Chapter 4

Morphosyntactic and functional asymmetries in Vatlongos discourse demonstratives

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Vatlongos (also known as Southeast Ambrym, Oceanic, Vanuatu) has four demonstrative categories: three person-based distance distinctions (first-person proximal, second-person proximal, and distal) and a contrastive category. In spatial situational domains, and to refer to locative referents, first-person proximal, second-person proximal and distal categories are distinguished from each other. Discourse functions are largely structured around an opposition between forms based on the first-person proximal clitic ak and the contrastive suffix -e. The wider morphosyntactic distribution of the first-person proximal is reflected in its discourse functions, as the unmarked forms for anaphora and recognitional uses. The more restricted contrastive -e forms also occur in contexts of negative affect. In the verbal forms this asymmetry is even more striking. The first-person proximal verbal demonstrative mak is the general manner demonstrative, occurring both as a main verb and modifying other verbs in serial verb constructions. The verbal form based on contrastive -e, mue, is only used in hesitation, a specialisation that could arise from the role of contrastive -e forms in discourse repair to modify placeholders.

1 Introduction

Vatlongos, also known as Southeast Ambrym, is an Oceanic (Austronesian) language spoken by around 3,000 speakers in Vanuatu. As well as in the southeast region of Ambrym Island, it is spoken by a community who relocated to Mele Maat, a settlement just outside the capital city Port Vila on Efate Island, in the 1950s. It has many features typical of Oceanic languages: SVO constituent order, head-marking, and subject cross-indexing prefixes and object pro-indexing
It has relatively complex morphology, including extensive verb-initial consonant mutation and morphological dependencies in non-contiguous serial verb constructions.

The distribution of Vatlongos demonstratives in discourse shows how extension into different functions can interact with the grammatical properties of morphemes involved, and the wider grammatical structures of the language.

A three-way person-based distance distinction between first-person proximal, second-person proximal and distal is used in the spatial situational domain, but is not maintained in the major discourse extensions of the demonstrative system. Instead, a two-way distinction between first-person proximal and contrastive forms is applied in discourse functions. The first-person proximal is the unmarked form for anaphora, while the contrastive is also used to code negative affect, indicating the speaker’s dislike or emotional distress about characters, times and places.

This difference in markedness is also evident in the different grammatical possibilities for the two forms. First-person proximal *ak* is an enclitic that can also function as an independent phonological word, and can freely modify noun phrases (including pronouns), or function as a pronoun. It is also lexicalised with the 3SG pronoun *xi* as *xiak*, which can function as a temporal or locative adverb. The contrastive suffix *-e* cannot appear independently, but must attach to a singular or plural pronoun, formally identical quantifiers which are diachronically related to the pronouns, or more rarely to the locative noun stem *ig*. This means that as an adnominal, it occurs only in singular or plural noun phrases, and not in the dual or paucal. Like first-person proximal *ak*, it can also function as a temporal or locative adverb when attached to the 3SG pronoun or singular quantifier.

First-person proximal *ak* is also a component of the demonstrative verb *mak* ‘like this’, which is very frequent in the corpus and usually occurs as the subsequent verb in a serial verb construction, meaning ‘(be/do) like this’, ‘in this manner’. There is also a verbal form *mue*, which probably originates from the same demonstrative paradigm based on contrastive *-e*, although its use is restricted to a verbal hesitation form. Verbal demonstrative *mue* is used as an inflected placeholder when a speaker is searching for a verbal lexeme.

The examples discussed in this chapter come from a ~65,000 word corpus of audio- and video-recorded texts collected during fieldwork on Ambrym and in Mele Maat between 2014 and 2017, as part of a PhD project focusing on verbal con-

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1This means subject prefixes optionally co-occur with a co-referential noun phrase, whereas object suffixes occur in complementary distribution with object noun phrase (see Haspelmath 2013).
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Instructions (Ridge 2019). The token frequencies of different demonstrative forms are based on their distribution in the spontaneous (non-elicited) texts within the corpus, consisting of a ~48,000-word subcorpus. Most of the texts in this subcorpus can be accessed via the Pangloss collection (Ridge 2018b), which displays audio and video time-aligned by pause unit, with a transcription, interlinear glossing, and translations in English and Bislama (the national language of Vanuatu).

A limitation of the corpus is that it is heavily skewed towards monologues and narratives. This means that some functions of demonstratives are underrepresented compared to everyday language use, especially spatial situational uses and discourse functions involving confirmation from an interlocutor. Some of these are pointed out below, and examples are taken from field notes of observed language use to supplement the corpus. However, the functions of demonstratives in relation to referent tracking and establishing topics are very clearly exemplified in these narrative texts.

This chapter focuses on the demonstrative forms that occur most frequently in the subcorpus (see Table 1). These five forms are all based on first-person proximal *ak* and contrastive *-e*, but other demonstrative distinctions and paradigms are outlined in §2. The high token frequency of these forms allows a detailed examination of their discourse functions, whereas comments on some of the other demonstrative forms are necessarily more speculative.

| Table 1: Most frequent demonstrative forms in the Vatlongos corpus, their token frequency and major grammatical functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>ak</strong> first-person proximal</th>
<th><strong>-e</strong> contrastive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Independent</strong></td>
<td><em>ak</em> (488 tokens)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adnominal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>locative adverbial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3sg/sg xi</strong></td>
<td><em>xiak</em> (251 tokens)</td>
<td><em>xie</em> (290 tokens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal adverbial</td>
<td>adnominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>locative adverbial</td>
<td>temporal adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>locative adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adnominal (in complex NPs</td>
<td>pronominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and relative clauses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb</strong></td>
<td><em>mak</em> (328 tokens)</td>
<td><em>mue</em> (227 tokens)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subsequent verb in SVC</td>
<td>verbal hesitation form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Vatlongos is most closely related to Paamese, the language spoken on the islands located off the southeast coast of Ambrym, Paama and (historically) Lopevi. Paamese has a simpler demonstrative system, making a two-way distinction between a proximal and a distal. In addition to the expected spatio-temporal functions of those categories, the proximal is used for the “current topic of discussion” in the discourse, and the distal is used to refer back to a previously mentioned referent which is not the current topic of discussion (Crowley 1982: 226–229). Paamese also has verbal demonstratives, and they are more transparently compositional than the Vatlongos equivalents. Crowley identifies a verbal root muko which obligatorily occurs with one of the two demonstrative clitics.

The closest parallel to Vatlongos contrastive -e is found in Daakaka (West Ambrym), where a clitic e ‘the other (place/one)’ indicates contrast regardless of deictic distance (von Prince 2015: 175–176, 333). This form can cliticise to an agent pronoun, a local pro-adverb, and a verb meaning ‘like’, parallel to the distribution of Vatlongos -e.

§2 outlines the possible distinctions and forms of Vatlongos demonstratives in spatial situational uses, including the forms that are restricted to the spatial paradigm. §3 focuses on the morphosyntactic distribution of the ak and -e series, while §4 takes a closer look at the range of discourse functions performed by these forms. §5 focuses on the verbal demonstrative forms, linking their functions to the role of the contrastive -e series in discourse repair.

2 Distinctions in Vatlongos demonstrative forms

2.1 Introduction

Earlier descriptions of Vatlongos demonstratives only mention a three-way distinction between the forms shown in Table 2. This paradigm is fundamentally spatial, usually marking deictic reference in situational use, but also available for anaphoric reference to places when combined with the locative bound stem ig.

Table 2: The spatial paradigm in Vatlongos demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ak</td>
<td>first-person proximal</td>
<td>ak, xiak, igak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xai</td>
<td>second-person proximal</td>
<td>xai, igaxai, iaxai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xor</td>
<td>distal</td>
<td>xor, igxor, ioxor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Parker’s (1970) dictionary lists *ak* ‘this, here’ and *xiak* ‘now, here’, suggesting these forms had roughly similar functions to their contemporary usage. He also lists *xai* ‘that (relatively near)’ and *xor* ‘there, that (relatively far)’. Recent fieldwork has found that these spatial situational distinctions are person-based, with *xai* marking that the referent is close to the addressee, rather than the purely distance-based medial category implied by Parker’s definitions.

Another major difference between Parker’s description and the description offered here is the addition of the contrastive series of demonstrative forms based on -e. In the contrastive paradigm, -e forms are contrasted with forms based on *ak*, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: The contrastive paradigm in Vatlongos demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Example forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ak</em></td>
<td>first-person proximal, non-contrastive</td>
<td><em>ak, xiak, igak, mak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>contrastive, negative affect, hesitation marker</td>
<td><em>xie, ige, mue</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the spatial paradigm, this contrastive paradigm can be used for deictic reference in situational use, but additionally it can be used for discourse deixis, anaphora and recognitional use, functions described in §4. The participation of *ak* forms in both the spatial and contrastive paradigm explains the higher frequency and wider extension of *ak* forms, including into temporal domains. The wider functional range of *ak* forms is also mirrored in their morphosyntactic behaviour described in §3.

The rest of this section will discuss less frequent forms that mark a spatial distinction: the independent forms, the forms based on the locative bound stem *ig*, and the *ia* forms which appear to have developed diachronically as phonologically reduced variants of the *ig* forms. Apart from in the first-person proximal series, these forms are all less frequent in the subcorpus than those in Table 1, which are the main focus of this chapter, so the discussion here is relatively brief and speculative, but important to understanding how the discourse functions of the *ak* and -e forms fit into the wider Vatlongos demonstrative system.

2.2 Spatial distinctions in independent forms

Although they are listed in Parker’s dictionary, today the independent forms of the second-person proximal and distal demonstratives are fairly marginal (Table 4): there are 21 tokens of *xai* in the corpus and 14 of *xor*, and these tokens are
associated with only a handful of older speakers. They seem to index a conservative style of speech, and are especially associated with the distinctive Endu-Vatlongos dialect, spoken in the northernmost village of Southeast Ambrym (Ridge 2018a). First-person proximal *ak* is far more frequent and has spatial, temporal and discursive functions discussed in §4.

Table 4: The independent forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Independent form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Token count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 1</td>
<td><em>ak</em></td>
<td>near speaker</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 2</td>
<td><em>xai</em></td>
<td>near addressee</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td><em>xor</em></td>
<td>distal</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Spatial and contrastive distinctions with locative stem *ig*

In the locative domain, all three spatial forms and the contrastive can be suffixed to the locative stem *ig* ‘place’, a bound stem that can only occur with one of the demonstrative forms, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Forms based on locative bound stem *ig* ‘place’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Locative form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Token Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 1</td>
<td><em>igak</em></td>
<td>‘here, this place (near speaker)’</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 2</td>
<td><em>igaxai</em></td>
<td>‘there, that place (near addressee)’</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td><em>igoxor</em></td>
<td>‘there, that place (distal)’</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td><em>ige</em></td>
<td>‘that place (negative affect)’</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first-person proximal form *igak* is by far the most frequent with 221 tokens in the corpus, followed by distal *igoxor* (38 tokens), and the fairly infrequent second-person proximal *igaxai* (7 tokens). However, in everyday interactions, the second-person proximal and distal forms were observed to be more frequent than these figures would suggest. The maintenance of a three-way distance-based distinction in only locative forms (and not demonstrative determiners) has been
observed for Neverver (Malekula, Vanuatu, Barbour 2012). It appears that Vatlongos is headed in this direction given the marginal status of independent second-person proximal xai and distal xor.

Contrastive -e can also be suffixed to the locative stem, but in this form the negative affect meaning of the suffix seems to be more important than the basic contrastive meaning. Of the 21 tokens of ike in the corpus, 18 occur in accounts of emotionally distressing episodes, especially in personal experiences of natural disasters, or to describe places where characters are tricked or disrespected in traditional stories. The three remaining tokens are in the concluding utterances of narratives, in formulaic phrases meaning ‘the story finishes there’. This connotes a humble, apologetic tone at the end of a performance, and co-occurs with other hedging strategies like repetition of the adverb xos ‘maybe’.

   (1)  [20150419e_h01m128_68]
     ma xos stori nanan xos bus ike-3
     so maybe story 1SG.POSS maybe 3SG.NFUT.finish place-CONTR
     ‘So maybe my story ends there.’

The ig forms can function as locative adverbials, as in (1) and (2), or pronominally as the argument of a verb. In (3), igak is the object of the verb: kamuet ‘find’ is a morphologically transitive verb which must either be followed by an object noun phrase or take an object pro-indexing suffix.

   (2)  [20150415a_h02s125_41]
     lata-pat igak
     3PC.NFUT-sleep place.PROX1
     ‘They slept here.’

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2Example codes consist of the date of the recording event in YYYYMMDD format (e.g. 20150419), an identifying letter for each session recorded that day (e), an underscore, a letter indexing broad genre (c = conversation, h = history, n = narrative, p = procedural, t = formal speech), a number identifying the recording within the session (e.g. 01), a letter indicating the speaker community (e = Endu village, m = Mele Maat village, s = other villages of Southeast Ambrym), a speaker code (e.g. 128), an underscore, and a number identifying the pause unit within the recording (e.g. 68).

3Orthography aligns with IPA with the following exceptions: voiced stops are prenasalised ⟨b⟩ /mb/, ⟨d⟩ /md/, ⟨g⟩ /ng/; ⟨v⟩ can be realised as [v] or [β], the digraph ⟨ng⟩ represents /ŋ/. ⟨j⟩ represents the affricate /dʒ/ which only occurs in loan words from Bislama and English. Capitalisation and punctuation follow practices in English, the language of education for most Vatlongos speakers.
Like the other forms based on first-person proximal ak, igak is also used for anaphoric functions, as long as the referent is a place. These anaphoric functions explain the much higher token frequency of igak compared to the other ig forms. In (4), igak is used as recognitional placeholder, followed by the place name Lamap (a village on Epi Island). The listener is expected to be familiar with this place, both because it was introduced six pause units earlier in the narrative, and because the history of the founding of Mele Maat is well-known in the community.

2.4 Second-person proximal and distal forms with ia

The second-person proximal and distal forms based on a stem ia are probably phonologically reduced variants of the locative ig forms. Parker (1970: 8) lists iaxai and ioxor as variants of igaxai and igoxor. However, in the contemporary corpus they have a different distribution from the locative ig equivalents (Table 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>ia form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Token count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>‘there, that place, that one (near addressee)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 2</td>
<td>iaxai</td>
<td>‘there, that place, that one (near addressee)’</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>ioxor</td>
<td>‘there, that place (distal)’</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>–</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distal ioxor has the greatest functional overlap with the locative form igoxor: it occurs as a locative adverbial in eight of the 19 tokens in the corpus. The rest of
the occurrences are adnominal, but all occur in complex NPs, and in six of these ioxor occurs in a relative clause with an unambiguously locative meaning.

Of the 15 tokens of second-person proximal iaxai in the corpus, only one example functions as a locative adverbial. The two pronominal tokens both refer to a person rather than a place, and in both examples function as predicates, rather than arguments of a verb. The 13 other tokens all modify nominals, and predominantly occur with relative clauses and in other complex noun phrases.

The rest of the chapter will focus on the most frequent ak and -e forms, which are most prominent in discourse functions.

3 Morphosyntactic distribution of ak and -e

3.1 First-person proximal ak forms

The bare form of first-person proximal ak and its variant ok are mostly used adnominally, and usually attach to the right edge of a noun phrase, but can also function as temporal adverbials. I am describing ak as a clitic, because its distribution is syntactically determined, but it can form a single prosodic word with the preceding word (Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Spencer & Luis 2012). A single main stress occurs on ak, as final closed syllables take primary stress in Vatlongos words. However, there are examples where ak is an independent prosodic word, especially when used adverbially, which could be an argument for analysing it as a particle instead.

In the glosses below I am aligning it as a separate word to reflect its syntactic status, and using the clitic symbol (=) when it appears to form a single prosodic form with the preceding word. However, this is based on auditory impressions and in some cases, transcribers’ decisions about where to write word boundaries, rather than acoustic analysis. The frequent combinations of ak with the third-person singular pronoun or singular quantifier xi, and the locative stem ig discussed above, are lexicalised forms glossed as single words.

First-person proximal ak follows a noun (5) or pronoun (6) heading a noun phrase.

(5) [20170331b_n01s034_30]
atou =ak
woman =PROX1
‘this woman’
In more complex noun phrases, *ak* can follow a variety of word categories, including adjectives (7), quantifiers (8)–(9), and possessive classifiers (10).

(7)  [20170222f_n01s153_30]
    [ses [xa val]] ak
    shellfish     REL    big     PROX1
    ‘this big shellfish’

(8)  [20141220g_n01s080_03]
    [[horamue nalu] xalu] =ak
    boy     3DU.Poss DU =PROX1
    ‘these two boys of theirs’

(9)  [20170413e_n01m030_21]
    [[holesok sap] xil] =ak
    thing     different PL =PROX1
    ‘these different things’

(10)  [20170221e_n01o150_04]
    [horamue nan] =ak
    boy     3SG.Poss =PROX1
    ‘this boy of his’

Similarly, *ak* can follow any word at the end of a preposition phrase, like the noun in (11), or at the end of a relative clause, like the preposition in (12). This shows that it is syntactic boundaries, rather than word class, that determines the position of *ak*, supporting the analysis as the clitic.

(11)  [20141106f_n01e018_07]
     [vul [te oum]] =ak
     hole    of crab     =PROX1
     ‘this crab hole’
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(12) [20170222f_n01s153_49–50]
    [venu  [xa  di  gan e  nesau]] ak
    volcano  REL  CONT  3SG.NFUT.burn  LOC  up  PROX1
    ‘this volcano that’s burning up there’

In all the examples so far, ak occurs at the right edge of a noun phrase. However, within a noun phrase, it can be followed by a relative clause (13), a coordinator (14), or mun ‘too, also’ (15).

(13) [20150219b_n01m001_44]
    [xil =ak] [xa [tahal Maat]]
    3PL  =PROX1  REL  from  Maat
    ‘the ones from Maat’

(14) [20141106f_n01e018_26]
    [[[tut atuli] =ak] xal [mama nan]]
    little girl  =PROX1 with  mum  3SG.POSS
    ‘this little girl and her mum’

(15) [20141106f_n01e018_21]
    [[[tatal snake =ak] mun] be xalu
    3SG.NFUT.go.to  3DU
    ‘The snake also went to them.’

Finally, ak occurs as a locative adverb modifying a clause, as in (16).

(16) [20170413a_h01m169_95]
    na-taa-ra =ti ak
    1SG.NFUT-NEG-stay =NEG PROX1
    ‘I wasn’t here.’

The lexicalised form xiak consists of ak and the form xi, which is both the third-person singular pronoun and the singular quantifier. This form can occur in many of the same syntactic environments as independent ak. It can occur adnominally at the right edge of a noun phrase. However, compared to bare ak, xiak is more likely to occur when the noun phrase also contains other modifiers (17).
In its adnominal function, $xiak$ is more likely to follow the relative clause marker $xa$ than to adjoin directly to the noun phrase. This strategy is also preferred for most adjectives in Vatlongos. Unlike in main clauses, adjectives, noun phrases and demonstratives in relative clauses are rarely preceded by the copular verb (18).

It is also fairly common for $xiak$ to occur after a relative clause, referring back to the head of the noun phrase, see (19) and (20). Adnominal demonstratives are often reanalysed as relative clause boundary markers cross-linguistically (Diessel 1999: 132–135).

These tendencies show that while there is overlap in the adnominal functions of $ak$ and $xiak$, they tend to occur in slightly different syntactic environments. As might be predicted on the basis of its longer form, $xiak$ seems to have greater syntactic prominence, and may help hearers to process syntactic boundaries in complex noun phrases.

$Xiak$ is used as a locative adverbial more frequently than bare $ak$. It can refer to a location that is near a real or fictional place of speech, or to a place that is already activated in the discourse, see (21) and (22). In this use it also has functional overlap with $igak$, discussed in §2.
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(21)  
\[20141117a\_n01m003\_50\]  
taa-ve  vonine-mem =ti  xiak  
3SG.NFUT.NEG-NEG.COP place-1PL.EXCL.POSS =NEG here.PROX1  
‘It’s not our place here.’

(22)  
\[20170124b\_t01e137\_15\]  
metilou da  xiak  
nephew 3SG.NFUT.stay here.PROX1  
‘Nephew is here.’

Unlike bare \textit{ak}, \textit{xiak} is also used as a temporal adverbial, see (23) and (24). In the corpus, the locative adverbial uses can be difficult to distinguish from the temporal ones, but \textit{xiak} seems to be most frequently used with a temporal interpretation. In its temporal extensions it can refer to the time of real or fictional speech, or to the time frame that is under discussion in the discourse, which may be in the past, as in (25).

(23)  
\[20150419e\_h01m128\_24\]  
di  a-mmei  xiak?  
CONT 2SG.NFUT-come now  
‘Are you coming now?’

(24)  
\[20170217j\_n01s125\_19\]  
eai  ba  di  mi-nu  xiak  
sun GO CONT 3SG.NFUT-dive now  
‘The sun is setting now.’

(25)  
\[20141117a\_n01m003\_17\]  
kavmen  mi-leh  moletin xil tu  la-mmei  Epi  xiak  
government 3SG.NFUT-take person  PL already 3PL.NFUT-come Epi now  
‘The government had already brought people to Epi then.’

\textit{Xiak} can additionally be used as a pronominal form that can function as the argument of a verb. In (26), \textit{xiak} is the subject of the verb and refers to a person present in the speech situation (the researcher), who is standing beside the speaker. In (27), \textit{xiak} is the object of the instrumental preposition \textit{ni} and refers to a loan already mentioned in the autobiographical narrative.
3.2 Contrastive -e forms

I analyse contrastive -e as a suffix rather than a clitic because it is heavily restricted in the forms it can attach to, and its syntactic distribution is dependent on the host forms, rather than independently attaching to a syntactic constituent (Zwicky & Pullum 1983; Spencer & Luís 2012). Contrastive -e is suffixed to a subset of the pronouns and formally identical quantifiers, as well as the locative stem ig discussed in §2.3. Unlike first-person proximal ak, syntactic requirements do not ever directly determine the position of -e: it can only occur in positions available to the forms it is suffixed to. This is a possible counterexample to Diessel’s (1999: 25) hypothesis that bound demonstratives are always clitics rather than affixes, although semantically the suffixed forms do always modify or substitute for a phrase as he argues.

Contrastive -e is most frequently suffixed to xi, which is the third-person singular pronoun or definite singular quantifier, or xil, the third-person plural pronoun or plural quantifier. The singular pronoun form is shown in (28), as the object of the instrumental preposition ni. The plural pronoun form is shown in (29), functioning as the subject of the verb.

(28)  [20141116b_c01m_26]
lu-bunit ni xi-e
3DU.NFUT-NFUT.cover.laplap INS 3SG-CONTR
'They covered the laplap\(^4\) with that.'

(29)  [20141208a_n01m045_29]
xil-e la-pangei nou
3PL-CONTR 3PL.NFUT-spoil 1SG
'They disrespected me.'

\(^4\)Laplap is a food made from grated root vegetables or banana soaked in coconut milk and baked in leaves.
The singular and plural quantifier forms are shown in (30) and (31), modifying a single noun.

(30) [20141027a_n01m001_109]
tovolih xi-e
old.woman SG-CONTR
‘that old woman’

(31) [20150310a_h01s114_08]
meseau xil-e
fish PL-CONTR
‘those fish’

These forms have the same distribution within the noun phrase as unmarked quantifiers, usually following any adjectives (32) or possessive classifiers (33). However, the contrastive form of the singular quantifier is much more frequent than the singular quantifier alone, which only occurs twice with an unambiguous quantification function. It therefore serves as a host for the contrastive demonstrative suffix, rather than making an independent semantic contribution.

(32) [20170220g_n01s148_24]
mai mieh xi-e
reef white SG-CONTR
‘that white reef’

(33) [20141027a_n01m001_29]
holesok salu xil-e
thing 3DU.POSS PL-CONTR
‘those things of theirs’

Xie is especially common at the end of long relative clauses, and more frequent than xia k in this environment (34).

(34) [20141220g_n01s080_11]
ma-be [rute [xa xouk o-bit
1DU.EXCL-NFUT.go.to place REL 2SG 2SG-NFUT.say
mal-naa-va =ti en]] xi-e]
1DU.EXCL.FUT-NEG-go =NEG in SG-CONTR
‘We went to that place that you told us not to go to.’
Like *xiak*, *xie* is also often introduced by the relative clause marker *xa*, where it is ambiguous between a quantifier and pronominal reading (35).

(35)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{tatal} \quad \text{x}a \quad \text{x}i-e \\
\text{snake REL (3)SG-CONTR}
\end{array}
\]

‘that snake’

*xie* can also modify a clause as a temporal (36) or locative (37) adverb, which is evidence of lexicalisation, as in the case of *xiak*. Although it can again be difficult to distinguish between temporal and locative meanings in individual examples in the corpus, the temporal meaning of the adverb appears to be more frequent.

(36)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mu-lul} \quad \text{vatang} \quad \text{xie} \\
\text{3SG.NFUT-shake a lot} \quad \text{then}
\end{array}
\]

‘It [the earthquake] shook a lot then.’

(37)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{xale-n} \quad \text{daen} \quad \text{xie} \\
\text{tail-3SG.POSS 3SG.NFUT.be.in.it there}
\end{array}
\]

‘Its tail was in there.’

The morphosyntactic distributions of contrastive *xie* and *xile* therefore appear to encompass the various functions of both *ak* and *xiak* in the first-person proximal series, while making an additional distinction for number, but are not able to modify dual and paucal referents. There is a single example in the corpus of *-e* modifying the first-person plural inclusive pronoun *xir*.

Finally, *-e* can modify the locative stem *ig*, as discussed in §2.3.

3.3 Summary

The morphosyntactic distributions of these forms are summarised in Table 7. The greater syntactic independence and freer distribution of first-person proximal *ak* is reflected in the wider discourse functions of this series.
4 Morphosyntactic and functional asymmetries in Vatlongos

Table 7: Summary of morphosyntactic distributions of ak and -e forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morphosyntactic distributions</th>
<th>ak forms</th>
<th>-e forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adnominal</td>
<td>ak, xiax</td>
<td>xie, xile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after relative clause marker</td>
<td>xiax</td>
<td>xie, xile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after complex NP</td>
<td>xiax</td>
<td>xie, xile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative adverbial</td>
<td>ak, xiax, igak</td>
<td>xie, ige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal adverbial</td>
<td>xiax</td>
<td>xie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal</td>
<td>xiax</td>
<td>xie, xile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Discourse functions of ak and -e

4.1 Introduction

The wider morphosyntactic distribution of ak is mirrored in its use in semantically general, high frequency discourse contexts. Ak is the default form for anaphora, with an important role in referent tracking, especially in establishing topics. It is frequent for second mention of new referents, and for switch topics. Contrastive -e can occur in some of these discourse environments, but also when an explicit contrast is being made, or in contexts of negative psychological affect, for example if a switch topic is also an adversary in a narrative.

Ak forms are associated with recognitional uses, for referents that the speaker asserts to be known to the hearer, while anticipating that the information given may not be sufficient (Himmelmann 1996: 230; Diessel 1999: 105–109). These are not well-exemplified in the corpus, but were observed during fieldwork.

In this section it is sometimes useful to include a translation of the section of discourse preceding or following an example; this is given in the translation line, in square brackets.

4.2 First-person proximal ak forms

If any demonstrative is used in coding a referent, ak forms are the default for anaphora. This is especially likely when establishing a topic, or for switch topics when a referent is active in the discourse, but not currently under discussion. Continuing topics are usually coded only by subject-indexing verbal prefixes.

In (38) (which is the fuller context for (27)), xiax is first used adnominally to modify the complex noun phrase ‘money that I got’, which refers back to a loan
first mentioned two pause units earlier. Then *xiak* is used again to refer to the money pronominally.

(38)  [20170413e_n01m030_19]

\[\text{pipin-ni m\text{ani} taxa na-gur-i } \text{xiak.}\]

\[3SG.NFUT.enough-TR \text{ money REL 1SG.NFUT-NFUT\text{-}take-3OBJ PROX1} \]

\[\text{na-staat-ni pisnis navan ni } \text{xiak} \]

\[1SG.NFUT\text{-}start-TR \text{ business 1SG.Poss INS 3SG.PROX1} \]

'It was as much as I could buy with the money that I got. I started my business with this.'

Adnominal marking with *ak* forms is also very frequent at second mention of a referent that remains prominent in the subsequent discourse. In (39) (which is the fuller context for (8)), the two boys are introduced in a noun phrase without any demonstrative. Anaphoric *ak* modifies ‘their two boys’ on the second mention, which Lichtenberk (1996: 385) calls “immediate anaphora after first mention”. They are then referred to with the third-person dual pronoun *xalu*.

(39)  [20141220g_n01s080_02-03]

\[\text{lu-pes horamue nalu lu-be lu.}\]

\[3DU.NFUT\text{-}bear boy 3DU.Poss 3DU.NFUT\text{-}COP two\]

\[\text{lu-pes horamue nalu xalu ak, lu-laxat xalu}\]

\[3DU.NFUT\text{-}bear boy 3DU.Poss DU PROX1 3DU.NFUT\text{-}look.after 3DU\]

'They had two boys. They had these two boys of theirs, they looked after them.'

This is an example of a tail-head linkage structure (de Vries 2005), described as bridging constructions in a recent typology (Guérin 2019). This is a common strategy for organising discourse in Vanuatu languages (Early 1994: 454; Hyslop 2001: 426–427; Thieberger 2004: 324–325; Schneider 2010: 240; Brotchie 2009: 298–299; Jauncey 2011: 376). A situation or referent that is new information at the end of one section of discourse is repeated as old information at the beginning of the next section of discourse, as background for further new information. In Vatlongos, adnominal *ak* often occurs in the repeated stretch of discourse.

Example (40), from the beginning of an account of tropical cyclone Pam in 2015, shows *ak* modifying the ‘cyclone’ that has been introduced in the preceding clause, in a topicalised clause-initial noun phrase. The topicalised noun phrase precedes the independent pronoun in subject position *xamem* ‘1PL.EXCL’, and is marked prosodically with rising intonation and a pause (indicated by a comma in the transcription line).
The very high frequency of *ak* in these anaphoric uses suggests it could be reanalysed as an article, in opposition to *tei* ‘one’, which functions like an indefinite article. This is similar to the role of the most general deictic particle in Lewo (Epi, Vanuatu) (Early 1994: 225).

Similarly, *xiak* is the unmarked form for the locative and temporal adverb, and can modify fairly distant situations in space and time. While in examples (21) to (24) *xiak* refers to the here and now of the speech event, it can also refer to times and places under discussion regardless of distance from the speech event, as in (25) where *xiak* refers to a time several decades earlier.

Recognitional use of *ak* was very frequently observed in casual conversation in the field, in contexts like (41), when a speaker is explaining something and wants to make sure that the listener has understood the intended referent. The speaker is also suggesting that the listener does know about the little house in question.

(41) [field notes]

\[
\text{nīm hōkkorōng tāŋ nesau } \text{ak}
\]

‘that little house up there’

However, there are few clear-cut examples of this in the corpus. Their low incidence may be due to the presence of the researcher at most recording events: speakers have low expectations of the researcher-as-listener’s cultural knowledge and shared frame of reference, and are more likely to introduce a referent as new information rather than assuming that the whole audience has prior knowledge. Another difficulty in identifying examples of recognitional uses in the corpus is that many possible examples could instead be analysed as anaphora, as the referent has usually been mentioned at some earlier point in a longer narrative, a difficulty observed by Himmelmann (1996: 236). Himmelmann (1996: 235) also observes that distal demonstratives are far more common in recognitional uses cross-linguistically, so the role of *ak* in these uses is suggestive of how general and unmarked the Vatlongos first-person proximal is in its discourse extensions.
This supports the analysis that, in these uses, *ak* is in a paradigmatic relationship with the contrastive, rather than with the other spatial demonstrative series.

First-person proximal *ak* is also associated with what could be described as “coercive recognitional uses”, to assert that the hearer should be familiar with the referent, even if the speaker suspects that they are not. This was very frequently observed in speech directed to me by my host families, especially in relation to kinship networks. Example (42) is a typical example from observation – it was obvious that I did not know which aunt was being referred to, but the use of *ak* made it clear that I should have known.

(42) [field notes]
    tila nam ak
    aunt 2SG.POSS PROX1
    ‘this aunt of yours’

The forms based on *ak* and *-e* forms have complementary roles in discourse repair, which are important to the distinction marked in the verbal demonstratives discussed in §5. *Ak* forms often mark a constituent that has been provided after a hesitation. While a speaker is searching for a word, the nominal hesitation form *na* can be prosodically lengthened for as long as it takes to find the target word. When the target word is spoken, it is then often marked with the *ak* form, as in (43).

(43) [20150305h_h01o111_12]
    lu-pus na nim ok
    3DU.NFUT-see HES house PROX1
    ‘They saw um, this house.’

4.3 Contrastive *-e forms*

The primary function of the *-e* forms is to mark an explicit or implicit contrast. Often the contrast is with a referent marked with first-person proximal *ak*, but not necessarily. In (44), a father is giving instructions to his sons to hunt on ‘this side’ (marked with *ak*), contrasted with ‘our home’, which is not in the area they should hunt in.

(44) [20141220g_n01s080_11]
    tim saratel xi-e
    home 1PC.INCL.POSS SG-CONTR
    ‘[You must go hunt on this side (*ak*) because of] our home there.’

In (28), the contrast is implicit, rather than explicitly stated in the discourse. The pronominal use of xie refers to leaves of the nelnel plant, as opposed to hahau leaves, which are usually used in preparing laplap. Earlier in the conversation, the speaker explained how no one went to collect the hahau leaves.

Contrastive -e forms are also used to index negative affect, especially for situations associated with emotional distress or disrespect, and referents that are figured as adversaries in a narrative. The role of negative affect in the use of demonstratives is often figured in terms of psychological distancing. For example, Early (1994: 225) aligns “spatial, temporal and psychological location” in his description of demonstratives in Lewo (Epi, Vanuatu). However, in Vatlongos the demonstrative associated with these functions does not (at least synchronically) have a spatial primary meaning, so the metaphorical rationale for this polysemy is not one of physical distance.

Xie often marks the “enemy” character in traditional narratives, frequently an old woman (30) or a snake (35). It can be used more generally for troublemakers, as in (45), referring to an ancestor who caused a volcanic crater to open by eating forbidden sugarcane.

Contrastive -e forms are closely linked to the breaking of social conventions, especially taboos and concepts of respect and obedience, as shown in several examples above. In (29), xile refers to a group of people – a village on another island – who tricked the protagonist into sleeping with his own mother. In (34), two brothers are explaining to their father that they disobeyed his command, and xie modifies the place that they were forbidden to hunt in. In (37), xie is used as a locative adverb, and refers to the rat’s bottom, a taboo body part.

As a temporal adverb, xie is especially associated with times of fear and distress, as in (36), hardship (46) or discomfort (47).
Neither the temporal distance of the time indexed by the temporal adverb, nor the relative tense marking of the clause, seems to influence the use of xie. In the examples here it indexes a time a few weeks ago (36), many decades ago (46), and just after speech time (47), and modifies verbs marked with the non-future, the prior, and the immediate future, respectively.

However, xie as a temporal adverb is especially likely to co-occur with strategies for marking completed situations. This could be an extension of the basic contrastive meaning of the -e forms, as an emphasis on the boundaries of events allows them to contrast with other events in a sequence. In (48) and (49), xie co-occurs with the adverb turei ‘already’. Example (49) also includes the use of the verb hus ‘finish’ (here the non-future affirmative form bus), which is a high frequency strategy for marking completive aspect in Vatlongos. Example (50) uses the combination of negative polarity and mu ‘first’ to express ‘not yet’.

Contrastive -e forms have a different role to play in discourse repair. Whereas first-person proximal ak forms mark a successful repair after a hesitation, -e forms modify placeholders which are used instead of more specific formulations,
or because a speaker has decided not to continue searching for an intended lexical item. In (51), *xie* modifies the general nominal placeholder *neta* ‘thing’ (which follows the bound noun *relit* ‘egg’, obligatorily followed by a possessor). At no point in the narrative is this mysterious object, which later becomes the volcano, given a precise name, although it is compared to a chicken’s egg. In a different telling of the same narrative it is instead referred to as a shell.

(51) [20170220g_n01s148_38]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na} & \text{ relit neta xa x-i-e} \\
\text{HES egg thing REL (3)SG-CONTR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘[They took out] um that thing’s egg.’

4.4 Summary

Table 8 summarises the discourse functions described in this section. It is striking that *ak* forms have many more discourse functions than contrastive -e forms, in addition to their role in the spatial paradigm. This large functional extension suggests a reason for the greater morphosyntactic flexibility of *ak*, which has more functions to perform in a variety of discourse contexts.

This section has shown the complementary roles of these two demonstrative series in the mechanics of discourse repair after a hesitation or false start. First-person proximal *ak* is used for discourse repair, when a referent is repeated after

Table 8: Summary of discourse functions of *ak* and -e forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse functions</th>
<th><em>ak</em> forms</th>
<th>-e forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>default anaphora</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>establishing topics</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second mention</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>switch topics</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contrastive topics</td>
<td></td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repeated content in tail-head linkage</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recognitional uses</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coercive recognitional uses</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>successful repair after hesitation</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>placeholders for failed repairs</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative affect</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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a false start. Contrastive -e is instead used with placeholders when the speaker is searching for a word. This distinction is important to understanding how the restricted functional distribution of the verbal demonstrative mue discussed in §5.4 could have arisen.

5 Demonstrative verbs

5.1 Introduction

In addition to the adnominal, adverbial and pronominal forms described so far, Vatlongos has a verbal manner demonstrative mak based on first-person proximal ak, and a verbal hesitation form mue which could have developed from contrastive -e, in line with the contrast between ak and -e forms involved in discourse repair (Table 9). There is also one token in the corpus of a verb maxai, a second-person proximal xai form.

Table 9: Verbal demonstrative forms in Vatlongos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Token count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 1</td>
<td>mak</td>
<td>‘like this’</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximal 2</td>
<td>maxai</td>
<td>‘like that’ (associated with addressee)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrastive</td>
<td>mue</td>
<td>hesitation</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Paamese, the most closely related language, also has verbal demonstratives, which Crowley (1982: 229) analyses as comprising of a deictic verbal root muko, and the demonstrative clitics, =ke (proximal) and =neke (distal). Unlike in Vatlongos, the verbal root can be separated from the demonstrative elements by an intervening negative-partitive suffix and the additive clitic, but muko cannot occur without one of these two clitics.

5.2 First-person proximal mak

The first-person proximal verbal form mak functions as a manner demonstrative. It is very frequent, occurring roughly once every 150 words (328 tokens in the subcorpus). Its high frequency and broad range of functions mirrors the extension of ak in identifying discourse referents, but instead refers to manner.
As a main verb it is especially common in procedural texts, referring to a manner being demonstrated non-verbally. In (52), the speaker is demonstrating how to make simboro, grated root vegetables or banana rolled in cabbage leaves and cooked in coconut milk.

(52) [20141212g_p01s046_05]

mak, di, mak tang
3SG.NFUT.like.this then 3SG.NFUT.like.this just
‘Like this, then, just like this.’

Mak is also often used to introduce performances, as in (53) where it first introduces a rope drawing of a nut, and then the song that accompanies the drawing. When a performance is verbal, this can be thought of as discourse deixis, referring to the words of the song. Although in these two examples the direction of reference is cataphoric, mak can also refer backwards in time to a completed performance.

(53) [20141222c_p01s087]

tavu mak: [...] ale sisien nen mak: [...] bunshnut 3SG.NFUT.like.this so song of.it 3SG.NFUT.like.this
‘The bushnut goes like this: [rope drawing]. Then the song of it goes like this: [song].’

It is also used for anaphoric discourse deixis referring to situations expressed in the preceding discourse. In (54), mak refers to the preceding sentence (26), i.e. that I want to learn Vatlongos, as an explanation for the speaker’s actions. The use of discourse deictic mak followed by ma ‘so, then’ is a fairly frequent strategy for expressing causal or purposive links between situations in the discourse.

(54) [20141028a_c01m002_08]

mak ma na-kes xamim
3SG.NFUT.like.this so 1SG.NFUT-call 2PL
‘It’s like this so I called you.’ (i.e. ‘That’s why I called you.’)

This discourse deictic use can also refer to the speech of another interlocutor in a conversation, as in (55). Mak collocates with tang ‘just’, often to express a general affirmation, which could be translated as ‘that’s it’ or ‘that’s the way’ in English. This collocation occurs 27 times in the corpus, representing nearly a tenth of tokens of mak, and is probably even more frequent in casual conversation, which is underrepresented in the corpus.
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(55) [20150129b_i01m094_15]
mu-tin nahou tang –
1PL.EXCL.DFUT-burn garden just
a bos, mak tang
oh 3SG.NFUT.good 3SG.NFUT.like.this just
(A:) ‘We’ll just burn the garden.’ – (B:) ‘Oh good, that’s the way.’

However *mak* most often occurs as the subsequent verb in a serial verb construction, modifying the manner of the situation expressed by the initial verb. *Mak* always takes third-person singular subject agreement marking in these constructions, which is the default for event-argument\(^5\) serialisation in both Vatlonggos (Ridge 2019: §6) and Paamese (see Crowley 1987: 61 and Crowley 2002: 61 on ambient core-layer serial verb constructions in Paamese). In Vatlonggos serial verb constructions, the relative tense marking on the initial verb determines the marking on the subsequent verb. Matching relative tense marking is required in all the examples of serialised *mak* here, because they are in affirmative polarity.

In serialisation, *mak* can be used exophorically to refer to the external situation, as in (56), from a conversation recorded while eating laplap on a Sunday.

(56) [20141116b_c01m_54]
xir, evri Sade ra-ga laplap mak
1PL.INCL every Sunday 1PL.INCL.NFUT-eat laplap 3SG.NFUT.like.this
‘Us, every Sunday we eat laplap like this.’

Serialised *mak* also refers to non-verbal demonstrations, both in procedural demonstrations (57), and for more spontaneous demonstrations and iconic gestures. In (58), the speaker picks up a banana to demonstrate how a character in a narrative blocks a snake’s mouth with a nut.

(57) [20141212g_p01s046_04]
la-pis-i mak
3PL.NFUT-roll-3OBJ 3SG.NFUT.like.this
‘They roll it like this.’

(58) [20141220g_n01s080_52]
tati natel gur huit tavu tei mak
dad 3PC.POSS 3SG.NFUT.take fruit bushnut one 3SG.NFUT.like.this
‘Their Dad took a bushnut like this.’

\(^5\)I am following Aikhenvald’s (2006: 18–19) typological framework in using this term, rather than “ambient”, which is used by Crowley to describe the same argument structure configuration.
Serialised *mak* can also be used for discourse deixis. In (59), the preceding stretch of discourse describes how the dwarf has been pulling the rat’s tail, and *mak* refers back to that action as the manner in which the dwarf is trying to get the rat out of its hole.

(59)  [20170331c_n01s140_60]
mi-sak pis-i va-leh rat asu va-mak
3SG.NFUT-do try-3OBJ rat 3SG.IFUT-take out rat 3SG.IFUT-like.this
‘[He pulled and pulled and pulled...] he tried to take out the rat like this.’

Finally, *mak* can also have a recognitional use. In (60), the speaker uses *mak* to refer to the way in which young people often just stay home, assuming the audience’s shared knowledge of the common social problem of young people hanging around without enough to do.

(60)  [20170406a_n01m164_61]
yangfala xil, samtaem ra-di mak
youth PL sometimes 1PL.INCL-NFUT stay 3SG.NFUT-like.this
‘Young people, sometimes we stay like this.’

Because *mak* has a bilabial onset, it usually does not take the non-future third-person singular subject-indexing prefix *mi*, instead taking a zero allomorph. This means that it most often appears in its unprefixed form, as in all the examples here except (59). This bridging context seems to have allowed reanalysis as an invariant adverb. There are five unambiguous tokens in the corpus in tense and person contexts where prefixes are expected, but do not occur. However, in the non-future with a third-person singular subject it is usually not possible to disambiguate the verbal and adverbial lexemes.

5.3 Second-person proximal or contrastive *maxai*

While there is no evidence in the corpus or observation of any verbal forms based on distal *xor*, there is also one example of a verbal manner demonstrative *maxai* in the corpus, which appears to be the second-person proximal *xai* form. Example (61) is reported speech from the speaker’s sister-in-law, instructing her (the addressee of the reported speech) not to roll simboro in the manner she was doing it, but instead in the manner the sister-in-law demonstrates. *Maxai* is the subsequent verb in the serial verb construction, modifying the initial verb phrase ‘roll simboro’. While both verbs take negative polarity immediate future prefixes, the negative clitic *ti* only appears after the initial verb phrase, a strong diagnostic of serialisation, as *naa-maxai* would be ungrammatical as independent clause without the negative clitic.
(61) [20141212g_p01s046_11]
a-naa-pis  siboro =ti  naa-maxai  e
2SG.IFUT-NEG-roll simboro =NEG 3SG.IFUT-NEG-like.that.PROX2 but
u-pis  siboro  i-xoni  ngan =ak
2SG.DFUT-roll dumpling 3SG.DFUT-like one  =PROX1
‘You don’t roll simboro like that, you roll it like this one.’

5.4 Verbal hesitation form *mue*

The verbal form *mue* is probably based on contrastive -e. Rather than functioning as a verbal manner demonstrative, this is a hesitation form used when a speaker is searching for a verbal lexeme, which is usually supplied by the speaker immediately afterwards. Alternatively a speaker might break off after *mue*, and use a different sentence structure altogether in the following sentence. It is very frequent, occurring roughly once every 210 words in the corpus (227 tokens).

*Mui* is fully inflected for the intended subject person-number and relative tense features, and can be modified by auxiliary verbs (64).

(62) [20141208a_n01m045_25]
mue,       muis    vatang
3SG.NFUT.HES 3SG.NFUT.cry  a.lot
‘He um, he cried a lot.’

(63) [20150223a_n01m096_59]
ral-mue,  rali-pol
1DU.INCL.DFUT-HES 1DU.INCL.DFUT-work
‘We’ll um, we’ll work.’

(64) [20150303d_p01e016_03]
di  ma-mue,  di  ma-ga-ni
CONT 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-HES CONT 1PL.EXCL.NFUT-NFUT.eat-3OBJ
‘We um, we eat it.’

*Mui* can stand in for both intransitive (62)–(63) and transitive (64) clauses. When a transitive clause is intended, it can also be followed by the nominal place-holder *neta* ‘thing’, see (51). This can be used whether the intended object will be indexed by the object pro-indexing suffixes (65), or an independent noun phrase (66).
Mue has a bilabial initial and frequently appears as a bare stem in the non-future with a third-person singular subject, as in (62) and (66). Like mak, there are signs that this has been a bridging context for reanalysis as a non-verbal form. There are eight tokens in the corpus where a verbal reading is unlikely, and mue instead seems to be acting as a more general hesitation marker, with the syntactic distribution of an interjection.

Despite the formal similarity, and the evidence from Paamese of a deictic verbal root with an initial /mu/, it is difficult to assert a definite relationship between this form and the contrastive demonstrative suffix -e, because it does not function as a typical verbal manner demonstrative like mak. It is therefore important to ascertain a plausible path of reanalysis from the demonstrative uses of -e to the function of a hesitation marker. Himmelmann (1996: 234–235) observes that demonstratives are often used as fillers, and suggests that hesitation phenomena are closely associated with the recognitional uses of demonstratives. While ak is the primary strategy for recognitional use in Vatlongos, the complementary roles of ak and -e forms in discourse repair suggest a path for the verbal -e form to function as a hesitation marker. In examples like (51), -e modifies a placeholder for a lexical item that is currently inaccessible to the speaker, a close parallel to the role of verbal mue.

5.5 Summary

Table 10 summarises the functions of the verbal demonstrative forms. Here the imbalance in functional load between the first-person proximal series and the other forms is even more striking than in the adnominal, adverbial and pronominal forms discussed in §4. There is a single example of a second-person proximal verbal form, and the contrastive series is restricted to a hesitation form.
Table 10: Summary of functions of verbal demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>mak</th>
<th>maxai</th>
<th>mue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>referring to physical demonstrations by speaker</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referring to manner of situational context</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referring to manner in the preceding discourse</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifying manner of another verb</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>recognitional use</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referring to manner of actions of addressee</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Conclusion

There are four series of Vatlongos demonstratives: in addition to first-person proximal, second-person proximal and distal forms, there is a contrastive series that has not been previously described. These can be thought of as a person-based spatial paradigm, distinguishing first-person proximal from second-person proximal and distal series, and a contrastive paradigm where the first-person proximal series is distinguished from the contrastive series. The participation of the first-person proximal series in both paradigmatic distinctions is one reason for its greater frequency and wider discourse functions than the other demonstrative forms.

In discourse functions Vatlongos demonstratives are organised around a two-way distinction between forms based on the clitic ak, and contrastive forms based on the suffix -e. This chapter has described how asymmetries in the morphosyntactic status and distribution of these forms are reflected in their functional extensions. Whereas the first-person proximal clitic ak can freely modify both noun phrases and clauses, contrastive -e can only modify singular and plural noun phrases, usually in the third person, and its distribution is dependent on the host forms it attaches to, usually pronouns and quantifiers.

This asymmetry is mirrored in the more general and frequent contexts of use for the first-person proximal forms. First-person proximal ak forms are the default for anaphora and recognitional demonstrative uses, while -e forms are used for explicit contrast and negative affect. The negative affect meaning component is unusual in that it is not based on metaphorical distance: the primary meaning of these forms is contrastive rather than distance-based, so opposition seems to be a more relevant dimension for this connotation.
Vatlongos demonstrative verbs show an even starker asymmetry between these series. First-person proximal *mak* is by far the most frequent, used as a general verbal manner demonstrative, especially in serial verb constructions. There is also one example of second-person proximal *maxai*. *Mue*, the form probably based on contrastive -e, is restricted to a verbal hesitation form, reflecting the role of -e forms in modifying nominal placeholders. The role of the *ak* and -e series in discourse repair in nominal and verbal contexts is summarised in Table 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic environment</th>
<th>ak series</th>
<th>-e series</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nominal</td>
<td><em>ak</em> modifies successful repair after hesitation</td>
<td><em>xie</em> modifies placeholder for failed repair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal</td>
<td><em>mak</em> refers to physical demonstrations</td>
<td><em>mue</em> is a placeholder hesitation form during search for verbal lexeme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, Vatlongos discourse demonstratives show how distinctions in semantic extension, discourse functions, and markedness interact with the morphosyntactic status and distribution of demonstrative forms, and the wider syntactic structures available in a language.

**Abbreviations**

In addition to Leipzig glossing rules, the following abbreviations are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COME</td>
<td>auxiliary of prior motion towards deictic centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous (habitual or progressive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR</td>
<td>contrastive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFUT</td>
<td>distant future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GO</td>
<td>auxiliary of prior motion away from deictic centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HES</td>
<td>hesitation form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFUT</td>
<td>immediate future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFUT</td>
<td>non-future relative tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>partitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>paucal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRI</td>
<td>prior relative tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX1</td>
<td>first-person proximal (near speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX2</td>
<td>second-person proximal (near addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


