arnan-en_k* √
 ER-pull=3SG:OBJ on-POSS:3SG
 ‘I will take the laplap and spread it out on top of it.’

A new episode begins in clause i) signalled by the adverbial *narën ti* “when” and full inflections on “go”. There is also a change in the subject referent signalled by the noun phrase “fire”. The subject then returns to “I” in clause j). This is signalled by the full inflection on “go”. The subject referent “I” is maintained and no ER constraints are broken from clause j) to o) resulting in an episodic sequence of ERCs.

- p) (1.8s) *nëkhau_n i_n-v'i nëkhau_n tituwei au taut* √
 laplap 3SG:REAL-COP laplap before in.the.bush
 ‘This laplap is the traditional laplap.’

- q) (.8s) *a_p-vër*
IMPRS:REAL-say
- r) *te i_n-v'i nëkhu liplip_n √*
SUB 3SG:REAL-COP cabbage.laplap
'People call it liplip⁹⁵ style laplap.'

A narrative aside, where the speaker addresses the type of laplap that she is describing, establishes a new timeline in clauses p) to r). The new timeline starts with “laplap” as the subject of the copular verb in clause p). Clause p) is an equational construction where the speaker says the laplap is a traditional kind of laplap. Clauses q) and r) are a naming construction in which the verb “say” in clause q) is inflected with impersonal morphology and is followed by its sentential complement in clause r) that gives the name to the laplap.

- s) (1.9s) *p'e_i-lev' nëkhau_n √*
1:IRR-take laplap
- t) *kë_i-vsnen nuk_o ipë_o-raun →*
ER-flatten island.cabbage 3SG:IRR-go.around
- u) *kë_i-lev nëkhau_n →*
ER-take laplap
- v) *kë_i-tau=i_n →*
ER-put=3SG:OBJ
- w) *kë_i-rëv=i_n √*
ER-pull=3SG:OBJ
'I will take the laplap and flatten the cabbage around on it and I will take the laplap and put it on top and spread it around.'

The speaker returns to the main sequence of events in her description in clause s) and signals the beginning this new episode by using full inflections on “take”, the initial verb in the episode. The referent “I” remains the subject referent in a string of ER clauses from clause t) to w). Furthermore, a switch-function SVC with an echo-coded V1 occurs in clause t) as part of this ERC sequence. The object argument of the verb “flatten” shares identity with the subject of the following verb “go around”. The change in subject identity triggers the full inflection of “go around”. The verb “take”

⁹⁵ This style of laplap is a layered laplap with island cabbage leaves between each layer.

x)	(.7s) <i>p'e_i-rv=i_n</i> 1:IRR-pull=3SG:OBJ	<i>da</i> DUR	<i>da</i> DUR	<i>da</i> DUR	<i>da</i> DUR	<i>da</i> DUR
y)	<i>ipë_n-khirisim</i> ⁹⁶ 3SG:IRR-be.finished	<i>a</i> EXT.P	<i>nuk</i> ∇ (error) island.cabbage	'I will spread it and spread it around on top until all the cabbage is finished.'		
z)	<i>p'e_i-kharis</i> 1:IRR-be.finished	<i>a</i> EXT.P	<i>nuk</i> _o (correction) island.cabbage	'I will finish the island cabbage.'		

The verb “finish” in clause y) appears also to be a switch-function SVC with an ER coded V1 with “island cabbage” as the new subject. However, this is a grammatical error made by the speaker and she corrects herself in clause z).

- ba) (1.7s) *p'e_i-lev nuk_q uraur mël*,
1:IRR-take island.cabbage different again
'I will take some different cabbage,'
- bb) *këi-vs_{nan}=i_q mël arna nëkhau_n↘*
ER-flatten=3SG:OBJ again on laplap
'and I will put more flat on the laplap.'

⁹⁶ This verb is a mix of V'ënen Taut and Bislama. The traditional form of this verb is *khiris* or *kharis*, however; it often occurs with the Bislama transitive suffix *-im*. Interestingly, this does not transitive the verb as any additional participant is expressed with extended participant morphology.

changing to work with a new bunch of cabbage. The subject referents of clauses ba) and bb) display identity so the excerpt ends with an ERC.

7.9 Example Nine: Narrative Asides

The excerpt in example nine has been chosen to display how the switching of narrative modes can trigger the establishment of new timelines. It also displays how speakers are able to hold the subject referent of the main timeline of a text in their minds and recall it with an ERC when they return to the main timeline of their narrative, description, or explanation.

The excerpt comes from a recording where a man is demonstrating how to use snares to trap animals. The process involves placing a rope snare in the path of the animal. The snare is attached to a spring-loaded branch that is held under tension using a trigger. When the trigger is disturbed, the branch springs up and the snare tightens around the animal. The rope for the snare is made from the dry bark of the cottonwood tree. In the excerpt, the speaker is attempting to demonstrate how a person turns the bark into a rope by rolling it on the thigh. However, since the bark he is using is fresh, it does not hold its shape and he takes a break from his description of the process to explain this and then returns to his description. The speaker is talking in third person but demonstrating the process himself.

7.9	V'ënen Taut	[nwm-nmb-89:17-25]	[01:20.1-01:52.1]
a)	<i>ale khilakha</i> ↗ then now 'Ok now.'		
b)	(2.5s) <i>i_i-rn</i> 3SG:REAL-feel		
c)	<i>ti kilakha_j</i> SUB this.one	<i>i_j-dë-wir,</i> 3SG:REAL-CONT-wet	
d)	<i>i_j-d-a-m'am'a</i> 3SG:REAL-CONT-NEG-dry 'He feels that it is still wet, it is not dry yet.'		
e)	(.6s) <i>be</i> (.9s) <i>i_i-ln=i_j</i> but 3SG:REAL-leave=3SG:OBJ 'So he leaves it.'		

- f) *khilakha*, *i_i-kr=i_j* *i_j-m'am'a*
 this.one 3SG:REAL-scrape=3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-dry
 ‘This one, he has scraped it (the bark) and it has gone dry.’

Clause a) indicates the beginning of a new episode, which triggers the use of full inflections on the verb “feel” in clause b). The object complement clause of the verb “feel” in clause b) occurs in clause c) following the subordinator *ti*.

The subject referent of clause c) is “this”, referring to a piece of cottonwood bark that the speaker is holding. It is also the subject referent of “be dry” in clause d); however, as “be dry” has negative polarity, it is inflected with standard full inflections because the polarity constraint is broken. There is a change of subject in clause e) signalled by the full inflection of “leave”

The temporal flow constraint is broken in clause f) because this clause express an action that was undertaken before the point in time established previously in the text. This results in the full inflection of “scrape” even though it displays subject-person identity with “leave” in clause e). The verb “scrape” in clause f) forms a switch-function SVC with “be dry”. This is also supported by the actions of the speaker who is seen to drop the wet piece of bark he was using as a prop and to pick up a drier one he had already prepared.

- g) *ale* (.7s) *këi-da-v'a*
 then ER-CONST-go
- h) *këi-lak*
 ER-stay
 ‘Then he goes and sits.’
- i) (3.1s) *këi-vav=i_j* *aa →*
 (speaker kneels down) ER-turn-3SG:OBJ (agreement marker)
 ‘And he turns it, ah.’ (by rubbing on his thigh)
- j) *këi-vav=i_j* *i-nap'=i* *lakha* *↘*
 ER-turn=3SG:OBJ 3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM
 ‘He turns it like this.’

The text returns to the main timeline in clause g). This is jointly signalled by the word *ale* and interpretation of ERC in the clause, which is analysed as being in a dependent relationship with clause e) rather than f) because this continues the narrative flow of

the text. It also maps onto the actions of the speaker in real time as he kneels down to begin to work with the piece of bark he just picked up, pretending that no time had passed in the narrative.

In clauses h) to j) the speaker narrates his actions describing subsequent steps in the process of making the bark rope. These verbs are also inflected with ER inflections because they follow the temporal flow of the process and all of their subject arguments display subject-person identity.

- k) *sori,* *kilakha_k* *i_k-k-a-vav* *khin_k*
 sorry this.one 3SG:REAL-NES-NEG-turn 3SG
- l) *sena* *ti* *i_k-wir₁* ₁
 because SUB 3SG:REAL-wet
 ‘Sorry, this one will not roll up because it is wet.’

The speaker realises that his rope will not roll onto itself and comments on this with a narrative aside. He establishes a new timeline to comment about what is happening to the rope. He begins by apologising with “sorry”. The subject changes to “this one”, referring to the rope he is trying to roll. Because a new timeline has been established and there is a new subject referent, the verb “roll” is fully inflected. The explanation for the bark not becoming rope occurs in the embedded reason clause l) following the subordinator *sena ti* “because”.

- m) (1.s) *ale* *i_j-ma*
 then 3SG:REAL-come
- n) *kěj-v'i* *kilakha₁* ₁
 ER-COP this.one
 ‘Then it (the bark) becomes this.’

The speaker then takes the rolled rope he prepared before the recording session, effectively changing the real world subject participant as shown by the full inflection of “come” in clause m) but simultaneously recalling the former subject because the new rope is standing in the place of the other one. Clause m) forms the first part of a transformative construction indicating a change in state with the copular verb in clause n) acting as the second part indicating the new entity into which the referent has transformed. The copular in clause n) is inflected with the echo prefix because it

occurs simultaneously with “come”⁹⁷ in clause m). In clause n), the speaker holds up the finished rope to the camera when he says “this one”.

- o) (1.s) *kēi-vav=i_j* *dav'a*
 ER-turn=3SG:OBJ DUR
 p) *i_l-nap'=i* *lakha* ∟
 3SG:REAL-be.like=3SG:OBJ DEM
 ‘He turns it and turns it and it goes like this.’

The speaker returns to the main narrative with the verb “turn” inflected with the ER prefix in clause o). Its subject referent is highly salient in the narrative and must have been established before the narrative aside in clauses k) to n), which is not part of the main narrative. The available subject referent of this verb is the “man”, who has been the subject of the main narrative up to this point in the text and whose most recent occurrence as the subject of an FI verb occurred in clause e).

Clause p) expresses the result of the rolling. This clause refers to the real world object that the speaker is holding up to the camera. When he utters this clause, he shakes the rope to emphasise it.

- q) (1.5s) *ale* (1s) *khilakha* *i_i-tu* *pēt-n_m* ∟
 then now 3SG:REAL-put head-POSS:3SG
 ‘Then, now he ties the end of it.’
 r) *i_i-tu* *pēt* *nam'et_m* ∟
 3SG:REAL-put head snare
 ‘He ties the end of the snare.’

A new episode begins in clause q) indicated by the use of the temporal lexeme “now”, a change of subject from clause p) to q), and the use of full inflections on “put”. Clause r) is a recapitulative construction and is not considered a subsequent action to clause r). Indexing is repeated, rather than echoed.

⁹⁷ ERCs in which the first verb is “come” with the copular verb in the subsequent position can also be used to make transformative constructions in the same manner as transformative SVCs described in §4.2.

7.10 Summary

The extended text excerpts presented in this chapter have demonstrated the consistency with which the subject-person identity requirement, and the various constraints on ERC formation, operate in the data for V'ënen Taut. The examples show how ERCs are an essential grammatical device for tracking subject identity in natural speech. Subject maintenance is signalled in subsequent clauses by verbs inflected with the ER subject prefix. The situations expressed by verbs in subsequent clauses are semantically dependant on the previous FI verb for their person/mood values, their polarity, and their illocutionary force. Sequences of multiple ER clauses are permitted in a single narrative episode, provided none of the constraints on ERC formation are broken. The excerpts have also demonstrated that when a subject changes, the new subject is encoded with full inflectional morphology on the following verb. The excerpts have also shown how the occurrence of ERCs is sensitive to linear temporal continuity. Embedded clauses, as well as narrative asides, are analysed as creating new timelines in the temporal flow of a text. Such clauses trigger the use of full inflections in the initial clause in the new timeline and subsequent use of ERCs henceforth where appropriate within the new timeline.

PART THREE: A Comparative Analysis

Chapter Eight

Comparative Function of SVCs and ERCs in Northwest Malekula

A comparison has been made previously between the ERCs of Southern Vanuatu and the SVCs of the Paamese language of Paama Island in Central Vanuatu (Crowley, 2002, p. 178-214). In this chapter, the form, function, and grammatical features of SVCs and ERCs in the languages of Northwest Malekula are compared, appealing to the broader typological descriptions of SVCs and ERCs presented in Chapters Two and Five, and summarising the descriptions of SVCs and ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages presented in Chapters Four and Six (§8.1-§8.2). In comparing Paamese and Sye, Crowley (2002, p. 208-214) noted a number of shared functional uses of SVCs and ERCs. A comparison between the two construction types in the Northwest Malekula languages supports this observation (§8.3).

Previous work on ERCs in Southern Vanuatu theorises that ERCs developed out of SVCs in those languages through the grammaticalization of the Proto Oceanic coordinator **ma* (Crowley, 2002, p. 206; de Sousa, 2007, Lynch, 1983, p. 219; Lynch, 2001, p. 177). It is believed that modern reflexes of the Proto Oceanic coordinator developed into clitics that attached to the beginning of non-initial verbs in coordinate clauses (Crowley, 2002, p. 196; Lynch, 2001, p. 177). Over time, these clitics became grammaticalized into the subject indexing morphology of the Southern Vanuatu languages. This accounts for the similarities in their ER systems, which all display the phoneme /m/, and for differences between the ER systems in the languages, the structural position of ER morphology, the amount of grammatical reduction in ER clauses, and which arguments are permitted to share identity between FI and ER verbs (§5.2). While this diachronic pathway appears to be the most likely origin of ERCs in the Southern Vanuatu languages, it does not account for the heterogeneous forms that ER morphemes take in the Central Vanuatu languages. The

synchronic distribution and diachronic development of ERCs in relation to SVCs is elaborated upon further (§8.4).

The chapter concludes with an identification of areas for further research (§8.5).

8.1 The Properties of SVCs and ERCs Compared

Chapter Four described SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages following the following the framework presented below in table 8.1.

Property:	Features:
Monoclausality	No evidence of coordination, subordination, syntactic dependency, or any other kind of linking The verbs in the SVC share the same TAMP value and interlocutory force. Clauses join in nuclear junctures (single verbal complex) or core junctures (multiple verb complexes). Verbs comprising SVCs can be marked singly or concordantly but they do not have special marking.
Independent Verbs	SVCs are composed of independent verbs. Independent verbs have the same meaning when occurring in simple verbal clauses as when they occur in SVCs or their meaning in SVCs is clearly related their simple verbal clause meaning.
Argument Identity	At least one argument of V1 and V2 display identity, or SVCs are ambient inflected with third person singular subject prefixes.

Table 8.1: Properties of SVCs in Northwest Malekula
(summarized from Chapter Four)

There are two further generalisations about SVCs that can be made concerning symmetry and eventhood. SVCs are categorised in terms of symmetry. Symmetrical SVCs comprise verbs with no morphosyntactic or semantic restriction in V1 and V2 position or they comprise verbs from identifiable morphosyntactic and semantic classes in both V1 and V2 position. Asymmetrical SVCs comprise verbs of which one verb, the minor verb, comes from a restricted subset of independent verbs while the other verb is not restricted. There are a number of functional types of SVCs that are attested in serialising languages cross-linguistically and these are also found in the Northwest Malekula languages (§4.2 and §4.3.5). These functional types of SVC are identified by the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the verbs comprising the SVC (see tables 4.1, 4.5-4.8). The second generalisation about SVCs concerns the notion of eventhood. The verbs comprising SVCs tend to encode

situations where the actions denoted by the verbs can be interpreted as occurring either simultaneously or in linear temporal sequence (see §2.5).

Chapter Six described ERCs in V'ënen Taut and Tape and established that for subsequent clauses to be coded as ER clauses, they must display subject-person identity with subject of the verb in a previous fully inflected clause. A series of six constraints that prevent the formation of ERCs were identified in Chapter Six (§6.3-§6.9). Table 8.2 displays a summary of parameters of ERC formation.

Requirement	
Subject-Person Identity	The subject of one or more sequential verbs have the same referent as the subject of an initial verb.
Constraints	
Number	The number of the subject of the ER verb is equal or greater than the number of the subject of the FI verb.
Polarity	The polarity of the FI clause is maintained in the ER clause.
Temporal Flow	ER verbs encode events that have simultaneous or sequential temporal relationship with the FI verb.
Embedding	ERCs can only form on the same casual level as the FI verb.
Force	The ER clause displays the same illocutionary force as the FI clause and visa-versa.
Episode	ERC do not form over episode boundaries
Table 8.2: Parameters for ERC formation (summarized from Chapter Seven)	

Similarly to SVCs, there are a number of functional sub-types of ERCs comprising verbs with specific morphosyntactic and semantic properties coded as the initial or subsequent verb (§5.2.4). Some of the attested functions are: directionals, comparatives, and introducing complement clauses.

At first glance, tables 8.1 and 8.2 may appear to show more differences than similarities between SVCs and ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. However, when the grammatical properties and constraints on the use of the two constructions are presented in a more generic way, it can be seen that they have more shared features than contrastive features. The grammatical properties of SVCs and ERCs can be organised into four categories: verbs, TAMP properties, participant identity, and clausehood. Each of these categories has several specific grammatical properties that are attested in SVCs and/or ERCs in Northwest Malekula languages. Table 8.3 shows that almost all properties are shared by both constructions types.

	Property	SVCs	ERCs
Verbs	independent verbs	✓	✓
	symmetrical constructions	✓	✓
	asymmetrical constructions	✓	✓
Temporal Flow	shared mood	✓	✓
	shared polarity	✓	✓
	shared illocutionary force	✓	✓
	different aspect morphology	✗	✓
	temporal flow	✓	✓
Participant Identity	shared arguments	✓	✓
	same-subject	✓	✓
	switch-function	✓	✗
	non-initial person number equal or greater than initial person number	✓	✓
	ambient constructions	✓	✗
Clausehood	monoclausal	✓	✗
	nuclear junctures	✓	N/A
	core junctures	✓	N/A
	subordination	✗	✗
	coordination	✗	✓
	dependency	✗	✓
	clause skipping	✗	✓

Table 8.3: Properties of SVCs and ERCs

SVCs and ERCs both comprise independent verbs and display similar temporal properties. Their most striking differences occur in the ways in which the arguments of the verbs in the constructions relate to each other, and in clausehood. SVCs are defined as being monoclausal, while ERCs form multi-clausal constructions.

8.1.1 Independent Verbs in SVCs and ERCs

In §2.2.1 independent verbs were described as a lexeme that can occur as the head of a verb phrase in a simple verbal clause, following language specific morphosyntactic properties of verbs. In the case of the Northwest Malekula languages, independent verbs are lexemes that accept modification by morphemes from the preverbal complex.

SVCs comprise two or more independent verbs joined in the nuclear or core layer of the clause. Nuclear SVCs are single-marked; only V1 is inflected by preverbal morphology. V1 and V2 form a single verb complex and there are no intervening elements between them. Only constructions that have two contiguous independent

verbs are considered nuclear SVCs. In contrast, core SVCs comprise two verbal complexes; V1 and V2 receive concordant marking. The core object argument of V1 can occur between V1 and V2.

ERCs also comprise independent verbs in Northwest Malekula. The ER morpheme in V'ënen Taut and Tape is analysed as occurring in the subject/mood position of the preverbal complex. As such, all lexemes that accept inflection with the ER prefix are independent verbs. As the subsequent verbs in ERCs are modified with preverbal morphology they are not considered single marked. However, they are not marked with concordant marking either because ERCs are marked with special ER morphology.

8.1.2 Symmetricality in SVCs and ERCs

Both SVCs and ERCs can be analysed in terms of symmetricality. Nuclear SVCs are very rare in the Northwest Malekula languages. Most verbs-like elements that were capable of nuclear serialisation appear to have undergone a diachronic change in their morphosyntactic properties, becoming highly restricted coverbs; however, there are still a few verbs that appear to serialize with a nuclear juncture. Symmetrical multi-verb constructions comprise independent verbs with no morphosyntactic or semantic restriction in the initial or subsequent position or they comprise verbs from identifiable morphosyntactic and semantic classes in the initial or subsequent position. The verbs in symmetrical multi-verb constructions have equal or close to equal status in the meaning of the construction.⁹⁸ On the other hand, in asymmetrical multi-verb constructions, one or all of the verbs in the construction come from a restricted semantic or morphosyntactic subclass. The restricted verb in asymmetrical constructions is called the minor verb. All nuclear SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages are asymmetrical because one of the constituent verbs is restricted in all the attested types. Outside of the nuclear layer, multi-verb constructions can be symmetrical or asymmetrical. Core layer SVCs are very common in Tirax and Tape. The minor verb in asymmetrical multi-verb constructions can be either the initial verb

⁹⁸ ER verbs are syntactically dependent on the FI verb for grammatical meanings such as person, mood, and polarity but they can be understood to have equal semantic status.

or the non-initial verb. All SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages can be classified as falling into one of the functional types presented in tables 8.4 and 8.5.

ERCs can generally also be analysed as one of the functional types shown in tables 8.4 and 8.5, provided the verbs display same-subject identity. Symmetricality in ERCs will be described in more detail in §8.3.

8.1.3 Temporal Flow and Polarity

SVCs and ERCs display similar temporal properties. The non-initial verb(s) in these multi-verb constructions encode events that have a simultaneous or an iconic linear temporal relationship with the previous verb. This work has not made the claim that SVCs encode single events (§2.5); however, it does appear to be the case that these multi-verb constructions encode sequences of closely related events. This holds true in monoclausal SVCs and in multi-clausal ERCs. The sequential nature of ERCs is evidenced by V'ënen Taut, which allows sequences of ER verbs expressing consecutive actions in a larger proposition, or episode. After a sequence of temporally linked ER clauses ends, a fully inflected verb will follow.

The verbs in multi-verb constructions have the same semantic mood value. In nuclear SVCs, the verbs have the same mood because they are single marked. Verbs in core SVCs receive concordant marking. With the exception of negated core SVCs, there are no instances of core SVCs in which V1 and V2 are inflected with subject prefixes that encode different moods. ER morphemes in the Northwest Malekula languages are not overtly coded in regard to mood; however, it can be understood through context that ER verbs share the mood value of the initial FI verb.

There are no instances of SVCs comprising verbs inflected with different inflectional aspect morphology attested in the analysed corpus. Verbs in ERCs can accept aspectual inflection in V'ënen Taut if the verbs are interpreted as displaying linear temporal order.

The verbs in SVCs and those in ERCs share the same illocutionary force. A grammatical signifier of imperative or interrogative force within either construction triggers the whole construction to be interpreted as displaying imperative or interrogative force.

The final property of the temporal flow category concerns polarity. With the exception of ambient SVCs, the polarity of the whole construction, either positive or negative, is indicated by the initial verb. Changes in the interpretation of the polarity of the verbs in multi-verb constructions do not occur in either SVCs or ERCs. As nuclear layer SVCs are single-marked, nuclear SVCs as a whole have their negative status shown by a single occurrence of negative marking. In V'ënen Taut (§1.5.1) and Tape (§1.5.2), the negative morpheme occurs in the preverbal complex of the initial verb and signals negation for the whole complex nucleus. In Tirax (§1.5.3), negation is most commonly marked with a post-verbal negative morpheme. Brotchie (2009, p. 171) reports that this follows nuclear SVCs.

In the case of non-ambient core layer SVCs, if the initial verb has positive polarity, the whole construction has positive polarity. If the subsequent verb(s) displays negative polarity, the construction is considered multi-clausal, and it is not an SVC. There appears to be two different patterns of negating ambient SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. Ambient SVCs comprise a clause followed by a verb with third person singular subject indexing that acts like a clausal modifier. Following the first pattern, if the non-ambient verb is marked as having negative polarity, the ambient verb is inflected with the third person singular irrealis subject prefix. The irrealis mood inflection appears to reflect the reality status of the non-ambient verb. A similar pattern of marking is attested in Paamese (Crowley, 2002, p. 57) and Vatlongos (Ridge, 2019, p. 260). In the second pattern, the ambient verb is marked with the negative morpheme which gives a negative reading to the ambient verb acting as a clausal modifier. The scope of negation is limited to the property described by the ambient verb. In Tape, there is one attested instance of a negated SVCs showing concordant negation. The lack of data concerning negation and SVCs in the Northwest Malekula corpus makes it difficult to make strong claims about polarity coding in SVCs

Similarly to SVCs, as described by the polarity constraint in §6.4.1, changes in the interpretation of polarity of the verbs that comprise ERCs are not attested in Northwest Malekula languages. There are no occurrences of verbs inflected with both the ER prefix and the negative prefix in V'ënen Taut or in Tape. Like person and mood, ER verbs are dependent on the initial FI verb for their polarity value. An

established ER sequence with positive polarity will end when a change in polarity occurs.

To summarise, the temporal flow property is shared by both SVCs and ERCs. The verbs that comprise multi-verb constructions take place either simultaneously or sequentially in time, and are understood to share the same polarity and illocutionary force.

8.1.4 Participant Identity

A definitional property of both SVCs and ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages is that they comprise verbs that share at least one core argument, the exception being ambient SVCs. The key difference between the two constructions types is the arguments that are required to display identity.

As verbs in nuclear SVCs are single marked and have one core argument for intransitive SVCs and two core arguments for transitive verbs, a composite argument structure is formed. Many kinds of core SVCs in Tirax and Tape display same-subject participant identity. The non-initial verbs in same-subject and inclusory SVCs do not receive special marking, but are marked with concordant or inclusory subject marking. Switch-function core SVCs, where the object of V1 shares identity with the subject of V2, are found in all of the Northwest Malekula languages.

In V'enen Taut and Tape, verbs inflected with the ER prefix are attested displaying same-subject participant identity with the subject participant of the previous ER verb(s) or previous FI verb on the same syntactic level. The partial exception to this rule concerns inclusory ERCs, in which the subject of an ER verb displays identity with the combined subject and object participant of the previous verb ER or FI verb. Unlike some of the Southern Vanuatu languages, subject of participants of ER verbs are not attested displaying identity with object participants of a previous verb (see example 5.36).

8.1.5 Embedding

There are three main types of embedded clauses in the Northwest Malekula languages: relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial subordinate clauses.

Most embedded clauses are introduced with the general subordinator *tV*. Optionally, the subordinate clause can be morphologically unmarked. Neither SVCs nor ERCs are attested forming over the boundary of a main clause and an embedded clauses in the analysed corpus. The initial verb cannot occur outside a subordinate clause with a subsequent verb occurring inside the embedded clause. However, both SVCs and ERCs are attested within embedded clauses at the same syntactic level.

Embedded clauses are attested as occurring inside established ER sequences in V'ënen Taut (§6.6). An ERC can “skip” over an embedded clause, provided the subsequent clause is at the same syntactic level as the initial FI verb, or preceding ER verb(s). SVCs cannot form around or “skip” subordinate clauses because they are monoclausal constructions. Such a structure would involve V1 before a subordinate clause and V2 after a subordinate clause, which would indicate multiple clauses. V1 and V2 can generally only be separated by an expression of a core argument. Following a switch-function SVC, the subject of a subsequent ER verb can display identity with either the subject participant of the V1 or the shared O-function and S/A function of V1 and V2. The selection of the antecedent depends on the semantic properties of the ER marked verb (§6.7).

8.2 Contrastive Features of SVCs and ERCs

Table 8.3 shows that the main areas of difference between SVCs and ERCs occur in the category of clausehood. This is because SVCs are monoclausal constructions, while ERCs in V'ënen Taut and Tape are multi-clausal. The other key point of difference concerns participant identity which was partially described above in §8.1.4.

8.2.1 Participant Non-Identity

As mentioned previously, the verbs comprising SVCs and ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages are attested displaying same-subject participant identity. However, switch-function and ambient argument sharing patterns occur regularly in multi-verb constructions in the Northwest Malekula languages. Multi-verb sequences that display switch-function and ambient argument sharing cannot be expressed using

ERCs in V'ënen Taut and Tape due to a breach of the subject-person identity requirement (§6.2.4).

Switch-function SVCs that comprise a transitive V1, the object of which shares identity with the subject of V2, are common in the Northwest Malekula languages. Because of the subject-person identity requirement, switch-function multi-verb constructions in Northwest Malekula are always expressed as SVCs and the subsequent verb cannot be inflected with ER morphology. However, it is possible for the initial verb in a switch-function SVC to be coded as an ER verb, if it is a continuation of an existing ER sequence.

Ambient constructions are also only attested as SVCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. Like switch-function SVCs, the non-initial ambient verb cannot be inflected with ER morphology because it does not display same-subject participant identity with the previous verb in the clause. Verbs comprising ambient SVCs do not display participant identity with any individual participant associated with the previous verb. Rather, the ambient verb can be analysed as modifying the previous verb(s) and its argument(s) together. The ambient verb is coded using a third-person singular subject morpheme.

To summarise, participant identity is a key feature of both SVCs and ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. The important point of contrast is that ERCs are restricted to instances of same-subject participant identity, and this feature is encoded with special marking on non-initial verbs. Same-subject participant identity can also be encoded using single marking with nuclear SVCs and concordant marking in core layer SVCs. Significantly, core layer SVCs are also used in constructions in which the subject of the non-initial verb displays identity with object argument of the initial verb in the case of switch-function SVCs. In the case of ambient SVCs, the subject of the non-initial verb displays identity the proposition expressed by the initial verb and its arguments as a whole.

8.2.2 Clausehood

The monoclausality of SVCs is well established in the typological literature (§2.1), and it is a property of SVCs the languages of Central Vanuatu (Chapter Three) and Northwest Malekula (Chapter Four). In the Northwest Malekula languages, the verbs

that comprise SVCs display no evidence of coordination, subordination, syntactic dependency, or any other kind of linking. ERCs are not analysed as monoclausal constructions in the Northwest Malekula or the Southern Vanuatu languages because they display almost all of the aforementioned properties. Only the inability of verbs on different syntactic levels to form either SVCs or ERCs is shared by ERCs in V'ënen Taut and SVCs in the other Northwest Malekula languages (§6.6 and §8.1.5).

Clausehood is the major point of difference between structures analysed as SVCs and those analysed as ERCs. Many ERCs in the V'ënen Taut and Tape corpora are clearly multi-clausal. The closest grammatical structure to this type of sequence of ER clauses in serialising languages are clause chains, which can comprise sequences of simple clauses and multi-verb SVCs. In Tirax and Tape, clause chains do not receive special marking like the ERCs of V'ënen Taut; instead, clauses are juxtaposed and articulated as separate intonation units.

An important piece of evidence for the multi-clausal analysis of ERCs in V'ënen Taut is the ability for clausal coordination to occur between ER clauses. The most common coordinator to occur in ERCs is the conjunctive/adversative coordinator *v'e~pe* “and/but”.

While coordination is permitted in ERCs, neither ERCs nor SVCs can show evidence of the initial verb and non-initial verbs occurring in different levels of syntactic embedding. ERCs and SVCs can occur within embedded clauses provided they form on the same syntactic level. While ERCs cannot form between verbs on different syntactic levels, subordinate clauses are attested occurring inside of an already established ER sequence, where the ERC skips the subordinate clause. Thus, it is possible for an ER verb to display same-subject participant identity with an initial verb from which it is separated by an embedded clause. The antecedent of an ER verb cannot be in the immediately preceding embedded clause because this would break the embedding constraint and the temporal flow constraint because embedded clauses constitute their own timeline.

Although not embedded, verbs that are inflected with the ER prefix in the Northwest Malekula languages are semantically dependent on their initial verb. Person, mood, and polarity values are assigned by the initial verb in the ERC. As the ER prefix only occurs in multi-clausal constructions, and because it signals that constituent verbs

display same-subject participant identity with the initial verb, the ER prefix could also be analysed as a kind of linking element. Both dependency and the presence of linking elements are disallowed by SVCs but are found in ERCs.

The final major point of difference between SVCs and ERCs occurs in the types of junctures between the verbs that comprise the constructions. SVCs can form junctures on the nuclear and core layers of the clause. Nuclear SVCs, as well as other complex nuclei, are single marked and the nuclear constituents are contiguous. The verbs in nuclear SVCs share the same core arguments. Core layer SVCs are marked concordantly and minimally share one argument, or they form ambient SVCs. ERCs are multi-clausal, and each clause within the construction can potentially be joined to other clauses in the construction with an overt coordinator. Subsequent verb(s) with ER prefixes occur in clauses that are semantically dependant on the inflections of an initial verb in a preceding clause, although they are not syntactically embedded within the clause containing the initial FI verb.

8.3 Functional Uses of SVCs and ERCs

The previous two sections summarised the shared and contrasting properties of SVCs and ERCs in the Northwest Malekula languages. The sections showed that both constructions comprise independent verbs and share many grammatical features. The two constructions are distinguished by their morphology and clausal status. In this section, the distribution of these properties will be described as they interact with the functions of SVCs and ERCs in V'ënen Taut.

Section §2.4 presented a list of functional types of SVC that occur commonly in the typological literature, especially concerning SVCs Oceanic languages. Section §4.2 and §4.3.5 presented several lists of functional types of SVCs attested in the Northwest Malekula languages, organised by symmetry and argument sharing. Combining the functional SVC types in §2.4 and §4.2 and §4.3.5 into the comparative tables 8.4 and 8.5, the use of same-subject SVCs, switch-function SVCs, and ERCs is observed to be predictably distributed in the three languages following the grammatical properties of the three constructions. The identified functional types of switch-function SVCs are attested in the three Northwest Malekula languages. The functional types of same-subject SVCs are attested in Tape and Tirax but not in

V'ënen Taut. Instead, V'ënen Taut employs ERCs, which are constrained by the subject-person identity requirement. The use of SVCs and ERCs is thus distributed on a functional basis in V'ënen Taut, as well as within some of the Tape data.

Function	Symmetricality Type	Initial Verb	Non-initial	Argument Sharing	SVC	ERC
Sequence of actions	Type 1	any	any	same-subject	✓	✓
Cause-effect	Type 1	any	any	switch-function	✓	✗
Resultative	Type 2	dynamic action	stative	switch-function	✓	✗
Manner	Type 2	action	stative	ambient	✓	✗
Prior motion	Type 2	basic motion verb	action	same-subject	✓	✓

Table 8.4: Symmetrical functional types of ERCs and SVCs

Function	Asymmetricality Type	Minor Verb	Argument Sharing	SVC	ERC
Directional	Type 1	basic motion verb	same-subject	✓	✓
			switch-function	✓	✗
Positional	Type 1	postural verb	same-subject	✓	✓
			switch-function	✓	✗
Causative	Type 1	“make/do”	switch-function	✓	✗
Transformational	Type 1	copular	switch-function	✓	✗
Completive aspect	Type 1	“finish”	ambient	✓	✗
Inceptive/inchoative aspect	Type 1	“come” “go”	same-subject	✓	✓
Comparative/superlative	Type 1	stative verb	“go past”	✓	✓
Complement	Type 1	locution verb	“say”	✓	✓

Table 8.5: Asymmetrical functional types of ERCs and SVCs

A key structural difference between SVCs and ERCs is the distinctive ER subject marking prefix, which occurs in the subject/mood position of the preverbal complex on non-initial verbs, inflecting non-initial verbs under subject identity in ERCs. Sequences of verbs in which the subject arguments display non-identity do not receive special grammatical marking in multi-verb constructions. Such verbs are fully inflected. Crowley (2002, p. 208-212) also noted a similar distribution and functional overlap between SVCs in Paamese and ERCs in Sye: Paamese uses SVCs to express meanings that are expressed using ERCs in Sye.

Examples 8.1-8.12 illustrate the distributed function of SVCs and ERCs in V'ënen Taut by presenting examples from V'ënen Taut of some of the functional sub-types of multi-verb constructions shown in tables 8.4 and 8.5. Where necessary, an example from one of the other Northwest Malekula languages is presented to show the contrast between ERCs and SVCs where subject identity occurs. Note that some of these examples have been presented previously in this work.

Examples 8.1 a) and b) display sequences of actions performed by the same subject.

8.1	V'ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-40:06-10] [00:55.1-01:08.3]			
	<i>p'a-v'a</i>	<i>kë-lkas=i</i>	<i>kë-khitav=i</i>	<i>kë-vsnen</i>
	1SG:IRR-go	ER-peel=3SG:OBJ	ER-grate=3SG:OBJ	ER-flatten
	<i>narau</i>	<i>kë-khar</i>	<i>m'ëtu</i>	<i>ipa-tar</i>
	laplap.leaf	ER-grate	coconut	3SG:IRR-be.located
	'I will go peel and grate it, and flatten a laplap leaf and then grate the coconut and put it aside.'			
	Tape SVC [nwm-mrs-09:07-08] [00:45.2-00:48.4]			
b)	<i>i-n-lev</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>mëtiu</i>	<i>i-n-vet</i> <i>tang</i>
	3SG:REAL-PL-take	leaf	coconut	3SG:REAL-PL-weave basket
	'They take coconut leaves and weave baskets (from them).'			

Example 8.2 presents a cause-effect switch-function SVC in which the subject argument performs the action expressed by V1 resulting in its object argument performing the action expressed by V2.

8.2	V'ënen Taut SVC [nwm-nmb-19:07] [00:24.4-00:25.6]	
	<i>a-tr=i</i>	<i>i-vral...</i>
	IMPRS-cut=3SG	3SG:REAL-fall...
	'People cut cut it (branches on tree) and it falls down...'	

The next example displays a resultative SVC. The subject of V1 performs an action resulting in its object argument gaining the characteristics expressed by the stative V2.

8.3	V'ënen Taut SVC	[nwm-nmb-91:08]	[00:57.7-00:59.3]
	<i>i-tapkha</i>	<i>tim'akh</i>	<i>i-m'akh....</i>
	3SG:REAL-PL-roast.fire=3SG	food	3SG:REAL-be.cooked
	'...it (coconut shells) cooks the food...'		

Examples 8.4 a) and b) display prior motion multi-verbs constructions. These are same-subject constructions. ERCs are used in V'ënen Taut and SVCs are used in Tape and Tirax.

8.4	V'ënen Taut ERC		[nwm-nmb-100:03]	[00:41.1-00:49.3]			
a)	<i>lakhara</i>	<i>naparavet</i>	<i>i-v'a</i>	<i>kě-těp</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>ru</i>	<i>puk</i>
	DEM	kingfisher	3SG:REAL-go	ER-peck	SEVER	leaf	taro
	<i>i-aměk...</i>						
	3SG:REAL-one						
	‘Then the kingfisher went and pecked off a taro leaf...’						
	Tirax SVC		[nwm-mme-55:08]	[00:51.4-00:54.1]			
b)	<i>ale</i>	<i>xain</i>	<i>i-mè</i>	<i>i-tès</i>	<i>nabu</i>		
	so	3SG	3SG:REAL-come	3SG:REAL-cut	bamboo		
	‘So she came and cut bamboo.’						

Directional multi-verb constructions can display both same-subject and switch-function argument sharing. In directionals, the initial verb expresses movement and the subsequent verb provides directionality using a basic motion verb. In same-subject directionals, the subsequent verb provides directionally of the movement of the subject of the initial verb, expressed using ERCs in V'ënen Taut as shown in example 8.5 a), and using SVCs in Tirax as shown in example 8.5 b). In switch-function directionals, like example 8.5 c), the subsequent verb provides directionality to the movement of the object of the initial verb. All such switch-function construction are expressed using SVCs.

8.5	V'ënen Taut ERC		[nwm-nmb-04:100]	[08:47.1-08:49.9]
a)	<i>...malakël</i>	<i>lakhara</i>	<i>i-vrvr</i>	<i>kě-da-ma</i>
	young.person	DEM	3SG:REAL-run	ER-CONST-come
	'... the young man came running.'			

- b) Tirax SVC [nwm-mme-15:10] [01:10.2-01:11.6]
...në-vial në-mè lain
 1SG:REAL-walk 1SG:REAL-come inside
 ‘...I walked home.’
- c) V’ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-21:35] [02:26.9-02:28.5]
ale i-lev kana në-ma avaren
 so 3SG:REAL-take 1SG 1:REAL-come outside
 ‘So he brought me outside.’

Positional multi-verb constructions can also display both same-subject and switch-function argument sharing patterns. In positionals, a postural verb acts as the non-initial verb encoding the position of the participant, following the action expressed by the initial verb. In same-subject positionals, the initial verb is generally a basic motion verb, as in examples 8.6 a) and b), and in switch-function positionals the initial verb is a transitive verb which expresses movement of another entity as shown in 8.6 c).

- 8.6 V’ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-93:41] [03:40.7-03:45.2]
 a) *lakhara lëpu pa lakhara i-v’a kē-lak*
 DEM rat be.small DEM 3SG:REAL-go ER-stay
arna du npakh
 on back turtle
 ‘Then the little rat went onto the turtle’s back.’
- b) Tirax SVC [nwm-mme-44:8] [01:02.4-01:04.3]
na-r-mè na-r-at nënga Nabawan....
 1NSG:REAL-DU-come 1NSG:REAL-DU-stay LOC Nambawan
 ‘We came to Nambawan (a garden)...’
- c) V’ënen Taut SVC [nwm-nmb-14:40] [03:03.6-03:06.6]
a-v-tiran pai i-tar mamakh arana
 3NSG:REAL-PL-put.up yam 3SG:REAL-be.at WELL on
tratr
 yam.rack
 ‘They store the yams well on the yam rack.’

Inchoative aspect can be encoded using same-subject multi-verb constructions in which the initial verb is either the verb “go” or “come” and the subsequent verb is an attributive stative verb or the copular verb. As these are same-subject construction they are expressed using ERCs in V’ënen Taut and SVCs in Tirax.

- 8.7 V'ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-71:02] [00:46.7-00:48.3]
a) ...*a* *nat-n* *i-ma* *kë-lil*
PERS child-POSS:3SG 3SG:REAL-come ER-be.big
‘...his son got older...’
- V'ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-51:80] [05:18.8-05:20.1]
b) *i-ma* *kë-vi* *udran* *tikh nap'*
3SG:REAL-come ER-COP all ash
‘It all becomes ashes.’
- V'ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-08:18] [00:59.9-01:01.3]
c) *narën* *i-v'a* *kë-tërtarep'*
when 3SG:REAL-go ER-get.old
‘When he gets older.’
- Tirax SVC [nwm-mme-13:38] [02:39.1-02:42.2]
d) *i-tòx* *linha* *vòvò* *i-van* *i-mërang...*
3SG:REAL-be.located up DUR 3SG:REAL-go 3SG:REAL-be.dry
‘It (seed pod) is up high on and on and becomes dry...’

Comparative/superlative multi-verb constructions comprise an initial attributive stative verb. The subsequent verb “go past” is transitive. The two entities being compared are the subject of the initial verb and object of the non-initial verb.

- 8.9 V'ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-51:01] [06:53.8-06:58.8]
a) ...*neiel* *ipë-khua* *dav'a* *ipë-khua* *dav'a* *kë-siv'*
sun 3SG:IRR-be.strong DUR 3SG:IRR-be.strong DUR ER-go.past
narën *udran=i*
time all=3SG:OBJ
‘...the sun will be much much stronger than all other times.’
- 8.10 Tape SVC [nwm-mrs-103:05] [00:44.6-00:48.0]
b) *kenek* *en-kuos* *en-jiv* *nakëm*
1SG 1SG:REAL-be.strong 1SG:REAL-go.past 2SG
‘I am stonger than you.’

Verbs meaning “say” often introduce the complements of verb of utterance/locution. These constructions involve same-subject argument sharing, and as such they are coded as either ERCs in V'ënen Taut and SVCs elsewhere.

- 8.11 V'ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-100:12] [01:30.5-01:32.3]
a) *i-vër* *a* *lëpu* *kë-vër* *ti* *a* *"khinak*
3SG:REAL-say EXT.P rat ER-say SUB EXT.P who
i-khan *pai* *lakha?"*
3SG:REAL-eat yam DEM
'It (turtle) said to rat, "who ate the yam?"'
- V'ënen Taut ERC [nwm-nmb-57:38] [03:32.5-03:34.5]
b) *...kë-khai* *an=r* *mël* *i-v-amëk* *kë-vër*
ER-sing EXT.P=3NSG:OBJ again 3SG:REAL-MULT-one ER-say
te...
SUB...
'...and she sang again at once saying...'
- Tirax SVC [nwm-mme-19:35] [02:41.7-02:43.9]
c) *...i-tev* *i-vër* *sar* *xini* *tatè* *han...*
3SG:REAL-callout 3SG:REAL-say CONT EXT.P father POSS:3SG
'...he was calling out to his father saying...'

Example 8.12 a) and b) display the final two construction types. Both are switch-function and are expressed as SVCs. Example a) is a causative SVC and example b) is a transformational SVC.

- 8.12 V'ënen Taut SVC [nwm-nmb-97:110] [09:23.6-03:24.4]
a) *...au* *lara* *i-an* *trabol*⁹⁹ *i-ma* *asn*
man DEM 3SG:REAL-make problem 3SG:REAL-come beside
a *mëlin...*
PERS chief
'...that man made a problem come to the chief...'
- V'ënen Taut SVC [nwm-nmb-68:34] [03:17.7-09:27.5]
b) *su* *rau=n* *lakha,* *në-v-khës=i*
bone leaf-POSS:3SG DEM 1:REAL-PL-scrape=3SG
i-v'i *sukhëvir*
3SG:REAL-COP broom
'The spine of its leaf (coconut), we scrape it and it becomes a boom bristle.'

8.4 ERCs & SVCs: Synchronic Observations and Diachronic Speculations

As noted in Chapter Five, the echo-reference constructions of Southern Vanuatu appear to have developed from the Proto Oceanic (POc) coordinator **ma* (Lynch et

⁹⁹ This is borrow form Bislama, the V'ënen Taut word is *dar*.

al, 2002, p. 89; Moyse-Faurie & Lynch, 2004, p. 449). The coordinator has grammaticalized and become integrated into the subject marking system of the languages of Tanna, Erromango, and Anejoñ, replacing the use of SVCs in some contexts (Crowley, 2002; de Sousa, 2007). The grammatical function of linking phrasal elements or whole clauses of **ma* is maintained in ERCs, which are sequences of clauses linked together by the ER morpheme, based canonically on same-subject identity. Crowley (2002, p. 181) observes that there is no evidence that POc employed ERCs, so the construction likely developed in the Southern Vanuatu languages more recently in linguistic history. Further evidence of this is the differing levels of integration into the subject indexing systems of the different languages of Southern Vanuatu displayed by **ma*. In Anejoñ, **ma* is the least integrated, while in the languages of Tanna, particularly North Tanna, **ma* is the most integrated (Crowley, 2002, p. 206-7; de Sousa, 2007, p. 19-23).

The first step in the grammaticalization process is seen in Anejoñ in which **ma* has become a bound proclitic that attaches to the beginning of subsequent verbs (Crowley, 2002, p. 206; de Sousa, 2007, p. 20; Lynch, 2000, p. 177). This shows some level of grammaticalization as **ma* has become a bound morpheme. There are three further identifiable phases in the grammaticalization of **ma* into the ER prefix in Southern Vanuatu.¹⁰⁰ The next step in the development of ERCs is shown in the languages of Erromango. Crowley (2002, p. 207) suggests that the varying allomorphy in the ER prefixes in Sye appears to be an innovation in that language after the acquisition of echo marking. The ER prefix retains some properties of coordinators in Sye because it is not attested as co-occurring with other coordinators (de Sousa, 2007, p. 21). The next step is shown by the languages of Tanna. Unlike Sye, these languages permit some clausal coordinators to co-occur with ER clauses. This indicates that the ER prefix has lost most of its former properties as a coordinator (de Sousa, 2007, p. 22).

The ER prefix in the Tanna languages appears to have developed referential properties rather than just acting as a kind of clausal linkage. This is the reason that impersonal subjects cannot be represented by the ER prefix in subsequent clauses

¹⁰⁰ De Sousa (2007) only identifies three stages in total and considers the stage exemplified by Anejoñ as not being a true stage in the development of ERCs as he considers the ER morpheme in the language to be a coordinator.

(Hammond, 2014, p. 220; de Sousa, 2007, p. 23). A further development away from clausal coordination is shown in Lenakel and in North Tanna in which the antecedent of the ER verb is not restricted to the subject of the previous FI verb on the same clausal level as it is in Whitesands, the Erromangan languages, and Anejoñ (de Sousa, 2007, p. 23-24). In Lenakel, the subject referent of an ER verb can be the object the FI verb if the referent is the most logical participant to undertake the action expressed by the subsequent verb (Lynch, 1983, p. 216). The final phase in the development of ERCs in Southern Vanuatu is shown in North Tanna (de Sousa, 2007, p. 23). ER clauses in North Tanna show less dependence on their FI clauses as ER verbs are permitted to have subject NPs. Because verbs inflected ER morphology can have a subject NP, the ER prefix in North Tanna has further developed into a marker that inflects verbs whose subjects have the most salience in the discourse (de Sousa, 2007, p. 11).

Drawing on the observation that SVCs can are likely contenders for reconstruction in POc (Crowley, 2002, p. 162, 168; Lynch et al., 2002, p. 86) but are rarely employed the Southern Vanuatu languages, Crowley (2002, p. 206-208) suggests that as **ma* began to grammaticalize in Proto Southern Vanuatu, SVCs and the newly evolving ERCs would have existed together but over time ERCs replaced the function of SVCs in many instances. This accounts for the relative uniformity in the structure of ERCs in the Southern Vanuatu languages, and explains the various degrees of integration that the ER morphology has into the subject marking systems of the individual languages (Crowley, 2002; de Sousa, 2007). While this diachronic pathway explains the evidence from the languages of Southern Vanuatu, evidence from the Central Vanuatu languages indicates that ERCs have emerged more than once in Vanuatu's linguistic prehistory. This work has identified ERCs in Ske and Sa, from Pentecost; in V'ënen Taut, Tape, and Aulua, from Malekula;¹⁰¹ and in Nafsan, from Efate. ERCs are thus not a unique feature of the Southern Vanuatu languages (see §5.2).

ERCs are encountered on several islands covering quite a large area in the Central Vanuatu language region, suggesting that the development of ERCs could be an innovation that began in parallel in several places in the language sub-group. Outside of Southern Vanuatu, there is further evidence to support the claim that historic

¹⁰¹ Crowley (2002b, p. 80) reported the possible use of ERCs in the Nese language, Northern Vanuatu, with *ko-* as the ER prefix but this is not supported by newer work on the language (Takau, 2016).

coordinating constructions grammaticalize into ERCs. Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (2004, p. 489) list **ka* as one of the reconstructed coordinators in Proto Oceanic that likely functioned as a clausal coordinator indicating sequentiality. It is likely that **ka* underwent a change in function becoming the V'ënen Taut echo-reference prefix *kë-* and the Nafsan echo morpheme *kai*. This is also suggested by Thieberger (2006, p. 111).

The diachronic pathway from coordinator to echo morpheme is less clear for the other Central Vanuatu languages that are identified as using ERCs. In addition to **ma* and **ka*, Moyse-Faurie & Lynch (2004, p. 485-489) present **me*, **ma-i*, **ga*, **b^wa* and **be* as other likely POc coordinators and tentatively identify **a*, **na*, and **ŋa* as other possible coordinators. Therefore, a possible source of the ER prefix *ana-* in Aulua could be **na* or **ŋa*. In Abma the proposed ER prefix *ne-* could be a reflex of **na* or **ŋa*. It is more difficult to link the ER markers *e* from Sa, *la-* from Ske, and *dë-* from Tape to Proto Oceanic as they do not appear to be related to any of the reconstructed POc coordinators. This suggests that there could be more than one source for echo morphology. The ER prefixes in V'ënen Taut and Tape are both homophones with subject-mood indexes from the full inflectional paradigms, with *kë-* also marking 2:REAL in V'ënen Taut and *dë-* marking 1NSG.EXCL:REAL in Tape. It is possible that an existing subject-mood index could be co-opted to function as an echo index, as an alternative source of echo morphology.

Language	Location	ER morpheme	POc Source
Southern Vanuatu	various	<i>VmV-</i>	<i>*ma</i>
Nafsan	Efate	<i>kai=</i>	<i>*ka</i>
V'ënen Taut	Malekula	<i>kë-</i>	<i>*ka</i>
Aulua	Malekula	<i>ana-</i>	<i>*a/*na</i>
Abma	Pentecost	<i>ne-</i>	<i>*na/*ŋa</i>
Tape	Malekula	<i>dë-</i>	?
Ske	Pentecost	<i>la-</i>	?
Sa ¹⁰²	Pentecost	<i>e</i>	?

Table 8.6: Possible sources of ER morphemes

The nature of the Central Vanuatu evidence is very different from evidence of the development of ERCs Southern Vanuatu. ERCs are found in all documented Southern Vanuatu languages. In each case, the ER prefix is characterised by the

¹⁰² The analysis of Sa as involving an echo-reference prefix is my own and further empirical research is needed.

phoneme /m/. This is argued to be evidence of a single POc source – the coordinator **ma*. The presence of ERCs in all the Southern Vanuatu languages is argued to be evidence of the inheritance of ERCs from Proto Southern Vanuatu (Lynch, 2001, p. 177).

Two key points can be made about ERCs in Central Vanuatu. The first concerns their distribution and form. ERCs are distributed somewhat randomly in the Central Vanuatu languages. Two closely related Northwest Malekula languages, V'ënen Taut and Tape, display evidence of ERCs; however, the ER prefix does not appear to be cognate. The more distantly related Eastern Malekula language of Aulua has another non-cognate ER prefix but other languages of Malekula (of which there are at least 30) do not appear make use of ERCs. On Pentecost, Ske and possibly Sa and Abma display another two ER prefixes, which are again non-cognate. On Efate, Nafsan's ER prefix could potentially be cognate with V'ënen Taut's prefix, although the two languages are geographically separated by a considerable distance of islands and ocean. It is more likely that the similarities in ER morphemes are due to their parallel shared origin from POc coordinators. The distribution pattern of ERCs seen in the Central Vanuatu languages and their various forms are suggestive of parallel innovation rather than inheritance.

The second point concerns the relationship between ERCs and SVCs. In V'ënen Taut (as well as in Tape), there is evidence of switch-function and ambient SVCs. This means that broadly speaking SVCs and ERCs are not mutually exclusive, and arguments for a simple diachronic pathway of ERCs replacing SVCs cannot be sustained.

In §8.1, it was shown that SVCs and ERCs share many grammatical properties. When narrowed to a comparison of same-subject constructions, same-subject SVCs and ERCs both comprise sequences of independent verbs that display identity between their subject arguments, and both display a simultaneous or sequential temporal relationship between the events expressed by the verbs.

Evidence from the Northwest Malekula languages suggests that SVCs and ERCs are concurrent options for encoding same-subject identity in multi-verb constructions. While the origin of all ER prefixes has not clearly been established, at least some

ERCs appear to result from the reanalysis of a clausal coordinator into the subject indexing position of the preverbal complex, where it replaces full verbal inflections.

The similarities between SVCs and ERCs occur because they are both responses to the same pragmatic and grammatical stimuli. In Central Vanuatu, languages that are spoken in relatively close proximity, including within the same language sub-group, may employ only SVCs while others use SVCs in some environments and ERCs in others. In the Tape language, ERCs appear to have been replaced by SVCs in the grammars of some speakers. This confirms the functional equivalence of the two constructions, at least regarding subject-person identity.

Crowley (2002, p. 207) proposes that the loss of most types of SVCs and acquisition of ERCs are related phenomena, and that SVCs appear to have evolved into ERCs (Crowley 2002, p. 181), at least in Southern Vanuatu. It is of considerable interest therefore, that the Tape data shows a reversal of this process.¹⁰³ ERCs have been replaced almost entirely by SVCs in the language of most speakers. When researching Tape, Crowley (2006d, p. 148) made the observation that older speakers were more likely to use ERCs in instances of same-subject identity while younger speakers did not use them. Crowley (2006d, p. 148) notes that this apparent shift from ERCs to SVCs is likely due to grammatical influence from the Northeast Malekula language, which is now the most commonly spoken indigenous language in Tautu village. The Uripiv dialect of Northeast Malekula does not employ ERCs but it does use SVCs (Moore, 2019, p. 207-216). In data collected for this project, the Tape speakers who use highest proportions of ERCs do not live in Tautu in close proximity to Uripiv speakers. Instead, these speakers live in areas of Malekula where it is more common for people to speak V'ënen Taut. The ERC-using Tape speakers are also older than the SVC-using speakers.

Presented below are pairs of examples from the new Tape data showing multi-verb constructions with the same (or similar) verbs. The first construction is packaged as a

¹⁰³ The grammatical shift away from ERCs observed in Tape may also have occurred in the Nese language of Northern Malekula. Crowley (2006, p. 80) identified a possible ER prefix, *ko-*, in his brief grammar sketch of the language. This prefix, if indeed an echo prefix, would be cognate with V'ënen Taut's ER prefix *kë-*. Takau's (2016) more substantial grammatical description of Nese makes no mention of echo-reference structures. Takau (2016, p. 259) does not provide a detailed analysis of core layer SVCs in the Nese, the structure that are used by some Tape-speakers in place of ERCs. It is possible that the function of the possible former Nese ERCs has shifted to being expressed by what Takau analyses as juxtaposed coordinate clauses (Takau, 2016, p. 309).

Examples 8.13-8.15 display instances of prior motion constructions.

Instances of same subject directionals are shown in 8.16.

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	Tape SVC		[nwm-mrs-84:29]			[02:59.2-03:05.5]	
b)	en-wo	<i>mili</i>	<i>tang</i>	<i>esk</i>	<i>levr</i>	en-mo	
	1SG:REAL-carry	again	basket	POSS:1SG	DEM	1SG:REAL-come	
	<i>emakh</i>						
	home						
	‘I took back my basket and came home.’						

Example 8.17 shows instances of positional constructions.

8.17	Tape ERC		[nwm-mrs-60:45]	[02:36.1-02:37.2]
a)	 <i>i-mo</i>	<i>dē-liek</i>	<i>duwon-ək...</i>	
	3:REAL-come	ER-stay	with=1SG:OBJ	
	‘...he came and stayed with me....’			

	Tape SVC		[nwm-mrs-05:21]		[02:13.4-02:15.4]	
b)	mě-n-mo		mě-n-liek	<i>e</i>	<i>T</i>	
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-come		1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-stay	LOC	T	
	‘We came and lived in T...’					

Basic verbs of motion in non-initial position encoding directionals in multi-verb constructions are shown in example 8.18

8.18	Tape ERC		[nwm-mrs-75:44]		[03:52.9-03:57.4]	
a)	i-r-sěvsiv	dě-r-mo	dě-r-lev	<i>ne</i>	<i>uren</i>	<i>ěr</i>
	3:REAL-DU-swim	ER-DU-come	ER-DU-take	wood	like	DEM
	‘They swam coming back and took a piece of wood like that.’					

	Tape ERC		[nwm-mrs-67:39]		[01:48.6-01:52.1]	
b)	mě-n-vin	dě-n-mo	dě-n-liek	<i>e</i>	<i>T.</i>	<i>mili</i>
	1NSG.EXCL:REAL-PL-go	ER-PL-come	ER-PL-stay	LOC	T.	again
	‘We went and came and lived in T. again.’					

	Tape SVC		[nwm-mrs-77:32]	[03:18.7-03:21.8]
c)	<i>ale</i>	<i>en-sěvsiv</i>	<i>en-mo</i>	<i>en-mo</i>
	ale	1SG:REAL-swim	1SG:REAL-come	1SG:REAL-come
	<i>en-mo</i>			
	1SG:REAL-come			
	‘Then I swam coming on and on.’			

8.19	Tape ERC		[nwm-mrs-67:47]		[02:16.8-02:19.6]	
a)	<i>gi</i>	<i>i-n-iek</i>	<i>dë-n-jovo=k</i>			
	REL	3:REAL-PL-be.born	ER-PL-follow=1SG:OBJ			
	<i>i-n-mes</i>	<i>rivi</i>				
	3:REAL-PL-die	COMP				
	‘The ones that were born after me are all dead.’					
	Tape SVC		[nwm-mrs-66:201]		[06:35.8-06:42.6]	
b)	<i>i-n-mes</i>	<i>i-n-jovo</i>	<i>eren</i>	<i>kë-lo</i>	<i>er</i>	
	3:REAL-PL-die	3:REAL-PL-follow	when	2SG:REAL-plant	3NSG	
	‘They die following the time you plant them (yams).’					

8.5 Future work

In places, gaps were identified in the data. This particularly applied to the search for paradigms of person-number combinations in the full range of moods available in the three languages. Not all combinations were attested in natural speech, and targeted elicitation would allow the gaps to be filled.

The analysis of complex nuclei revealed a new category of coverbs in the Northwest Malekula languages, and indeed more broadly in the languages of Central Vanuatu. In each language where coverbial elements appear to be present, elicitation is needed to establish restrictions on the behaviour of these verb-like morphemes. It is certainly

the case that the existing corpora do not contain the full range of structural possibilities for the verb-like morphemes. Targeted elicitation, grammaticality judgements, and negative evidence will confirm whether the proposed coverbs are indeed restricted in their distribution to complex nuclei, or whether they can function as independent verbs in each of the languages concerned.

The diachronic pathways that have produced ER prefixes deserve further attention, and it is hoped that new research into the languages of Malekula, and more widely, the languages of Vanuatu, will reveal additional forms of multi-verb constructions where the entity encoded as the subject persists over multiple events. New work by Julie Barbour (personal communication, August 2017) on the Larevet language of central Western Malekula, and by her doctoral student Tihomir Rangelov on the Ahamb language of Southeastern Malekula (Rangelov & Barbour, 2020), indicates that there are other forms of same-subject encoding. Claudia Williams (personal communication, November 2018) suspects that the Lamap language, also of Southeastern Malekula, has a same-subject device, although it appears to be far less productive than the ER prefix of V'ënen Taut. Each new strategy that is identified will serve to broaden understandings of the synchronic possibilities for same-subject encoding, and will make available further evidence for diachronic analysis.

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Appendix One: Permissions

Vanuatu Cultural Centre:

From: Henline Mala <hmala@vanuatu.gov.vu>

Sent: Friday, 1 July 2016 11:26 a.m.

To: royce_dodd@

Subject: Re: Research permit Approved

Dear Royce,

Your application has been approved by the Director.

The extension fee will be 5,000 Vatu to be paid Cash upon your arrival at the Centre.

The Immigration will give you 1 month for your tourist visa so you can pay 6,000 vatu for extra 1 month to be extended.

Please pass my regards to Julie Barbour.

Once again thank you and seeing you in September.

Kind regards,

Henline

Community Permissions:

Pinapow School,
Tenmaru,
Northwest Malekula

18th November 2015

Project Supervisor:

Dr Julie Barbour,
The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Dear Dr Barbour and Mr Dodd,

Greetings from Tenmaru.

I am writing to confirm our interest in participating in Royce's project over the next few years. We have benefited from the work that Royce has done so far and we feel there is plenty more that can still be done and we are looking forward to working with him during this process.

Since the introduction of the new school curriculum we are interested in having Royce come back so that he can work with us to make some more vernacular language resources for our school and the other Big Nambas schools too.

I am worried that Bislama is affecting our language and this is a feeling held by many other people here. I think that it is good to document our language through the recordings and things that Royce makes so that there is a safe record of our language for the future.

I do not think that it is a problem that this project will not only be about V'enen Taut and I think it will be interesting to see how similar or different our language is from the languages from Mae and Tautu. Even though the project involves three languages, I am sure it will benefit us in some way as well as the other places.

We are happy to host Royce during his fieldwork in Tenmaru and we will make sure that he has all the help he needs to complete his project.

I think that this is a good opportunity to continue the work on our language.

Yours Sincerely,

Mr Smith Zumzum
Headmaster of Pinapow Primary School



Co-Signed:


Gilbert Nihambatti
Tenmaru Village
Chief.

Amos
Amos cyrus.
Pinapow School chairman.

To:

Date: 23rd November 2015

From: Tape Community
Tautu Village
Central
Malekula
Vanuatu

RE: APPLICATION BLONG WRITEN BACK LANGUAGE TAPE.

Dear Sir/madam

Mifala ie stap writen letter ia ie kam long high office
Blong Yu, follem heading antap.

Mifala Olgeta Jif and people Blong tape ie glat tumas
Blong gat. tape language Book we hemi itendity Blong mifala
and Book ia Mr Terry. C. nao hemi kam mekem, Be hemi
dead and Book hemi no Complete. mifala too ie stap
lusem ol resource olfala Blong mifala we Oli save language
tape, or Oli ol Tape speakers, Blong lanem long mifala.

So mifala ie glat we Royce hemi kam blong tekem back
or mekem back half work Blong Terry. So mifala ie stap
write blong askem blong yufala ie kam mekem or writen
Back language Blong mifala.

Thankyou long understanding and mifala ie luk
toward long wean positive ansa from yufala.

Yours Sincerely,

Jif Lami Harry.  Jif Ephraim Ibon 

Jif Maikel Otak. 

Jif Joseph Johnny. N 

Jif Robea Bill. 

Mr Jeannot Verliti

Mme Marie Reine Nédîs

Enseignants de langue Vernaculaire
d'origine "Tirax", Maé.

Mallicolo, Vanuatu

à Mr Royce Dodd
étudiant du Docteur Julie Barbour
Université de Waikato,
PHD.

Date: le 27/11/15.

Référence: Etude approfondie de la langue Vernaculaire d'origine "Tirax".

Monsieur,

Nous avons l'honneur de solliciter de votre haute bienveillance de bien vouloir agréer et d'accepter cette demande afin de faire valoir ce qui est le droit éducatif et linguistique Vernaculaire d'origine "Tirax" et de venir passer quelques séjours parmi nous au sein du village natal de Maé, afin de rendre plus efficace notre identité linguistique.

Chaleureusement, nous sommes très reconnaissants et espérons que vous accepterez cette demande et venir au plus tôt possible pour une bonne démarche éducative dès maintenant et pour l'avenir.

Dans l'attente d'une réponse affirmative de votre part, Veuillez agréer Monsieur Royce Dodd, l'expression de nos Sentiments les meilleurs.

Respectueusement, Votre!

Les participants du Stage linguistique d'origine "Tirax" tenu à USP Complex
le 23/11/15 au 27/11/15.

Mr Jeannot Verliti : *Jeannot*

Mme Marie Reine : *MRe*

FASS Human Research Ethics Committee:

Geography Programme
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton 3240
New Zealand



Royce Dodd
Julie Barbour
William Jennings

General and Applied Linguistics
School of Arts

20 April 2016

Dear Royce

Re: FS2016-13 Unpacking the modified verb: A comparative study of V'enen Taut, Tape, and Tirax (Malekula).

Thank you for submitting your amended application to me. I have reviewed it and am happy to provide you with formal ethical approval as you have satisfactorily addressed all the matters raised in my previous letter.

I wish you well with your research.

Kind regards,



Colin McLeay
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix Two: The Northwest Malekula Corpus

Presented below are the corpora collected for each of the Northwest Malekula languages. Entries in italics are included in the “analysed corpus” and those with no title are closed to non-community members.

The V’ënen Taut Corpus

Recording	Length (hh:mm:ss)	Date Recorded (yyyy-mm-dd)	Type	Participant	Title
<i>nwm-nmb-01</i>	<i>0:02:09</i>	<i>2016-10-09</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Moïse Zumzum</i>	<i>Kava before</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-02</i>	<i>0:02:21</i>	<i>2016-10-09</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Moïse Zumzum</i>	<i>Kava today</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-03</i>	<i>0:05:32</i>	<i>2016-10-11</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Smith Zumzum</i>	<i>What I did yesterday</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-04</i>	<i>0:09:53</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Rat and kingfisher</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-05</i>	<i>0:10:14</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Wikarara</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-06</i>	<i>0:06:19</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>The Boy kidnapped by lisepeps</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-07</i>	<i>0:06:38</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh, Suzanne Arknaveh</i>	<i>Family names</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-08</i>	<i>0:03:50</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Suzanne Arknaveh</i>	<i>Taboos at chief's house</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-09</i>	<i>0:01:21</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Yam preparation</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-10</i>	<i>0:01:01</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Pialau cave before</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-11</i>	<i>0:01:18</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Pialau cave now</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-12</i>	<i>0:03:56</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Harvesting kava before</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-13</i>	<i>0:02:44</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Lighting fire before matches</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-14</i>	<i>0:03:11</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Harvesting yams before</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-15</i>	<i>0:02:31</i>	<i>2016-10-12</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Claude Arknaveh</i>	<i>Eating dry earth</i>

nwm-nmb-16	0:18:44	2016-10-12	Audio	Suzanne Arknaveh	Family names
nwm-nmb-17	0:05:24	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	
nwm-nmb-18	0:04:18	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	
nwm-nmb-19	0:03:03	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Gardens
nwm-nmb-20	0:02:20	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Woman who changed her skin
nwm-nmb-21	0:02:48	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Nakamal under the tree
nwm-nmb-22	0:01:27	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Wilmet water
nwm-nmb-23	0:04:00	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Being a fieldworker
nwm-nmb-24	0:03:54	2016-10-13	Audio	Wilson Zumzum	Being a turtle warden
nwm-nmb-25	0:01:01	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Pigs, chickens, and turtles
nwm-nmb-26	0:02:49	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	
nwm-nmb-27	0:01:37	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Cyclones
nwm-nmb-28	0:03:38	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	
nwm-nmb-29	0:01:23	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	Pig colours
nwm-nmb-30	0:04:24	2016-10-13	Audio	Among Raptik	
nwm-nmb-31	0:00:24	2016-10-12	Video	Claude Arknaveh	Getting to Pialau
nwm-nmb-32	0:19:02	2016-10-12	Video	Claude Arknaveh	
nwm-nmb-33	0:03:31	2016-10-12	Video	Claude Arknaveh	
nwm-nmb-34	0:01:46	2016-10-15	Video	Moïse Zumzum	Bamboo
nwm-nmb-35	0:18:50	2016-12-15	Video	Gilbert Arnihapath	
nwm-nmb-36	0:07:13	2017-06-13	Audio	Suzanne Arknaveh	Cultural centre workshop
nwm-nmb-37	0:04:15	2017-06-13	Audio	Suzanne Arknaveh	Cyclone donna
nwm-nmb-38	1:12:23	2017-06-13	Audio	Suzanne Arknaveh	Daily activities 1
nwm-nmb-39	1:00:15	2017-06-13	Audio	Suzanne Arknaveh	Daily activities 2
nwm-nmb-40	0:08:24	2017-06-13	Audio	Suzanne Arknaveh	How to make a laplap
nwm-nmb-41	0:04:58	2017-06-13	Audio	Suzanne Arknaveh	How to ruin a laplap
nwm-nmb-42	0:04:33	2017-06-14	Audio	Rachael Arknaveh	

<i>nwm-nmb-43</i>	<i>0:01:34</i>	<i>2017-06-16</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Kepue</i>	<i>Coming down from the bush</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-44</i>	<i>0:02:07</i>	<i>2017-06-16</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Kepue</i>	<i>Cash crops</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-45</i>	<i>0:50:00</i>	<i>2017-06-19</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Among Raptik, Wilson Zumzum</i>	<i>Bird book</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-46</i>	<i>0:12:22</i>	<i>2017-06-19</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Among Raptik, Wilson Zumzum</i>	<i>Chickens</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-47</i>	<i>0:11:00</i>	<i>2017-06-19</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Among Raptik, Wilson Zumzum</i>	<i>Birds</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-48</i>	<i>1:29:37</i>	<i>2017-06-20</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Among Raptik, Smith Zumzum</i>	<i>Fish book</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-49</i>	<i>0:03:24</i>	<i>2017-06-20</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Among Raptik</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-50</i>	<i>0:06:43</i>	<i>2017-06-20</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Among Raptik</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-51</i>	<i>0:08:49</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	<i>Fire</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-52</i>	<i>0:12:09</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	<i>Work as fieldworker</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-53</i>	<i>0:07:00</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	<i>Times of the Day</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-54</i>	<i>0:05:41</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	<i>Moon phases</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-55</i>	<i>0:07:14</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	<i>Palolo worms</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-56</i>	<i>0:09:40</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	<i>Weather</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-57</i>	<i>0:04:11</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	<i>Nambilak story</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-58</i>	<i>0:05:18</i>	<i>2017-06-28</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jimmysan Sanhapath</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-59</i>	<i>0:11:19</i>	<i>2017-06-30</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Janet Sanhapath</i>	<i>Weaving mats</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-60</i>	<i>0:04:03</i>	<i>2017-06-29</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Gabriel Arihapath</i>	<i>Wimadu stone</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-61</i>	<i>0:02:36</i>	<i>2017-06-29</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Bernard</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-62</i>	<i>0:02:05</i>	<i>2017-06-29</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Gregoire Etienne</i>	<i>Kava</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-63</i>	<i>0:04:53</i>	<i>2017-06-29</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Gregoire Etienne</i>	<i>Catholic church comes to Wilak</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-64</i>	<i>0:08:08</i>	<i>2017-07-01</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Lanene Church mothers</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-65</i>	<i>0:04:00</i>	<i>2017-07-01</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Lanene Church mothers</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-66</i>	<i>0:43:00</i>	<i>2017-07-01</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Lanene Church</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-67</i>	<i>0:03:10</i>	<i>2017-01-30</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Amos Cyrus</i>	<i>Copra</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-68</i>	<i>0:05:38</i>	<i>2017-08-09</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Alek</i>	<i>Coconuts</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-69</i>	<i>0:13:22</i>	<i>2017-08-10</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jebeth Arpi</i>	<i>Nakamals</i>

nwm-nmb-70	0:08:31	2017-08-10	Audio	Jebeth Arpi	Women's houses
<i>nwm-nmb-71</i>	<i>0:03:13</i>	<i>2017-08-11</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Okis Hernitalu</i>	<i>The taboo eels</i>
nwm-nmb-72	0:16:23	2017-08-11	Audio	Okis Hernitalu, Andrew Ahempel	Family taboos
<i>nwm-nmb-73</i>	<i>0:05:01</i>	<i>2017-08-14</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Steven Ruben</i>	<i>Work today and tomorrow</i>
nwm-nmb-74	0:03:29	2017-08-14	Audio	Steven Ruben	
nwm-nmb-75	0:13:51	2017-08-15	Audio	Juda Kalmandu	
nwm-nmb-76	0:00:46	2017-08-15	Video	Sairos Masing	Cutting bamboo
nwm-nmb-77	0:12:26	2017-08-15	Video	Sairos Masing, Jeff Kalo	Bamboo for kitchen
nwm-nmb-78	0:11:38	2017-08-15	Video	Jeff Kalo, Kepson Masing, Sairos Masing	Starting fires
<i>nwm-nmb-79</i>	<i>0:06:26</i>	<i>2017-08-15</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Sairos Masing, Andrew Ahempel</i>	<i>Cutting Bamboo for weaving walls</i>
nwm-nmb-80	0:05:57	2017-08-15	Video	<i>Sairos Masing, Andrew Ahempel</i>	
<i>nwm-nmb-81</i>	<i>0:03:57</i>	<i>2017-08-15</i>	<i>Video</i>	Sairos Masing, Andrew Ahempel	<i>House parts</i>
nwm-nmb-82	0:04:28	2017-08-15	Video	Sairos Masing	Weaving walls
nwm-nmb-83	0:27:20	2017-08-16	Video	Andrew Ahempel	Planting long yams
nwm-nmb-84	0:10:18	2017-08-16	Video	Andrew Ahempel	Cocoa
nwm-nmb-85	0:08:09	2017-08-16	Video	Andrew Ahempel, Juda Kalmadu, Okis Hernitalu	Wild-cane game
nwm-nmb-86	0:07:42	2017-08-16	Video	Andrew Ahempel, Juda Kalmadu	Kalo game
nwm-nmb-87	0:10:34	2017-08-17	Video	Ray Sairos	Coconut origins
nwm-nmb-88	0:09:00	2017-08-18	Audio	Jebeth Arpi	The monster with long ears
<i>nwm-nmb-89</i>	<i>0:09:02</i>	<i>2017-08-18</i>	<i>Video</i>	<i>Kelly Masing</i>	<i>Sling traps</i>
nwm-nmb-90	0:06:30	2017-08-18	Video	Kelly Masing	Uses for bamboo
<i>nwm-nmb-91</i>	<i>0:07:39</i>	<i>2017-08-18</i>	<i>Video</i>	Kelly Masing	
nwm-nmb-92	0:09:23	2017-08-17	Video	Andrew Ahempel	Sago palms
<i>nwm-nmb-93</i>	<i>0:04:42</i>	<i>2017-08-21</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Lowit Venu</i>	<i>Rat and turtle</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-94</i>	<i>0:03:31</i>	<i>2017-08-21</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Lowit Venu</i>	<i>Cat and Dog</i>
nwm-nmb-95	0:19:00	2017-08-22	Audio	Andrew Ahempel	Moon and sun

<i>nwm-nmb-96</i>	<i>0:04:53</i>	<i>2017-08-17</i>	<i>Video</i>	Kathine Samuel, Niveth Masing, Linei Lunambek, Andrew Ahempe	<i>Pandanus</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-97</i>	<i>0:11:55</i>	<i>2017-08-22</i>	<i>Video</i>	Remy Tusai	
<i>nwm-nmb-98</i>	<i>0:18:52</i>	<i>2017-08-22</i>	<i>Video</i>	Remy Tusai	
<i>nwm-nmb-99</i>	<i>0:03:20</i>	<i>2017-08-23</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Timothy Tahapath</i>	<i>The last man who wore nambas</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-100</i>	<i>0:02:24</i>	<i>2017-08-23</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Timothy Tahapath</i>	<i>Rat and kingfisher</i>
<i>nwm-nmb-101</i>	<i>0:03:18</i>	<i>2017-08-23</i>	<i>Video</i>	Maxim Sesai	

The Tape Corpus

Recording	Length (hh:mm:ss)	Date Recorded (yyyy-mm-dd)	Type	Participant	Title
<i>nwm-mrs-01</i>	<i>0:02:29</i>	<i>2016-10-21</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>1965 Earthquake</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-02</i>	<i>0:02:31</i>	<i>2016-10-21</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Canoe journey</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-03</i>	<i>0:02:33</i>	<i>2016-10-21</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Palolo worms</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-04</i>	<i>0:03:02</i>	<i>2016-10-21</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Today and tomorrow</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-05</i>	<i>0:02:53</i>	<i>2016-10-23</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Moving to Tautu</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-06</i>	<i>0:03:09</i>	<i>2016-10-23</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Counting</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-07</i>	<i>0:02:27</i>	<i>2016-10-23</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Poisoning reef fish</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-08</i>	<i>0:01:38</i>	<i>2016-10-23</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Poisoning river fish</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-09</i>	<i>0:01:40</i>	<i>2016-10-24</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Making copra before</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-10</i>	<i>0:01:47</i>	<i>2016-10-24</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Clearing garden sites</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-11</i>	<i>0:01:40</i>	<i>2016-10-24</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Burning garden rubbish</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-12</i>	<i>0:02:59</i>	<i>2016-10-24</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Blocking garden crops</i>
<i>nwm-mrs-13</i>	<i>0:01:41</i>	<i>2016-10-24</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ephraim Imbon</i>	<i>Wild kava leaves</i>

nwm-mrs-14	0:01:58	2016-10-25	Audio	Lui Harry	What I did yesterday
nwm-mrs-15	0:03:21	2016-10-25	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Marriage in Port Vila
nwm-mrs-16	0:01:51	2016-10-25	Audio	Lui Harry	Fire on a ship
nwm-mrs-17	0:01:20	2016-10-25	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	Working on Epi
nwm-mrs-18	0:02:01	2016-10-25	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Cattle
nwm-mrs-19	0:04:45	2016-10-25	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Yam gardening
nwm-mrs-20	0:03:11	2016-10-25	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Pig hunting
nwm-mrs-21	0:03:10	2016-10-27	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Circumcision ceremonies
nwm-mrs-22	0:03:32	2016-10-27	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Bride price Payment
nwm-mrs-23	0:03:03	2016-10-27	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Making fire
nwm-mrs-24	0:05:03	2016-10-27	Video	Michael Otak	
nwm-mrs-25	0:02:57	2016-10-27	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Chickens
nwm-mrs-26	0:04:54	2016-10-27	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry, Michael	House frame
nwm-mrs-27		2016-10-29	Video	Michael Otak	Planting long yams
nwm-mrs-27	0:09:26	2016-11-07	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Planting long yams
nwm-mrs-28		2016-10-29	Video	Michael Otak	Planting short yams
nwm-mrs-28	0:02:33	2016-11-07	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Planting short yams
nwm-mrs-29	0:06:34	2016-11-06	Video	Ephraim Imbon	Cyclone Pam
nwm-mrs-30	0:05:17	2016-11-06	Video	Ephraim Imbon	Catching fish before
nwm-mrs-31	0:04:35	2016-11-06	Video	Ephraim Imbon	Working at the Public Works
nwm-mrs-32	0:04:26	2016-11-06	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Elder Michael	Football match in Aulua
nwm-mrs-33	0:03:26	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Bamboo laplap
nwm-mrs-34	0:05:10	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Making laplap
nwm-mrs-35	0:04:13	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Nipit
nwm-mrs-36	0:03:15	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Mosquitos
nwm-mrs-37	0:04:04	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	School in Port Stanley

nwm-mrs-38	0:04:34	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Making copra
nwm-mrs-39	0:04:02	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Flood in Tautu
nwm-mrs-40	0:05:11	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Selling copra
nwm-mrs-41	0:04:18	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Cyclone Uma
nwm-mrs-42	0:03:30	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Making roof thatch
nwm-mrs-43	0:03:58	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Making house walls
nwm-mrs-44	0:02:34	2016-11-07	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	Roofing a house
nwm-mrs-45-1	0:19:00	2016-11-12	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	
nwm-mrs-45-2	0:14:50	2016-11-12	Video	Lui Harry, Ephraim Imbon	
nwm-mrs-46	0:01:53	2016-11-12	Video	Lui Harry	Elder Lui's garden
nwm-mrs-47	0:01:30	2016-11-25	Audio	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-48	0:01:40	2016-11-25	Audio	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-49	0:01:15	2016-11-25	Audio	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-50	0:01:10	2016-11-25	Audio	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-51	0:02:07	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-52	0:01:37	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-53	0:01:25	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-54	0:01:17	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-55	0:01:31	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-56	0:01:22	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-57	0:02:35	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-58	0:05:25	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-59	0:01:33	2017-06-09	Video	Ross Tavhabi	
nwm-mrs-60	0:03:27	2017-07-13	Video	Eka Nambit	
nwm-mrs-61	0:03:54	2017-07-13	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Laplap
nwm-mrs-62	0:01:30	2017-07-13	Video	Eka Nambit	

nwm-mrs-63	0:03:24	2017-07-13	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-64	0:09:53	2017-07-20	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-65	0:03:40	2017-07-20	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon	<i>Spring at Borkhos</i>
nwm-mrs-66	0:07:08	2017-07-20	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	<i>Planting a garden</i>
nwm-mrs-67	0:02:31	2017-07-20	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	<i>Working in Borkhos</i>
nwm-mrs-68	0:12:10	2017-07-26	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-69	0:08:34	2017-07-26	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-70	0:09:20	2017-08-02	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	<i>Independence Day celebrations</i>
nwm-mrs-71	0:02:45	2017-08-02	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-72	0:03:46	2017-08-02	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	<i>Making fish traps</i>
nwm-mrs-73	0:04:31	2017-08-02	Video	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	<i>Catching freshwater fish and prawns</i>
nwm-mrs-74	0:09:31	2017-08-02	Video	Eka Nambit, Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-75	0:05:53	2017-08-02	Audio	Letia Ahempel	
nwm-mrs-76	0:02:35	2017-08-22	Audio		
nwm-mrs-77	0:05:15	2017-08-31	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	<i>Ephraim goes hunting with his father</i>
nwm-mrs-78	0:06:11	2017-08-31	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	
nwm-mrs-79	0:04:17	2017-08-31	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	<i>Some girls go washing</i>
nwm-mrs-80	0:07:35	2017-08-31	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	<i>Going to the bush</i>
nwm-mrs-81	0:05:06	2017-09-02	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	<i>Monster chases a boy up a tree</i>
nwm-mrs-82	0:02:29	2017-09-02	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	<i>Ephraim and father build a house</i>
nwm-mrs-83	0:02:13	2017-09-02	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	<i>Grandfather Builds a House</i>
nwm-mrs-84	0:04:24	2017-09-02	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	<i>Going to the garden this morning</i>
nwm-mrs-85	0:15:51	2017-09-05	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	
nwm-mrs-86	0:13:08	2017-09-05	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	

nwm-mrs-87	0:13:31	2017-09-05	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	
nwm-mrs-88	0:10:07	2017-09-13	Audio	Lui Harry	Grandmother and grandson go to the beach
nwm-mrs-89	0:06:22	2017-09-13	Audio	Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-90	0:14:31	2017-09-13	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-91	0:02:40	2017-09-13	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	Palolo signs
nwm-mrs-92	0:04:47	2017-09-15	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	Shark and monkey
nwm-mrs-93	0:38:56	2017-09-19	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	Animal posters
nwm-mrs-94	1:10:00	2017-09-19	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-95	1:29:00	2017-09-20	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-96	0:31:26	2017-09-20	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-97	0:23:42	2017-09-20	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-98	0:40:04	2017-09-20	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-99	0:02:39	2017-09-27	Video	Jeffry William	Chicken and kingfisher
nwm-mrs-100	0:01:15	2017-09-27	Video	Ephraim Imbon	Bride price payment before
nwm-mrs-101	0:03:19	2017-09-27	Video	Jeffry William	Garden crops come to life
nwm-mrs-102	0:05:01	2017-10-05	Audio	Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-103	0:05:49	2017-10-05	Audio	Lui Harry	
nwm-mrs-104	0:03:48	2017-10-05	Audio	Ephraim Imbon	If I was an MP
nwm-mrs-105	0:23:31	2017-10-05	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Human Activities Book 1
nwm-mrs-106	1:18:19	2017-10-05	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Human Activities Book 2
nwm-mrs-107	0:58:43	2017-10-05	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Human Activities Book 3
nwm-mrs-108	0:58:57	2017-10-06	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Human Activities Book 4
nwm-mrs-109	0:39:56	2017-10-06	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Human Activities Book 5
nwm-mrs-110	0:38:17	2017-10-09	Audio	Ephraim Imbon, Lui Harry	Human Activities Book 6

The Tirax Corpus

Recording	Length (hh:mm:ss)	Date Recorded (yyyy-mm-dd)	Type	Participant	Title
nwm-mme-01	0:02:49	2016-10-26	Video	Remy Sesai	
nwm-mme-02	0:01:26	2016-10-26	Video	Remy Sesai	
nwm-mme-03	0:02:02	2016-10-26	Video	Remy Sesai	
nwm-mme-04	0:02:32	2016-10-26	Video	Remy Sesai	
nwm-mme-05	0:01:22	2016-10-26	Video	Remy Sesai	
nwm-mme-06	0:06:03	2016-10-26	Video	Silvestre Nedis, Tamedal Masing	<i>Building a Nakamal</i>
nwm-mme-07	0:01:40	2016-10-26	Video	Jean Sesai	
nwm-mme-08	0:00:46	2016-10-26	Video	Harry	Harry's Nakamal
nwm-mme-09	0:07:52	2017-10-16	Video	Johnny Ruklili	
nwm-mme-10	0:06:31	2017-10-16	Video	Johnny Ruklili, Gilbert Sesai	
nwm-mme-11	0:03:46	2017-10-17	Video	Gilbert Sesai	<i>Soft Bamboo</i>
nwm-mme-12	0:02:10	2017-10-17	Video	Gilbert Sesai	<i>Bamboo parts</i>
nwm-mme-13	0:03:34	2017-10-17	Video	Gilbert Sesai	<i>Thatch Palm</i>
nwm-mme-14	0:02:49	2017-10-17	Audio	Emile Lai	<i>Gardens</i>
nwm-mme-15	0:01:24	2017-10-17	Audio	Emile Lai	<i>Yesterday and Today</i>
nwm-mme-16	0:03:13	2017-10-17	Audio	Emile Lai	<i>Bride Price Ceremony Last Week</i>
nwm-mme-17	0:02:20	2017-10-17	Audio	Emile Lai	
nwm-mme-18	0:04:16	2017-10-18	Audio	John Lite	<i>Monster Eats All the Laplap</i>
nwm-mme-19	0:03:19	2017-10-18	Audio	John Lite	<i>Boy and His Fish</i>
nwm-mme-20	0:02:17	2017-10-18	Audio	John Lite	
nwm-mme-21	0:03:39	2017-10-18	Audio	John Lite	<i>Life in the Bush and on the Coast</i>
nwm-mme-22	0:02:04	2017-10-18	Audio	John Lite	<i>Thoughts on the Future</i>

nwm-mme-23	0:26:51	2017-10-19	Audio	Gilbert Sesai	<i>Bird book</i>
nwm-mme-24	0:16:52	2017-10-19	Audio	Gilbert Sesai	animal posters
nwm-mme-25	0:35:00	2017-10-23	Audio	Roy Samuel	
nwm-mme-26	0:05:28	2017-10-23	Audio	Roy Samuel	<i>Driving a Service Truck</i>
nwm-mme-27	0:16:44	2017-10-23	Video	Pierrot Selnangi, Remy Nedis	<i>Mae Migration</i>
nwm-mme-28	0:04:35	2017-10-23	Video	Pierrot Selnangi, Remy Nedis	
nwm-mme-29	0:08:50	2017-10-27	Audio	Okis Tamedal	
nwm-mme-30	0:05:29	2017-10-27	Audio	Okis Tamedal	<i>Hunting Story</i>
nwm-mme-31	0:07:47	2017-10-27	Audio	Okis Tamedal	Garden Story
nwm-mme-32	0:01:47	2017-10-27	Audio	Kaloris Lite	Copra
nwm-mme-33	0:06:29	2017-10-27	Audio	Okis Tamedal	
nwm-mme-34	0:10:11	2017-10-29	Audio	Jean-Rene Nedis	Hunting Story
nwm-mme-35	0:03:53	2017-10-30	Audio	Pascal Tamedal	<i>The Last Few Days</i>
nwm-mme-36	0:03:00	2017-10-30	Audio	Gilbert Sesai	
nwm-mme-37	0:03:17	2017-10-30	Audio	Pascal Tamedal	
nwm-mme-38	0:02:50	2017-10-30	Video	Gilbert Sesai	coconuts
nwm-mme-39	0:08:00	2017-10-31	Audio	Noel Kalkandy	
nwm-mme-40	0:10:00	2017-11-01	Video	Jean-Yves Anes	<i>Lighter Holders</i>
nwm-mme-41	0:01:41	2017-11-02	Video	Noel Kalkandi	
nwm-mme-42	0:05:53	2017-11-02	Audio	Noel Kalkandi	
nwm-mme-43	0:04:30	2017-11-03	Audio	Julia Dilvanu	<i>Laplap</i>
nwm-mme-44	0:05:15	2017-11-04	Video	Gilbert Sesai	<i>Pineapple Garden</i>
nwm-mme-45	0:05:39	2017-11-04	Video	Gilbert Sesai	<i>Yam Garden</i>
nwm-mme-46	0:05:49	2017-11-04	Video	Gilbert Sesai	<i>Bananas</i>
nwm-mme-47	0:02:00	2017-11-05	Video	Leo Tolili	
nwm-mme-48	0:04:35	2017-11-05	Audio	Jeannot Verlili	<i>School in New Caledonia</i>

<i>nwm-mme-49</i>	<i>0:04:27</i>	<i>2017-11-05</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jeannot Verlili</i>	<i>Working in Santo</i>
<i>nwm-mme-50</i>	<i>0:01:17</i>	<i>2017-11-05</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jeannot Verlili</i>	
<i>nwm-mme-51</i>	<i>0:01:47</i>	<i>2017-11-05</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jeannot Verlili</i>	<i>The Lord's Prayer</i>
<i>nwm-mme-52</i>	<i>0:05:19</i>	<i>2017-11-05</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jeannot Verlili</i>	<i>Boy Hiding in the House</i>
<i>nwm-mme-53</i>	<i>0:04:05</i>	<i>2017-11-05</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jeannot Verlili</i>	<i>Spirit Tries to Eat Two Women</i>
<i>nwm-mme-54</i>	<i>0:02:15</i>	<i>2017-11-05</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Jeannot Verlili</i>	
<i>nwm-mme-55</i>	<i>0:01:30</i>	<i>2017-11-07</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ernestine Kelmäl</i>	<i>Weaving Baskets</i>
<i>nwm-mme-56</i>	<i>0:01:15</i>	<i>2017-11-07</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ernestine Kelmäl</i>	<i>Basket</i>
<i>nwm-mme-57</i>	<i>0:01:53</i>	<i>2017-11-07</i>	<i>Audio</i>	<i>Ernestine Kelmäl</i>	<i>Making Tuluk</i>

Appendix Three: Orthographies

While the phoneme inventories of the case study languages are relatively uniform, there are a number of salient differences. In terms of vowels, Tirax contrasts unrounded high-mid and mid front vowels as well as and rounded high-mid and mid back vowels. This contrast is not present in V'ënen Taut and Tape. Tape and Tirax have a rounded mid back vowel /o/ which is not present in V'ënen Taut. Concerning consonants, there is a contrast between bilabial and the rare labiovelar consonants in V'ënen Taut, which is not present in Tape and Tirax. Noticeably absent from V'ënen Taut are the pre-nasalized consonants /^mb/ and /^ŋg/ present in Tape and Tirax. Tirax contrasts the velar fricative /x/ with the glottal fricative /h/. This contrast is not present in V'ënen Taut or Tape.

The examples in the three case study languages are written in comparable orthographies. These orthographies are based on those established in the literature (Brotchie, 2009, p. 722; Crowley, 2006d, p. 10, Dodd, 2014, p. 32), with several adaptations following discussions with local teachers.

Phoneme	V'ënen Taut	Tape	Tirax
a	A a	A a	A a
^m b		B b	B b
ⁿ d	D d	D d	D d
e	E e	E e	E e
ε			È è
ə	Ë ë	Ë ë	Ë ë
^ŋ g		G g	G g
h			H h
i	I i	I i	I i
č		J j	
k	K k	K k	K k
ɣ/x	Kh kh	Kh kh	X x
l	L l	L l	L l
m	M m	M m	M m
<u>m</u>	M' m'		
n	N n	N n	N n
ŋ		Ng ng	Ng ng
o		O o	O o
ɔ			Ò ò
p	P p	P p	P p
<u>p</u>	P' p'		
r	R r	R r	R r
s	S s	S s	S s
t	T t	T t	T t
u	U u	U u	U u
β	V v		V v
<u>β</u>	V' v'		
v		V v	
w	W w	W w	W w

Table A3.1: Orthographic representations