Chapter 8

Recapitulative linkage in Mavea

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This chapter concentrates on recapitulative linkage in Mavea, an Oceanic language of Vanuatu. I present the formal characteristics of recapitulative linkage and assess its discourse functions in two texts: a procedural text and a legend. Recapitulative linkage is compared to verbal repetition, another productive discourse strategy in Oceanic languages. I show that recapitulative linkage in Mavea is identified through a constellation of features. Syntactically, it is an instance of main clause coordination; prosodically it is marked with continuation intonation; semantically, it indicates temporal succession; and in discourse, it signals thematic continuity or rhetorical underlining.

1 A brief introduction

Mavea (also spelled Maṽea or Mav'ea) is a moribund Oceanic language spoken by about 30 speakers in Vanuatu.[1] The data for this chapter come from my own field work on Mavea Island (11 months between 2005 and 2007). All files are archived at the Endangered Languages Archive–ELAR (available online, see Guérin 2006). Typologically, Mavea is a head-marking language, mildly agglutinative, mostly prefixing. The language displays an SV/AVO constituent order, with nominative-accusative alignment and the S/A argument obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb as a prefix but optional in canonical imperative sentences (Guérin 2011: 236). This prefix is a portmanteau indicating subject agreement and reality status. However, only two persons (1SG and 3SG) have different realis and irrealis realizations. All other persons have identical forms regardless of the reality status

[1]The letters ⟨v̌⟩, ⟨p̌⟩, and ⟨m̌⟩ represent linguo-labials. In this chapter, they are written as ⟨v'⟩, ⟨p'⟩, and ⟨m'⟩ in the figures.

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(Guérin 2011: 61). As is widespread in Oceanic languages, Mavea makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (with aspectual and directional meanings) and of clausal coordination (asyndetic or monosyndetic), but less use of subordination to express adverbial clauses.

Of the three types of bridging constructions that were presented in this volume in Chapter 1 (i.e., recapitulative, summary, and mixed linkages), there are in Mavea numerous examples of a construction which I identify as recapitulative linkage, exemplified in (1).

(1) a. *Tamlo ra-l-to, mo-ṽ́a mo-ran tarlavua ra-sopo-one-ra.*
man 3PL-IPFV-stay 3SG-go 3SG-day morning 3PL-NEG-look-3PL
'People were waiting until daylight [but] they didn't see them.'

b. ***Ra-sopo-one-ra*** *ro ra-l-aso-ra.*
3PL-NEG-look-3PL then 3PL-IPFV-search-3PL
'They didn't see them, then they searched [for] them.'

Summary linkage with light or demonstrative verbs (as described in Chapter 1 of this volume) is not found in Mavea, and at this stage, I venture to say that this type of linkage is not a frequently-employed mechanism to link clauses in the Oceanic languages of Vanuatu. There exists, however, a construction commonly found in Mavea – and in other Oceanic languages such as Ughele (Frostad 2012), Paamese (Crowley 2003: 39), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001) – involving the verb 'finish' in the bridging clause, following the verb of the reference clause, as shown in (2b).

(2) a. *Ale ki-lo-to tuan nira ki-anan.*
then 1PL:EXCL-IPFV-stay with 3PL 1PL:EXCL-eat
'Then we stay with them we eat.'

b. ***Ki-anan mo-ev*** *ro ale ki-varvara nira.*
1PL:EXCL-eat 3SG-finish and then 1PL:EXCL-speak 3PL
'Having finished eating, then, we talk with them.'

In such contexts, the verb *ev* 'finish' in (2b) always takes a 3SG agreement marker and it can be said to form an event-argument serial verb construction, in the sense of Aikhenvald (2006: 18) with the preceding verb (here *anan* 'eat') indicating completive aspect (Guérin 2011: 225, 267).[2] Understanding whether constructions involving the verb 'finish' can be treated on a par with bridging constructions, or whether these constructions form another type of clause linkage

[2]For an alternative proposal, see Cleary-Kemp (2017: 131, 241)

altogether (e.g., subevent sequencing as serial verbs) can only be addressed once a firm description of the syntax and pragmatics of the more canonical bridging constructions in Mavea is put forth. This chapter is a first step in that direction. In the remaining sections, I concentrate on recapitulative linkage similar to (1). §2 describes the formal characteristics of the bridging clause in detail and §3 discusses the placement of recapitulative linkage in two text genres (procedural and narrative) and the associated discourse functions, in the spirit of de Vries (2005). §4 compares recapitulative linkage to repetition. I conclude that identifying recapitulative linkage in Mavea requires identifying a constellation of features. First, bridging clauses are syntactically main clauses that are often overtly coordinated. Second, they have non-final (or continuation) intonation, indicating that they are in a chain of thoughts. Third, they indicate for the most part sequentiality. And fourth, they have specific discursive functions, the most common being to add emphasis and to track the progression of events in a text.

2 Formal characteristics of recapitulative linkage

In this section, I review the formal properties of recapitulative linkage in Mavea. Questions addressed in §2.1 touch on the composition and content of the bridging clause (what is repeated and how) and on the status of the bridging clause (whether a main or non-main clause, a final or a non-final clause), in §2.2.

2.1 Composition, content, and position

Recapitulative linkage is characterized by the repetition of the reference clause. But what exactly is repeated? Repetition can take different forms as discussed in Guérin & Aiton (2019 [this volume]), and in Brown (2000: 224). In Mavea, I have found so far exact lexical repetition, repetition with addition, with omission, and repetition with substitution. Exact lexical repetition is seen bolded in (3b) where the bridging clause repeats two clauses from the reference clause (underlined), verbatim.

(3) a. *Tamlo vaisesea mo-tapair ro mo-v i-valao.*
man small 3SG-shake and 3SG-say 3SG:IRR-run
'The little boy got scared and so he started to run.'

b. ***Mo-tapair ro mo-v i-valao,*** *ro mo-v: "Ei! Ko-sopo-valao!"*
3SG-shake and 3SG-say 3SG:IRR-run and 3SG-say hey! 2SG-NEG-run
'He got scared and he started to run, and he (i.e., someone else) said: "Hey! Don't run!"'

Repetition with omission is exemplified in (4): the imperfective aspect marker *lo* is not repeated in the bridging clause. In (5), it is the oblique *na vasao le* which is omitted.

(4) a. *Mo-ṽa mo-lo-sarsar.*
3SG-go 3SG-IPFV-spear.fish
'He went spear-fishing.'

b. ***Mo-sarsar,*** *mo-sop malo...*
3SG-spear.fish 3SG-follow reef
'He spear-fished, he walked along the reef...'

(5) a. *Ko-ṽa ko-oso na vasao le.*
2SG-go 2SG-ashore LOC landing.site DET
'Go ashore to that landing site.'

b. *Ro* ***ko-oso*** *ko-on...*
then 2SG-ashore 2SG-see
'Then, you go ashore, you see...'

Repetition with addition is shown in (6). The bridging clause adds a direct object *re raprapen vatal* 'the banana-log raft' which is not present in the reference clause. Note, however, that 'the raft' is implicit in the reference clause and discussed in the clauses preceding it. Thus, no new information is added in the bridging clause.

(6) a. *Mo-rave mo-si alao na tasi.*
3SG-pull 3SG-go.down seashore LOC sea
'He pulled (it) down to the seashore.'

b. ***Mo-rave re rap~rape-n vatal mo-si alao na tasi,*** *mo-l-sale-i-a.*
3SG-pull PL REDUP~log-3SG:POSS banana 3SG-go.down seashore LOC sea 3SG-IPFV-float-TR-3SG
'He pulled the banana-log raft down to the seashore, he put it to float.'

Last, repetition with substitution and addition appear in (7c). The lexical verb of the reference clause *lai* 'take' is replaced in the reference clause by its near synonym *lavi* 'take'. The bridging clause also contain an additional linker, namely *ro* 'and'. Note also that the reference and bridging clause are separated from one another by an intervening clause.

(7) a. *Ko-lai ko-m̋a ko-rosi-a.*
2SG-take 2SG-come 2SG-grate-3SG
'You bring them, grate them.'

b. *Ko-mo-osom i-mo-ngavul rua te i-ngavul tol.*
2SG-COND-husk 3SG:IRR-COND-decade two or 3SG:IRR-decade three
'You could husk 20 or 30.'

c. ***Ko-lav̋i ko-m̋a ro ko-rosi-a.***
2SG-take 2SG-come and 2SG-grate-3SG
'You bring them and grate them.'

If the content of the bridging clause does not always match the content of the reference clause, one feature that remains constant is the position of the bridging clause: it always occurs after the reference clause (as is the case across languages, see Chapter 1). In the large majority of cases, the reference clause and the bridging clause are contiguous. Most examples adduced so far exemplify this trend. In rarer cases, the bridging clause is not adjacent to the reference clause but separated by one clause as in (7) and also (8).

(8) a. *Kou mo-tur pos, mo-m̋e-l-sop sale mo-v̋a na ima sa-n.*
fowl 3SG-stand.up turn 3SG-ITER-IPFV-follow road 3SG-go LOC house CLF:LOC-3SG:POSS
'Fowl turns around, she keeps walking on the road, she goes home.'

b. ***Mo-m̋e-l-sop sale...***
3SG-ITER-IPFV-follow road
'She keeps walking on the road...'

2.2 Grammatical status of the bridging clause

The comparative concept presented in Chapter 1 (this volume) indicates that bridging clauses are non-main clauses. The dependency can be marked grammatically, as in the Oceanic language Erromangan (Vanuatu). In this language, "verbs

are obligatorily marked by means of prefixes that express a range of subject categories" (Crowley 1998: 85). In some rare cases, including bridging constructions, the verb occurs without any subject marking. Instead, the verb appears in what Crowley calls the citation form. This is shown in (9) with the verb *tamul-* in bold in the bridging clause.

(9) Erromangan (Vanuatu)

a. *Kamu-tetw-i* *mavel-i* *yi-tamul-i.*
1DU:EXCL:DIST.PST-BR:wait.for-3SG until-LK 3SG:DIST.PST-BR:send-3SG
'The two of us waited until he sent it.'

b. ***Tamul-i*** *kamli-vai.*
CIT:send-3SG 1PL.EXCL:DIST.PST-BR:take
'Having sent it, we took it.' (Crowley 1998: 118)

In Mavea, on the other hand, bridging clauses do not show any sign of grammatical dependency. They are not restricted in their inflectional possibilities: they show no limitations on the tense, reality status, mood/modality, etc., that they can mark. They can be negated, as shown in (1); they show no restriction on the presence or absence of core arguments. In addition, the bridging clause is often coordinated to the following clause with the coordinator *ro* 'and, and then, then', as shown in (3). This coordinator conjoins verb phrases and clauses, as shown in (10), but not nominals (Guérin 2011: 314ff).[3] Thus, in all morphosyntactic aspects, bridging clauses are just like any other main clause: they do not constitute a separate clause type.

(10) *Mo-sa* *mo-sakai ai* ***ro*** *mo-otol.*
3SG-go.up 3SG-sit LOC:PRO and 3SG-lay.eggs
'She went up, sat on it, and she laid eggs.' (Guérin 2011: 320)

However, when it comes to prosody, bridging clauses differ significantly from the main clauses that are used as final clauses at the end of a chain of thoughts. They are marked with rising pitch, whereas final clauses have a falling pitch. To illustrate this fact, take Figure 1 as a starting point: a PRAAT graph of the two juxtaposed clauses glossed in (11). There is no semantic linker between these clauses and no semantic link either. Both clauses are main clauses and final clauses. Both have falling intonation (although the second one takes a deeper dip). Throughout the chapter, a number in square brackets such as [0.1s] in the source language indicates a pause, in seconds.

[3]Note in passing that the conjunction *ro* generally forms an intonational unit with the first conjunct or with the bridging clause and is followed by a pause (Guérin 2011: 321).

(11) *Arua-ku!* *Nno ko-l-to.* *Nao ka-m̋e-l-tapula.*
friend-1SG:POSS 2SG 2SG-IPFV-stay 1SG 1SG:IRR-ITER-IPFV-return
'My friend! You stay. I'm going back.'

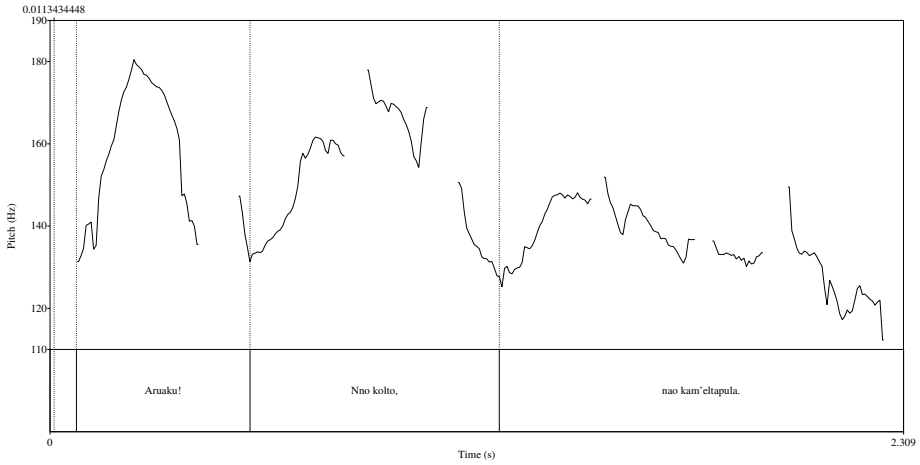

Figure 1: Intonation contour of example (11) extracted with PRAAT.

We can now compare (11) and Figure 1 to (12) and Figure 2 (from the same story and same male speaker). Example (12) contains a recapitulative linkage. (12a) is the reference clause, (12b) is the bridging clause, which is juxtaposed (after a pause) to the following clause in (12c). The graph accompanying this example (Fig. 2) represents the reference and the bridging clauses. It clearly shows that the bridging clause ends on a much higher pitch than the reference clause, which is a final clause.

(12) a. *Mo-vir* *sun* *no-n* *kou* *mo-si.* *[1.35s]*
3SG-throw hat CLF-LK fowl 3SG-go.down
'He throws down Fowl's hat.'

b. ***Mo-vir*** ***sun*** ***no-n*** ***kou*** ***mo-si*** *[3.4s]*
3SG-throw hat CLF-LK fowl 3SG-go.down
'He throws down Fowl's hat,'

c. *sun* *mo-si* *mo-tikel* *atano.*
hat 3SG-go.down 3SG-reach ground
'the hat goes down onto the ground.'

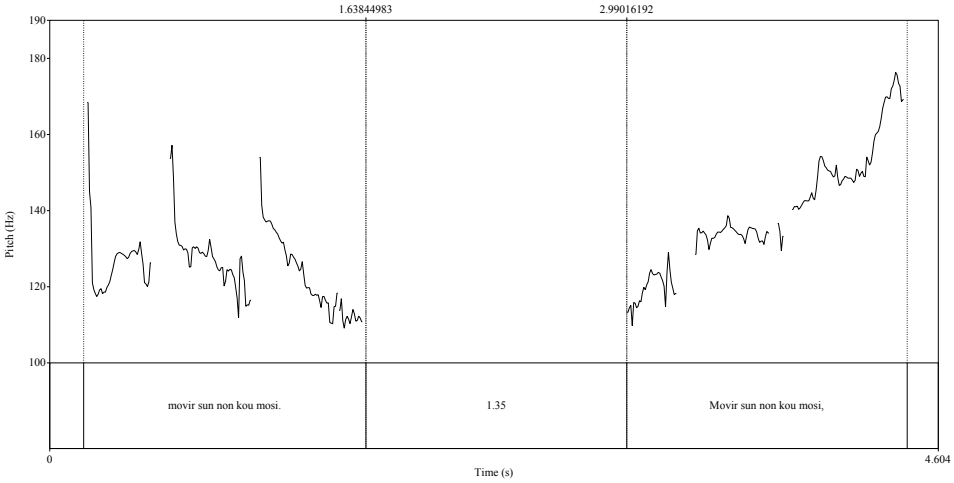

Figure 2: Intonation contour of examples (12a) and (12b) extracted with PRAAT.

Example (13) also contains a recapitulative linkage, but this time, the bridging clause (13b) is overtly coordinated to the following clause. All three clauses are represented in Figure 3.

(13) a. *ko-viris* *i-si* *na* *kuku. [1s]*
2SG-squeeze 3SG:IRR-go.down LOC pot
'You squeeze (out the juice) down into a pot.'

b. ***Ko-viris*** ***i-si*** ***na*** ***kuku*** *ro* *[1.09s]*
2SG-squeeze 3SG:IRR-go.down LOC pot then
'You squeeze (out the juice) down into a pot then,'

c. *ko-[0.2s]* *ku-a.*
2SG-[pause] boil-3SG
'you...boil it.'

The difference between the bridging clause and the other clauses in (13) is visually striking. The reference clause ends with a falling intonation. The bridging clause ends on a high pitch with rising intonation. The main clause following the bridging clause also has falling intonation.

The intonation contour of a bridging clause is not always so visually striking. For example, the bridging clause in (14b) shown in Figure 4 does not rise as much as the one in (13b), although the female speaker is the same in both instances. This is possibly due to the fact that the linkage in (14) is a bit unusual: the

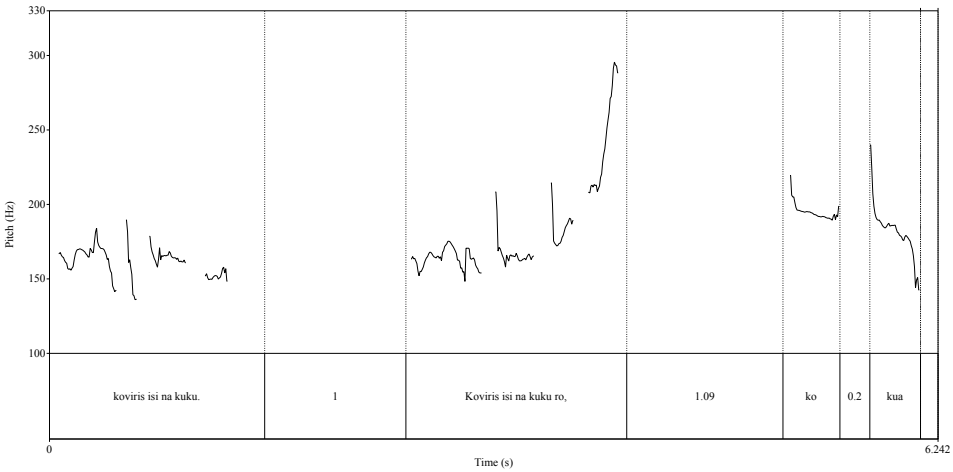

Figure 3: Intonation contour of example (13) extracted with PRAAT.

reference clause is an exclamative clause and not a declarative. There is no pause between the bridging clause and the clause following it. The pitch is much higher throughout. Nevertheless, the bridging clause ends on a pitch higher than the final clause preceding it and the final clause following it. Based on all examples presented so far, I extrapolate the fact that although bridging clauses are morphologically main clauses, they indicate continuation and are non-final clauses. Their non-final status is indicated by their prosody.

(14) a. *Ko-pos ko-si ko-sev! [1.11s]*
2SG-turn 2SG-go.down 2SG-hang
'Turn upside down and hang!'

b. ***Ko-pos ko-si ko-sev*** *ro*
2SG-turn 2SG-go.down 2SG-hang then
'Turn upside down and hang, then'

c. *da-r-sev da-r-lala lang.*
1PL:INCL-DU-hang 1PL:INCL-DU-take.in wind
'we both hang [and] enjoy the wind.'

Needless to say, a rising tune is not specific to bridging clauses. When used in paragraph-initial position, time adverbials have a similar intonation contour, as shown in Figure 5, since they too indicate continuation.

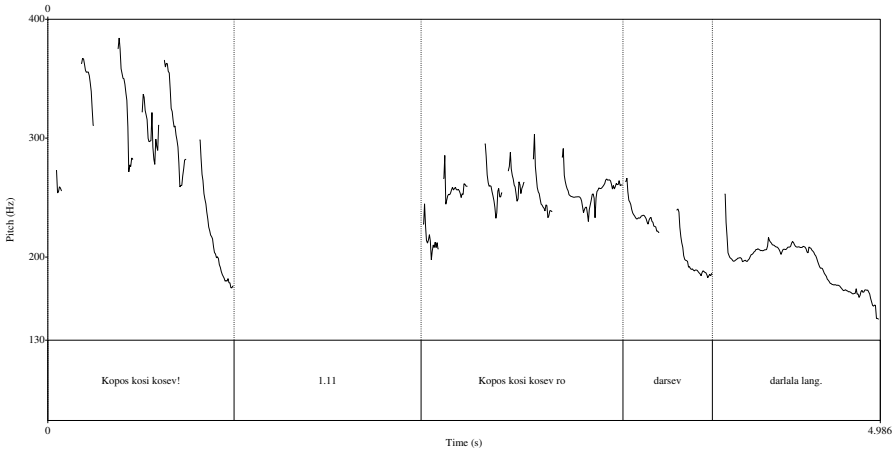

Figure 4: Intonation contour of example (14) extracted with PRAAT.

(15) *Sur pong aite [2.30s] tina-na mo-sao.*
about night one [pause] mother-3SG:POSS 3SG-sick
'One day, his mother was sick.'

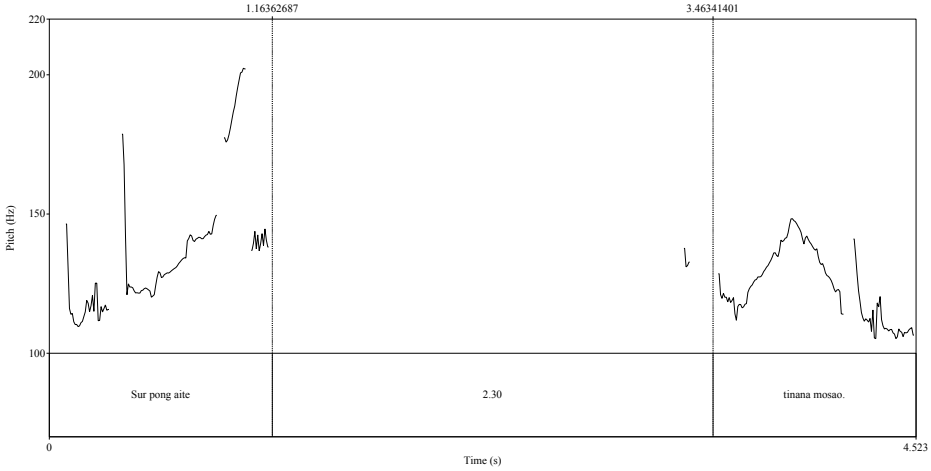

Figure 5: Intonation contour of example (15) extracted with PRAAT.

In addition, clauses which are considered part of a chain of thought and thus non-final also have a rising intonation contour, regardless of their morphosyntactic features. This is the case, for example, of lines (A25) and (A26) of the Appendix, shown in Figure 6.

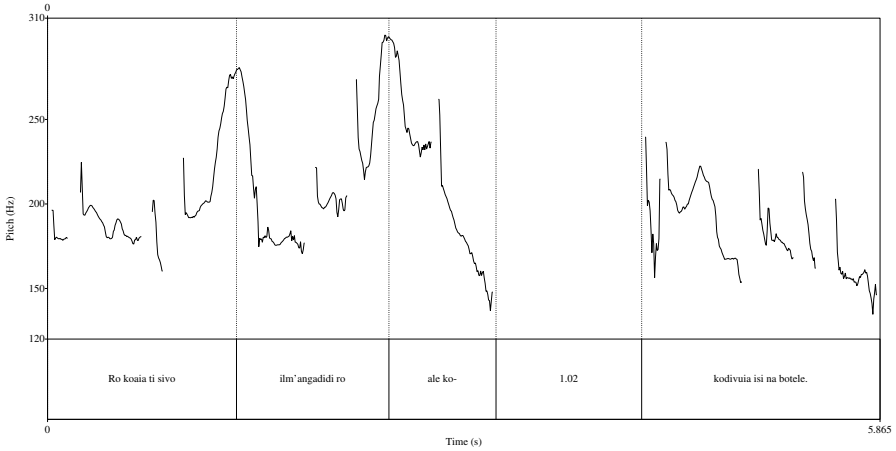

Figure 6: Intonation contour of examples (A25) and (A26) of the Appendix extracted with PRAAT.

I have not found so far cases where a clause with rising intonation ends a paragraph, a text, or a chain of thoughts, indicating that a rising intonation is the preferred contour to expresses continuation in Mavea as is the case elsewhere in the Oceanic subgroup: in Manam (Lichtenberk 1983: 521), in Paluai (Schokkin 2013: 63), and in Abma (Schneider 2010: 38), to name a few. Final clauses on the other hand have falling intonation.

3 Bridging constructions in discourse

Understanding the function of recapitulative linkage in discourse rests on two points. First, the discourse genre in which the linkage occurs requires defining given that the function of a bridging construction can vary depending on the text genre (de Vries 2005). In §3.1, I present a brief description of text genres in Mavea. In line with what is reported in the literature (Longacre 1983: 9, de Vries 2005: 365, Thompson et al. 2007: 274), recapitulative linkage in Mavea is most frequent in narrative and procedural texts.

Second, the placement of the bridging clause in a particular text is important, as different positions can lead to different meanings. In that respect, I assume that a text evolves into the following stages: exposition, development, developing conflict, climax, denouement, conclusion (as discussed in Chapter 1, this volume). I recognize two major textual components: the main event line and the supporting line (Longacre 1983: 14–17) that both help the text progress through

the aforementioned stages. To determine the discourse function of recapitulative linkage in Mavea, I evaluate the clauses immediately surrounding the bridging clause: Does the line preceding the bridging clause report on an event on the main line or the supporting line? Is the line following the bridging clause adding new information, i.e., a new event on the main line? Or is it elaborating a previous event, i.e., adding information on the supporting line? In §3.2 and §3.3, I provide a structural study of two texts in Mavea (a procedural text and a narrative) to determine the placement and function of recapitulative linkage in each of these text genres. Needless to say, this analysis and the conclusions reached are provisional. More texts of each genre will need to be analyzed before any definite conclusions can be reached.

3.1 Text genres and token frequency of recapitulative linkage

Texts are classified based on external criteria such as topic, intended audience, purpose, and activity type (Lee 2001: 38). In my Mavea dataset, I arrive at the following division:

Conversations: unplanned dialogues between two speakers

Anecdotal narratives: personal stories, where the speaker narrates episodes of his/her life

Traditional life narratives: depiction (and to some extent explanation) of cultural events and practices such as engagement ceremonies, bride price payment, circumcision, etc.

Fiction narratives: stories about fictional protagonists (humans and anthropomorphic characters), sometimes associated with mythical events, which can reveal human nature and sometimes end with a moral lesson. As part of the traditional folklore, these stories are known by everyone in the community.

Elicited narratives: invented narratives based on picture books. Participants are given a picture book and asked to invent the story depicted.

Procedural texts: elicited texts describing the step-by-step processes to accomplish a task.

To determine the token frequency of recapitulative linkage across text genres, I formed a corpus in each genre of the same approximate length (around 25 minutes long). The texts were randomly chosen with one exception: there are only

six procedural texts in my entire dataset (of about 160 recordings). They are all included in the present corpus but they only yield a total of 8 minutes. The results are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Token frequency of recapitulative linkage per text genre

Text genres	Speakers' data	Text length, in min.	# of recap. linkages	Recap. linkage/min.
Conversations	2 ♀ age 35–45	22	3	0.14
Anecdotal narratives	2 ♂ age 30–45	27	2	0.07
Traditional life	1 ♂ age 33	23	5	0.22
Fiction	2 ♂ , 1 ♀ age 33–50	25	20	0.8
Elicited narratives	4 ♂ age 25–45	24	41	1.71
Procedural texts	2 ♀ age 45–65	8	21	2.63

Overall, across text genres, recapitulative linkage is relatively infrequent. A count per minute reveals that it is more frequent in elicited procedural texts (2.63 occurrences per minute) and elicited narratives (1.7 occurrences per minute) than in any non-elicited texts (with a maximum of 0.8 occurrences per minute in fiction narratives). It could be that the high count of recapitulative linkages per minute in elicited texts (procedural or narrative) gives us indirect evidence that the role of bridging construction is for the speaker to buy (processing) time (de Vries 2005: 378; 2006: 817). As Longacre argues (1983: 9–10), in many non-literate communities, people learn by participating in activities, rather than being told how to do things in a procedural way. The speakers could be in need of time to think about the procedure in order to retell it or to think of the story to invent, as it was not something they were accustomed to doing. Another interesting point is the fact that bridging clauses are often coordinated and followed by a pause (as discussed in §2.2). The speaker can use the recapitulative linkage (with continuation prosody) and the pause (which occurs after the coordinator *ro* 'and, then') to maintain the floor while thinking about the next segment. This could be additional indirect evidence that the speaker buys processing time, as suggested by de Vries (2006: 817).

3.2 Analysis of a procedural text

Procedural texts are goal-oriented texts. They provide a sequence of instructions which are to be closely followed in order to perform a task, to reach a goal. These

instructions (which form the main event line) are usually temporally ordered and may be interspersed with explanatory material (the supporting line), such as elaborations, comments, or advice which provide motivation and justification for the instructions (Adam 2001; Fontan & Saint-Dizier 2008; Delpech & Saint-Dizier 2008).

The procedural text that I analyze in this section (schematized in Table 2) is reproduced in its entirety in the Appendix. Line numbers correspond to the example sentences in the Appendix. The text is a recipe giving instructions on how to make coconut oil. I identify 14 independent events or steps on the main line (mostly action verbs) providing instructions and eight events on the supporting line, consisting of repetitions (as in line A20) and of elaborations of various sorts (to offer advice (line A7) or provide a refining comment (line A5) on a main line event).

Based solely on the formal characteristics identified in §2, I isolate five clear tokens of recapitulative linkage in this text. Two instances of recapitulative linkage, the pairs (A9–A10) and (A12–A13), are what I consider "canonical" examples. In both cases, the reference clauses (lines A9 and A12) are final clauses with falling intonation. The bridging clauses (lines A10 and A13) are coordinated to the following clause with *ro* 'and'. The bridging clauses are immediately adjacent to the reference clauses and repeat the lexical content verbatim. Both bridging clauses have rising intonation contours.[4]

The other three recapitulative linkages appear in the pairs (A6–A8), (A15–A18), and (A23–A24). In the first two linkages, (A6–A8) and (A15–A18), the reference and bridging clauses are not immediately adjacent. The recapitulative linkage (A6–A8) shows addition and substitution. The reference clause (line A6) has three consecutive verbs. The first two are separated from the third verb by the coordinator *ro* 'and' in the bridging clause (line A8). The first verb of the reference clause is replaced in the bridging clause by a synonym (i.e., *lai* 'take' > *laṽi* 'take'). The pair (A15–A18) shows addition and omission in the bridging clause. The pronoun *nna* 'it' is added in the bridging clause; the location *na apu* 'on the fire', present in the reference clause, is omitted in the bridging clause. Last, the pair (A23–A24) also shows addition. The bridging clause contains a more complex predicate: *mov* is a phasal predicate (Guérin 2011: 342), added to the predicate of the reference clause *rororo*, an ideophone representing the sound of sizzling food.

[4]A reviewer asked why line A11, which I call a repetition, was not taken as the bridging clause of line A9. It is indeed possible to envisage a scenario where line A10 is a false start. The speaker starts the bridging clause line A10, changes her mind, and repeats it as line A11 with added material.

Table 2: Schema of the recipe: How to make coconut oil

Main line	Line #	Recap. Link.	Supporting line
title	A1		
purpose	A2		
	A3		repetition of (A1)
Husk	A4		
	A5		repetition/elaboration of (4)
Grate	A6	reference cl.	
	A7		elaboration of (A4) and (A5)
	A8	bridging cl.	elaboration
Knead	A9	reference cl.	
	A10	bridging cl.	
	A11		repetition of (A10)/elaboration
Squeeze	A12	reference cl.	
	A13	bridging cl.	
Boil	A14		
Put on the fire	A15	reference cl.	
	A16		elaboration of (15)
	A17		elaboration of (16)
	A18	bridging cl.	
Stir	A19		
	A20		repetition of (A19)
Become oil	A21		
Stir	A22		
Hear sizzling	A23	reference cl.	
Cooked	A24	bridging cl.	
Remove	A25		
Cool	A26		
Pour	A27		

With respect to placement, the bridging clauses in lines A13 and A24 are surrounded by main line events, i.e., new steps in the recipe. The bridging clauses in lines A8 and A18 are preceded by advisory comments on the supporting line (lines A7, A16, and A17). They are followed by a new main line event, lines A9 and A19. The reference clause line A9 is preceded by the bridging clause from the previous recapitulative linkage. It does not contain a new event per se but an elaboration of the event on the main event line, on line A6. The bridging clause line A10 is followed by a repetition of itself, line A11, with an added aspectual dimension and continuation intonation.

By looking at the placement of the bridging clauses in the text, we can better deduce their function. The two bridging clauses which appear after material on the supporting line (lines A8 and A18) flag a change of orientation, from background to foreground. They bring the topic and the audience back onto the main event line. On the other hand, the bridging clauses surrounded by main line events (lines A13 and A24) signal that the procedure is continuing. They highlight the sequentiality of each step in the recipe and thrust the recipe forward. Recapping one event on the main line (the reference clause) before the next event (in the clause after the bridging clause) "transform[s] the repeated item from new into given information" (Brown 2000: 224).

The findings are summarized in Table 3. It is interesting to note that there are only five clear cases of recapitulative linkages but 14 events on the main event line and nine on the supporting line, indicating that recapitulative linkages are not obligatory: not all sequences of events are overtly signalled by a bridging clause.

If speakers have the choice to use or not use a recapitulative linkage, we may wonder then what triggers the choice. Events that are not recapped by a bridging clause appear on lines A4, A14, A19, and A24 to A27. They are followed by repetitions (lines A5, A20), elaboration on the main event line (line A15), but they can also continue the procedure. There are new steps (lines 25 to 27) taking place after the end goal of the recipe has been achieved (line 24) but no recapitulative linkage to introduce them. Thus, although both the use and non-use of recapitulative linkage can conspire to add thematic continuity, I conclude that bridging clauses in a procedural text either emphasize a temporal semantic relation (e.g., sequentiality) or mark an important narrative change (back to the main event line).

Note also that, in this text, I do not consider the pair A4–A5 to form a recapitulative linkage. Although line A5 involves the repetition of line A4 with lexical substitution, the intonation of this pair is the opposite of the intonation of a canonical recapitulative linkage: line A4 ends with a rising pitch and line A5

Table 3: Properties of recapitulative linkage in the procedural text

Line # of bridging/ reference	Adjacency bridging/ reference	Coordin. or Juxtapos.	Recapitulation type	Clauses before/after the construction: on main/supporting line	Discourse function
A6–A8	no	juxtaposed	substitution and addition	supporting/main	to main event
A9–A10	yes	coordinated	verbatim	main/supporting	?
A12–A13	yes	coordinated	verbatim	main/main	sequencing
A15–A18	no	coordinated	omission and addition	supporting/main	to main event
A23–A24	yes	juxtaposed	addition	main/main	sequencing

a falling pitch. It could be that the speaker is correcting herself. Good coconuts (*ḿatiu du*) are old coconuts (*ḿatiu patu*), but *ḿatiu du* is more of a colloquial term, whereas *ḿatiu patu* is the appropriate term for a coconut which has reached maturity.

In addition, it is unclear at this stage whether the pair A21–A22 forms a recapitulative linkage or not. The second clause (*i-oele* 'it is oil') only partially repeats the first clause, which contains a serial verb construction (*i-ḿa i-oele* 'it will become oil'). In comparison, the bridging clauses lines A8, A13, and A18 repeat the entire serial construction in the reference clause. Could it be that line A21 is not a serial verb construction? Could it be that recapitulative linkage plays a role in differentiating serial verb construction from verb juxtaposition? This line of research is left open at this stage.

3.3 Analysis of a narrative

Narratives are texts that tell a story, imagined or real. Like procedural texts, narratives are built on two organizational positions: the main event line which carries the plot forward, and the supporting line which adds emotive or depictive information. The narrative I analyze here (schematized in Table 4) is a fiction narrative with two anthropomorphized characters: Parrot and Flying Fox. It tells the story of how Parrot tricked Flying Fox into hanging upside down, and how to this day, flying foxes hang upside down. The person narrating this text is the same as the narrator of the procedural text.[5]

[5]I think that it is important to keep in mind the composer of the narrative (Longacre 1983: 17) as bridging constructions are also used as stylistic devices, their usage thus varying along individual preferences. For example, in Mavea, I used a picture book to elicit a narrative. Two brothers in their early 30s participated. One of the brothers used just one recapitulative linkage in his narrative, the other more than ten.

Table 4: Schema of the fiction narrative: Parrot and Flying fox

Main line	Line #	Recap. Link.	Supporting line
Title	001		
Exposition: information about the protagonists. They are friends, they live, fly, play, eat together.	002–008		
Inciting moment: One day, they eat. They are satiated.	009–011		
They sit, they play.	012	reference cl.	
	013	bridging cl.	
	014–017		**Background**: Before they were both sitting on branches. Flying Fox was not hanging upside down.
Inciting moment: On that day, they eat. They are satiated, they sit.	018		
Complicating action: Parrot tricks Flying Fox.	019		
Parrot hangs upside down.	020	reference cl.	
	021	bridging cl.	
	022		**Repetition/elaboration**: Parrots hangs upside down, he flaps his wings.
Inciting moment: Parrot asks Flying Fox to hang upside down.	023		
	024	reference cl.	
	025	bridging cl.	
	026–027		**Repetition/elaboration**: They both hang upside down, they play.
Complicating action: Parrot goes back to sitting upright.	028	reference cl.	
	029	bridging cl.	
Inciting moment: Parrot asks Flying Fox to sit upright.	029–031		
Climax: Flying Fox tries but cannot sit upright, she hangs upside down.	032		
	033	reference cl.	**Repetition**: She keeps trying in vain.

Main line	Line #	Recap. Link.	Supporting line
Denouement: Flying Fox hangs upside down for good.	034	bridging cl.	
	035		**Summary**: Parrot tricked Flying Fox. To this day, flying foxes hang upside down.

There are 13 events on the main line, and five events on the supporting line. I identify four clear cases of recapitulative linkage, lines 012–013 shown in (17); 020–021 reproduced in (18); 024–025 in (14); and 028–029 in (19). One pair of sentences is ambiguous between a recapitulative linkage and a repetition (lines 014–015) and is left out of the analysis. The bridging clauses are all coordinated to the following clause using *ro* 'and, then'. The bridging clauses repeat the lexical content of the reference clause verbatim in two cases (012–013; 024–025) while in the other two instances (020–021; 028–029), only the subject noun phrase of the reference clause is not repeated in the bridging clause. All four bridging clauses have rising intonation contour and all four reference clauses have falling pitch. Last, all four bridging clauses are immediately adjacent to the reference clauses.

The end of the narrative contains an interesting case which I treat as a recapitulative linkage (lines 033–034), despite its unconventional feature. The reference clause in (16a) does not have the typical falling intonation of other reference clauses (although it is a final clause) because it is an exclamative clause, marked with a very high pitch. The bridging clause in (16b) has rising intonation, as is expected of this type of clause, as shown in Figure 7.

(16) a. *Mo-dere ro, mo-sev!* *[0.87s]*
3SG-no then 3SG-hang
'No, she is hanging!'

b. ***Mo-sev*** *ro mo-sev val ṽaite.*
3SG-hang then 3SG-hang go once
'She is hanging, then she hangs once and for all.'

In terms of placement and function, the first instance of recapitulative linkage (lines 012–013), reported in (17), occurs after a short list of descriptive events on the main line. What is interesting is that the following lines 014–017 provide background information about the animals, as an aside.

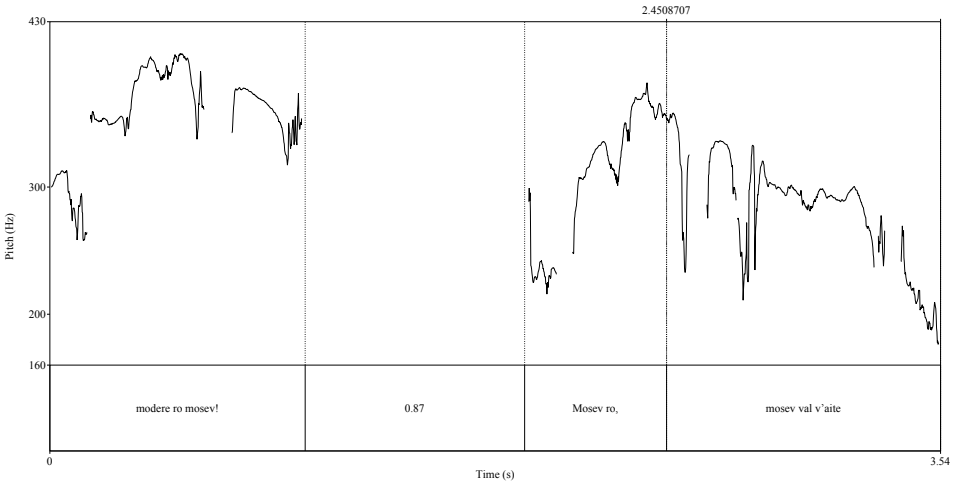

Figure 7: Intonation contour of example (16) extracted with PRAAT.

(17) a. *Ra-r-ḿa~ḿavan.* *[0.85s]*
3PL-DU-REDUP~play
'They were playing with each other.'

b. ***Ra-r-ḿa~ḿavan*** *ro* *[1.07s]*
3PL-DU-REDUP~play then
'They were playing with each other then,'

c. *ḿatan madia ro raruorua ra-r-lo-sakele.*
because first then two.together 3PL-DU-IPFV-sit
'because before, they were both sitting (on branches).'

There is a shift in the narration, from the main line to the supporting line. The question is to know whether this is an instance of thematic discontinuity. Just before the reference clause, the speaker is using hesitation markers and pauses, which I take to indicate that she buys time to think of her next story segment. However, the pauses are not longer than elsewhere in the same text. It is possible that she realizes that a piece of information is missing. She goes on to add the missing information after the bridging clause. I cannot ascertain that she used the bridging clause "deliberately" to mark a change in orientation.

The recapitulative linkage (lines 020–021), reported in (18), occurs at a crucial moment in the story, when Parrot hangs upside down. Many repetitions of the verb *sev* 'hang' appear in this passage. It seems safe to say that it is also a function of the linkage to add emphasis. This example is also interesting as it shows how

a bridging clause in (18b) can be followed by repetitions and elaborations, with the same intonation pattern, as shown in Figure 8, raising the question of the boundary between the different types of recapitulation.[6]

(18) a. *Sivi̋* *mo-si* *mo-sev.* *[0.6s]*
parrot 3SG-go.down 3SG-hang
'Parrot is hanging upside down.'

b. ***Mo-si*** ***mo-sev*** *ro* *mo-sev* *ro*
3SG-go.down 3SG-hang then 3SG-hang then
'He is hanging upside down, then he is hanging, then'

c. *mo-sev* *na* *palo-na* *mo-mä̋* *i* *rua* *ro...*
3SG-hang LOC leg-3SG:POSS 3SG-come LK two then
'he hangs with both his legs then,...'

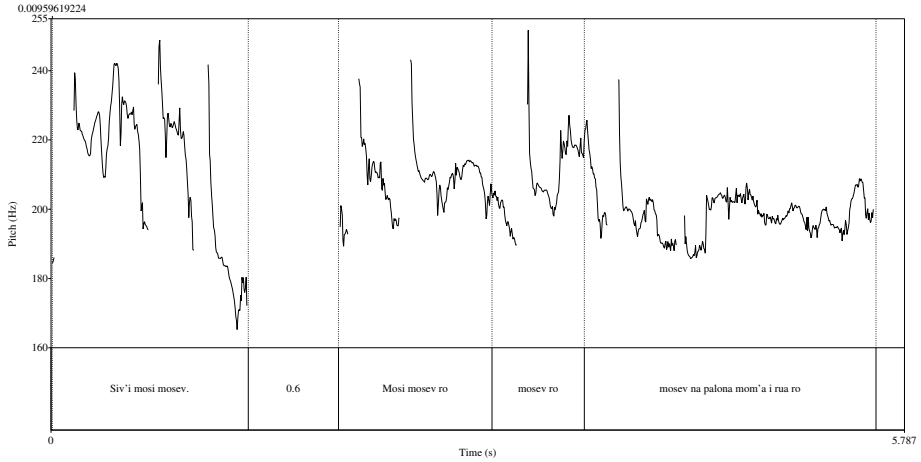

Figure 8: Intonation contour of example (18) extracted with PRAAT.

The recapitulative linkage (lines 024–025) shown in (14) is placed inside the direct speech report of Parrot. The reference clause functions as a command, which the bridging clause repeats. This is an important stage in the narrative which seals the fate of Flying Fox. The recapitulative linkage is interpreted to

[6]A reviewer wondered if the repetition and elaboration in (18b) and (18c) could be taken as bridging clauses. This analysis would entail that a reference clause could be followed by several bridging clauses.

provide a semantic link between the events (temporal, sequential). It also adds emphasis and force to Parrot's request.

The next recapitulative linkage (028–029) reproduced in (19) also highlights an important stage in the narrative, the fact that Parrot goes back to his normal sitting position (whereas Flying Fox remains upside down). I interpret this recapitulative linkage as functioning like the one before: it adds sequentiality but it also underlines this significant turning point in the story.

(19) a. *Sivi mo-pos mo-sa mo-sakele. [1.49s]*
parrot 3SG-turn 3SG-go.up 3SG-sit
'Parrot turns back up and sits.'

b. ***mo-pos mo-sa mo-sakele*** *ro [1.07s]*
3SG-turn 3SG-go.up 3SG-sit then
'He turns back up and sits, then'

c. *mo-tov karae mo-v "ko-pos!"*
3SG-call flying.fox 3SG-say 2SG-turn
'he calls Flying Fox and says: "turn!"'

Last, the denouement of the story is reached. The linkage in the denouement (lines 033–034) is reproduced in (16). Again, the bridging clause is followed by an important new stage in the narrative: Flying Fox is trapped for good. Here again, the recapitulative linkage is used to highlight this important event. This is also the final point in the narrative. The following lines simply summarize the story.

My analysis appears in Table 5. In the narrative text, recapitulative linkage may have three functions. (i) It adds temporal sequencing and signals that the event following it is new information on the main event line. (ii) The bridging clause can announce a shift in orientation between foreground and background. (iii) In addition, recapitulative linkage adds emphasis, or what Longacre calls "rhetorical underlining". Around the climactic events, "the narrator does not want you to miss the important point of the story so he employs extra words at that point" (Longacre 1983: 26).

Comparing the two texts and genres, the data suggest that across text genres, a default or unmarked recapitulative linkage in Mavea (i) is one where the bridging clause repeats the lexical content of the reference clause verbatim with continuation intonation; (ii) immediately follows the reference clause; (iii) is overtly coordinated to the following clause; and (iv) functions principally as a highlighter. It draws attention to the temporal sequence of events, to the importance of the events (rhetorical underlining), or to shifts in orientation. This shift can be

Table 5: Properties of recapitulative linkage in the fiction narrative

Line # of bridging/ reference	Adjacency bridging/ reference	Coordin. or Juxtapos.	Recapitulation type	Clauses before/after the construction: on main/supporting line	Discourse function
012–013	yes	coordinated	verbatim	main/supporting	to supporting line
020–021	yes	coordinated	omission	main/supporting	rhetorical underline
024–025	yes	coordinated	verbatim	main/main	sequencing/ rhetorical underline
028–029	yes	coordinated	omission	main/main	sequencing/ rhetorical underline
033–034	yes	coordinated	verbatim	main/main	rhetorical underline

from foreground to background and flag thematic discontinuity or the other way around, from background to foreground, and mark thematic continuity, bringing the focus back to the (foregrounded) main sequence of events.

Event sequencing is the most widely acknowledged discourse function of bridging constructions (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 130, 242, 261; de Vries 2005: 370; Thompson et al. 2007: 273). In Oceanic languages, it is found in Nahavaq (Dimock 2009: 259), Lolovoli (Hyslop 2001: 427), Abma (Schneider 2009: 24–26). Whether event sequencing is a function of the recapitulative linkage in Mavea, or of the fact that the bridging clause is usually coordinated to the following discourse (and coordination carries overtones of temporal sequencing), or whether event sequencing is a combination of both strategies requires a more fine-grained analysis (see also Guérin 2011: 325). It seems to me that temporal succession is not just a function of the coordination strategies. The conjunction *(me)ke* in Ughele (Frostad 2012: 242), *ro* in Mavea (Guérin 2011: 322) and *en* in Nahavaq (Dimock 2009: 230–231) indicate that the conjoined clauses occur simultaneously or in sequential order. Similarly, asyndetic coordination can denote simultaneity or sequencing (Frostad 2012: 241, Hyslop 2001: 425–426). A bridging clause, however, does not seem to express simultaneity in Mavea.

4 Recapitulative linkage versus clausal repetition

Both clausal repetition and bridging constructions are common in Mavea discourse, and both repeat a verb phrase or a clause previously mentioned. Both can be coordinated or juxtaposed to the following clause. How can we tease apart these two constructions? First, there seems to be an obvious formal distinction between repetition and recapitulative linkage: the sheer number of repetitions

that occur together. Recapitulative linkage involves the repetition of the reference clause just once. In verbal repetitions, on the other hand, the verb or clause can be reiterated three or four times, as in (20), and up to eight times in Tuvaluan (Besnier 2014: 487).

(20) ***Mo-tang mo-tang mo-tang*** *mo-lo-ʻva.*
3SG-cry 3SG-cry 3SG-cry 3SG-IPFV-go
'He cried and cried and kept crying for a while.' (Guérin 2011: 266)

Second, verbal repetition denotes continuous or iterative events. In many Oceanic languages, repetition (and reduplication) has grammaticalized to express aspectual dimensions such as habitual, imperfective, or iterative (Besnier 2014: 487; Guérin 2011: 117; Dimock 2009: 260). Recapitulative linkage, on the other hand, operates on the level of discourse, marking event completion and temporal sequencing, as discussed in §3. Last, repetition and bridging clauses differ in their intonations. Compare the repetition in (21) shown in Figure 9 with the recapitulative linkage in Figure 3, from the same speaker extracted from the same procedural text in the Appendix. It is visually clear that the patterns are very different. The bridging clause in (13b) has a sharp rising pitch, whereas the repetitions in (21b) have a rather flat contour or a falling intonation.

(21) a. *Ko-l-arvulesi-a.* *[0.88s]*
2SG-IPFV-stir-3SG
'You stir it.'

b. ***Ko-arvulesi, ko-arvulesi, ko-arvulesi*** *pelmel*
2SG-stir 2SG-stir 2SG-stir like.this
'You stir, stir, stir like this,'

c. *i-tikel* *ma...* *[0.82s]*
3SG:IRR-reach COMP
'until...'

d. *i-ḿa* *i-oele.*
3SG:IRR-come 3SG:IRR-oil
'it becomes oil.'

5 Conclusions

This chapter revealed that recapitulative linkage in Mavea are made up of a final reference clause and a bridging clause which is syntactically a main clause, has

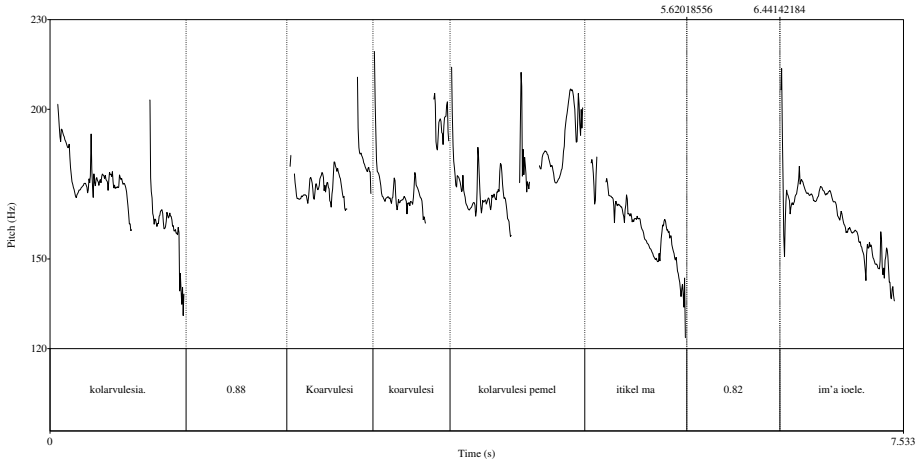

Figure 9: Intonation contour of example (21) extracted with PRAAT.

non-final prosody, and is juxtaposed or overtly coordinated to a following clause. A similar set of features characterizes recapitulative linkage in other languages of Vanuatu (Schneider 2009: 24–26; Thieberger 2006: 327; Hyslop 2001: 426) and elsewhere in the Oceanic language family (Palmer 2009; Frostad 2012; Hamel 1988: 172; Schokkin 2014: 115–116; Lithgow 1995: 94).

A reviewer wonders whether the kind of recapitulation found in Mavea can be considered a "construction", given that there is no special marker in the grammar and no specific condition triggering obligatory use. The point is well taken; recapitulative linkage in Mavea is a stylistic feature which has not grammaticalized. However, the lack of apparent form-meaning pairing is also expected if the syntactic profile of a language influences the formal characteristics of bridging constructions in that language (de Vries 2005; Seifart 2010: 898). First, in many Oceanic languages such as Sobei, Kaulong, Roviana or Manam (reported in Bril 2010; Lichtenberk 1983; Lynch et al. 2002: 53) coordination is preferred over subordination as a clause linking strategy. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that coordination is also the preferred strategy for the recapitulative linkage. Second, bridging clauses have continuation intonation, ending with a rising pitch, which marks them as dependent on the following clause. Even though a rising pitch is by no means a feature peculiar to recapitulative linkages alone, as shown in §2.2, this prosodic pattern separates bridging clauses from verbal repetitions. Last, recapitulative linkage in Mavea is a type of bridging construction given that the pattern has predictable semantic and discourse functions (§3): to flag thematic (dis)continuity, to add rhetorical underlining, and to highlight temporal succes-

sion. Thus, identifying recapitulative linkage in Mavea requires identifying a constellation of features: syntactic status, prosodic contour, semantic relation, and discourse function.

Appendix

Reproduced here is the procedural text schematized and analyzed in §3.2. I had asked the speaker, a woman in her 60s, to explain how to make coconut oil. The arrows at the end of a phrase broadly mark the intonation contour. The upper arrow ↑ indicates that the intonation rises, whereas the down arrow ↓ indicates that the intonation falls. No arrow indicates a rather flat intonation contour. Pauses in second appear between square brackets.

(A1) *Oele-n ḿatiu* ↑ *[0.82s]*
oil-3SG:POSS coconut [pause]
'Coconut oil,'

(A2) *ko-rong ko-v ko-mo-kuk te oele* ↓ *[0.6s]*
2SG-feel 2SG-say 2SG-COND-cook some oil [pause]
'suppose you want to make oil,'

(A3) *oele-n ḿatiu* ↑ *[1.31s]*
oil-3SG:POSS coconut [pause]
'coconut oil,'

(A4) *ko-v́a ko-osom te ḿati du.* ↑ *[1.25s]*
2SG-go 2SG-husk some coconut good [pause]
'you husk some good coconuts.'

(A5) *Ko-v́a ko-osom te ḿati patu.* ↓ *[0.7s]*
2SG-go 2SG-husk some coconut head [pause]
'You husk some old coconuts.'

(A6) *Ko-lai ko-ḿa* ↑ *ko-rosi-a* ↑ *[0.7s]*
2SG-take 2SG-come 2SG-grate-3SG [pause]
'You bring them, grate them [i.e., the coconut flesh],'

(A7) *ko-mo-osom i-mo-ngavul rua te i-ngavul tol,*
2SG-COND-husk 3SG:IRR-COND-decade two or 3SG:IRR-decade three
[0.9s]
[pause]
'you could husk 20 or 30,'

(A8) ***ko-lav̋i ko-m̋a*** *ro* ***ko-rosi-a*** *i-lo-sisi na*
2SG-take 2SG-come and 2SG-grate-3SG 3SG:IRR-IPFV-go.down LOC
[0.7s] te dis↑ [0.9s]
[pause] some dish [pause]
'you bring them, grate them inside...a dish,'

(A9) *i-v i-mo-ev ro↑ ko-siu-a.↓ [1.2s]*
3SG:IRR-say 3SG:IRR-COND-finish and 2SG-knead-3SG [pause]
'when [grating] is about done, and you knead it [i.e., the coconut flesh].'

(A10) ***Ko-siu-a↑*** *[0.4s] ro [0.2s]*
2SG-knead-3SG [pause] and [pause]
'You knead it and'

(A11) ***ko-siu-a*** *i-lo-v̋a i-mo-ev ro↑*
2SG-knead-3SG 3SG:IRR-IPFV-go 3SG.IRR-COND-finish and
'you knead it for a while, and'

(A12) *ale ko-v̋iris i-si na kuku↓ [1s]*
then 2SG-squeeze 3SG:IRR-go.down LOC pot [pause]
'then you squeeze [out the milk] into a cooking pot.'

(A13) ***Ko-v̋iris i-si na kuku*** *ro↑ [1.09s]*
2SG-squeeze 3SG:IRR-go.down LOC pot and [pause]
'You squeeze [out the milk] into a cooking pot and'

(A14) *ko-[0.2s]ku-a.↓ [1.1s]*
2SG-[pause]boil-3SG [pause]
'you...boil it.'

(A15) *Ko-ti sa na apu* ↓ *[0.6s]*
2SG-put go.up LOC fire [pause]
'You put it on the fire.'

(A16) *Ko-v ko-mo-ti sa nna ro* ↑
2SG-say 2SG-COND-put go.up 3SG and
'If you put it on [the fire] then'

(A17) *ko-sopo-kuro ti ṽa.* ↓
2SG-NEG-leave put go
'don't leave it on.'

(A18) ***Ko-ti sa nna*** *ro* ↑
2SG-put go.up 3SG and
'You put it on [the fire],'

(A19) *ko-l-arvulesi-a* ↓ *[0.88s]*
2SG-IPFV-stir-3SG [pause]
'you stir it.'

(A20) *Ko-arvulesi ko-arvulesi ko-arvulesi pelmel*
2SG-stir 2SG-stir 2SG-stir like.this
'You stir, stir, stir like this,'

(A21) *i-tikel ma* ↓ *[0.82s] i-m̃a i-oele.* ↓ *[0.98s]*
3SG:IRR-reach COMP [pause] 3SG:IRR-come 3SG:IRR-oil [pause]
'until...it becomes oil.'

(A22) *I-oele, ko-arvulesi i-lo-ṽa*
3SG:IRR-oil 2SG-stir 3SG:IRR-IPFV-go
'It [is becoming] oil, you keep stirring'

(A23) *ko-rong* ↓ *sama-na mo-rororo. [0.6s]*
2SG-hear froth-3SG:POSS 3SG-IDEO.noise [pause]
'[until] you hear its froth sizzling.'

(A24) ***Sama-na*** *mo-v* ***i-rororo*** ↑ *mal mo-noa* *ne* ↓ *[0.88s]*
froth-3SG:POSS 3SG-say 3SG-IDEO.noise DEM 3SG-cooked FOC [pause]
'[When] its froth starts to sizzle, IT is cooked.'

(A25) *Ro ko-aia* *ti* *sivo* ↑
and 2SG-remove put go.away
'So you remove [it from the fire]'

(A26) *i-l-m̋angadidi* *ro* ↑
3SG:IRR-IPFV-cold and
'it cools down and'

(A27) *ale ko-[1.02s]* ↓ *ko-divui-a,* *i-si* *na botele.* ↓
then 2SG-[pause] 2SG-pour-3SG 3SG:IRR-go.down LOC bottle
'then, you pour it down into a bottle.'

Abbreviations

:	portmanteau	DET	determiner	IPFV	imperfective
-	affix boundary	DIST.PST	distant past	IRR	irrealis
1	first person	DU	dual	NEG	negation
2	second person	EXCL	exclusive	PL	plural
3	third person	FOC	focus marker	POSS	possessive
BR	basic root	IDEO	ideophone	PRO	pronoun
CIT	citation root	INCL	inclusive	REDUP	reduplicant
CLF	classifier	ITER	iterative	SG	singular
COMP	complementizer	LK	linker	TR	transitive marker
COND	conditional	LOC	locative		

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