Lamap: A Grammar of the Simple Verbal Clause

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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of the simple verbal clause in Lamap, a language in the Southeast of Malakula Island in Vanuatu. Almost forty years on from Charpentier's (1979) account of the language written in French, this study takes the first steps towards a modern linguistic analysis of the language. This current analysis is based on natural speech and framed in descriptive and typological linguistics.

The thesis presents Lamap's synchronic phonological system before addressing nominals and the noun phrase in the language. Three noun classes could be identified. A basic noun phrase structure is illustrated following the description of nominal modification. The verb complex and simple verbal clause are described in chapters five and six. One of the major findings of my studies is the identification of two bound subject index paradigms in Lamap as opposed to Charpentier's (1979) reported single paradigm of 'preverbal pronouns'. Further, a transitive morpheme and a set of singular object pro-indexes were also identified with the new Lamap Corpus. A further point of interest are negative and prohibitive construction strategies whereby one of two negators can be situated at the beginning of the verb complex, and where clear patterns occur in the selection of subject index paradigms.

The order of constituents and nominal agreement morphology on the verb identify the language as having the nominative accusative morphosyntactic alignment, with basic SV/AVO word order, subject prefixes and object suffixes. Additionally the language is predominantly head-modifier in the simple verbal clause.

Acknowledgements

This project is the result of a collaborative work and the generous cooperation and support of many people and organisations.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to the community of Lamap for receiving me warmly into their midst. Thank you for your willingness to share your language embellished with your stories, songs, your lives and also your *nal a xamite* 'innermost beings'. *Sipa mo bao!* Many thanks for looking after my wellbeing in the field. You shared your food, water and housing, your kindness and laughter providing strength and encouragement on the journey. You refreshed my body, soul and spirit and helped me overcome my insecurities.

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My heartfelt gratitude goes to my academic supervisor Dr. Julie Barbour. Your passion and commitment for Linguistics and the Malekula Languages Project kindled my own. Your careful planning and help in shaping my path of studies opened the doors. Your untiring support, professional judgment and belief in my capabilities helped to make this project a reality.

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Claudia Williams
Hamilton, New Zealand
2018

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-	separate morpheme
.	separates multi-word gloss
:	separates meanings in gloss
=	fusion
[psw…]	data reference
[vnm…]	vinmavis data reference
s.t.	something
s.o.	someone
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
(A)	transitive subject as subject index form
(O)	transitive object as pro-index form
(S)	intransitive subject as subject index form
A	agent
ANA	anaphoric
ANIM	animate
ATTR	attributive
AUG	augmentative -i-/-u-/
CLF1	possessive classifier (general and animate)
CLF2	possessive classifier (food/drink/part-whole)
CNSTR	construct, suffix -a
CONT	continuative
COP	copular
DIR	direction
DIST	distal
DU	dual
DUP	reduplication
EXC	excessive
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
HUM	human
INCL	inclusive
LIG	ligature
LIG2	ligature2
LOC	locative
MED	medial
NEG	negator
NFUT	non-future
NMLZ1	nominalisation prefix
NMLZ2	nominalisation suffix
NP	noun phrase
O	object
OBJ	object pro-index
OBL	oblique
PL	plural

POSS	possessor
POT	potential
PROH	prohibitive
PRON	pronominaliser
PROX	proximal
PURP	purpose
S	subject
SG	singular
TR	transitive marker *-a*

1 Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis provides a preliminary analysis of the Simple Verbal Clause in Lamap, a language of Malakula Island in Vanuatu. The linguistic context of Vanuatu and Malakula will be described in sections 1.1 and 1.2. An account of previous research is provided in section 1.3. The current research project with a description of the project focus, data collection and data processing are described in section 1.4. The chapter will conclude with an outline of the individual chapters of the thesis in section 1.5.

1.1 Linguistic context: Vanuatu

The languages of Vanuatu belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family, which is ranked as the second largest language family in the world after the Benue-Congo family in Africa (Lynch 1998; Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002: 1). This is illustrated in Figure 1.

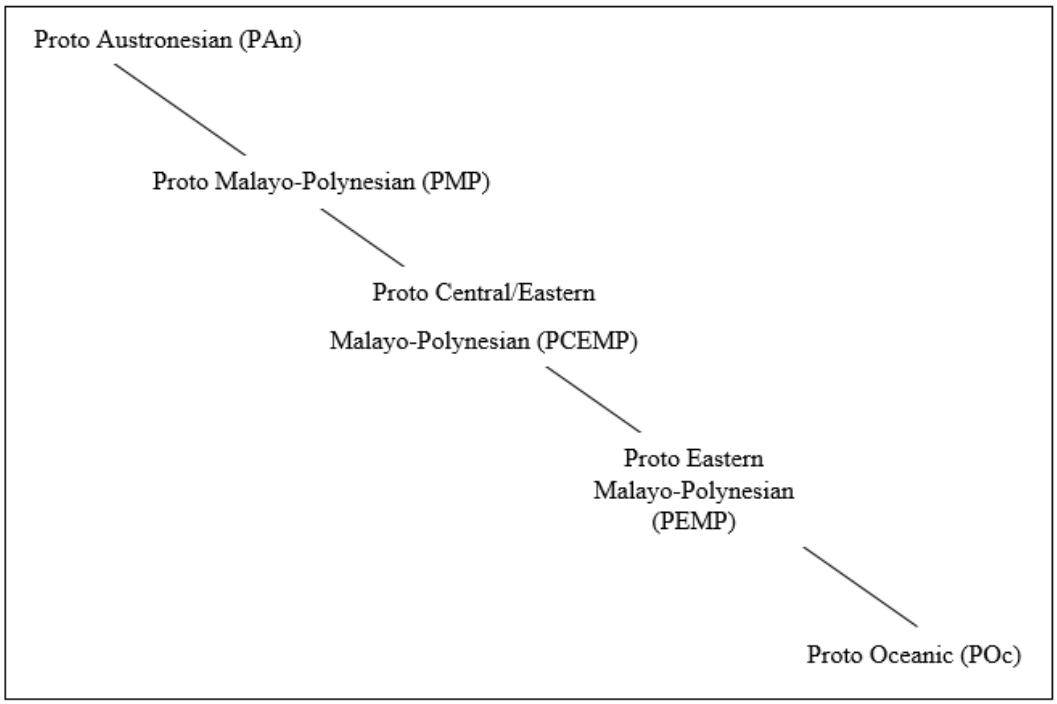

Figure 1: Genetic Affiliation from Proto Austronesian to Proto Oceanic (adapted from Lynch et al. 2002: 4).

Vanuatu comprises around 80 islands and bears the highest density of languages per capita in the world. The 270,400 people constituting the entire population (Simons and Fennig 2018) are speakers of as many as 138 vernacular languages spread over the archipelago, many of which are unwritten (Français, Franjieh, Lacrampe and Schnell 2015). Prior to Vanuatu's independence in 1980, Vanuatu was an English-French condominium known as the 'New Hebrides' (Tryon 1995). After independence in 1980, Bislama (or Melanesian Pidgin) became one of three National languages co-equal with the official languages English and French. The latter two were named the principal languages of education since Vanuatu gained independence in 1980. Simultaneously, the constitution declared that all vernacular languages of Vanuatu are formally recognised and will be protected.

1.2 Linguistic context: Malakula and Lamap's genetic affiliation

Lamap, the language of focus in this thesis, is spoken on the island of Malakula, which is the second largest island of Vanuatu.[1] According to the 2009 census population statistics, Lamap has a population of 783 residing in the villages within the immediate Lamap speaking region (Vanuatu national Statistics Office 2009: unpublished census data).[2] The number of active Lamap speakers is estimated between 750 and 1200 speakers (Lynch et al. 2002: 650; Lynch and Crowley 2001: 76).

Lynch and Crowley (2001: 68, 85) suggest that there are about 32 languages in Malakula including 15 languages that are moribund or recently extinct. The Malakula languages are believed to belong to a single subgroup of the Central Vanuatu subgroup of Southern Oceanic. The majority of these languages have very small populations of less than 1000 speakers (Lynch 2016: 399). Many are still only poorly (if at all) analysed and/or documented.

[1] Malakula has a second spelling of Malekula. According to Lamap speakers, both terms are interchangeably used however, I predominantly heard the pronunciation as Malakula. Thus, in this work Malakula will be used.

[2] Following usages of authors referred to in this section, I will refer to the location and language as 'Port Sandwich' in some places. In all other contexts however, I will use the name Lamap.

Malakula languages are associated with one of three major groupings, the Northern Malakula subgroup, the Eastern Malakula linkage and the Western Malakula linkage. In his more recent work of Malakula Internal Subgroupings, Lynch (2016) assigns Lamap to the Eastern Malakula linkage comprising eleven languages. Of these, four languages form the lower level Southeastern Malakula subgroup (Figure 2).

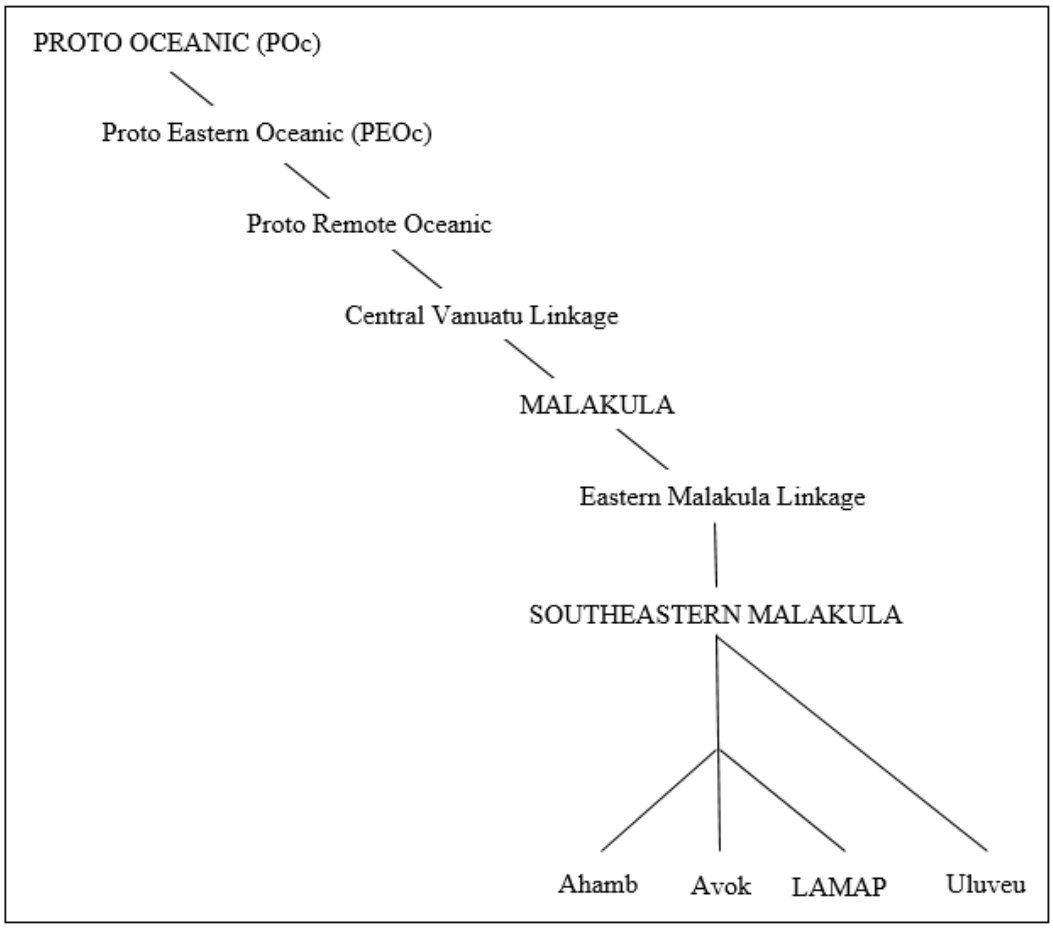

Figure 2: Genetic Affiliation from Proto Oceanic to Lamap (adapted from Lynch et al. 2002: 4; Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2007: 7; Lynch 2016: 420).

Lamap is spoken in the southeast of Malakula Island and bears the same name as the largest settlement on the southern side of Port Sandwich. The northern coast has been predominantly uninhabited since the last tribes disappeared from this area due to tribal rivalries at the end of the 19th century (Tryon and Tsuchida 1995: 827). For many generations women married into the Lamap clans from the nearby islands of Uluveu and Vulai (Maskelynes) and also from Ambrym. Consequently, the children of the Port Sandwich area grew up bilingual with their father's language Lamap, and their mother's language also (Tryon and Tsuchida

1995: 829-831). According to Healey (2013) the people from neighbouring Uluveu say that their language is similar to the one spoken in the Port Sandwich area. Apparently, other neighbouring people from Avokh and Ahamb are also able to understand the Lamap language (Tryon and Tsuchida 1995: 831).

In the late 1800s, a Roman Catholic Mission was established in the village of Lamap and French became the language of formal schooling. After the arrival of the Roman Catholic missionaries, wife exchange stopped in order to protect the Catholic faith from surrounding Presbyterians. Later, the French delegation of power had their seat in Port Sandwich and due to French education, this language is still strong in this region today.

1.3 Previous Research

The earliest linguistic research on Lamap was conducted by Darrell Tryon. Tryon (1976) included lexical data from the Lamap/Port Sandwich language in his comparative work of wordlists and sound correspondence of languages in the New Hebrides. A more detailed study was conducted by Jean-Michel Charpentier. Charpentier, as a PhD student, set out with the goal to conduct an ethnological study of Malakula's population. He made Port Sandwich his base to teach in the area and study the languages along the southern Malakula coast. In 1974, Charpentier wrote two dictionaries for French/Port-Sandwich and Port-Sandwich/French (1974a, 1974b). During his last year in Port Sandwich, Charpentier predominantly focussed on the Lamap language. This was followed in 1979 with the published grammar sketch, *La langue de Port-Sandwich (Nouvelles-Hébrides)*. Although Charpentier wrote a grammar of some length (comprising 25 pages for a section on phonology and 250 pages on grammar), he appears to have relied on his communicative experiences over the period of time in which he lived in Port Sandwich. He did not appear to work with recorded communicative language and as such he missed some fairly important generalisations about how the Lamap language funtions at the level of the simple clause. Much of the language description is couched in terms developed to describe Indo-European languages.

Tryon's *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* (1995), which focussed on the comparison of approximately 1200 synonyms of lexical items from 80 Austronesian languages includes a description of the phonology of Lamap. In 2001, Terry Crowley, a linguist specialising in the Oceanic languages, updated Lamap's phonology, adding orthographic notes (Lynch and Crowley 2001). Finally, Crowley (2002: 650-659) wrote a brief English language summary of Charpentier's (1979) account with some further notes on Lamap's phonology, using the toponym Port Sandwich.

In 2014, the *Vanuatu Languages and Lifeways Project* was launched by Russell Gray, project director at the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History. This included fieldwork in Malakula, which was undertaken in 2016 mostly by A. Shimelman, a member of the Max Planck project team. Tryon's original wordlists (1976) of several languages of Malakula were replicated by Shimelman, during a brief visit to the Port Sandwich region. Six Lamap recordings were made and have been placed online including 'A song for the dead' and are publicly available in PARADISEC (Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures). Shimelman has since left the project and further research on the Lamap language is unlikely.

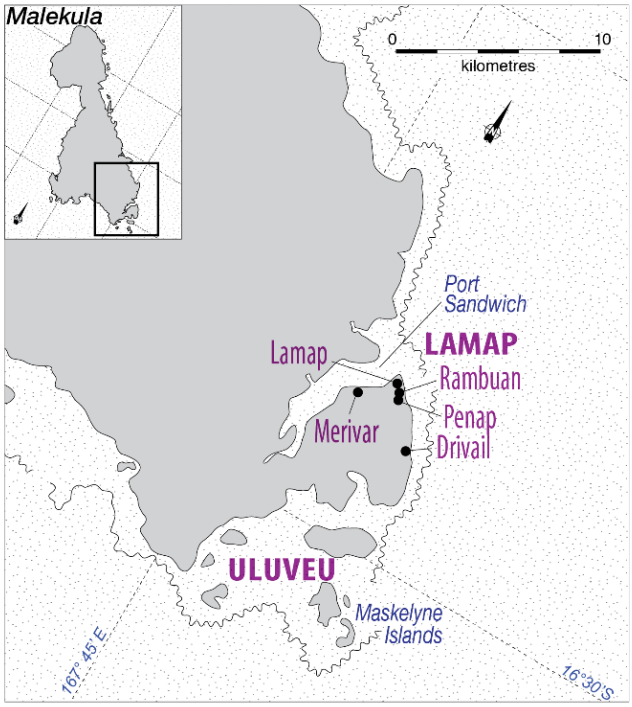

Figure 3: Lamap and surroundings (Source: University of Waikato, Malekula Languages Project)

Current research

The current research project is the outcome of my involvement with Lamap speakers over three consecutive visits to Malakula from 2015 to 2017. Almost forty years on from Charpentier's (1979) account of the language, this study of natural speech, framed in descriptive and typological linguistics, takes the first steps towards a modern linguistic analysis of the language. The thesis focuses on the simple verbal clause in Lamap based on written and oral texts provided by Lamap community members. Most sentence examples are restricted to simple verbal clauses although on occasion I need to use more complex examples to illustrate certain morphemes and processes. The Lamap project is part of the long term *Malekula Languages Project* based at the University of Waikato in New Zealand.

1.4.1 Literacy workshops 2015 ~ 2016

In 2012, the Vanuatu Ministry of Education (now the Ministry of Education and Training) acknowledged the importance of vernacular languages in the Vanuatu National Language Policy statement. It was recognised that the use of vernacular languages provides a head start for children's first years of learning before the acquisition of English and/or French. This led to the new policy that the first three years of formal education will be conducted using the local vernacular language and/or Bislama as the primary media for communication.[3]

The Vanuatu Education Support Program (VESP) implemented the first provincial literacy workshops in 2015 and 2016. Linguists with a specialty in the languages of each province were invited to facilitate the workshops. The initial phases of implementation only included seven Malakula languages, among them Lamap, with comparatively high linguistic homogeneity and an estimated population of over 1000 speakers based on Lynch and Crowley (2001).

[3] It is common for Bislama to be a second or even third language that is spoken in the villages and home environment. Through intermarriage between different tribes, the children often grow up with multiple languages spoken in the home. These may include the language of the mother, father and possibly other languages introduced by grandparents.

The objective of the literacy workshops was the production of school materials by translating a set of materials that were provided by the Vanuatu Ministry of Education. The workshops in Malakula were held in the northern part of the island in Norsup. Fourteen teachers representing the seven selected languages attended. The goal was to translate literacy materials for Year 1 primary school children in the 2015 workshop and Year 2 and 3 materials in the subsequent workshop held in 2016.

Arriving in Norsup, I was assigned to work with two teachers from Lamap, Armelle Leymang and Blandine Damassing. Due to their educational experiences, Armelle and Blandine had very strong literacy skills in French; however, they did not have an orthographic practice in their own language. As translating literacy materials requires a standardised writing system of the language, the first task at the workshop was to formulate a language-specific orthographic system that would represent the language of Lamap. We then worked together to translate the school materials.

Back in New Zealand and thanks to a scholarship from the University of Waikato, I continued my studies under the supervision of Dr Barbour to attain a Postgraduate Diploma in Linguistics. The focus of that year was an in depth study on Melanesian culture and society with a strong component of ethics and the acquisition of the Melanesian Pidgin/Bislama for beginners. Another component included a research methodology paper. During this year the Malekula Languages Project continued to work on processing the language data and producing word lists and picture posters with relevant vocabulary for the seven workshop languages. At the end of 2016, I returned to assist with the second workshop held in Malakula.

After the two week-long workshops, the community of Lamap had translations of around 50 graded readers, 9 posters and language specific alphabet and number charts. By the end of the workshops I appreciated the many complex issues the primary teachers of Lamap were facing in terms of writing. Phonological issues concerning possible complex segments such as trills and pre-nasalised plosives needed investigation. Pre-verbal subject indexes were difficult for speakers to write consistently.

In anticipation of possible fieldwork in Lamap for my Masters degree, I wrote my Postgraduate Dissertation on subject indexing. Based on Haspelmath's criteria for establishing word boundaries (2011) and Haspelmath's (2013) typology of person markers, my dissertation discussed *Word segmentation and argument indexing in Lamap*. This work eventually was published as *Writing Lamap – the representation of person markers* (Barbour and Williams 2017).

I began a more detailed study of the simple clause in Lamap for my Masters thesis in July 2017. In October 2017, I travelled to Vanuatu to collect data for my thesis project. My fieldtrip was partly funded by a Masters Research Scholarship from the University of Waikato. After receiving ethics approval, I applied to the Vanuatu National Cultural Council for a research permit (see Appendix B). I first had to fly to Port Vila on the island of Éfaté before I could fly to the island of Malakula. One of the two main airstrips on Malakula is in Port Sandwich.

Lamap is situated on a hill overlooking the sea. Concrete foundations and ruins are a remnant of the earlier French colonial buildings and the police base prior to 1980. There is a sheltered market area where local produce is sold, a small hospital, a weather station, a post office and a bank. Every second Friday, a chartered boat arrives from the nearby island Ahamb. On those days Lamap is busier than usual, with people managing their financial affairs at the bank, shopping and socialising in the village.

Figure 4: Lamap village, 2017

During the fieldtrip, I lived with primary school teacher Armelle Leymang. Igride, a young woman, was assigned to be my escort and she accompanied me on my walks, to the local school, to meet language consultants in their homes, and to visit neighbouring villages.

Lamap and the surrounding areas are divided into (at least) five sectors or areas including villages and smaller hamlets. People would frequently refer to sectors when explaining the location of a person or a village. In Pneov[4] (sector four) I was introduced to Mariette, one of two local fieldworkers. I was also introduced to Chief Herna Meleun, the second fieldworker who lived in another sector just south of the Lamap village. The chief recalled times with Jean-Michel Charpentier almost forty years ago, expressing his hopes to resume the documentation of the local language which he called *metebb navsax*, 'the language of the tribe'. He was particularly interested that my work had a focus on making the language accessible for the school children by developing a functional writing system.

[4] Local name for Penap.

Figure 5: Chief Herna Meleun with his grandson, male fieldworker for Lamap. Mariette, female fieldworker for Lamap, 2017.

Local fieldworkers are chosen by communities as intermediaries between the National Cultural Council of Vanuatu and local communities. Fieldworkers from the different provinces meet at the yearly workshops that offer specific topics regarding the preservation of culture and local knowledge including educational information about health and safety in case of natural disasters. The field workers then return to their communities and run workshops and local activities to both collect information and to share their learning on the topics. Beside the local chief, fieldworkers are usually the first port of call for foreign researchers arriving in the field.

During my field trip, many community members shared stories and songs, and provided rich language data. I learned of the urgency they felt to have their language documented for the future. They were particularly keen to share historical knowledge and traditions to preserve this knowledge. Audio recordings and other technology for data analysis were not easily available in the times of Charpentier's research, and thus my brief fieldtrip was the start of creating a permanent record for the community.

1.4.2 Data collection

The corpus used for the linguistic analysis presented in this work consists of literacy materials comprising 60 books and six posters translated or written by Lamap teachers at workshops in 2015 and 2016.

Furthermore, audio files were recorded during my fieldtrip in October/November 2017 of approximately four hours and 20 minutes (see Appendix H).

In the field I used a mixture of methods to collect data including community-driven text collection and ethnographic participation and observation (Barbour 2013). Additionally I took extensive handwritten notes of lexical and contextual information, particularly in situations when audio recording was inconvenient or practically difficult to execute.

I kept a field diary at the end of each day with comments and reflections to help me with planning later work. Prior to recording speakers I asked for their oral consent. People were very relaxed about being recorded and enjoyed occasionally hearing a playback of their recounted songs or stories. Recording usually took place in someone's back yard, in a meeting house or even by the sea shore where we would sit on mats in the shade.

Figure 6: Resting seat at Pneov, 2017

I was regularly invited to go for walks with locals which included visiting the wharf, plantations, several beaches and churches. Many lexical items were recorded during those visits with accompanying photos as a record. On one occasion, I visited a site where a traditional house was being built. Another time I visited a local garden.

Figure 7: Constructing house wall with flattened bamboo, 2017

Figure 8: Local vegetable garden in Lamap, 2017

Sometimes people shared songs so that children could later learn them. Other times old stories were remembered and recounted. People would spontaneously join in conversations, add to stories, comment, correct or inquire. In these situations people talked to each other in Lamap language and I took the role of observer.

The main resource that I used to collect lexical and elicited structural data was 'The Malekula Languages Project Workbook', a resource developed over many years by my supervisor Dr. Julie Barbour and other linguistics students involved in the Malekula Languages Project. The resource contains coloured photos and illustrations of flora and fauna, local land, air and sea animals as well as photo sequences illustrating day to day activities. People were attracted to the images in the book and would frequently leaf through the pages, naming objects they recognised from their environment. This resource contributed to building a substantial modern lexicon of Lamap. The pictures served as an ice-breaker and sessions developed into participant-driven sessions that led to a variety of topics that were relevant to the speakers at a given time. Longer monologues and dialogues arose among the speakers about themes covered in the workbook such as gardening, hunting, building or cooking. The project participants in general enjoyed remembering traditions and exchanging knowledge among themselves.

I spent one week at the local school. Some of the materials from the 2015 and 2016 workshops were already being used by teachers in the classrooms, and teachers Armelle and Yvette wanted to make changes in regards to the orthographic representation. The school has a good library of children's stories in French and Bislama, and we translated some of these into Lamap. The teachers also used the context-rich colour pictures from the project workbook to create short children's stories.

One of the teachers would first write a story in Lamap, then read it to me while being audio recorded. The other teacher would translate her stories directly to Lamap while being audio recorded. We then translated the Lamap into Bislama for my research.

Figure 9: Armelle Leymang, school teacher in Lamap, 2017

1.4.3 Data processing

In the field, I completed most of the transcriptions and translations with female fieldworker Mariette, but also spent time working with other women including Carmeline, Armelle, Igride and Lola. In the evenings I uploaded and filed data in my computer and backed it up on a portable drive. I imported the recordings into 'Transcriber', an open source program. With this program, I segmented the recordings at pauses. Mariette and I played each segment as many times as necessary for Mariette to repeat word for word what was said, and for me to writing the text. Following this, Mariette would translate the transcription into Bislama for me. The texts were mostly written phonetically rather than phonemically as there was no time for a full phonological analysis in the field.

All transcriptions were handwritten in the field and needed to be processed for analysis. The corpus currently comprises texts and audio recordings. 'Audacity' was used for editing of audio recordings of nearly four hours (see Appendix H for a recording list of the Lamap Corpus). For the linguistic analysis, 'The Linguist's Toolbox' was used. This program recognises strings of characters as lexemes, bound morphemes and bare roots. Toolbox produces an analysis of five layers. The first layer has the vernacular text (\tx), the second layer shows the parsing with individual morphemes (\mb), the third layer contains the assigned gloss (\ge), and the fourth layer contains the assigned part of speech.

Finally, the last layer has a free translation into English (and/or Bislama/French). Lexemes, morphemes and notes can be added at any stage into the Toolbox dictionary. The 'interlinearization' process, which recognizes morphemes and lexemes, accelerates as more data is entered into the Toolbox. In the dictionary I used mainly the following dictionary categories: \lx (lexeme), \a (alternative representation), \va (variation), \ps (part of speech), \ge (English gloss), \gn (national gloss 'Bislama'), \gr (regional gloss 'French') and \nt (notes/comments).

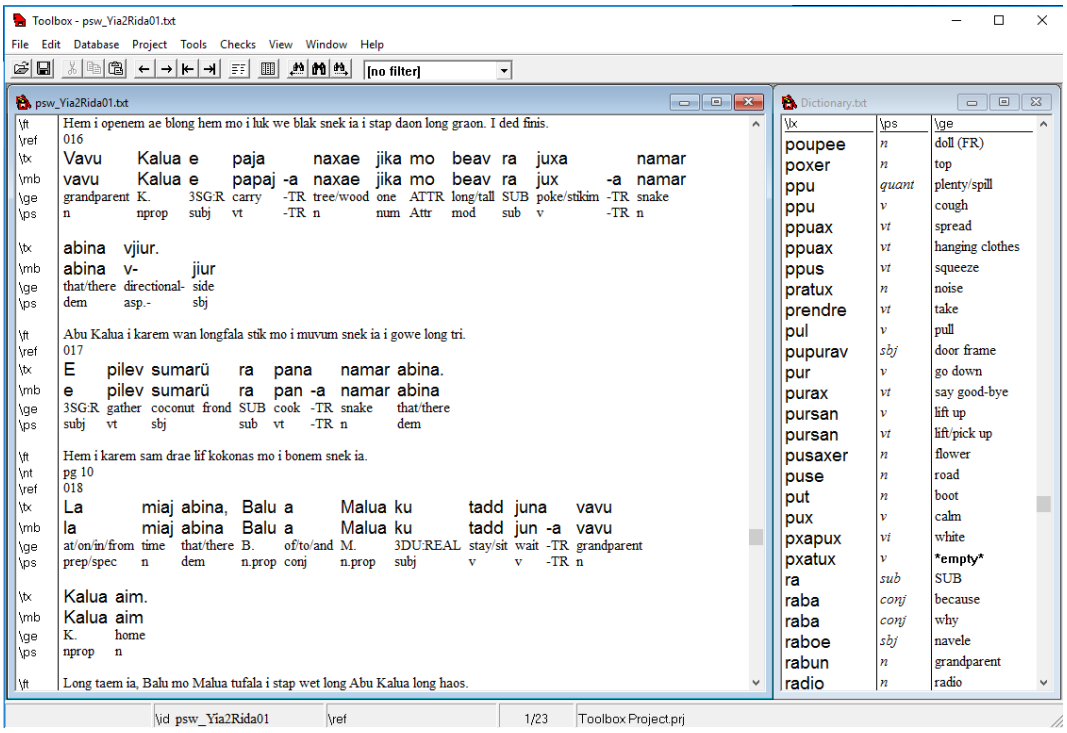

Figure 10: Original text in toolbox with an accompanying section of the dictionary.

The data analysis presented in this thesis rests on frameworks from general and typological linguistics which include Crowley (1995), Haspelmath (2008; 2011; 2013), Haspelmath and Sims (2010), Hayes (2009), Lynch, Ross, & Crowley (2002), Palmer (2001), Payne (1997; 2006) Ross (2004) and Whaley (1997). I consulted analyses of other Oceanic languages such as Malua Bay (Wessel 2013), Naman (Crowley 2006), Nāti (Crowley 1998), Neverver (Barbour 2012), Uluveu (Healey 2013), Uripiv (Moore 2018) and V'ënen Taut (Dodd 2014). Charpentier's (1979) grammar of Lamap served as a basic reference, although my analysis is based on new field data, and my analysis varies in important ways from Charpentier's.

1.5 Outline of Thesis

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Chapter one provides an overview of the general research context and linguistic context of this project. The physical and linguistic context of Vanuatu and Malakula Island as well as the genetic relationship between Lamap and Proto Oceanic is described. A chronological description of previous research on Lamap is provided before describing the current research. This includes information about the literacy workshops held on Malakula Island in 2015 and 2016 and the involvement of the Malekula Languages Project. A description of the fieldtrip conducted in 2017 follows. Finally, ethical procedures, methods of data collection and data processing are explained.

Chapter two to six present the synchronic analysis of the simple verbal clause in Lamap with an introduction of a preliminary analysis of the phonological system of the language.

Chapter three describes pronominal and nominal forms. Three noun classes are introduced. Nominal derivation processes such as nominal compounding and affixation are illustrated. A brief introduction of reduplication in regards to nominal derivation is provided.

Chapter four focuses on nominal modification strategies, noun phrase coordination and the basic noun phrase structure.

Chapter five provides an account of the verb complex and introduces two subject index paradigms contrasting nonfuture and future time. After addressing negation in Lamap, verb classes are described. A transitivising morpheme as well as singular object pro-indexes have been identified and are introduced in this chapter. Postverbal modifiers and reduplication processes are illustrated next.

Chapter six presents the simple verbal clause and illustrates the basic structure of the verbal clause. This includes the description of core and non-core argument constructions as well as Lamap's morphosyntactic alignment. Non-declarative clauses including interrogatives, imperatives and prohibitives precede the final section addressing clausal modifiers.

The final chapter provides a detailed summary illustrating some highlights of the analysis. Additional grammatical topics that could not be included in this thesis are identified.

The appendices include correspondence letters pertaining ethical consent approval from the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethical Committee at the Unviersity of Waikato. The research application form addressed to the Vanuatu Cultural Centre for obtaining a research permit is also enclosed. Furthermore, some extracts of literacy materials and resources that have been used for data elicitation in the field are presented. Additionally, a list of recordings as well as some text samples are included.

2 Chapter Two

PHONOLOGY

A preliminary analysis of the phonology of Lamap is presented in this chapter. Although this study is concerned with the simple clause, phonological analysis has been necessary in order to develop an orthography for the purpose of representing the morphosyntax of the language in a written form.

2.1 Introduction

The corpus provides a relatively small number of minimal pairs but plentiful contrastive sets. The precise number of consonants and vowels has not been fully established as certain consonants have a very limited distribution in the new Lamap Corpus. An important finding presented in this chapter is a basic five vowel system for Lamap. Charpentier's earlier phonological account of Lamap illustrates the distribution of individual phonetic realisations, reporting 23 consonants and seven vowel phonemes (Charpentier 1979: 36-41). In his work he provides two minimal pairs of the segments [u] and [y] and one minimal pair of the segments [o] and [ø]. The new data shows no evidence of contrast between these pairs of sounds. Charpentier (in Tryon 1995: 833) reports of a trend towards the disappearance of the front rounded vowels [y] and [ø]. While the different vowel sounds are recorded in the new Lamap Corpus, especially being produced by older speakers, the vowels have the status of allophones. A much larger corpus of audio recordings will be needed to confirm the status of some segments.

The phonemic inventory of consonants and then vowels is described in the sections of this chapter. A basic overview of phonotactic constraints follows and finally a working orthography is proposed.

2.2 Consonants

Lamap has pre-nasalised voiced stops which contrast with voiceless, plain stops. The following phonemes, displayed by manner and place of articulation, form the consonant inventory of Lamap.

Table 1: Consonants in Lamap

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Plain Plosive	p	t	k
Prenasalised Plosive	b		g
Nasal	m	n	ŋ
Plain Trill	ʙ̥	r	
Prenasalised Trill	ʙ	ᴅ	
Fricative	v	s	x
Affricate		ʧ	
Lateral Approximant		l	

2.2.1 Nasals

The three nasal consonants with bilabial, alveolar and velar place of articulation, contrast in syllable initial, medial and final position.

2.1 /m/ and /n/ and /ŋ/

a.	/mara-n/	[maran]	‘eye-3SG.POSS’
	/naran/	[naran]	‘ground’
	/ŋail/	[ŋail]	‘PL’
b.	/naman/	[naman]	‘bird’
	/nanam/	[nanam]	‘mosquito’
	/laŋas/	[laŋas]	‘roast’
c.	/isam/	[isam]	‘2SG:POSS’
	/isan/	[isan]	‘3SG:POSS’
	/isaŋ/	[isaŋ]	‘1SG:POSS’

2.2.2 Plosives

The plain plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/ are voiceless and contrast initially. The only examples of medial /p/, /t/ and /k/ involve repeated CV sequences, as in /tata/ (2.2d). There are no contrasts of /p/, /t/ and /k/ attested in final position in the corpus.

2.2 /p/ and /t/ and /k/

a.	/pasus/	[pasus]	'produce/give birth/lay eggs'
	/tas/	[tas]	'be.tired/
	/kasa/	[kasa]	'NEG'
b.	/pepe/	[pepe]	'gather.up/collect'
	/te/	[te]	'cut/fell (tree)'
	/keke/	[keke]	'be.small'
c.	/pos/	[pos]	'purchase'
	/to/	[to]	'3PL:NFUT'
	/kos/	[kos]	'float'
d.	/papaloŋ/	[papaloŋ]	'DUP-listen (attentively)'
	/tata/	[tata]	'father'
	/kakao/	[kakao]	'visit'

Lamap presents evidence of a voiceless bilabial trill [ʙ̥].[5] All voiceless bilabial trills precede the high back round vowel /u/. This would resemble the pattern in Neverver (Barbour 2012) where the voiceless bilabial trill is an allophone of /p/ before /u/. However, the segment /p/ also occurs before /u/, suggesting contrast.[6] The evidence of contrast is provided in example 2.3a. Examples in 2.3b show other lexemes with the voiceless trill, while 2.3c. displays /p/ before the remaining vowels in the inventory.

[5] The Lamap speakers felt strongly that this was a distinct sound with its individual orthographic presentation as <pp> however, the realisation of the voiceless bilabial trill was more or less emphasised depending on idiolects, and it could have been the result of careful speech.

[6] A PhD study by Tihomir Rangelov (University of Waikato) of the neighbouring small island community of Ahamb is currently in process in which the occurrence of the voiceless bilabial trill also shows significance, and is likely contrastive.

2.3 /ʙ̥/ and /p/

a.	/pus/	[ʙ̥us]	‘squeeze’
	/pu/	[ʙ̥u]	‘1. plenty, 2. cough’
	/puse/	[puse]	‘road’
	/pusaxer/	[pusaxer]	‘flower’
b.	/na-pul/	[na-ʙ̥ul]	‘NMLZ1-laplap roll (in leaf)’
	/ropus/	[roʙ̥us]	‘white.hen’
c.	/paus/	[paus]	‘pull/paddle’
	/pean/	[pean]	‘tomorrow’
	/pisax/	[pisax]	‘give’
	/poʧ-poʧave/	[poʧ-poʧave]	‘DUP-clap

2.2.3 Prenasalised plosives

The voiced plosives /b/, [d] and /g/ show underlying homorganic prenasalisation, [ᵐb], [ⁿd] and [ᵑg].[7] There is a reduction or sometimes a total loss of prenasalisation in word initial position in connected speech. Only a very small number of the voiced alveolar and velar plosive are represented in the corpus. The voiced alveolar plosive [d] is only represented two times in the corpus and occurs both times in word initial position as illustrated in example 2.4 before /a/. The articulation of prenasalisation is strongly reduced with these lexemes, and it is possible that [d] is an unaspirated [t] in this lexeme. More productive is the prenasalised voiced alveolar trill [ⁿdʳ], here presented as /ᴅ/. Like other complex segments in the Lamap consonant inventory, this segment involves a homorganic sequence of place and manner of articulation. The speakers articulate the segment with the prenasalised form [n] of the voiced alveolar plosive [d] followed by an alveolar trill [r]. In this work, the articulation [ⁿd] is not treated as contrastive. Instead, the articulation [ⁿdʳ] is treated as the contrastive segment /ᴅ/, along with the other prenasalised plosives /b/ and /g/.

[7] As Crowley (Lynch et al. 2006: 651) points out, the phonemic status of homorganic clusters in Lamap of this kind is problematic. They are in many languages in Vanuatu analysed as phoneme units (Crowley 1998: 109). Charpentier (1979: 21-40) presents these voiced prenasalised segments as phoneme units contrastive to the plain voiceless segments /p/, /t/ and /k/. The speakers’ preference to present the prenasalised voiced plosives as <b>, <d>, and <g> supports their phonemic status.

2.4 /b/, [d], /D/and /g/ in initial position

/barixer/	[barixer]	‘tree.trunk’
/dariŋan/ ~ /tariŋan/	[dariŋan]	‘ear’
/dar/ ~ /tar/	[dar]	‘hit’
/Da/	[d^{r}a]	‘voice’
/gar/	[gar]	‘rub’

The homorganic segments /b/ and /D/ occur in word initial, medial and final position. The homorganic segment /g/ occurs only initially and intervocalically. In word initial position, all complex segments tend to lose their prenasalisation. The velar voiced plosive /g/ occurs in just a small number of items in the corpus. Contrastive pairs of /b/, /D/ and /g/ in either initial and medial position are illustrated in example 2.5.

2.5 /b/, /D/, and /g/

a.	/gebe/	[ge^{m}be]	‘what’
	/meDe/	[me $^{n}d^{r}$e]	‘egg’
b.	/xoDobo/	[xo$^{n}d^{r}o^{m}$bo]	‘basket made out of coconut leaves’
	/gogol/	[go^{ŋ}gol]	‘building site/structure (*mel gogol*)’
c.	[boruv]	[boruv]	‘chicken’
	[gora]	[gora]	‘PURP’

The prenasalised voiced bilabial plosive in word final position is sometimes produced with a voiced plosives [^{m}b]. At other times and most predominantly the plosive is dropped and the lexeme ends with the nasal [m].

2.6 [^{m}b] > [m] word finally

/beab/	[bea^{m}b]	> [beam]	‘shirt’
/nasub/	[nasu^{m}b]	> [nasum]	‘man.of.status/God’
/bareab/	[barea ^{m}b]	> [baream]	‘woman’

The phonetic forms and their distribution of /b/ and /g/ are shown in 2.7. The segment /g/ does not occur word finally in the corpus.

2.7 /b/ : [^{m}b] ~ [b] / #____
[^{m}b] ~ [m] / ____#

/g/ : [^{ŋ}g] ~ [g] / #_____

The prenasalised alveolar plosive /D/ is most often fully articulated in final position although sometimes the plosive and trill elements are dropped.

2.8 [$^{n}d^{r}$] > [n] word finally

/kaD/	[ka $^{n}d^{r}$]		‘have’
/DuD/	[d^{r}u $^{n}d^{r}$]		‘family/lineage’
/barixaD/	[barixa $^{n}d^{r}$]		‘basket’
/taD/	[ta$^{n}d^{r}$]	> [tan]	‘sit/stay’

The phonetic forms and their distribution of /D/ is shown in 2.9.

2.9 /D/ : [$^{n}d^{r}$] ~ [d^{r}] / # ____
[$^{n}d^{r}$] ~ [n] / _____#

The complex segment /D/ contrasts with the plain alveolar trill /r/ in example 2.10.

2.10 [$^{n}d^{r}$] and [r]

a.	/Da/	[d^{r}a]	‘voice’
	/ra/	[ra]	‘CONJ’
b.	/Di/	[d^{r}i]	‘1DU.INCL:FUT’
	/ris/	[ris]	‘see’
c.	/Dixer/	[d^{r}ixer]	‘other’
	/rix/	[rix]	‘down’
d.	/e Daŋ/	[e $^{n}d^{r}$aŋ]	‘3SG:NFUT be.strong’
	/e raŋ/	[e raŋ]	‘3SG:NFUT cry’
e.	/maDuam/	[ma$^{n}d^{r}$uam]	‘village’
	/maruam/	[marua-m]	‘uncle-2SG.POSS’

The pre-nasalised voiced bilabial plosive /b/ and the pre-nasalised voiced bilabial trill /ʙ/ show contrast occurring before /u/ and word finally. The pre-nasalisation of the segments word-initially tends to be dropped in the corpus.[8] Word finally the plosive is dropped sometimes. Allophony is shown in 2.11, and contrast of /b/ and /ʙ/ is shown in example 2.12.

[8] Speakers show a consistency in writing ‘bb’ describing /ʙ/ separately from ‘b’ representing /b/ which could be an indication of their phonemic status.

2.11 /ʙ/ : [^{m}ʙ] ~ [ʙ] / #___ u
[^{m}ʙ] ~ [m] / ___ #

2.12 [^{m}ʙ] and /b/

a.	/ʙuaŋ/	[ʙuaŋ]	‘taro’
	/bugao/	[bu^{ŋ}gao]	‘Portia.tree’
b.	/naʙu/	[na ^{m}ʙu]	‘circle’
	/nabur/	[na^{m}bur]	‘hole’
c.	/ʙuʙuan/	[ʙu^{m}ʙuan]	‘friend’
	/burur/	[burur]	‘cabbage’
d.	/naxaʙ/	[naxa^{m}ʙ]	‘fire’
	/vixabxab/	[vixa^{m}bxa^{m}b]	‘swallow’
e.	/saʙ/	[sa^{m}ʙ]	‘be.bad’
	/kab/	[ka^{m}b]	‘be.hot’

2.2.4 Fricatives and the affricate /ʧ/

The plain fricatives in Lamap include the voiced labio-dental /v/ and the voiceless alveolar and velar fricatives /s/ and /x/. The fricative /v/ was sometimes observed to be pronounced as a bilabial fricative /β/. Further data from a variety of speakers will be needed to establish whether the allophones of this fricative are conditioned. In this work, the segment is always represented as /v/. The following pairs of fricatives have been extracted from the corpus.

2.13 /v/ and /s/ initial position

a.	[van]	‘go’
	[san]	‘show’

/v/ and /s/ medial position

b.	[sivir]	‘parrot’
	[sisir]	‘sweep’

The fricative segment /v/ contrasts with the voiced bilabial plosive.

2.14 [varixer] ‘side’
[barixer] ‘trunk’

Contrastive sets from the corpus also include /x/ and /k/ in example 2.15a, /ʧ/, /s/ and /x/ in example 2.15b, /ʧ/, /s/ and /v/ in example 2.15c and /t/, /ʧ/ and /s/ in example 2.15d.

2.15 /x/ and /k/

a. [xaʧ] ‘bite.insect’
[kaʧ] ‘like’

/ʧ/, /s/ and /x/

b. [ʧe] ‘flow’
[se] ‘whisper (wind)’
[xe] ‘be.sweet’

/ʧ/, /s/ and /v/

c. [ʧavʧav] ‘chop’
[savsav] ‘be.unable’
[vava] ‘cousin’

/t/, /ʧ/ and /s/

d. [tax] ‘tie’
[ʧax] ‘cast’
[sax] ‘climb’

2.2.5 Liquids /r/ and /l/

Lamap has two contrastive liquids. The alveolar flap /r/ and alveolar lateral /l/ contrast in initial, medial and final position.

2.16 /r/ and /l/ in initial position

a. [laŋ] ‘take/grab’
[raŋ] ‘cry’

/r/ and /l/ in medial position

b. [mala^{m}b] ‘female’
[mara-m] ‘eye-2SG.POSS’

/r/ and /l/ in final position

c. [leul] ‘small island’
[leur] ‘garden’

2.2.6 The status of labialised plosives

The labialised segments [pʷ], [ᵐbʷ], [mʷ] and [vʷ] are attested in the corpus in the environment of a following high front /i/ or mid front vowel /e/. Rather than treating them as separate phonemes, they are analysed in this work as allophones or surface articulations of underlying /Cu/ sequences. This aligns with speakers' perceptions and preferences to write [Cʷ] as <Cu>. In articulation, the combination of Cu and a following front vowel produces a labialised consonant before the front vowel.

2.17 a. /pu/ : [pʷ] / ____ i

b. /bu/ : [ᵐbʷ] ~ [bʷ] / ____ i, e

c. /mu/ : [mʷ] / ____ i, e

d. /vu/ : [vʷ] / ____ i, e

The labialised bilabial plosive [pʷ] occurs in contrast with the plain plosive /p/ before the high front vowel, but only /p/ occurs before other vowels in the remainder of the corpus. It is therefore likely that sequences of [pʷi] are /pui/ underlyingly.

2.18 | [pʷ] and /p/

a.	[pʷiʧi]	/puiʧi/ ‘all’
	[pisax]	/pisax/ ‘give’
b.	[paʧmeao]	‘cresent.grunter (fish)’
	[pe]	‘count’
	[poʧoax]	‘dive’
	[pursan]	‘lift.up’

Contrasts between [ᵐbʷ] and /b/ occur in the same environment like [pʷ] and /b/ before /i/. The sequence also occurs before the vowel /e/.

Prenasalisation of this segment in word initial position is sometimes fully articulated and at other times is inaudible. No clear distribution was able to be established with the present corpus and further data will be needed to examine the occurrence of prenasalisation.

Examples in 2.19a and 2.19b illustrate the labialised bilabial plosive with [$^{m}b^{w}$i] and [$^{m}b^{w}$e] as the surface articulation with the underlying /Cu/ sequences /bui/ and /bue/ respectively.

There are two lexemes with initial /bi/ and medial /be/ illustrated in 2.19a and 2.19b. In example 2.19c additional lexemes with a voiced bilabial plosive in initial position are shown.

2.19 [$^{m}b^{w}$] and /b/

a.	/buiabui/	[$^{m}b^{w}$ia$^{m}b^{w}$i]	‘hard wood’
	/buiekor/	[b^{w}iekor]	‘tooth decay’
	/buir/	[$^{m}b^{w}$ir]	‘fill up/scoop’
	/buitʃ/	[$^{m}b^{w}$it]	‘burn’
	/bi/	[bi]	‘POT’
b.	/buetil/	[$^{m}b^{w}$etil]	‘big’
	/buetirbaix/	[$^{m}b^{w}$etir^{m}baix]	‘mother hen’
	/nabue/	[na$^{m}b^{w}$e]	‘drum’
	/naber/	[na^{m}ber]	‘post’
c.	/baxo/	[baxo]	‘shark’
	/begur/	[be^{ŋ}gur]	‘manner’
	/boruv/	[boruv]	‘chicken’
	/burur/	[burur]	‘cabbage’

The sequence [m^{w}] occurs before /i/ and /e/ in example 2.20a and 2.20b but only [m] occurs before /a/, /o/, and /u/ as illustrated in example 2.20c.

2.20 [m^{w}] and /m/

a.	/muitʃ/	[m^{w}itʃ]	‘after/then’
	/mie/	[mie]	‘light’
	/mitisao/	[mitisao]	‘eye.formal’
b.	/mue/	[m^{w}e]	‘be.not’
	/mel/	[mel]	‘place’
c.	/maru/	[maru]	‘coconut’
	/moxu/	[moxu]	‘seven’
	/mutʃ/	[mutʃ]	‘piece’

Surface articulation of the labialised fricative [v^{w}] occurs in the environment of a following high front vowel or a mid-high front vowel.

Treated as sequences of /Cu/, the data indicates that labialisation appears sometimes before a front vowel, but is absent before back vowels.

2.21 /v/ and /vʷ/

a.	/viru/	[viru]	‘Ylang-ylang.tree’	
	/vir/	[vir]	‘braid’	
	/vim/	[vim]	‘go.home’	
	/vimor/	[vimor]	‘orange’	
b.	/vuivir/	[vʷivʷir]	/vuivuir/	‘drizzle.rain’
	/vuitux/	[vʷitux]	/vuitux/	‘Vanuatu.Mountain Honeyeater (bird)’
	/vuime/	vʷime	/vuime/	‘Emerald.dove’
c.	/vava/	[vava]	‘cousin’	
	/vavu/	[vavu]	‘grandparent’	
	/veveo/	[veveo]	‘new’	
d.	/vavue/	[vavʷe]	/vavue/	‘aunt’
	/na-vuet	[na-vʷet]	/navuet/	‘shelf (to dry coconut)’
	/vuevueas	[vʷevʷeas]	/vuevueas/	‘hornet’
e.	/voʧ/	[voʧ]	‘nail.w.hammer’	
	/vuxer/	[vuxer]	‘feather’	

2.3 Vowel inventory

One of the more complex phonological challenges concerns Lamap’s vowel inventory. While other Melanesian languages in this area have a five or six-vowel system, Charpentier (1979), Crowley (2006) and Tryon (1976) report seven phonemic vowels in Lamap. The initial analysis of the Lamap corpus seemed to confirm this as there is clearly an audible distinction between the vowels [y], [i] and [u] and the vowels [ø], [e] and [o]. Barbour (2012) and Crowley (1998) have reported a similar phenomenon in Neverver (North-central Malekula) and Nāti (Southwest Malekula). The front vowel [æ] positioned between the open and mid-open spectrum is also sporadically used by speakers, particularly when adjacent to liquid and/or nasal consonants. It is difficult to ascertain if these vowels have a Francophonic influence or whether the contemporary vowel system has become simplified to allophonic front-rounding, thus reducing the number of vowels in Lamap.

The new corpus presents evidence of a five-vowel system, two front vowels, one central vowel and two back vowels. There is no phonemic evidence in the new corpus of [æ], [y] and [ø].[9]

Table 2: Vowels in Lamap

	Front	Central	Back
High	i (y)		u
Mid	e (ø)		o
Mid-low		(æ)	
Low		a	

The five contrastive vowel segments can be established through the following contrastive sets:

2.22 a. [baru-] ‘head (crown)’
[ber] ‘shut’
[bi] ‘POT’
[boruv] ‘chicken’
[bur] ‘hole’

b. [Da] ‘voice’
[De] ‘blood’
[Di] ‘1DU.INCL:FUT’
[Do] ‘be.deep/quiet’
[Du] ‘1DU.INCL:NFUT’

c. [ka] ‘say’
[ken] ‘call’
[ki] ‘2SG:FUT’
[ko] ‘2SG:NFUT’
[ku] ‘3DU:NFUT’

9 Due to the occurrence of these extra vowels in the data and the contemporary literacy materials, I have included them in the vowel inventory in brackets. The occurrence of [y] and [ø] is clearly audible although no minimal pairs nor a conclusive distribution of [y] and [u] and [ø] and [o] is evident in the corpus.

d. [ma] ‘but’
[ame] ‘again’
[mimi] ‘cat’
[amo] ‘far’
[xamu] ‘2DU:NFUT’

Examples attested in the corpus with [æ], [y] and [ø] occurring interchangeably with the established vowels /a/, /u/, and /o/, are illustrated below.

2.23 a. [malam] ~ [mælæm] ‘girl’

b. [rux] [ryx] ‘little/young’

c. [to] [tø] ‘3PL.NFUT’

2.4 Phonotactics

In this section, a brief overview of phonotactic rules and the possible arrangement of phonemes that are permitted in Lamap is presented. The basic syllable structure, and range of consonant clusters and diphthongs will be discussed.

2.4.1 Basic syllable type

Lamap has open and closed syllables. The nucleus of the basic syllable consists of a single vowel as the most sonorous element. Single consonants may be present in the onset and are permitted in the coda. The prototypical syllable structure in Lamap can be illustrated as:

σ → (C)V(C)

The combinations of CV segments that are permitted are illustrated below in 2.24. It is possible in Lamap for a single vowel segment to be the only element in a syllable as the nucleus.

2.24 V /e/ 3SG:NFUT’
CV /uʧ/ ‘speak’
VC /la/ ‘LOC’
CVC /man/ ‘laugh’

2.4.2 Single consonants and complex segments

Most consonants can occur in syllable initial, medial and final position. The prenasalised complex consonant segments are more restricted in their occurrence. While prenasalisation is frequently dropped in initial position, and plosives can be dropped in final position, the prenasalised alveolar trill /ᴅ/ is typically fully articulated in all three positions.

2.4.3 Consonant clusters

In contrast to the basic syllable sequence (C)V(C) there are several heterorganic consonant clusters in Lamap that fall outside the basic syllable structure.

According to Charpentier (1974a; 1974b; 1979: 36-40) and Crowley (2002: 650), some of these clusters are caused by diachronic processes of vowel deletion but this cannot be generalised for all consonant clusters in Lamap.[10]

In the new corpus, a number of lexemes with initial consonant clusters are attested. Some may be the result of rapid speech.

In example 2.25a and 2.25b, there is an underlying vowel between the initial CC sequence. The CV.CV pronunciation is sometimes used. The new corpus attests for the CV.CV pronunciation only regarding the examples in (2.25a, b and c).

2.25	a.	/bunus/	[bn]	[bnus] [bunus]	‘look.at/watch’
	b.	/loŋon/	[lŋ]	[lŋon] [loŋon]	‘feel/hear’
	c.	/leve/	[lv]	[lve] [leve]	‘gather/pull.in (fishing line/net)’
	d.	/saŋeav/	[sŋ]	[sᵑgeav]	‘ten’

[10] A phonological process of vowel deletion is noticed commonly across morpheme boundaries especially involving plural subject indexes. Forms such as *at mo* or even *t-mo* stemming from the full forms *xate mo* ‘3PL ATTR’ are attested in the corpus. Another example is the abbreviated form *t-bi* replacing the full form *to bi* ‘3PL:NFUT.POT’.

In example 2.26, the sequence of CC is always attested, vowel deletion cannot explain the complex CC onsets.

2.26	/msaben/	[ms]	[msa^{m}ben]	‘cheek’
	/pxapux/	[px]	[pxapux]	‘be.white’
	/rbaix/	[r^{m}b]	[r^{m}baix]	‘wife’
	/sba/	[s^{m}b]	[s^{m}ba]	‘NEG’
	/sluv/	[sl]	[sluv]	‘fail’
	/sxovulian/	[sx]	[sxovulian]	‘surprise’
	/tmaer/	[tm]	[tmaer]	‘left (side)’
	/txavoi/	[tx]	[txavoi]	‘right (side)’

2.4.4 Diphthongs and vowel sequences

There are at least four different realisations of two vowels articulated as diphthongs in nucleus of a syllable.[11]

2.27	a.	/ai/	[ai]	
		/bainav/	[bai.nav]	‘pineapple’ (from Bislama)
		/nukai/	[nu.kai]	‘leaf’
	b.	/ae/	[ae]	
		/vae/	[vae]	‘place.village’
	c.	/ao/	[ao]	
		/inao/	[i.nao]	‘1SG’

Variation in articulation is noticeable in lexemes with diphthongs in final positions. There is uncertainty regarding the distinction between [ai] and [ae]. When the second vowel of the nucleus word finally is /i/, it is audibly palatalised by a number of speakers thus can be identified with the palatal approximant [j] as in the French word *fille* ‘girl’ or the English word *yacht.* Additionally, vowels undergo assimilation towards the high front vowel /i/ in final position.

[11] This excludes the possible diphthongs [ui] and [ue] that were discussed in the previous section on consonants in conjunction with labialised consonant segments.

This means that there is either raising or fronting of the vowels preceding final /i/ depending on their original position. This can be illustrated as:

2.28 /o/, /a/ : [ø], [æ] / ___i#

/i/ : [j] /___#

The following lexemes from the corpus demonstrate this type of assimilation.

2.29

/noai/	[nø.aj]	‘water’
/xavoi/	[xa.vøj]	‘true’
/roi/	[røj]	‘three’

2.4.5 Orthography

As a result of workshops in 2015 and 2016 (see section 1.4.1) a substantial amount of literacy material has already been produced and is used in the local school (see Appendices C, G and I). Teachers are closely involved in developing Lamap’s orthography and the orthographic presentation of some phonemic forms is still experimental.[12] The current working orthography is presented in Table 3.

[12] The voiced alveolar plosive [d] will be represented as a phonetic segment with the orthographic representation of <d> until a larger corpus shows evidence of its possible phonemic status.

Table 3: Consonants in Lamap with Orthographic Representation

Phonemic Form	Phonetic Realisation	Orthographic Representation	Example	English Gloss
/m/	[m]	<m>	<mel>	'place'
/mu/	[mʷ] / ___ i, e	<mu>	<muij>	'then/after.that'
/n/	[n]	<n>	<nean>	'wind'
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	<ng>	<ngail>	'PL'
/p/	[p]	<p>	<pean>	'tomorrow'
/pu/	[pʷ] / ___i	<pu>	<puiji>	'all.of.them'
/ʙ̥/	[ʙ̥]	<pp>	<ppu>	'cough'
/t/	[t]	<t>	<tas>	'be.tired'
/k/	[k]	<k>	<ko>	'2SG:NFUT'
/b/	[ᵐb] ~ [b] / #___	<b>	<raba>	'because'
	[ᵐb] ~ [m] / ___#		<baxo>	'shark'
			<malab>	'girl'
/bu/	[ᵐbʷ] ~ [bʷ] / # ___i,e	<bu>	<buibiao>	'Coleus (plant)'
			<nabue>	'drum'
/g/	[ᵑg] ~ [g] / #___	<g>	<mageae>	'flying.fox'
	[ᵑg] / medially		<gile>	'lizard'
[d]	[ⁿd] ~ [d] / #___	<d>	<daringan>	'ear'
/ᴅ/	[ⁿᴅ] ~ [ᴅ]	<dd>	<addom>	'yet'
			<ddixer>	'other'
/ʙ/	[ᵐʙ] ~ [ʙ] / ___ u, i	<bb>	<bbubbuan>	'friend'
	[ᵐʙ] ~ [m] / ___#		<nabbu>	'bamboo'
			<sabb>	'be.bad'
/r/	[r]	<r>	<ravo>	'sea.almond'
/v/	[v]	<v>	<vava>	'cousin'
/vu/	[vʷ] / ___ i, e	<vu>	<vavue>	'aunt'
/s/	[s]	<s>	<sue>	'talk (n.)'
/x/	[x]	<x>	<xeo>	'cane'
/ʧ/	[ʧ]	<j>	<jung>	'every'
/l/	[l]	<l>	<la>	'LOC'

The communities of Port Sandwich have a long history of their education being taught in French and Bislama. This influence is reflected in the orthographic representation and some of Lamap's phonemes and their phonetic realisations borrow from the French orthographic system while others draw from Bislama representations.

For example, /ŋ/ is represented by the digraph '*ng'* identical to the Bislama word *long*.

The pre-nasalised voiced plosives /b/, [d], /g/, / ɒ/ and /ʁ/ keep the respective phonetic symbols without annotation of the homorganic nasal superscript.

The labialised segments [p^w], [$^mb^w$], [v^w] and [m^w] will also occur without the labialised superscript. Speakers involved in the new data collection preferred to indicate the labialisation of segments in written form as <Cu>. The relatively small number of such lexemes from the corpus with a clear distinction, will be represented as <Cu>.

Table 4: Vowels in Lamap with Orthographic Representation

Phonemic Form	Phonetic Realisation	Orthographic Representation	Example	English Gloss
/a/	[a] ~ [æ]	<a>	<arkixa>	'today'
	[æ]		<malab>	'female'
/o/	[o] ~ [ø]	<o>	<rox>	'live'
	[ø]		<noang>	canoe
/i/	[i]	<i>	<nise>	'broom'
/e/	[e]	<e>	<buetil>	'large
/u/	[u] ~ [y]	<u>	<uj>	'speak'
	[y]		<mun>	'drink'

The word-final /i/ is frequently articulated as a palatal approximant. Teachers preferred the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate /ʧ/ to be represented by the symbol '*j'* as in the English words *job* and *jump.* They proposed to present palatalised word final /i/ as → <ë>. The distinctive vowels [æ], [ø] and [y], which occur in the French words *mâitre* 'schoolteacher', *bleu* 'blue' and *sûr* 'sure/certain' occur frequently in Lamap although predominantly they seem to be in free variation, or an outcome of vowel harmony. For a simpler orthography it is more economic to avoid presenting these allophonic variations and instead maintain the phonemic representations of the basic five vowel system. For the remainder of this paper the orthographic presentation of the data will be based on the tables 3 and 4 unless otherwise stipulated. It is entirely possible that a larger corpus with a greater range of speakers will result in analysis of additional vowels as phonemic.

3 Chapter Three

NOMINALS

This chapter focuses on a range of pronominal and nominal forms attested in the Lamap corpus. These nominals may all serve as the head of noun phrases. Because noun phrases can function as subjects and objects in clauses, they are fundamental to the description of the simple verbal clause in Lamap.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on a range of pronominal and nominal forms attested in the Lamap corpus.Pronominals are free forms that can function as a noun phrase. Personal pronouns encode basic person and number contrasts (Payne 2006: 119). Nouns are grouped into categories or noun classes. They are an open word class referring to entities, people, locations and times. The syntactic distribution of nouns in correlation with other constituents in a noun phrase as well as noun classes are language specific (Payne 2006: 94-97). In Lamap, the noun word class can freely expand with borrowings from other languages. Nouns and independent personal pronouns form the head of the noun phrase and either have S/A or O function. Furthermore, nouns can function as adjuncts or obliques. While they may be the only unit in a noun phrase, nouns can also co-occur with noun phrase modifiers as well as act as the object of a prepositional phrase. In possessive constructions they refer to possessum and possessor (see section 4.2.6). Oceanic languages distinguish commonly between three noun classes: Common nouns, Local nouns and Personal nouns (Lynch et al. 2002: 37). The new corpus of Lamap includes all three classes of which the common nouns make up the largest noun class. As is common in Oceanic languages, Lamap utilises a number of derivation processes including reduplication, compounding and affixation.

This chapter firstly describes Lamap's independent personal pronouns. The three noun classes will be addressed in section 3.3, section 3.4 and section 3.5. The chapter concludes with the illustration of nominal derivation in section 3.6 including reduplication, nominal compounding and finally, affixation.

3.2 Independent personal pronouns

Lamap has a closed set of independent pronouns encoding number and person. These free forms make a three-way number distinction between singular, dual and plural.[13] The first person non-singular category further contrasts clusivity. Lamap's independent pronouns do not specify gender.

Table 5: Independent Pronoun Paradigm

Independent Pronoun Paradigm				
	Singular		Dual	Plural
1	*inao*	INCL	*ddau*	*ddate*
		EXCL	*namu*	*namite*
2	*xaing*		*xamu*	*xamite*
3	*nai*		*xau*	*xate*

The non-singular pronouns end with *-te* which may derive from the Proto-Oceanic numeral 'three' reconstructed as *tolu (e.g. Clark 2009).

Lamap's independent pronouns function as the subject of an intransitive verb (S), the subject of a transitive verb (A) and the object of a transitive verb (O). The pronouns illustrated in examples 3.1 express the S function in the grammatical subject position preceding the verb complex.

3.1 a. *Inao* *no* *ddang.*
1SG 1SG:NFUT be.strong
'I am strong.' [psw_Yia3Rida03.008]

b. *Nai* *e* *gas.*
3SG 3SG:NFUT work
'He is working.' [psw_-ri-.013]

c. *Xate* *to* *van.*
3PL 3PL:NFUT go
'They went.' [Naxerramaj.006]

[13] Charpentier (1979: 49) lists a set of trial pronouns also: (*ndrati mo-röj* '1INCL. TRL', *namit mo-röj* '1EXCL. TRL' *xamite mo-röj* '2/3DU. TRL', *xat mo- röj* '3TRL'). Trial pronouns are absent in the new Lamap corpus.

Independent pronouns express the A function in the grammatical subject position in transitive constructions, as shown in examples 3.2.

3.2 a. *Inao* *no* *vav-a* *xijao* *jika.*
1SG 1SG:NFUT take-TR knife one
'I take a knife.' [psw_golobus.003]

b. *Nai* *e* *sngan-a* *naxai.*
3SG 3SG:NFUT climb-TR tree
'He climbed the tree.'[psw_faolstori_comb.023]

c. *Xau* *ku* *pa-palong-a* *sue.*
3DU 3DU:NFUT DUP-listen-TR word
'They (DU) are listening to the talk.' [psw_HA_discussion.001]

There is no distinction made between subject and object independent pronoun forms. The grammatical object is encoded as the independent pronoun occurring after the verb complex. In example 3.3a, the independent pronoun *inao* denoting first person singular functions as O and fills the grammatical object position after the verb. In example 3.3b, the grammatical object position is filled by the first plural inclusive form *ddate.*

3.3 a. *Xaing* *ki* *gar-a* *inao.*
2SG 2SG:FUT rub-TR 1SG
'You will rub me.' [psw_van03.006]

b. *Nanam* *e* *raj-a* *ddate.*
mosquito 3SG:NFUT sting-TR 1PL.INCL
'The mosquito stings us.' [psw_Yia3Rida09.001]

There are no ditransitive verbs in the corpus, and clauses with more than two participants encode the third participant as a non-core argument using a prepositional phrase. This is illustrated in example 3.4. The third participant *nai* encoding the third person singular form follows directly after the preposition and acts as the object of the preposition.

3.4 *No* *pisax-a* *beab* *jika* *a* *nai.*
1SG:NFUT give-TR shirt one to 3SG
'I give a shirt to him.' [BUK3.006]

3.2.1 Reflexive Pronouns

There is one example in the corpus that indicates that reflexive pronouns can have the same form as independent pronouns.
In English, the command in the example 3.5 would require the reflexive pronoun 'yourself'. In Lamap, independent pronouns can fill this role in object position. In the example below (3.5) the transitive verb *varxur* 'clean' is followed by the second person singular independent person index.

3.5 *Ki* *varxur-a* *xaing*
2SG:NFUT clean-TR 2SG
'Clean yourself!' [psw_BUKS1.046]

Other examples involving reflexive actions use the lexical element *jib(o-/ -a)*'by.oneself/alone' followed by possessor suffixes (see section 4.2.6). Table 6 illustrates these forms with following examples.

Table 6: *jib(o-/-a)*

jib(o-/-a) + possessor forms: reflexive function		
jibo-ng	'myself'	1SG
jibo-m	'yourself'	2SG
jibo-n	'him/her/itself'	3SG
jib(-a)ddate	'ourselves (with you)'	1PL:INCL
jib(-a) namu	'ourselves (without you)'	1PL:EXCL
jib(-a) xamu	'yourselves' (two)	2DU
jib(-a) xamite	'yourselves' (more than two)	2PL
jib(-a) xau	'themselves' (two)	3DU
jib(-a) xate	'themselves' (more than two)	3PL

The lexeme *jib(o-)* 'by.oneself/alone' follows the verb *uj* 'speak/talk' in example 3.6 to express the reflexive action of the subject referent.

3.6 *E* *uj* *jibo-n.*
3SG:NFUT talk by.onself-3SG.POSS
'He talks to himself.' [psw_Yia2Rida01.013]

Non-singular reflexive pronouns are identical in form to independent pronouns. In the example below the optional vowel [a] is inserted as a construct suffix which is attached to the form *jib.* This is followed by the dual pronoun.

3.7 *Ku* *tadd* *jib-a* *xau.*
3DU:NFUT stay by.oneself-CNSTR 3DU
'They (DU) stayed by themselves.' [Lingtan.016]

3.2.2 Subject Indexes

Clauses can occur without independent pronouns or a nominal. However, subject indexes encoding person, number and nonfuture/future are obligatory and precede the verb. It is common for subject indexes to function as the sole identifiers of the grammatical subject when the grammatical entity can be retrieved through context. For a detailed description of the subject indexes see section 5.2.

In example 3.8 the verb *rox* 'live/exist' is inflected by the bound subject index *to* encoding third person plural nonfuture. There is no nominal phrase or independent pronoun in the subject position.

3.8 *To* *rox* *la* *xiddu.*
3PL:NFUT live LOC bush
'They live in the bush.' [Lingtan.005]

Other examples of a subject index without an accompanying pronoun (or nominal) have been presented in the previous examples 3.4 to 3.7.

3.3 Common Nouns

3.3.1 The common nominal prefix *n(V)-*

Lamap's nouns can be fairly easily recognised by the nominal prefix *n(V)-*. Most often they select the vowel '*a*' in the *n(V)-* sequence, although other vowels also occur and the data reveal no clear pattern. The nominal prefix is sometimes fused to the noun and other times separable from the noun.

The prefix *na-* is a historically derived form that used to serve as a common noun marker (Lynch et al. 2002: 38; 652; Tryon (ed.): 1995). Charpentier (1979) suggested that the prefix does not occur in certain environments, for example when a noun has a generic reference, is in object position or is the second element in a noun compound (Charpentier 1979: 68-72). This claim cannot be confirmed satisfactorily with the new Lamap Corpus and while some nouns always occur with the nominal prefix, others may appear with or without it. The distribution of *na-* thus appears to be lexically determined.

Nouns always occurring with *na-C* sequence

3.9	*nabo*	'mud'
	nabi	'insect, bug'
	nabol	'story'
	namav	'sky'
	nanam	'mosquito'
	napong	'cooked vegetable pulp wrapped in leaf parcel'
	naro	'colour'
	narun	'offspring'
	natos	'picture, drawing'
	naras	'sea'
	nase	'track, path'
	nasob	'ornamental decoration (jewellery)'
	navar	'stone, rock/money'
	navi	'coconut with shoot'
	naxabb	'fire'
	naxer	'octopus'

The vowel of the prefix *n(V)-* proves to be unpredictable. An influence by the initial C of root noun or the second syllable vowel is not evident. However, in the corpus a prevalence of the prefixes *ni-C* and *nu-C* over *ne-C* and *no-C* can be observed.

Lists of nouns inflected with different *n(V)-* prefix forms extracted from the corpus are illustrated below.

Nouns with other *n(V)-C* sequences

3.10	*netev*	‘table/shelf’
	nesiv	‘Northwind’
	niben	‘body’
	niddong	‘mat (woven with coconut leaves)
	nigav	‘spear’
	nise	‘broom’
	nivu	‘turtle’
	nivaniv	‘rainbow’
	nixian	‘wedding’
	nobang	‘water yam’
	nukai	‘leaf’
	nulo	‘poison/taboo’
	nurmatang	‘young laplap leaf’
	nurukav	‘ant’
	nujian	‘language’

The prefix *na-* is predominant when considering noun roots with an initial vowel. All vowel sequences other than ‘a’, are identified. This indicates that Lamap prefers not to have identical vowels next to each other. The prefix forms *ne-* and *ni-* precede ‘a’ and ‘o’, while the prefix form *no-* precedes ‘a’.

3.11	*naeg*	‘pulp’
	naix	‘fish’
	naon	‘sand’
	naov	‘white wood’
	naur	‘place’
	nauv	‘smoke (of fire)’
	neang	‘fly’
	niabb	‘Fish poison tree’
	niar	‘Sago palm/thatch/grater’
	nio	‘sun’
	noai	‘water’
	noang	‘canoe’

3.3.2 Bare Common Nouns

Nearly half of Lamap’s nouns in the corpus do not have a *n(V)-* prefix. The majority of animal and food nouns in the corpus occur without a *n(V)-* prefix.

In the Lamap lexicon, 52 percent of nouns begin with a *n(V)-* prefix at least some times, while 48 percent of nouns do not ever have a prefix.

3.12

banuban	‘cloud’
bbubbuan	‘friend’
ddumeao	‘spider’
jrixer	‘root’
lipax	‘dog’
majoi	‘star’
maru	‘coconut’
maras	‘arrow’
medde	‘egg’
meddivar	‘coral’
ngenge	‘tail’
ngusvea	‘finger’
parix	‘laplap’
paus	‘paddle’
puse	‘road’
pusaxer	‘flower’
raboi	‘navele (kind of nut)’
ravu	‘Triton trumpet’
ringbueas	‘brown coconut’
robus	‘white rooster’
sue	‘advice, what was said’
sulung	‘clothes’
svean	‘kastom dance’
sxovulian	‘surprise’
tengab	‘hook’
vingotngot	‘ring finger’
virxarax	‘small finger/pinky’
vuitux	‘bird (vanuatu mountain honey eater)’
vixabxab	‘bat’
vuevueas	‘hornet’
xabas	‘stalk of coconut leaf; grater’
xamar	‘nakamal’ (men’s meeting house)
xaritav	‘butterfly’
xbaji	‘moon’
xeo	‘cane’
xiddu	‘bush, forest’
xige	‘tongs’ (made of bamboo to take hot stones out off cooking fire’
xijao	‘bush knife’
xjebuj	‘door’
xivur	‘(old) man’
xovul	‘rope’

There is a large number of borrowed lexical items predominantly from Bislama/English but also from French that identify non-traditional entities. While in some Malakula languages these borrowed nouns are affixed with the prefix *n(V)-*, Lamap shows no evidence of this.

3.13	*ariko*	green bean (*FR* 'haricot')
	avoka	avocado (*FR* 'avoca')
	baket	bucket (*BISL* 'baket)
	baskel	bicycle
	flaoa	flower
	ketel	kettle
	kitar	guitar
	kon	corn
	krokodael	crocodile
	mago	mango
	maket	market
	mat	mat
	potel	bottle
	tomat	tomato (*FR* 'tomate')
	wil	wheel
	windo	window

3.3.3 Properties of Common nouns

Common nouns refer to entities that occur in the environment and include food items, plants, animals, buildings, tools and some nouns that have locational meanings. Common nouns take the interrogative *nisava* 'what' (see section 6.5.1).

A noun may occur on its own in a noun phrase as illustrated in example 3.14 with the noun *lipax* 'dog'. They also may be followed by attributives, lexical modifiers, demonstratives, quantifiers, numbers and possessives (see section 4.2). The example in 3.15 illustrates the noun phrase consisting of the noun *lipax* 'dog' and the number *jika* 'one'.

3.14	*Lipax*	*e*	*kisax.*
	dog	3SG:NFUT	bark
	'The dog is barking.' [psw_Yia2Rida06.002]		

3.15	*Lipax*	*jika*	*e*	*vanima.*
	dog	one	3SG:NFUT	come
	'A dog is coming.' [psw_Yia2Rida08.006]			

Gender is expressed by noun compounds. In example 3.16, the noun compound constitutes of the head noun *xaritav* ‘butterfly’ and the nouns *malab* ‘girl’ and *sibueo* ‘boy’ to distinguish female and male butterflies.

3.16 *xaritav malab* ‘female butterfly’
xaritav sibueo ‘male butterfly’

As obliques, common nouns are introduced by the prepositions *l(V)*. This includes common nouns with locational and temporal meanings. Some common nouns with a nominal prefix *n(V)-* lose that prefix in prepositional constructions.

The corpus includes the common noun root *-ran* ‘ground’ in example 3.17a with the nominal prefix *na-*. This prefix is lost in example 3.17b as the common noun occurs in a locative preposition phrase.[14]

3.17 a. *To* *jbar-a* *na-ran.*
3PL:NFUT touch-TR NMLZ1-ground
‘They (the roofs) touch the ground.’ [psw_naim_cont.058]

b. *To* *lavux* *la* *ran.*
3PL:NFUT fall LOC ground
‘They (the leaves) fall down on the ground.’ [psw_Yia2Rida03.012]

3.4 Personal Nouns

3.4.1 Personal Proper Names

Personal nouns or personal proper names in Lamap are used by speakers to address individuals directly or to refer to a person in a conversation. Personal nouns take the interrogative *xase* ‘who’. Proper names of European and Biblical origin with a dominance of French names are common in Lamap. There are three indigenous woman names with the female prefix *Li-/Le-* recorded in the data. These are *Lijibb*, *Lising* and *Lemal*.

[14] The *n(V)-* nominal prefix (NMLZ1)will only be glossed when relevant in discussions throughout the thesis.

There do not appear to be indigenous male names used in the Lamap Corpus, and it may be the case that the traditional male names are taboo, and so were not shared with the researcher.

The list in 3.18 illustrates a number of proper names with indigenous origin including names from other Vanuatu regions as well as some European and Biblical influenced proper names.

3.18

Proper Names of indigenous origin	European/Biblical origin
Ari	*Armelle*
Balu	*Carmeline*
Lijibb	*Christian*
Leitau	*François*
Lemal	*Igride*
Lising	*Lola*
Malua	*Mariette*
Sawan	*Naomi*
Lingtan	*Placid*
Semu	*Remon*
Wano	*Robert*

Personal proper names cannot be modified but may be compounded with kinship terms or other nouns.

3.19 a. *xivur* *Semu*
old.man S.
'old man Semu' [psw_Yia3Rida04.03]

b. *rux* *malab* *Sawan*
little/young female S.
'little girl Sawan' [psw_Yia2Rida09.001]

3.4.2 Kinship nouns

Lamap kinship nouns function as personal nouns when they are used to address or refer to an individual. As personal nouns, they can be followed by a proper name.

3.20 *vavu Kalua* 'grandfather Kalua'
vavue Noma 'auntie Noma'

Kinship nouns fall into two categories. The first type is directly possessed and is always attested in the corpus with possessor suffixes. In the example 3.21 below, the kin term *rama-* 'father' is illustrated with singular possessive suffixes.

3.21	*rama-ng*	'father-1SG'
	rama-m	'father-2SG'
	rama-n	'father-3SG'

A list of directly possessed kinship nouns from the new Lamap Corpus is presented in examples 3.22.

3.22	*rabu-*	'grandparents'
	xina-	'mother'
	rama-	'father'
	marua-	'uncle'
	pene-	'sister'
	mane-	'brother'
	mxibbu-	'grandchild'

The second type of kinship nouns never occurs in a direct possession construction. These bare personal nouns, listed in example 3.23 occur on their own, and can be used as vocatives, and to refer to a person in conversation.

3.23	*vavu*	'grandparent'
	vavu xivur	'grandfather'
	vavu bareab	'grandmother'
	ita	'father/dad'
	ina	'mother/mum'

The kinship nouns illustrated in example 3.24 can be indirectly possessed rather than taking possessor suffixes.

3.24	*ruare isang ngail*	'my children' (child + 1SG.POSS + PL)
	rux malab isang	'my young girl/daughter' (young + female + 1SG.POSS)
	tata isan	'his father/dad'
	nana isang	'my mother/mum'

Kinship nouns can also function as common nouns, referring to a kinship class or members of that class rather than referring to a specific relative of an individual.

3.25	*rux malab*	'young girl/daughter'
	sibueo	'boy/son'
	ruare	'child/boy'

As common nouns, they can be compounded with other common nouns or followed by a quantifier, demonstrative, attributive or number. In examples 3.26a and b, the kin terms *vavu* 'grandparent' combine with the common nouns *xivur* '(old) man' and *bareab* '(old) woman' to specify gender. In examples 3.27, the kin terms are followed by the number *jika* 'one' in example 3.27a and the pluralizer *ngail* in example 3.27b.

3.26	a.	*vavu xivur*	'grandfather'
	b.	*vavu bareab*	'grandmother'

3.27	a.	*vavu jika*	'a grandparent'
		nana xasuv jika	'a mother rat' (mother + rat + one)
	b.	*nana ngail*	'the mothers'

When the common nouns *xivur* '(old) man' and *bareab* '(old) woman' are used vocatively as personal nouns or with reference to specific individuals they carry the meaning of 'husband' and 'wife' respectively.

3.28	*"Bareab,*	*ddu*	*paus*
	woman	1PL.INCL:NFUT	paddle
	'"Wife, we (let's) paddle home!"' [Lingtan.039]		

3.5 Local nouns

Local nouns are bare forms that refer to specific places (Lynch et al. 2002: 37). Local nouns refer to either a particular physical location or a particular time. Spatial nouns include geographical fixed places, familiar places, absolute local nouns that refer to parts of the physical environments and locative part nouns. Interrogatives concerning location take the form *abi* 'where'. Temporal local nouns include time counters and specific times of the day.

The local noun *eao* ‘open sea’ is illustrated in examples 3.29a and b.

3.29 a. *E* *van* *eao.*
3SG:NFUT go open.sea
‘He goes out to the open sea.’ [psw_van06.003]

b. *E* *karav* *eao.*
3SG:NFUT look open.sea
‘He looks out to the open sea.’ [psw_van06.009]

By changing its morphological form, the common noun *naim* ‘house’may become the local noun *aim* ‘home’. In example 3.30a, the noun occurs with the common nominal prefix *n(a)-*. In this construction *naim* functions as a common noun and is the object of the nonverbal clause. When ‘house’ refers to an individual’s ‘home’ the prefix *na-* is dropped as illustrated in example 3.30b since the speaker refers to a destination and location.

3.30 a. *“Axa-ng-a* *n-aim* *sa* *bareab* *Toa.”*
MED-SG-PRON NMLZ1-house CLF1 woman T.
‘This is the house of Mrs. T.’ [lapoupeemalade.015]

b. *Ni* *van* *aim* *isa-ng.*
1SG:FUT go home CLF1-1SG.POSS
‘I am going home (to my house). [psw_icr15.015]

3.5.1 Proper Place Names

The corpus attests a number of local nouns referring to geographical locations. In the corpus, place names are preceded predominantly with the common noun *naur* ‘place’ which suggests that they are a subset of local nouns.

3.31 *naur* *Tolab* ‘Tolab Island’
naur *Malakula* ‘Malekula Island’
naur *Vanuatu* ‘country of Vanuatu’
naur *Melsisi* ‘village on the Island of Pentecost’
naur *Mataso* ‘village Mataso’
naur *Ambae* ‘Ambae Island’

3.5.2 Locative part nouns

Like locative nouns, locative part nouns occur without an additional preposition. They indicate a location with reference to a specific object, place or entity that has been mentioned previously or is relative to the participant(s). The following locative part nouns occur in the corpus.

3.32	*arbaen*	'between/in the middle'
	leim	'inside'
	masav	'on/up'
	parijang	'next to'
	penaxer	'underneath'

The examples 3.33a, b and c illustrate the locative part nouns *arbaen* 'in the middle', *leim* 'inside' and *masav* 'on/up' in their bare forms occurring after the verb.

3.33 a. *Nato* *tadd* *bravux* *arbaen.*
1PL.EXCL:NFUT sit gather middle
'We were gathering in the middle (of the room).' [psw_Yia3Rida07.056]

b. *No* *ram-rame* *leim.*
1SG:NFUT DUP-play inside
'I am playing inside.' [psw_Yia3Rida07.005]

c. *Nanam* *e* *kubax* *masav.*
mosquito 3SG:NFUT fly on/up
The mosquito is flying up.' [psw_Yia3Rida09.15]

In example 3.34 *masav* precedes the prepositional phrase localising 'the top of the cave'.

3.34 *To* *kubax* *masav* *la* *xuvar.*
3PL:NFUT fly on/up LOC cave
'They (the bats) were flying up to the top of the cave.' [psw_Yia3Rida06.007]

In examples 3.35a and 3.35b the locative part noun *parijang* ‘next to’ is followed by a preposition phrase.

3.35 a. *Parijang* *a* *naim* *sa* *xau.*
next.to LOC.to house CLF1 3DU
‘Next to their house (…there was a tree)’ [psw_Yia3Rida05.003]

b. *To* *vanima* *parijang* *a* *namu.*
3PL:NFUT come next.to LOC. to 1EXCL
‘They (the cattle) came next to us.’ [psw_golobus.016]

The locative part noun *penaxer* ‘underneath’ is followed by a preposition phrase and can be translated as the expression ‘in the underneath of the bush’ in example 3.36a. In example 3.36b it expresses a spatial notion of ‘the underneath of the rock’.

3.36 *a.* *To* *rox* *penaxer* *a* *navar* *abixa.*
3PL:NFUT exist underneath of rock this
‘They (the ants) are under this rock (*lit.* in the underneath of this rock).’
[psw_icr.18.002]

b. *E* *sason* *penaxer* *a* *nukai.*
3SG:NFUT hide underneath of bush
‘It (the cat) is hiding under the bush (*lit.* in the underneath of this rock).’
[psw_icr16.005]

3.5.3 Locative demonstrative pronouns

The corpus provides evidence of the proximal *ixanga* ‘(this) here’ and medial *axa(nga)* ‘(that) there’ demonstrative pronouns. Their use is determined by the distance of a speaker to an entity. Thus, their function is deictic, pointing to a particular location where an object is positioned from the perspective of the speaker (see also section 4.2.3).

The proximal deictic locative demonstrative *ixanga* may serve as a noun head with the function of a locative demonstrative pronoun in a nonverbal construction (see also section 4.2.3).

3.37 *Ixa-ng-a* *naxai* *sangi-sang*
PROX-SG-PRON wood DUP-lift
‘This here (is) the ridge pole.’ [psw_naim_cont.041]

The medial demonstrative pronoun *axanga* is used in the following situation. The example 3.38 describes a setting in which the speaker is not visible, thus distant from the addressee as she is introducing herself to the hearer on the telephone.

3.38	*"Axa-ng-a*	*naim*	*sa*	*bareab*	*Toa."*
	MED-SG-PRON	house	CLF1	woman	T.
	'This is Mrs.Toa's house.' [lapoupeemalade.015]				

3.5.4 Temporal nouns

Temporal nouns refer to a particular time to anchor or 'locate' an event and do not occur with prepositions. Lamap's time counters form a subclass of local nouns.

3.39	*vnamo*	'long ago' (commonly)
	saroai	'long ago' (rare)
	xinois	'the day before yesterday'
	xibong	'yesterday'
	arkixa	'today'
	pean	'tomorrow'
	maribong	'some day'

Time counters may occur before and after the verb complex. This is illustrated in examples 3.40a and 3.40b.

3.40	a.	*Vnamo*	*to*	*tax-a*	*naim.*
		long.ago	3PL:NFUT	tie-TR	house
		'Long ago they bound the house (with rope).' [psw_naim_cont.018]			

	b.	*Xati*	*van*	*pean.*
		2PL:FUT	go	tomorrow
		'You will go tomorrow.' [psw_-ri-.018]		

Temporal information is encoded in common nouns identifying parts of the day. The common nouns specifying parts of the day, are preceded by local prepositions in the form of *l(V).* There is no evidence of these nouns occurring without prepositions and speakers prefer to write this subset of common nouns fused with their preposition.[15]

[15] For the remainder of this thesis the prepositions will be illustrated separately from the common nouns specifying the day (3.41).

The list in 3.41 illustrates this.

3.41	*lo=panoxor*	'(in the) morning'
	li=maddumadd	'(at mid-day/in the) early afternoon'
	la=urxeav	'(in the) late afternoon/evening'
	lo=maring	'(at) night'

The example in 3.42a illustrates the temporal location of a particular event. The time counter precedes the prepositioned 'part of the day' noun. In example 3.42b, the time counter *pean* 'tomorrow' follows the prepositioned 'part of the day noun'.

3.42	a.	*arkixa la-urxeav*	'this afternoon (today in the afternoon)'
	b.	*lo-panoxor pean*	'tomorrow morning (in the morning tomorrow)'

When temporal nouns are used for greetings in conjunction with the attributive form *mo voi* 'be.genuine/good', their prepositions still remain.

3.43	a.	*lo-panoxor mo voi*	'good morning'
	b.	*la-urxeav mo voi*	'good afternoon/evening'

Nabong 'day' and *naddam* 'yam/year' are common nouns rather than temporal nouns and may be followed by modifiers. Nominal modifiers are described in chapter 4 of this thesis.

3.44	a.	*nabong evis*	'some days'
	b.	*naddam xavan*	'next year'

3.6 Nominal derivation

Derivation is a process to change an element from one word class to another (Crowley, 1998: 111). The focus of this section is compounding and affixation including a brief introduction to the reduplication of verb roots (§3.6.1) for nominal compounding.

3.6.1 Reduplication

In this section reduplication is only briefly mentioned for the purpose of discussing this process in respect to compounding. The reduplication process and its various functions is discussed in more detail in chapter 5, §5.7.

Many Oceanic languages derive nouns from verb roots. This includes the almost universally used productive reduplication process (Lynch, et al. 2002: 38, 44).

Several verb-roots that derive nouns by reduplication are illustrated in the list 3.45 below. The column on the left displays the verb roots followed by the column on the right with the corresponding reduplicated forms that derive nouns. These derived forms occur frequently in compounds discussed in section 3.6.2.

3.45	*jax*	'cast'	→	*ja-jax*	'line fishing'
	xan	'eat'	→	*xan-i-xan*	'food (meal)'
	pos	'spend'	→	*pos-i-pos*	'spending'
	tax	'tie'	→	*tax-i-tax*	'swing'
	sang	'lift/put.on'	→	*sang-i-sang*	'top'

3.6.2 Nominal Compounding

Compounds occur as loose or tight syntactic structures involving the combining of two roots (Payne 2006). Loose compounds comprise two separate, phonologically independent nominals in sequence (Crowley 2006c: 63). Compounds in Lamap comprise a nominal as the head and a lexical element belonging to one of a number of word classes with the function of modifier. The syntactic order of head followed by modifier is common in Oceanic languages (Lynch, et al. 2002).

The following examples illustrate loose compounds with the exception of example 3.46c. The compounds illustrated in examples 3.46a show endocentric compounds with nominals as head and postmodifiers. Example 3.46b illustrates a noun head followed by a possessed nominal modifier. The example 3.46c illustrates an exocentric compound with a number as a nominal postmodifier.

3.46	a.	*muj*	+	*visox*	*muj visox*
		piece		meat	‘piece of meat (bait)’
		naxux	+	*naras*	*naxux naras*
		prawn		sea	‘Rock Lobster’
		naxux	+	*noai*	*naxux noai*
		prawn		water	‘prawn’
		vavu	+	*bareab*	*vavu bareab*
		grandparent		old.woman	‘grandmother’
		xasuv	+	*malab*	*xasuv malab*
		rat		female	‘female rat’
	b.	*vus*	+	*mara-n*	*vus maran*
		arc		eye-3SG.POSS	‘(her) eye brow’
	c.	*rie*	+	*vaj*	*rievaj*[16]
		leg		be.four	‘truck’

Many loose compounds referring to specific places use the nominal *mel* ‘place’ and *naim* ‘house’ as head nouns. Note that the modifier noun *xan-ian* ‘food’ is in itself a derived noun with the suffix *-ian* (3.47b). This type of affixation will be separately discussed in section 3.6.3.

3.47	a.	*mel*	+	*vea-n*	*mel vean*
		place		hand-3SG.POSS	‘(his) palm of hand’
		mel	+	*na-xabb*	*mel naxabb*
		place		NMLZ1-fire	‘fire place’
	b.	*naim*	+	*na-xabb*	*naim naxabb*
		house		NMLZ1-fire	‘cooking.house’
		naim	+	*xan-ian*	*naim xanian*
		house		eat-NMLZ2	‘house.of.food’

[16] Example 3.46c illustrates that the compound does not necessarily reflect a combination of the two separate meanings of the individual constituents. Further, while the other loose compounds are represented as separate elements, it was preferred to represent this compound as one single word. Body parts are usually suffixed with possessive suffix due to their inalienability. Since there is no overt possessor, this compound follows the representation pattern of tight components.

Nouns with a *n(V)-* prefix form tight compounds. Lamap uses a number of tight compounds. When tight compounds occur as the nominal modifier most typically, they lose this accretion and attach as the noun root directly to the noun head, becoming a single phonological word (Crowley: 2006c).

The less common pattern involves the head noun dropping its prefix. The corpus provides evidence of the compound with the meaning of 'hawk' as illustrated in example 3.48.[17] In this example the head noun occurs without the nominal prefix.

3.48	*na-man*	+	*bbuas*	*manbbuas*
	NMLZ1-bird		pig	'hawk'

According to Charpentier (1979: 68-69; Crowley 2002: 652), the nominal modifier never takes the prefix. However, as illustrated above (3.46a, 3.47a and b) and additional following examples, the new corpus shows evidence of nominal modifiers retaining their prefix in compounds.

Generally, compounds which involve segment reduction of the head noun or the modifier are tight compounds (see 3.46c). In example 3.49, the modifier noun omits the geminate CV-syllable *ma-* including the prenasalisation of the trill in *maddun* 'back' to form the compound describing the ridge post of a house structure located at the back of the house. The meaning of this compound is not the sum of the two individual meanings of the noun compound constituents.

3.49	*breman*	+	*maddun*	*breman ddun*
	chief		back	'back ridge.post'

Similarly, in example 3.50 the nasal consonants across the morpheme boundaries are reduced to the single nasal of the noun head. The modifier noun drops the initial nasal and the following vowel *e*, thus deleting the first syllable of the noun root.

[17] This compound has also been mentioned by Tryon (1967: 835).

The nominal modifier is derived from a verb by the suffix *-ian* as previously seen in example 3.47b and described in section 3.6.3.

3.50	*naim*	+	*mesax-ian*	*naim saxian*
	house		be.sick-NMLZ2	

It is also possible in Lamap that both nominals forming the compound occur without the nominal prefix *n(V)-* . While the head noun *nabur* 'hole' in example 3.51 occurs frequently without the prefix, the nominal modifier *naxai* 'tree' with the fused prefix *na-* can be considered as incomplete with the form *xai* (this form does not occur elsewhere in the corpus). Compounds that comprise elements that cannot exist as an independent form are represented as single words for the remainder of this thesis.[18]

3.51	*na-bur*	+	*na-xai*	*buruxai*
	NMLZ1-hole		NMLZ1-tree	'tree.hole'

The following examples illustrate compounds distinguishing different trees. The noun for tree trunk has the form *barixer.* When the tree is specified by a noun compound, the noun head is reduced to the root *bari-*.[19]

3.52	*barixer*	+	*barav*	*baribarav*
	trunk		breadfruit	'breadfruit tree'

A further reduction of the head noun *barixer* to *bar-* occurs with the following nominal modifier *xari* 'kind of ti.tree' and *maru* 'coconut' as illustrated in examples 3.53a. In example 3.53b, the identical alveolar trill is reduced to a single consonant across morphological boundaries.

[18] This follows the orthographic presentation in the literacy materials translated with local speakers.
[19] It has been suggested by Tryon (1995) and Charpentier (1979) that *bar-* is a noun prefix with an agentive function. Further studies for this analysis is necessary but exceeds this thesis.

3.53	a.	*barixer*	+	*xari*	*barxari*
		trunk		k.o.ti.tree	‘ti tree’
		barixer	+	*maru*	*barmaru*
		trunk		coconut	‘coconut tree’
	b.	*barixer*	+	*ravo*	*baravo*
		trunk		Natapoa	‘Natapoa tree’

In example 3.54, the noun head *nabbum* with the semantic significance of a ‘cultivated forest’ omits the nominal prefix (NMLZ1) in the compound with the nominal *maru* ‘coconut’ as the modifier.

3.54	*na-bbum*	+	*maru*	*bbumaru*
	NMLZ1-forest		coconut	‘coconut plantation’

The following example illustrates a compound with an uninflected verb as modifier.

3.55	*nean*	+	*tamis*	*nean tamis*
	wind		hit	‘cyclone’

The head nouns illustrated in examples 3.56a and 3.56b are followed by the lexical modifier *xavoi* ‘genuine/good’

3.56	a.	*noang*	+	*xavoi*	*noang xavoi*
		canoe		genuine	‘traditional canoe’
	b.	*sue*	+	*xavoi*	*suxavoi*
		talk		genuine	‘truth’

In example 3.57, the modifier constituent is the local part noun *masav* ‘on/up’ to form the compound with the meaning ‘the place on top’. This is the formal term for the bodypart ‘head’.

3.57	*naur*	+	*masav*	*naur masav*
	place		on/up	‘head.formal’

The examples in 3.58 illustrate compounds with nominal modifiers that are derived from verbs by reduplication. The vowel *-i-* appears to function as an augmentative vowel to avoid consonant clusters (see also Chapter 5, section 5.7).

3.58	*naxo*	+	*ja-jax*	*naxo jajax*
	line		DUP-cast	'fishing line'
	naim	+	*pos-i-pos*	*naim posipos*
	house		DUP-AUG-spend	'store'
	mel	+	*rox-i-rox*	*mel roxirox*
	place		DUP-AUG-live	'village/hamlet'
	naber	+	*sang-i-sang*	*naber sangisang*
	post		DUP-AUG-top	'ridge pole'

The following examples are idiomatic expressions. The phrasal structures forming the compounds have lexicalized. The head nouns in example 3.59 are modified by the attributive modifier *mo* preceding a stative verb.

3.59	*naim*	+	*mo*	*kon*	*naim mo kon*
	house		ATTR	be.sacred	'church'
	sue	+	*mo*	*kon*	*sue mo kon*
	talk		ATTR.	be.sacred	'prayer'
	noai	+	*mo*	*je*	*noai mo je*
	water		ATTR	flow	'river'

3.6.3 Affixation

A very common morphological nominalisation process in Lamap involves suffixes on verb roots. This process is found in languages such as Neverver (Barbour 2012), Naman (Crowley 2006c), V'ënen Taut (Dodd 2014) and the language of Malua Bay (Wessels 2013). The most productive suffixes in Lamap to derive nouns from verbs have the forms *-ian* and *-an* (NMLZ2). The meaning of the derived noun relates to the meaning of the verb root. This process is allowed with active and stative verbs. Two examples were illustrated earlier in the section of compounding (3.47b and 3.50). Further examples follow.

3.60 *gas* → *gas-ian*
work ‘work’

bao → *bao-ian*
be big ‘size’
bbubbu → *bbubbu-an*
meet ‘friend’

maur → *maur-ian*
live ‘life’

bravux → *bravux-ian*
gather ‘gathering’

voi → *vo-ian*
be good ‘wellness/health’

Some verbs are nominalised with both, the common noun prefix (NMLZ1) and the nominal suffix *-ian* (NMLZ2).

3.61 *rang* → *na-rang-ian*
cry ‘mourning’

uj → *n-uj-ian*
talk ‘language’

A more unusual nominal prefix with the form *lol-* is illustrated in example 3.62. This seems to reflect the morpheme *lon* ‘in/inside’. Since the verb root has an initial nasal, the final nasal from the morphem *lon* changes to the alveolar lateral [l], avoiding a nasal consonant cluster.

3.62 *muije* → *lon-muij-ian* → *lolmuij-ian*
think ‘thought’

The example in 3.63 illustrates a verb phrase with an obligatory subject index followed by the verb *gas* ‘work’.

3.63 *E* *gas.*
3SG:NFUT work
‘He is working.’ [psw_HA_smokingman.001]

In example 3.64 below, the verb is suffixed with the nominal suffix *-ian,* thus deriving a noun.

3.64	*E*	*veu*	*a*	*gas-ian.*
	3SG:NFUT	return	LOC.to	work-NMLZ2
	‘He returns to work.’ [psw_Yia3Rida04.007]			

The following example in 3.65 illustrates the (reduplicated) transitive verb *bbubbu* ‘meet’ preceded by an obligatory subject index (see section 5.7 on reduplication). This verb is specifically used when meeting a friend. The object noun phrase shows the derived noun with the nominal suffix *-an*. The initial vowel [i] is omitted possibly because the suffix is preceded by the vowel [u] root finally.

3.65	*E*	*bbu-bbu-a*	*bbu-bbu-an*	*jika.*
	3SG:NFUT	DUP-join-TR	DUP-join-NMLZ2	one
	‘He is meeting a friend.’ [psw_Yia3Rida04.015]			

In examples 3.66a and 3.66b, the verb ‘gather’ occurs in the verb phrase preceded by subject indexes. This verb is most commonly used with the semantic association of meeting more than one person. In example 3.66c, the verb undergoes affixation and derives the nominal ‘gathering/meeting’ as part of a noun compound.

3.66 a.

Ddati	*bravux.*
1DU.INCL:FUT	gather
‘We will gather.’ [psw_allSaintsday.002]_	

b.

To	*bravux*	*la*	*xamar.*
3PL:NFUT	gather	LOC	nakamal
‘They are gathering at the nakamal (men’s meeting house).’ [Naxerramaj.012]			

c.

mel	*bravux-ian*
place	gather-NMLZ2
‘meeting place’	

4 Chapter Four

THE NOUN PHRASE

In this chapter, the modifiers of nominal heads are described. Through the chapter, the structural understanding of the noun phrase that is presented in 4.2 is justified. This structural understanding is necessary to identify the boundaries of constituents within and outside of the simple verbal clause.

4.1 Introduction

Common nouns can optionally be modified by a variety of modifiers. In Oceanic languages, as a general rule, articles precede the noun whereas adjectives, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers follow the noun (Lynch 1998: 105-123). Adjectives are a rare feature in Oceanic languages and occur, if at all, in a small closed set of uninflected elements following directly the nominal head (Lynch et al. 2002: 40). Since Lamap does not have obligatory articles and determiners of any kind, modifiers are used to distinguish definite from indefinite noun phrases. They provide additional information to the noun head. This chapter addresses nominal modifiers and concludes with examples illustrating Lamap's basic noun phrase structure.

4.2 Nominal Modification

The new Lamap Corpus provides evidence of a small number of prenominal modifiers although postmodifiers are prevalent. Lamap's postmodifiers include lexical modifiers, demonstratives, the attributive *mo,* quantifiers, possessives and finally numbers and the pluralizer *ngail.* The order of these nominal modifiers reflect the basic noun phrase structure (see Table 7). This chapter describes the modifiers following that order. The new corpus does not show any evidence of prototypical adjectives.

Table 7: Basic Noun Phrase Order

Basic Noun Phrase Order								
(Premodifiers)	**NOUN**	(Lexical Modifiers)	(Possessive Modifiers)	(Demonstratives)	(Attributive Modifier)	(Quantifiers)	(Possessive Modifiers)	(Numbers/Pluralizer)

4.2.1 Prenominal modifiers

Modifiers that precede the head noun have an intensifying effect on the entity that they modify. They do not occur as independent noun phrase heads. The modifiers are:

4.1 *jung* 'all'
rux 'little/young'
buetil 'big/large'

The prenominal modifier *jung* expresses the meaning 'all'. In the first of the following examples the premodifier pluralizes *xanian* 'food' denoting a semantic emphasis on 'a variety of food'.

4.2 *jung xanian* 'all foods'
jung taus 'all things'
jung maurian 'all lives'
jung lebet 'all animals'

The diminutive modifier *rux* precedes entities of various groups with the meaning 'little/small' or 'young'. In the first of the examples in 4.3, the diminutive is associated with monetary quantity whereas in the remaining examples the premodifier refers to the physical size or the age of the entity.

4.3	*rux navar*	‘little money’
	rux xaritav	‘small butterflies’
	rux vae	‘small island’
	rux naim	‘small house’
	rux nivu	‘young turtle’
	rux nukai	‘young leaf’
	rux malab	‘young girl/daughter’

The pre-modifer *buetil* ‘big/huge’ has the function of emphasising the large size of an entity. This morpheme describes the physical size of an entity or the abstract concept of the significance of a particular entity. For example the modified noun *xarar* ‘man’ refers to a ‘business man/employer’.

4.4	*buetil robong*	‘big (brown) rooster’
	buetil navar	‘big rock’
	buetil xarar	‘big man’

4.2.2 Lexical modifiers – bare intransitive roots

A small number of lexical modifiers belong to the subclass of stative verbs and occur uninflected immediately after a noun. Other intransitive verbs with stative meanings are inflected by a preceding attributive morpheme to modify the noun (see section 4.2.4).[20] Two of the lexical modifiers may function as pronominals. The following uninflected intransitive verbs occur post-nominally with a modifying function.

4.5	modifier	pronominal-type	verb-type	adjectival meaning
	xavan	‘the following one’		‘next’
	ddixer	‘the others’		‘other/different’
	minaj		‘be.different’	‘(an)other’
	veveo		‘be.new’	‘new’
	xavoi		‘be.good’	‘genuine/good’

[20] Crowley (2006: 89) identifies such lexical modifiers in Naman as adjectives.

The modifier *xavan* ‘next’ post-modifies head nouns as illustrated in example 4.6.

4.6	*naxai xavan*	‘the next tree’
	naddam xavan	‘next year’
	varixer xavan	‘the next page’

The modifier *minaj* ‘(an)other’ is used in events when the addressee is already familiar with the class of the referent and an additional entity of the same group/kind is introduced. It also may serve to identify an object that lacks semantic content. In example 4.7, it has the meaning of ‘other thing’ that is unrelated to quantity.

4.7	*vae minaj*	‘another island’
	navar minaj	‘another rock’
	taus minaj	‘other thing’

There is a semantic difference between the modifier *minaj* ‘other’ and the post-modifier *ddixer* ‘other/different’. While the former specifies more definite noun phrases, the latter specifies indefinite noun phrases. This distinction occurs in some languages that do not make use of ‘articles’ (Lyons 1999: 48).

4.8	*nabong ddixer*	‘another/different day
	naboi ddixer	‘a different song’
	naxai ddixer	‘another tree’

The modifier *veveo* ‘new’ is illustrated in the following examples.

4.9	*maddus*	*veveo*	‘new shoot’
	beab	*veveo*	‘new shirt'
	baravo	*veveo*	‘new Natapoa tree’

The modifier *xavoi* ‘genuine/good’ is used in the compound *noang xavoi* with the meaning ‘traditional canoe’.

4.10	*noang*	*xavoi*	‘traditional canoe’

4.2.3 Demonstratives

Demonstrative determiners provide spatial and contextual specification. Reference may be made to the distance, including close or proximate, medial and distant or distal. Locative demonstratives in Oceanic languages typically refer to absolute locations from the perspective of the speaker. (Lynch et al. 2002: 38). In Lamap demonstratives occur post-nominally. There is a contrast between singular and plural forms. The new corpus shows evidence for a three-way distinction in distance, contrasting proximal, medial and distal demonstratives.

4.2.3.1 Proximal demonstrative determiners

4.11	a.	*(k)ixa(-ng)*	PROX-SG 'singular proximal demonstrative'
		abi-xa(-ng)	where-PROX-SG 'where-singular proximal demonstrative'
	b.	*ixa-te ~ alixa*	PROX-PL~PROX.PL 'plural proximal demonstrative'
	c.	*abi-xa-ng-a*	where-PROX-SG-PRON 'where-proximal demonstrative-pronominal'
	d.	*ixa-u*	PROX-DU 'dual proximal demonstrative'

The proximal demonstrative determiner *(k)ixa(-ng)* 'this here' optionally codes for singular number with *-ng*. Without *-ng*, it appears that the basic meaning of the demonstrative is still singular. In examples 4.12, the demonstrative has a deictic function locating a visible entity with a direct reference to the absolute location of the speaker at the time of the event.

4.12	*ruxer ixa*	'this kid here'
	rux malab ixa-ng	'this little girl here'
	naran ixa-ng	'this place here'
	xanian ixa-ng	'this food here'

The example in 4.13 refers to a picture that the speaker described in an elicitation session, thus it was visible and in immediate proximity.

4.13	*Ruare*	*ixa-ng*	*e*	*jajeboi.*
	child	PROX-SG	3SG:NFUT	sing
	'This child here is singing.' [psw_HA_singingirl.002]			

The determiner occurs frequently with the initial consonant [k]. It occurs when referring to humans in singular form but also occurs with non-human entities as illustrated in example 4.12 above.

As with *ixang,* the referent is visible or was mentioned before. All of the examples in 4.14 to 4.16 were elicited by means of pictures that the speakers described while actively looking at them.

4.14	*rux malab kixa-ng*	'this little girl'
	vavu kixa-ng	'this grandparent'
	ruare kixa-ng	'this boy'

The lexeme *abi* 'where' seems to be fused to *ixa(-ng)* 'here' to refer to a singular entity that is visible (or experienced by other senses) to the speaker and hearer.[21]

4.15	*nabol abi-xa-ng*	'this story'
	xarar abi-xa-ng	'this man'
	noai abi-xa-ng	'this water'

The following example 4.16 illustrates the proximal determiner *abixang* following the noun.

4.16	[*Rux*	*malab*	*abi-xa-ng*]$_{NP}$	*e*	*ka-kas-a*
	little	girl	where-PROX-SG	3SG:NFUT	DUP-wash-TR

rivo-n.
tooth-3SG.POSS
'This little girl is brushing her teeth.' [psw_HA_brushingteeth.001]

In order for the speaker to determine multiple objects or referents proximal in an absolute location, the plural locative demonstrative *ixa-te* 'these here' is used.

[21] The form *abixa* is also attested in the corpus occurring in prepositional phrases and interrogatives and non-verbal predicate constructions. It could be assumed that *abixa* is the demonstrative pronoun and *abixang* the denostrative determiner. However, the corpus attests both forms being occasionally used interchangeably. This choice could have an emphatic/exclamatory function or may be related to a speech- or typographic error. A further suggestion could be that contemporary demonstratives in Lamap are weakened in their distinction as is common to other Oceanic languages noted by Barbour (2012: 123) and Lyons (1999: 16).

The CV sequence *–te* probably derives from the plural independent pronoun form *xate* (*ixa-xate* 'PROX-3PL').[22] Example 4.17 stems from a conversation discussing the terminology of an indigenous house. While pointing to some posts, one person inquires about the term of some specific posts.

4.17 *Naber ixate…* 'These posts here…' [psw_naim_cont.039]

In example 4.18, the speaker pointing to some caves in front of him uses the proximal deictic locative demonstrative determiner.

4.18	*To*	*rox*	*leim*	*xuvar*	*ixa-te.*
	3PL:NFUT	live	inside	cave	PROX-PL

'They (the pigs) live inside these caves here.' [Ruxbbuas.006]

The proximal demonstrative encoding the number *u* 'two' is also attested in the corpus as illustrated in 4.19, contrasting with the singular proximal demonstrative *ixang* in example 4.20a and the plural local demonstrative determiner *ixate* in example 4.20b.

4.19	*ruare*	*ixa-u*
	child	PROX-DU

'these two children here' [psw_HA_quarrel.001]

4.20	a.	*ruare*	*ixa-ng*
		child	PROX-SG

'this child' [psw_HA_book.001]

	b.	*ruare*	*ixa-te*
		child	PROX-PL

'these two children' [psw_HA_listen.001]

Another proximal demonstrative determiner *alixa* 'these (here)' is also used for plural referents. In examples 4.21 and 4.22 the specified nouns were visible to the speaker. In example 4.22, the speaker is addressing the merchant in the market using the borrowed Bislama word for 'tomato'.

[22] See also section 4.2.6.2 on possession: *naxa-t/naxa-u*.

4.21 *tomat alixa* ‘these tomatoes (here look good)’
ruare alixa ‘these children (here, where are they going)’

4.22 [*Tomat alixa*]$_{NP}$ *to kis soxor.*
tomato PROX.PL 3PL:NFUT nice very
‘These tomatoes look very nice.’ [psw_Yia2Rida09.018]

When the proximal determiner *abixang* functions as a demonstrative pronoun, it changes its form to *abixanga* and becomes the noun phrase head as illustrated in example 4.23. Barbour (2012: 123) based on Ross (2004: 179), indicates that the most common pattern in Oceanic languages is the ‘lack of distinction between determiner and pronoun’, thus it is unusual to find an overtly expressed distinction.

4.23 *Abi-xa-ng-a xasuv.*
where-PROX-SG-PRON rat
‘This is a rat.’ [psw_icr05.06]

4.2.3.2 Medial demonstrative determiner

4.24 a. *axa(-ng)* MED-SG ‘singular medial demonstrative’
b. *axa-ng-a* MED-SG-PRON ‘singular medial demonstrative pronominal’

The medial demonstrative *axa* ‘(that) there’ illustrated in example 4.25 refers to a visible entity that is slightly further away from the speaker than proximal entities. The demonstrative pronoun replaces the noun phrase ‘the coconut plantation’ that is visible to the participants at the time of the utterance and was mentioned previously. There are no plural medial demonstratives in the corpus.[23]

4.25 *To rox axa.*
3PL:NFUT live MED-SG
‘They (the cattle) live there.’ [psw_golobus.007]

[23] The singular medial demonstrative form *axa-ng* has been elicited as well as noticed in the field, however, the form does not occur in the data as part of a clause.

Like *abixang* (illustrated in 4.23), *axa* changes its form to *axanga* to function as a singular medial demonstrative pronominal.

4.26	*"Axa-ng-a*	*naim*	*sa*	*bareab*	*Toa."*
	MED-SG-PRON	house	CLF1	woman	T.
	'That is the house of Mrs. T.' [lapoupeemalade.015]				

4.2.3.3 Distal demonstrative determiners

4.27	a.	*ki(na) ~ xi(na)*	DIST.SG 'singular distal demonstrative
	b.	*kina-te*	DIST-PL 'plural distal demonstrative'
	c.	*amo*	DIST.PRON 'distal demonstrative pronominal'

The singular distal demonstrative is *ki(na)* or *xi(na).* [24]

4.28	*naboi kina*	'that song (that we sung)'
	rux malab xina	'that little girl (mentioned before)'

The plural distal demonstrative *kina-te* 'those', occurs rarely in the corpus and is only used by older speakers. The data suggests that both singular and plural distal demonstratives share a past time factor encoding a temporal distance. As with the plural proximal demonstrative *ixate* (example 4.17), the CV sequence *–te* is probably derived from the plural independent pronoun form *xate.*

4.29	*naim mel kina-te*	'the places (inside) of those houses' (*lit.* house place those)

Example 4.30 illustrates the distal demonstrative *amo* functioning as a demonstrative pronoun and substituting the noun phrase. The speaker points to an island in the distance while inviting her grandmother to look at it. The 'island' or noun phrase is not expressed.

4.30	*"Vavu,*	*ki*	*karav*	*amo!"*
	grandparent	2SG:FUT	look	DIST.PRON
	'"Grandmother, look (over) there!"' [psw_Yia3Rida05.32]			

[24] Charpentier (1979: 63) describes *xi-* as a morpheme designating humans. Although there is some evidence in the data that could confirm this, it is not a consistent pattern and *xi-* or *ki-* occurs modifying both humans and non-humans.

The locative demonstrative determiner *amo* is frequently followed by *soxor* ‘very’ to increase the distance between the speaker and the location.

4.31	*Ku*	*van*	*amo*	*soxor.*
	3DU:NFUT	go	DIST.PRON	very

‘They (DU) go there very far (into the bush).’ [Ruxbbuas.004]

4.2.3.4 Anaphoric demonstratives

4.32	a.	*ana ~ alina*	ANA ‘anaphoric demonstrative’
	b.	*abi-na*	where-ANA ‘where-anaphoric demonstrative’

The demonstrative determiner *ana* ‘that’ refers to an entity that has recently been mentioned, thus having an anaphoric function.[25]

4.33	*nabol ana*	‘(There is a song to) that story’
	xarar ana	‘that man (mentioned before, is angry)’
	noai ana	‘that water (tastes different to the other)’

In example 4.34, the referent *xivur* ‘old man’ has been introduced in the preceding clause.

4.34	[*Xivur*	*ana*]$_{NP}$	*e*	*kadd-a*	*sibueo*	*e*	*u.*
	old.man	ANA	3SG:NFUT	have-TR	son	3SG:NFUT	be.two

‘That (old) man has two sons.’ [psw_Yia3Rida02.005]

In example 4.35, *ana* locates temporal proximity by specifying the noun *miaj* ‘time’.

4.35	*la*	*miaj*	*ana*
	LOC	time	ANA

‘at the same time (*lit. at that time*)’

Like the proximal determiner, the anaphoric determiner has a form *abi-na*, ‘where-ANA’, which is used in the same ways as *ana*.

4.36	*naxer abina*	‘that octopus’
	xivur abina	‘that (old) man’
	noai abina	‘that water’

[25] A distinction between *ana* and *kina* could not be ascertained with the present data.

The noun *navar* ‘rock’ illustrated in example 4.37 has been introduced earlier in the story, thus is followed by the anaphoric demonstrative *abina* ‘that’.

4.37 *Xu* *pursan-a* [*navar* *abi-na*]$_{NP}$.
3DU:NFUT lift-TR rock where-ANA
‘They (DU) lifted that (the) rock.’ [psw_Yia3Rida02.009]

Like *ana* ‘that’, this form of the anaphoric demonstrative may be used to specify temporal proximity.

4.38 *la* *miaj* *abi-na*
LOC time where-ANA
‘at the same time (*lit. at that time*)’ [psw_Yia2Rida01.018]

Additionally, this demonstrative distinguishes singular and dual number as illustrated in examples 4.39a and b.

4.39 a. *ruare* *abi-na*
child where-ANA
‘that child’ [lapoupeemalade.024]

b. *ruare* *abi-na-u*
child where-ANA-two
‘those two children’ [Lingtan.014]

The new corpus shows evidence for a further anaphoric demonstrative with the form *alina.* However, while *ana* (examples 4.33 to 4.36) is used only for singular entities, *alina* is used for both singular and plural entities in the corpus. The example 4.40a refers to a story about a tree that is introduced by the quantifier *jika* ‘one’ and then shortly following, the same tree is specified by the deictic demonstrative determiner *alina* with the meaning ‘that’ in example 4.40b. In example 4.41a, *nurukav* ‘ant’ is followed by the pluralizer *ngail* and referred to by the same determiner the second time with the meaning ‘those’ as illustrated in example 4.41b.

4.40 a. *naxai jika* ‘a tree’

b. *naxai alina* ‘that tree’

4.41 a. [*Nurukav* *ngail*]$_{NP}$ *to* *van*
ant PL 3PL:NFUT go
'The ants go…'

b. [*Nurukav* *alina*]$_{NP}$ *to* *van*
ant ANA 3PL:NFUT go
'Those ants go…'

4.2.4 Attributive Modification

In Oceanic languages post-posed verb roots may modify the head noun. The use of such verb roots are much more common than canonical adjectives. Some languages use uninflected verb roots to modify the preceding head noun. Other languages use verb roots preceded by a morpheme to function as a stative modifier (Lynch et al 2002: 40). In Lamap adjectival modification is productively achieved by the use of the attributive morpheme *mo,* followed by a stative, active and/or transitive verb root. However, it has a wider function of general nominal modification, deriving adjectives also from elements other than stative verb roots.[26]

4.42	a.	**N**	+	**mo**	+	**V**	+	(**O**)
		noun head	-	attributive	-	verb	-	object
	b.	**N**	+	**mo**	+	**non-verb**		
		noun head	-	attributive	-	other word classes		

In example 4.43, the stative verb root *susus* 'cold' occurs as an adjectival verb preceded by the singular third person nonfuture subject index (see also section 5.4.1).

4.43 *Noai* *e* *susus.*
water 3SG:NFUT be.cold
'The water is cold.' [psw_HA_babybath.002]

[26] As Lynch et al. (2002) points out, canonical adjectives in Oceanic languages are marginal. The corpus includes very few uninflected root verbs that could be interpreted as adjectives although they do also occur with the much more commonly used attributive *mo* to modify the noun head.

In example 4.44, the attributive morpheme *mo* replaces the subject index preceding the stative verb root *susus*, modifying the noun.

4.44 *Ruare* *e* *mun* [*noai* *mo* *susus*]$_{NP}$.
child 3SG:NFUT drink water ATTR be.cold
'The child is drinking cold water.' [psw_HA_drinking.002]

In example 4.45, the active intransitive verb root *je* 'flow' occurs as an adjectival verb with the preceding subject index encoding third person singular nonfuture.

4.45 *Noai* *e* *je.*
water 3SG:NFUT flow
'The water is flowing.' [psw_Yia3Rida06.012]

In example 4.46, the verb root *je* is preceded by the attributive morpheme *mo* and is part of the noun phrase modifying the head noun. The nominal *noai* 'water' is modified with the new meaning 'river (*lit.* water-flow*).*

4.46 *noai* *mo* *je*
water ATTR flow
'the river (the flowing water)' [psw_van01.001]

The following two examples illustrate the transitive verb *ris-* 'see'. While in example 4.47a it has the obligatory subject index to function as a transitive verb, in example 4.47b it is derived by the preceding attributive morpheme *mo*, becoming part of the noun phrase and modifying the noun head.

4.47 a. *Rebecca* *e* *ris-a* *bbuas* *jikang.*
R. 3SG:NFUT see-TR pig one
'Rebecca sees a pig.' [Rebeccakanabuasjika.008]

b. [*Nanam* *mo* *ris-a* *ddate*]$_{NP}$
mosquito ATTR see-TR 1PL.INCL
'The mosquito seeing us, (lands quietly on our skin and bites).'
[psw_Yia3Rida09.053]

The following list of verbs extracted from the corpus illustrate the three different types of verb roots, including intransitive (stative and active) and transitive verb roots occurring with *mo*.

Stative intransitive verb roots

4.48	*bremer*	‘be black’
	mam	‘be ripe’
	vus	‘be unripe’
	bao	‘be big’
	keke	‘be small’
	kanox	‘be fat’
	sabb	‘be bad’
	voi	‘be good’
	kis	‘be beautiful/nice’
	kab	‘be hot’
	roi	‘be three’
	bebeav	‘be long’

Active intransitive verb roots

4.49	*veu*	‘return’
	van	‘go’
	kabbul	‘turn around’
	bao	‘grow’
	lavux	‘fall down’
	tvuvux	‘rise’
	jibbu	‘go down’
	kos	‘float’
	sason	‘hide’
	gas	‘build’
	us	‘rain’
	kubax	‘jump’

Transitive verb roots

4.50	*tangon*	‘kill’
	sur	‘follow’
	ris	‘see’
	paj	‘hold’
	karav	‘watch’
	brax	‘reach’
	barin	‘find’
	lve	‘pull’
	ring	‘spread’
	xir	‘dig.out’
	pilev	‘collect’
	xos	‘gather’

4.2.5 Quantifiers

In Lamap, nouns are not inflected to indicate number. There are several strategies that can be used to indicate if an entity is singular or plural within the noun phrase, including the use of singular and plural demonstratives (see section 4.2.3). These strategies are not obligatory.

While numbers encode the specific quantity of an entity, quantifiers provide a more general information about quantity. In the Lamap corpus, the quantifiers, illustrated in 4.51, do not co-occur with other modifiers.

4.51	*evis*	‘some’
	iddes	‘some/no one/any’
	engas	‘many/a lot of’
	puiji	‘every/all’

The definite quantifier *evis* ‘some’, *engas* ‘many/plenty/a lot of’ and possibly also *iddes* ‘some/any’ have fossilised with the third person singular subject index. These forms are not attested without the preceding vowel *e* (or *i*) in the corpus. As nominal modifiers, the forms are represented with fused vowels; however, when they serve as the main verbs in a simple verbal clause, the initial vowel of *evis* and *engas* is treated as a subject index (see section 6.5.1 on interrogatives).

4.52	*nabong evis*	‘some days’ (within a certain time frame)
	xarar evis	‘some men’ (of a group of men)
	naddam evis	‘some yam’ (gather some)

The quantifier *evis* is used for interrogative constructions. The initial vowel is treated as a subject index in interrogatives.

4.53	*Nalo-m*	*e*	*kaj-a*	*e*	*vis?*
	inside-2SG.POSS	3SG:NFUT	like-TR	3SG:NFUT	be.how.many
	‘How many do you like?’ [Baravsaxabat.005]				

The quantifier *iddes* ‘some’ is used to express a general, indefinite or potential quantity. It also serves to express doubt in regards to the existence of an entity. In the environment of a negative construction this quantifier has the meaning ‘no one, any’.

4.54	*xarar iddes*	‘some men (a couple of)’
	bbuas iddes	‘some pigs’
	vuevueas iddes	‘some hornets’
	taus iddes	‘something/anything’

The quantifier *engas* has the meaning ‘many/plenty/a lot of’ and is limited to positive constructions.

4.55	*nabol engas*	‘many/a lot of stories’
	xuvar engas	‘many caves’

4.56	*Leitangi*	*e*	*peang-a*	*nabol*	*engas.*
	L.	3SG:NFUT	tell- TR	story	many/a lot of
	‘Leitangi is telling a lot of stories.’ [lapoupeemalade.010]				

The quantifier *puiji* ‘every, all of some kind’ occurs in the new corpus only post nominally. However, Charpentier (1979: 102) remarked this to be the only modifier to occur pre- and post-posed to the noun head.

4.57	*naddam puiji*	‘every year’
	naix puiji	‘all fish’
	nukai puiji	‘all leaves’
	naur puiji	‘everywhere (every place)’

4.2.6 Possession

There are several strategies typical to Oceanic languages that express possessors of common nouns and kinship terms in the personal noun category (Lynch et al. 2002: 403). The relationship between possessor and possessum is reflected syntactically and semantically (Lynch et al. 2002: 403; Haspelmath 2008; Lichtenberk 1985). Haspelmath (2008) describes a possessive split as a strategy whereby the specific classes of nouns determine different possessive constructions. The nature of possession is distinguished by a formal and a functional contrast. The formal distinction contrasts direct and indirect possession and the functional contrast encodes alienability and inalienability (Haspelmath 2008). Direct possession is marked by the use of an affix or clitic that is adjacent to the possessed noun. In contrast indirect possession is expressed by the use of possessive classifiers. Alongside this formal distinction on a syntactic level, the semantic contrast of inalienable and alienable relationships in respect to possessor and possessum is distinguished.

Inalienable possession states the unchangeable and involuntary association of a possessor with a possessum. In other words, a separation of the possessor from the possessum cannot occur by choice due to the intrinsic nature of the possessive relationship. Body parts and certain kinship nouns are typically associated with inalienability by default (Lichtenberk, Vaid and Chen 2011). Alienable possession on the other hand reflects the nature of the semantic relationship in regards to possessors and the possessum from one of the specific noun subgroups. The lack of inherent affiliation allows much more freedom and variation in regards to encoding the possessive relationship. The status of the possession is conditional or circumstantial and can be terminated (Lichtenberk et al. 2011).

The concept of possession can be divided into three types of possession according to Haspelmath (2008: 1-2). Typically languages differentiate between general ownership, part-whole relationships and kinship relationships. Oceanic languages most commonly use indirect possession constructions to reflect the alienable nature of general ownership relations. Direct possession constructions typically are used to encode the semantic relationship of inalienability in respect to kinship and part/whole relationships (Lynch et al. 2002: 41).

Lamap makes use of the formal direct and indirect possessive strategies. The functional contrast of inalienability and alienability however does not align precisely with direct and indirect constructions.

4.2.6.1 Direct Possession

In direct possession constructions, Lamap's nominals are suffixed for first, second and third singular possessors. Plural possessors adopt their forms from their independent plural pronoun counterparts and occur contiguous to the possessed noun, the possessum. Plural possessors can occur in abbreviated suffixed forms. The direct possessive forms are illustrated in table 8.

Table 8: Direct Possesor Forms

	SG	DU		PL
1	*-ng*	*ddau*	Inclusive	*ddate*
		namu	Exclusive	*namite*
2	*-m*	*xamu*		*xamite*
3	*-n*	*xau/-u*		*xate/-at/-t*

In Lamap, body parts and close kinship relations are directly possessed. Without a possessive classifier, the syntactic immediacy of possessum and possessor defines direct possession and semantically reflects the inherent connectedness of inalienable possession. For example, a body part will always be the possessor's body part, even if it might be separated from the rest of the body.

The examples 4.58 illustrate the direct possession of body parts with inflected singular possessive suffixes for first (4.58a), second (4.58b) and third person (4.58c).

4.58	a.	*baru-ng*	‘my head’
		rivo-ng	‘my tooth’
		vea-ng	‘my hand’
	b.	*maddu-m*	‘your back’
		rivo-m	‘your tooth’
		bano-m	‘your mouth’
	c.	*rie-n*	‘his leg’
		bano-n	‘his mouth’
		vea-n	‘his hand’

In example 4.59, the inalienable possessive relationship between a person’s voice and its possessor is transparent as it cannot be separated from its particular possessor and become its own entity or be adopted by another possessor. This example includes the possessive pronoun *xate* encoding third person plural.

4.59	*ddae-n*	‘his voice’
	dda xate	‘their voices’

Animals and their body parts also fall under this category of direct possession encoded by the third person singular possessive suffix *-n.* The mosquito’s wing and third person singular possessive suffix is illustrated in example 4.60a with the corresponding direct possessive third person plural form *xate* in the abbreviated suffix form *-t* as seen in example 4.60b.

4.60	a.	*kobvea-n*	‘its wing’
	b.	*kobvea-t*	‘their wings’

Just as a certain body part cannot adopt another possessor, similarly, a daughter will always have the same biological mother. This type of possession is impossible to change.

Table 9 illustrates a complete set of possessive forms for the kinship term *xina* ‘mother’ in the personal noun category as the possessum.

Table 9: Set of direct possession forms for *xina* ‘mother’

	SG	DU		PL
1	*xina-ng*	*xina ddau*	Inclusive	*xina ddate*
			Exclusive	*xina namite*
2	*xina-m*	*xina xamu*		*xina xamite*
3	*xina-n*	*xina xau*		*xina xate*

Additional kinship terms that take direct possession forms encoding close relationship bonds are illustrated in example 4.61a. The two kinship terms *marua-* ‘uncle’ and *ram(a)-* ‘father’ are also attested in the corpus with the plural pronouns *xau* ‘3dual’ and *xate* ‘3plural’ encoding direct possession (4.61b).

4.61 a. *pene-ng* ‘my sister’
mane-n ‘her brother’
rama-m ‘your father’
marua-ng ‘my uncle’

b. *ram xau* ‘their (DU) father’
marua xate ‘their uncle’

4.2.6.2 Indirect possession

In contrast to direct possession and the absence of a possessive classifier, the structure of indirect possession utilizes several possessive classifiers. The choice of the possessive classifier in the different constructions depends on the referents of types of nouns. Indirect possessive structures include two classifiers, *(i)sa* (CLF1) and *na(xa)*(CLF2). While *(i)sa* is used for general possessions and animate (human or anthropomorphised) possessors, *na(xa)* encodes the possession of food and drink, along with some part-whole relationships. This can be illustrated as:

4.62	CLF1	**Possessum:**	*(i)sa*	**Possessor:**
		General		Animate
	CLF2	**Possessum:**	*na(xa)*	**Possessor:**
		Food		Animate
		Drink		Animate
		part		whole

In indirect possessive constructions the suffixation occurs on the possessive classifiers rather than on the preceding possessum. Possessive classifiers are only inflected with singular pronominal possessor suffixes. Singular possessors take the possessive classifier form *isa-* and non-singular possessors take the possessive classifier form *sa*.

Table 10: Possessor Classifier CLF1: *(i)sa*

possessum	*isa*	possessor
	1SG	*-ng*
	2SG	*-m*
	3SG	*-n*

possessum	*sa*	possessor
		non-singular pronouns
		nominals

The indirect possessive structure classifies semantic alienability as it reflects the circumstantial and terminable possessive relationships of common nouns and their possessors. Kinship nouns outside of the personal noun class also occur in this indirect structure Examples 4.63a, b and c illustrate this.

4.63	a.	*sulung isa-ng*	'my clothes'
		bbubbuan isa-ng	'my friend'
		barixadd isa-ng	'my basket'
	b.	*naim isa-m*	'your house'
		naro isa-m	'your colour'
		voian isa-m	'your health'
	c.	*ruare isa-ng*	'my child'
		rux malab isa-ng	'my little girl/daughter'
		tata isa-n	'his father'
		nana isa-n	'her mother'

Like its allomorph, *isa* the general possessive classifier *sa* is followed by plural pronominals or nominal possessors (see also table 10).

Table 11: Possessor Classifier CLF1 non-singular possessors

possessum	*sa*		possessor		
			DU		PL
1	*sa*	INCL	*ddau*	*sa*	*ddate*
	sa	EXCL	*namu*	*sa*	*namit(e)*
2	*sa*		*xamu*	*sa*	*xamit(e)*
3	*sa*		*xau*	*sa*	*xate*

When the possessor is expressed by a non-singular pronoun the general possessive classifier *sa* is used in the indirect structure preceding the respective non-singular pronoun form as illustrated in example 4.64a. This includes kinship nouns in the common noun class as shown in example 4.64b. Here, the correlation of direct possession and inalienability on one hand, and indirect possession corresponding to alienability on the other hand, is incongruous. Although these kinship terms have a semantically inalienable relationship with their possessors, with the function as referents they are semantically slightly more removed from their possessors (as opposed to vocative kinship terms in the personal noun class). This might be reflected in the indirect syntactic structure.

4.64	a.	*narangian sa ddate*	'our (INCL) mourning'
		xojajax sa namu	'our (DU) fishing lines'
		bbubbuan sa xau	'their (DU) friend'
		roxirox sa xate	'their living place'
		madduam sa xate	'their village'
	b.	*nana sa namite*	'our (EXCL) mothers'
		tata sa namite	'our (EXCL) fathers'
		vavu sa xau	'their (DU) grandparent'

The examples in 4.65 illustrate a correspondence between the indirect construction and the semantic relationship of alienability. The possessive relationship can be modified.

4.65	*sue sa rama-n*	'warning of his father'
	sue sa naxer	'warning of the octopus'
	naim sa naxux	'house of the crab'

Another possessive classifier used in indirect possessive structures is *na(xa-)* for food and drink (CLF2). Based on the corpus it appears that this classifier includes possessive relationships of food/drink associated with the process of cooking rather than food that is consumed in its raw state. Oceanic languages typically have separate food and drink classifiers (Lynch et al. 2002: 41). Possessive systems with separate food and drink classifiers occur in Malekula languages including Big Nambas (Dodd 2014) and Uripiv (Moore 2018).

Like with the possessive classifiers *isa* and *sa* illustrated in table 10 and 11, the classifier forms distinguish between singular and plural pronominal possessors.

Singular pronominal possessive suffixes inflect the classifier with the form *naxa* and plural pronominal possessors follow the classifier with the form *na.* This is illustrated in table 12. The third person plural occurs in its full form *xate* but also in the abbreviated forms *-ate, -at*. There are no examples of *naxa* with the first singular person suffix in the corpus. The expected form is shown in parentheses. Likewise, the non-singular forms in parentheses are not attested in the corpus.

Table 12: Possessor Classifier CLF2

possessum	*naxa*	singular possessor
Food/Drink	1SG	*(-ng)*
	2SG	*-m*
	3SG	*-n*

possessum	*na*	non-singular possessor			
			DU		PL
1	*na*	INCL	*(ddau)*	*na*	*ddate*
	na	EXCL	*(namu)*	*na*	*(namit(e))*
2	*na*		*(xamu)*	*na*	*(xamit(e))*
3	*na*		*xau*	*na*	*xate (-at)*

The possessed food and drink items in examples 4.66 have all undergone a process of cooking and occur in indirect structures with the classifier *na(xa).*

4.66	*naix naxa-m*	‘your fish’
	burur naxa-n	‘her cabbage’
	ti naxa-n	‘her tea (borrowed from Bislama)’
	naix na xau	‘their (DU) (cooked) fish’
	xanian na xau	‘their (DU) food’
	kabur na xate	‘their laplap’

When part/whole relationships comprise an entity and its pronominal possessor, the classifier *na(xa)* is also used. Although these relationships identify semantically with inalienability, they occur in indirect structures and not as expected in direct structures. This illustrates a further 'asymmetrical split' to the canonical strategies of direct/inalienable and indirect/alienable correspondence patterns typical to other Oceanic languages. The corpus illustrates different sub-types of inherent part/whole relationships which are listed in order of plant nouns (4.67a), construction objects (4.67b) and removeable or changeable human body products including age (4.67c).

4.67 a. *nukai* *naxa-n* *ngail*
leaf CLF2-3SG.POSS PL
'its leaves (the tree's)' [psw_tri_posenfis.018]

pajuxer *naxa-n* *ngail*
branch CLF2-3SG.POSS PL
'its branches (the tree's)' [psw_Yia2Rida03.005]

naro *na* *xat*
colour CLF1 3PL.POSS
'their colour (the fruit's)' [psw_Yia3Rida05.039]

naro *na* *xat* *ngail*
colour CLF1 3PL.POSS PL
'all their colours (the corals)' [psw_Yia3Rida08.013]

b. *pupurav* *naxa-n*
door CLF2-3SG.POSS
'its door (the house's)' [psw_naim_cont.055]

mel *gogol* *naxa-n*
place structure CLF2-3SG.POSS
'its building site (the house's) [psw_naim_cont.006]

c. *nadde* *na* *ddate*
blood CLF1 1PL.INCL
'our blood' [psw_Yia3Rida08.017]

naddam *naxa-m*
yam/year CLF2-2SG.POSS
'your age' [psw_BUK2]

4.2.6.3 Non-human possession

A wide range of possessive relationships are produced with the connecting morpheme *a* positioned between the nominal possessum and the nominal possessor. The possessive relationships of associative nature include both semantic types, alienable and inalienable, and are also used to express part/whole relationships between entities. The non-human possessors in associative constructions may refer to entities that are specified, unspecified, or refer to a group of several entities.

Non-human possessive relations that are attested in the corpus include local spatial relations, local temporal relations, and material of composition relations as illustrated in examples 4.67 to 4.69. Part/whole relationships with the associative *a* are illustrated in examples 4.70. Relations by purpose are illustrated in examples 4.71.

4.68 Spatial Relations

bbunax a pupurav	'front of the door' (face of door)
varixer a naim	'next (side) of the house'
nabur a navar	'the hole of the rock'

4.69 Temporal Relations

nean a disemba	'December wind'
miaj a naras mo lax	'(time of) low tide'

Material of composition relations can be associative constructions in which objects may be composed of a range of different materials as illustrated in example 4.69a. Furthermore, abstract nouns such as 'words' or 'stories' can also be a 'topic of text' about different content or have composition relations as shown in example 4.69b.

4.70 Object relations by material/content of composition

a.

kabur a niabb	'laplap made of niabb (fish species)'
barixadd a naman	'bird's nest' (*lit.* woven basket of bird)

b.

sue a naboi	'the words of the song'
nabol a rux vae	'the story of a small island'

Finally, possession with *a* is used when speakers are describing some part-whole relations, or translating or describing foreign or introduced items for which there are no local names and their relation is based on their specific purpose. Barbour (2012: 145) refers to these constructions as 'informative associative constructions' that are used 'for the benefit of the audience'.

4.71 Part/whole relationships

naber a naim	'house post' (chief/post/ of house)
naro a nukai a ravo	'the colour of the Natapoa's leaves'
suxer a pusaxer	'the nectar (sweet water) of the flowers'
kruxer a naxai	'the seed of the tree'
nukai a naxai	'leaf of the tree'
pajuxer a naxai	'branch of the tree'
vaxer a ravo	'the fruit of the Natapoa tree (Sea almond tree)'
nal a naxadd	'inside of the basket/bag'
vuxer a boruv	'chicken feather'

4.72 Relations by Purpose

beab a gasian	'shirt for work'
navar a beab	'money for the shirt (shirt money)'
taus a xanian	'dishes (*lit*. things for food)'
kontena a noai	'containers for water'

4.2.7 Numbers[27]

Numerals postmodify nouns. Singular number can be expressed with the numeral *jika* 'one' following the head noun, as illustrated in examples 4.73. This numeral morpheme also functions as an indefinite morpheme.

[27] In 1979, Charpentier (1979: 119) observed that the use of indigenous numerals in Lamap was on the decline. This observation was confirmed during fieldwork in 2017. While the lower numbers in particular are still frequently used by speakers, numbers from the national language Bislama are being used increasingly especially in trade. Having said that, the language consultants that contributed to this corpus are still able to use Lamap's traditional number system.

4.73	*beam jika*	‘one shirt’
	boruv jika	‘one chicken’
	naim jika	‘one day’
	xarar jika	‘one man’
	naxai jika	‘one tree’
	natos jika	‘one drawing/picture’
	xanian jika	‘one feast’

The data in examples 4.74 shows that unlike the number ‘one’, higher numerals behave as verbs. Numerals two to five follow the noun, like *jika* ‘one’, but they are almost always inflected with the third person singular subject index. Both nonfuture and future indexes as well as the attributive morpheme *mo* are permitted depending on phrase type and clausal polarity, and mood characteristics although a full analysis of number indexing is beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.74	*boruv jika*	‘one chicken’	root →	*jika*	‘one’
	boruv e u	‘two chickens’	root →	*u*	‘two’
	ruare e roi	‘three children’	root →	*roi*	‘three’
	rux bbuas e vaj	‘four baby pigs’	root →	*vaj*	‘four’
	boruv e rim	‘five chickens’	root →	*rim*	‘five’

Numerals six to ten follow the noun that they modify directly or are inflected with the third person singular subject indexes.

4.75	*mo-jukai*	‘six’ (LIG + 1)
	mox-u	‘seven’ (LIG + 2)
	moxu-roi	‘eight’ (LIG + 3)
	moxu-paj	‘nine’ (LIG + 4)
	sngeav	‘ten’

Like in Neverver (Barbour 2012), Uluveu (Moore 2018) and Unua (Pearce 2015) Lamap’s numerals display an ‘imperfect decimal system’ (Lynch 2016). The numbers six to nine are formed by additive compounds and comprise the morpheme *moxu-* and a version of the numbers from one to four. Lynch (2016: 101) uses the term ‘ligature’ to refer to morphemes that are themselves not numerals but occur in compound numerals.[28]

[28] The term ‘ligature’ from Lynch (2016) will be adopted here and glossed as ‘LIG’.

Number six comprises of *mo-* and *jukai*, which is clearly related to *jika* ‘one’. There are some languages throughout Melanesia in which the form for ‘one’ following the ligature in the compound forming the numeral ‘six’ is clearly derived though not phonolgocially identical (Lynch 2016: 101). Numbers seven and eight suggest a clearer pattern of *mox-u* (LIG + 2) with vowel degemination, and *moxu-roi* (LIG + 3). An allomorph of *vaj* ‘four’ can be seen in *moxu-paj* (LIG + four).

The numbers ten and higher comprise a decimal system. Number ‘ten’ is a monomorphemic word. Decimals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ are expressed by the compound *sngeav* ‘ten’ followed by a further ligature, the morpheme *ddumoxer* and the relevant unit, in a structure of ‘ten and one’, ‘ten and two’.[29] The numerals ten to thirteen are illustrated with the units two and three presenting verbal inflections with realis indexes.[30]

4.76	*e sngeav*	‘ten (3SG.NFUT + ten)’
	e sngeav ddumoxer jika	‘eleven (3SG.NFUT + ten + LIG2 + one)’
	e sngeav ddumoxer e u	‘twelve (3SG.NFUT + ten + LIG2 + 3SG.NFUT + two)’
	e sngeav ddumoxer e roi	‘thirteen (3SG.NFUT + ten + LIG2 + 3SG.NFUT + three)’

The decades use the morpheme *bal* to indicate a ‘decade’, combined with a unit. The units occur with verbal inflection. Note that the decimal morpheme for numbers above the numeral ten differs from the numeral *sngeav* ‘ten’ which occurs in numbers from ten to nineteen.

[29] The lexeme *ddumoxer* occurs once in the corpus with the meaning ‘little finger’ although usually *virxarax* is the more common word. Charpentier remarks that both forms *ddumoxer/ndrumoxer* and *ndromuxer* occur interchangeably and are ‘empty’ lexemes only used for number function (1979: 119). Therefore I will gloss *ddumoxer* as LIG2. Tryon (1995) and Charpentier (1979) record *sangeav* as ‘ten’. As Crowley (2002: 650) points out, optional medial vowel deletion is not uncommon and results in heterorganic consonant clusters.

[30] Some numbers are not verified in the new Lamap corpus and have been adopted from Charpentier (1979: 119).

4.77	20	*bal e u*	‘twenty (decade + 3SG.NFUT + two)’
	21	*bal e u ddumoxer jika*	‘twenty one (decade + 3SG.NFUT + two + LIG2 + one)’
	22	*bal e u ddumoxer e u*	‘twenty two (decade + 3SG.NFUT + two + LIG2 + 3SG.NFUT + two)’
	30	*bal e roi*	‘thirty (decade + 3SG.NFUT + three)’
	31	*bal e roi ddumoxer jika*	‘thirty one (decade + 3SG.NFUT + three + LIG2 + one)’
	40	*bal e vaj*	‘forty (decade + 3SG.NFUT + four)’
	41	*bal e vaj ddumoxer jika*	‘forty one’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + four + LIG2 + one)’ and so forth…
	50	*bal e rim*	‘fifty’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + five)
	51	*bal e rim ddumoxer jika*	‘fifty one’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + five + LIG2 + one)
	60	*bal e mo-jukai*	‘sixty’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + LIG + one)
	61	*bal e mo-jukai ddumoxer jika*	‘sixty one’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + LIG2 + one + LIG2 + one)’
	70	*bal e mox-u*	‘seventy’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + LIG + two)
	80	*bal e moxu-roi*	‘eighty’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + LIG + three)
	90	*bal e moxu-paj*	‘ninety’ (decade + 3SG.NFUT + LIG + four)

One hundred also makes use of the decimal morpheme *bal*, combining with *sngeav* ‘ten’ to mean ‘ten decades’. The corpus attests the numerals two hundred to four hundred expressed with the attributive morpheme *mo* (rather than a subject index) followed by a unit to indicate how many hundreds are involved.

4.78	100	*bal e sngeav*	(decade + 3SG.NFUT + ten)
	200	*bal e sngeav mo u*	(decade + 3SG.NFUT + ten + ATTR + two)
	300	*bal e sngeav mo roi*	(decade + 3SG.NFUT + ten + ATTR + three)
	400	*bal e sngeav mo vaj*	(decade + 3SG.NFUT + ten + ATTR + four)

Finally, thousands seem to be expressed by compounding *bal e sngeav* ‘(decade + 3SG.NFUT + ten)’ with *xa* (possibly a short form of *vaxa*[31]) and again *sngeav* (this time without inflected index) followed by the subject index inflecting a unit to

[31] The morpheme *vaxa* is attested by Charpentier (1979: 119,120) and translated as ‘times’. Charpentier’s record illustrates the hundreds from two hundred to four hundred as compounds of *bal e sangeav* followed by *vaxa* preceding the unit of how many hundreds are involved. This is not verified in the new Lamap corpus. Instead, the unit of how many hundreds are involved, is preceded by the attributive *mo* (see examples 4.77).

indicate how many thousands are involved.

This is illustrated in example 4.79a. This differs from the earlier account by Charpentier (1979: 119) that presents the number 1000 as illustrated in example 4.79b.

4.79	a.	3000	*bal e sngeav xa sngeav e roi*	(decade + 3SG.NFUT + ten + 'times' + ten + 3SG.NFUT + three)
	b.	1000	*bal e sangeav vaxa sangeav*	(decade + 3SG.NFUT + ten + 'times' + ten

Like other quantifiers, numbers follow the noun that they modify, although they pattern in a variety of ways. Example 4.80a shows the number 'one' as a simple modifier after the head noun. Example 4.80b shows the number 'two' as a verb inflected with the subject index *e* encoding third person singular nonfuture, suggesting an unmarked relative clause structure. Example 4.80c shows the number 'three' in an attributive structure, introduced by the attributive morpheme *mo*. Example 4.80d shows the number 'seven' following a verb phrase (and functions as a 'noun'). Lastly, example 4.80e shows the noun root *rie* 'leg' and the number 'four' as a compound denoting the meaning of 'truck'.

4.80	a.	*boruv jika*	'one chicken'
		xijao jika	'one knife'
		varixer jika	'one side'
		nabong jika	'one day'
	b.	*sibueo e u*	'two males (boys)'
		naix e u	'two fish'
		varixer e u	'two sides'
		nabong e u	'two days'
	c.	*ruare mo roi*	'three children'
		sue mo roi	'three warnings'

d.

mxibbu-n	*e*	*brax-a*	*mox-u*
grandchild-3SG.POSS	3SG:NFUT	reach- TR	LIG-two

'his grandchild reached seven (years of age)' [psw_HA_birthday.001]

e. *rievaj (rie-vaj)* 'four legs (truck)'

The modification of non-singular entities is not obligatory. However, the pluralizer *ngail* is productively used in Lamap as illustrated in examples 4.81.

4.81	*beab ngail*	'shirts'
	boruv ngail	'chickens'
	naim ngail	'houses'
	xarar ngail	'men'
	naxai ngail	'trees'
	natos ngail	'pictures/drawings'
	xanian ngail	'food (plural food items)'

4.2.8 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrase coordination involves conjoining two noun phrases of equal grammatical status. While languages use often multiple morphosyntactic strategies for coordinating noun phrases, the most simple process is that of prosodic listing or what Payne (2006: 309) describes as the zero strategy. The new Lamap corpus shows a productive use of the comitative *kan.* Prosodic listing of juxtaposed noun phrases without a linking element is less common.

4.2.8.1 The comitative preposition *kan* 'with'

The comitative verb-like preposition *kan* 'with' is used to conjoin noun phrases. Crowley (2006c: 157) describes a verbal preposition in Naman, another language in Vanuatu, with the function of accompaniment. Like in Naman, the comitative *kan-* has the same verbal suffixes as transitive verbs, including the transitive marker *-a* although it does not occur with subject indexes (see section 6.3). Human nouns as well as non-human nouns use the comitative to form a coordinate noun phrase.

4.82 a. *Rama-m* *kan-a* *xina-m*
father-2SG.POSS with-TR mother-2SG.POSS
'Your father and your mother' [Naxerramaj.009]

b. *Dan* *kan-a* *marua-n*
D. with-TR uncle-3SG.POSS
'Dan and his uncle' [psw_HA_canoe.001]

c. *Jigauv* *kan-a* *nio.*
hibiscus with-TR sun
'The hibiscus and the sun.' [psw_Yia2Rida06.001]

In the following example (4.83) the subject index preceding the verb ‘return’ agrees with the dual participants in the coordinated noun phrase as the grammatical subject.

4.83	[*Sawan*	*kan-a*	*xina-n*]$_{NP}$	*xu*	*veu*	*vim.*
	S.	with-TR	mother-3SG.POSS	3DU:NFUT	return	go.home

‘Sawan and her mother are going home.’ [psw_Yia2Rida09.013]

In example 4.84, the comitative preposition *kan* functions to list two different items.

4.84	[*naxadd*	*tomat*	*jika*	*kan-a*	*naxadd*	*ariko*	*jika.*]$_{NP}$
	basket	tomato	one	with-TR	basket	green.bean	one

‘a basket of tomatoes and a basket of green beans.’ [psw_Yia2Rida09.017]

In example 4.85 several nouns are linked with the comitative preposition.

4.85	*E*	*jaxin*	*vea-n*	[*gile*	*kan-a*	*mimi*	*kan-a*
	3SG:NFUT	catch	hand-3SG.POSS	lizard	with-TR	cat	with-TR

lipax	*kan-a*	*bbuas*].
dog	with-TR	pig

‘It (the rat) grabs the hand of the lizard with the cat, with the dog, with the pig.’ [psw_Yia2Rida08.013]

In two stories in the corpus, the particle *a* coordinates proper nouns as an alternative to *kan-a.*

4.86	a.	*Ari*	*a*	*Momoa*
		A.	and	M.

‘Ari and Momoa’ [psw_van03.002]

	b.	*Wano*	*a*	*Lala*
		W.	and	L.

‘Wano and Lala’ [psw_Yia3Rida01.044]

There is one example in the corpus that illustrates prosodic listing with nouns and noun compounds. The final noun is preceded by the comitative preposition *kan*. The example describes a list of aid products that were donated after cyclone Pam had hit the island in 2015.

4.87 *mo* *ga* *xanian,* *naim tapolen,* *kontena* *a*
ATTR be.like food house.tarpauline container of

noai *kan-a* *meresin.*
water with-TR medicine
'such as food, tents, water containers and medicaments.' [psw_Yia3Rida07.066]

4.2.9 Basic Noun Phrase Structure

This section provides an overview of the general syntactic order of nominal modifiers. Apart from the small number of modifiers that occur exclusively before the noun phrase, all other nominal modifiers follow the noun phrase. Table 13 illustrates the noun phrase structure (identical to table 8).

Table 13: Basic Noun Phrase Order

(Premodifiers)	**NOUN**	(Lexical Modifiers)	(Possessive Modifiers)	(Demonstratives)	(Attributive Modifier)	(Quantifiers)	(Possessive Modifiers)	(Numbers/Pluralizer)

The corpus indicates that there are two slots that can be occupied by possessor modifiers although only one can be filled in any one noun phrase. Possession occurs before a demonstrative or after a quantifier. In most cases, there are no more than two modifiers after the nominal head. Examples of different modifiers as they occur in the noun phrase follow.

In example 4.88 the noun is modified by the premodifier *buetil* 'big/large'.

4.88 [*Buetil* *navar*]$_{NP}$ *e* *ka,…*
big rock 3SG:NFUT say
'The big rock said,…[psw_Yia3Rida03.018]

Lexical modifiers are closest to the noun phrase and are followed by several other post-modifiers. In examples 4.89a and b, the pluralizer *ngail* is positioned after the lexical modifier *veveo* and the quantifier *ddixer*.

4.89 a. *To* *vanim-a* [*xaritav* *veveo* *ngail*]$_{NP}$
3PL:NFUT come-TR butterfly new PL
'They (the caterpillars) become new butterflies.' [psw_Yia2Rida04.013]

b. *'...ruare* *ddixer* *ngail.'*
child other PL
'(the boy is sharing his laplap with) all the other children.' [solwota.017]

The possessor suffix *-m* precedes the anaphoric demonstrative in the noun phrase object of a preposition in example 4.90a and the part/whole possessive construction precedes the proximal plural demonstrative in example 4.90b. In example 4.90c, the nominal with the possessor suffix *-n* precedes the anaphoric demonstrative *alina.*

4.90 a. *Nisava* *mo* *paj* [*la* *bano-m* *ana*]$_{NP}$*?*
what ATTR be.situated LOC mouth-2SG.POSS ANA
'What is in that mouth of yours?' [psw_Yia3Rida04.026]

b. [*Vaxer* *a* *ravo* *ixa-te*]$_{NP}$
fruit of Natapoa PROX-PL
'These fruit of the Natapoa' [psw_Yia2Rida03.013]

c. [*Nuddu-n* *alina*]$_{NP}$ *to* *ngal* *soxor.*
family-3SG.POSS ANA 3PL:NFUT glad very
'Those family members of hers were very glad.'
[Rebeccakanabbuasjika.024]

The example in 4.91 illustrates the quantifier *evis* preceding the possessive structure.

4.91 [*Buluk* *evis* *isa-ng*]$_{NP}$ *to* *rox* *axa.*
cattle some CLF1-1SG.POSS 3PL:NFUT live MED.SG
'Some of my cattle live there (in that plantation).' [psw_golobus.007]

The example in 4.92 illustrates the coordinate noun phrase (‘my friends and I’) followed by the indirect possessive marker and pluralizer in that order.

4.92	*“Inao*	*kana*	*[bbu-bbu-an*	*isa-ng*	*ngail*]$_{NP}$*…”*
	1SG	with	DUP-join-NMLZ2	CLF1-1SG.POSS	PL

‘“My friends and I...’ [psw_Yia3Rida01.002]

The demonstrative precedes the quantifier ‘all’ in example 4.93.

4.93	[*naur*	*alina*	*puiji*]$_{NP}$.
	place	ANA	all

‘The thatch is covering all those places.’ [psw_naim_cont.063]

In example 4.94, the plural proximal demonstrative *ixate* precedes the attributive modifier *mo* and number ‘three’.

4.94	[*Ruare*	*ixa-te*	*mo*	*roi*]$_{NP}$
	child	PROX-PL	ATTR	be.three

‘These three children’ [psw_HA_listen.001]

The part/whole possessive relationship in example 4.95 precedes the demonstrative determiner.

4.95	*E*	*sngon-a*	*kruxer*	*a*	*naxai*	*alina*
	3SG:NFUT	put-TR	seed	of	tree	ANA

leim	*la*	*potel.*
inside	LOC	bottle *(Bisl)*

‘He puts those seeds of the tree in the bottle.’ [psw_van08.005]

As discussed in section 4.2.4, the most effective strategy to modify noun heads adjectivally is through the morphological process of inflecting verbs with the morpheme *mo.* The few lexical nominal post-modifiers having also an adjectival function, do not co-occur with the attributive structure within the same noun phrase in the Lamap corpus. The following examples in 4.96 illustrate the structure including the attributive morpheme, with a possessive (a), number (b) and pluralizer (c).

4.96 a. [*ruare* *mo* *keke* *isa-n*]$_{NP}$.
child ATTR be.small CLF1-3SG.POSS
'her small child.' [psw_HA_bush.003]

b. [*boruv* *mo* *keke* *e* *rim*]$_{NP}$
chicken ATTR be.small 3SG:NFUT be.five
'five little chickens.' [Baravsaxabat.017]

c. [*Ravue* *mo* *la-lap* *ngail*]$_{NP}$ *to* *vanima*
wave ATTR DUP-be.big PL 3PL:NFUT come
'Big waves are coming.' [psw_van06.007]

5 Chapter Five

THE VERB COMPLEX

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the morphological behaviour of Lamap's verbs in simple clauses including some constituents of the verb complex that are presented in table 14.

Table 14: Simple Verb Complex

(Negation Future) (*kasa)*	Subject / Tense Index	Negation	(DUP) **VERB**	Modifier (Manner) / Aspect

One of the major findings of this study is the identification of two paradigms of bound subject indexes which encode nonfuture tense (NFUT) and future tense (FUT) in simple verbal clauses. This is described in section 5.2 of this chapter. In Section 5.3 negator elements are discussed. In section 5.4 verb classes including inherently intransitive and inherently transitive verbs, ambitransitive verbs and transitive verbs with obliques are addressed. Another key finding is the identification of a transitive affix (see sections 5.4.4 and 6.2.2) which is in complementary distribution with a set of singular object pro-indexes (see section 5.5). A number of postverbal modifiers are illustrated in section 5.6. Finally, section 5.7 describes reduplication forms and functions.

5.2 Subject Indexes

According to Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002: 45) the area of verbal morphology and verb phrase syntax exhibit great complexity in Oceanic languages. While it is possible that there are multiple prefixes or preverbal bound forms, each with a different function, portmanteau morphemes are also productive in many Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002). Verbal prefixes frequently encode tense/aspect and mood (TAM). Tense refers to the location in time of an event or state, while aspect, on the other hand, 'focuses on the internal temporal makeup of a situation' (Whaley 1997: 2014). Mood refers to the actuality of a state or event. Actual events or states that are real may be referred to as realis (REAL) and events or states that are hypothetical and have no evidence are referred to as irrealis (IRR). Mood frequently overlaps with tense (Lynch 1998: 133-6; Ross 2004: 500).

In Lamap, verbs are obligatorily preceded by subject indexes that encode the person and number categories of the subject. Early analyses of Lamap present a single paradigm of preverbal subject indexes (Charpentier 1982: 15-43) with variant forms that suggested vowel harmony (Crowley 2002: 655). The new Lamap Corpus provides evidence that the language has two distinct paradigms of bound subject indexes. Like its neighbour Uluveu (Healey 2013), the two Lamap paradigms contrast in their vowels and function to express a temporal contrast. The nonfuture paradigm displays back vowels (Table 15), and the future paradigm displays front vowels (Table 16).

5.2.1 The nonfuture subject index paradigm

Lamap's subject indexes make no gender distinctions but are contrastive in singular, dual and plural number. Non-singular first person indexes distinguish inclusivity and exclusivity.[32]

[32] Teachers in Lamap faced a representational issue concering the treatment of subject indexes. In order to resolve these, an earlier study employed relevant word segmentation criteria compiled by Haspelmath (2011). The outcome suggests that the subject indexes display properties of bound, affixal forms rather than of independent word forms (Barbour & Williams 2017). While from a linguistic perspective it can be advised to represent the indexes and their associated verbs as complex words without intervening spaces, the natural intuition of the teachers in Lamap was to treat the subject indexes as separate words.

Table 15: Nonfuture Subject Index Paradigm

Lamap nonfuture subject indexes

	Singular		Dual	Plural
1	*no*	INCL	*ddu*	*ddato*
		EXCL	*namu*	*nato*
2	*ko*		*x(a)mu*	*xato*
3	*e*		*ku/xu*	*to*

Functions of the nonfuture subject indexes include:

- the expression of past time situations
- the expression of present time situations
- the expression of habitual situations
- nonfuture situations with negative polarity (see section 5.3)
- nonfuture interrogatives (see section 6.5)

Example 5.1 shows the first person singular nonfuture index *no-*, expressing an event that occurred prior to the moment of speech.

5.1 *No* *veu* *vim.*
1SG:NFUT return go.home
'I returned home.' [psw_Yia3Rida04.017]

Example 5.2 also expresses an event in the past. This time the verb is preceded by the third person plural subject index encoding nonfuture time.

5.2 *To* *rox* *la* *xiddu.*
3PL:NFUT live LOC bush
'They lived in the bush.' [Lingtan.005]

Example 5.3 expresses a present state with the nonfuture subject index encoding first person plural exclusive.

5.3 *Nato* *rox* *la* *naras.*
1PL.EXCL:NFUT live LOC sea
'We live in the sea.' (referring to fish) [psw_icr19.009]

Examples 5.4 and 5.5 express events happening in the present time. The first example has been translated from a French children story and illustrates the third person dual nonfuture subject index *ku* whereas the second example shows the third person singular nonfuture form *e*.

5.4 *Ku* *brax-a* *naur* *jikang…*
3DU:NFUT reach-TR place one
'They reach a place…' [Ruxbbuas.005]

5.5 *E* *te* *ngoang* *xavoi.*
3SG:NFUT cut canoe genuine
'He is carving a traditional canoe.' [psw_HA_carvingcanoe.001]

Examples 5.6 and 5.7 illustrate nonfuture subject indexes encoding habitual activities. In example 5.6 an elder is referring to the earlier method of cutting trees for building materials and in 5.7 a woman talks about gardening. There is no distinction made between past habitual and general habitual activities. The context allows the hearer to understand the time frame of the situation.

5.6 *To* *pan-a* *naxai.*
3PL:NFUT burn-TR tree
'They burned the trees.' [psw_naim_trans.010]

5.7 *Ddato* *lum-a* *naddam.*
1PL.INCL:NFUT plant-TR yam
'We plant yams.' [psw_karen.005]

5.2.2 The future subject index paradigm

The future subject indexes are characterised by final high front vowels.[33] In Table 16 all future forms display a final *-i*.

Table 16: Future Subject Index Paradigm

	Singular		Dual	Plural
1	*ni*	INCL	*ddi*	*ddati*
		EXCL	*nami*	*nati*
2	*ki*		*x(a)mi*	*xati*
3	*eri*		*kuri*	*ti*

Functions of the future subject indexes include:[34]

- the expression of future time situations
- future time situations with negative polarity (see section 5.3)
- future time interrogatives (see section 6.5.1)
- imperatives and prohibitives (see section 6.5.2)

The following examples in 5.8 illustrate events that will happen in the future. The future indexes encoding first and second person singular occur in example 5.8a, the third person singular future subject index occurs in 5.8b and the first person inclusive and third person plural future subject indexes are illustrated in examples 5.8c and d respectively.

5.8 a. *Ni* *gar-a* *xaing* …
1SG:FUT rub-TR 2SG …

muija *xaing* *ki* *gar-a* *inao.*
then 2SG 2SG:FUT rub-TR 1SG
'I will rub you (with a coral), then you will rub me.' [psw_van03.006]

[33] Since the publication of the co-authored paper (Barbour and Williams: 2017) the new analysis has revealed the future subject index for the third person singular to have the form *eri-* as opposed to the previously suggested form *bi.*

[34] In an examination of complex clauses, the paradigm of future subject indexes is seen to express intentions and desires, as well as to express abilities. It is hoped that the analysis of these complex clauses will form a subsequent phase of the study of the Lamap language.

b. *Pean* *eri* *xan* *brevuj.*
tomorrow 3SG:FUT eat banana
'Tomorrow he will eat banana.' [psw_eri.07]

c. *Arkixang* *la-urxeav* *ddati* *bravux…*
today LOC-afternoon 1PL.INCL:FUT meet
'Today in the afternoon we will meet… [psw_allSaintsday.002]

d. *Xati* *van* *pean* *rai.*
2PL:FUT go tomorrow just
'You will only go tomorrow.' [psw_eri-.018]

5.3 Negation

In Lamap, the negator *sba* distinguishes between affirmative and negative statements. In the Lamap corpus *sba* is attested in second position of the verb complex following the subject index and preceding the verb.[35] The corpus also illustrates the future negative morpheme *kasa.* Examples of affirmative and negative statements with the morpheme *sba* are illustrated in section 5.3.1, *kasa* is described in section 5.3.2.

5.3.1 The negation morpheme *sba*

The verb *lngon* expresses the sensory experiences of 'hearing/feeling' and is used in the following examples referring to the meaning 'to hear'. An affirmative statement is shown in example 5.9a, while a negative statement is presented in 5.9b. Both clauses have nonfuture temporal reference.

5.9 a. *Ku* *lngon-a* *pratux.*
3DU:NFUT listen-TR noise
'They (DU) hear a noise. [Ruxbbuas.008]

b. *Lingtan* *e* *sba* *lngon-a* *sue.*
L. 3DU:NFUT NEG hear-TR word
'Lingtan does not hear the warning.' [Lingtan.052]

[35] A larger corpus may reveal if aspectual constituents occur either side of the negative morpheme.

Another pair of clauses are illustrated in the following examples. The affirmative statement is presented in example 5.10a and the associated negative statement is presented in example 5.10b.

5.10 a. *Naxo-m* *e* *kis* *soxor.*
face-2SG.POSS 3SG:NFUT beautiful very
'Your face is beautiful.' [psw_Yia3Rida08.081]

b. *E* *sba* *kis* *rai.*
3SG:NFUT NEG beautiful just
'She is not at all beautiful.' [psw_van03.007]

5.3.2 The negation lexeme *kasa*

Negation of future clauses is achieved with *kasa.* However, in contrast to the negator morpheme *sba, kasa* precedes the subject index, thus being in first position of the verb complex. There are two strategies for the expression of future negation: first, the future negator *kasa* occurs with a nonfuture subject index preceding the verb, and second, *kasa* occurs with a future subject index. The first strategy would be consistent with the negation pattern in Uluveu (Healey 2013: 276) with *asike* as the future negator.

Strategy one is illustrated in the following two examples. It seems that *kasa* causes the construction to express future time although the subject indexes are coded as nonfuture.

5.11 a. *Kasa* *ko* *ris-ing* *ame.*
NEG.FUT 2SG:NFUT see-1SG.OBJ again
'You will never see me again.' [psw_Yia3Rida05.024]

b. *Kasa* *ko* *barin-ing*
NEG.FUT 2SG:NFUT find-1SG.OBJ
'You will not find me' [psw_Yia3Rida09.055]

There is one negative statement included in the corpus with the future subject index *eri*, thus illustrating the second future negation strategy.

5.12	*Pean*	*kasa*	*eri*	*vanim*	*la*	*naim*	*isa-ng*
	Tomorrow	NEG.FUT	1SG:FUT	come	LOC	house	CLF1-1SG.POSS

'Tomorrow he will not come to my house.' [psw_eri-.012]

Healey (2013: 215-16; 299) reports that negative future statements with irrealis (or future) subject indexes are rare in Uluveu and have a special emphatic meaning. This may also be true of Lamap.

5.4 Verb classes

Verbs in general can be categorised into subclasses. They can be defined as verbs that only need one argument and verbs that require more than one argument. Verbs that do not need a grammatical object and have only one argument are referred to intransitive verbs and are defined grammatically by a single argument structure which encodes the S function. In contrast, verbs that require two arguments include a grammatical object and are referred to transitive verbs (Whaley 1997: 184). The two core arguments refer to a subject and a direct object and encode A and O functions. The A function defines the agent-like argument while the O function defines the other argument which is prototypically patient-like (Payne 2006: 107-8; 217). Furthermore, if verbs allow three participants, a grammatical subject, grammatical object and a grammatical indirect or second object, they are classified as ditransitive (Whaley 1997: 184). Ambitransitive verbs are able to be transitive or intransitive in function with no morphological modification.

Intransitive verbs can be further classified into active and stative verbs. Intransitive active verbs are dynamic or non-dynamic verbs that semantically encode a volitional action that is initiated by an agent as S function. Intransitive stative verbs are non-volitional and refer to a state or a process or change over time. Instead of the single argument encoding an agent, the S function denotes an undergoer or patient (Ross 2004: 504).

It is common in Oceanic languages for verbs to use affixes to mark transitivity. Most typically, at least the transitive verbs have a suffix signalling the presence of an object (Lynch 1998: 138-9).

Lamap presents inherently intransitive and inherently transitive verbs as well as derived transitive verbs, and transitive verbs that only ever occur with a derivational suffix. The corpus includes one ambitransitive verb that is defined by the number of its core arguments rather than by affixation marking transitivity. There are no ditransitive verbs in the corpus. Clauses with more than two participants encode the third participant as a non-core argument using a prepositional phrase.

5.4.1 Inherently Intransitive Verbs

Lamap's inherently intransitive verbs have a single argument that is the grammatical subject. The category includes active and stative verbs. The single argument is indexed for person and number in the pre-verbal subject index. Intransitive verbs may occur without a nominal subject in which case the pre-verbal subject index alone encodes the grammatical subject. Adjectival verbs do not only function as verbs but can also be derived to function as attributive modifiers after the attributive morpheme *mo* (see section 4.2.4).

Intransitive stative verbs

5.13	*kanox*	‘be fat’
	bremer	‘be dirty/be black’
	rim	‘be five’
	maur	‘live’
	paj	‘lie horizontally/sleep’
	beav	‘be long’
	tas	‘be tired’
	ngal	‘be glad’
	bao	‘be big’
	ddang	‘be strong’

The examples in 5.14 illustrate different intransitive verbs in clauses. In each case, they occur with the third person singular nonfuture subject index *e*.

5.14 a. *Robong* *e* *kanox.*
rooster 3SG:NFUT be.fat
‘The rooster is fat.’ [psw_Yia2Rida02.004]

b. *Boruv* *e* *bremer.*
chicken 3SG:NFUT be.black
‘The chicken is black.’ [psw_icr09.005]

c. *Boruv* *e* *rim.*
chicken 3SG:NFUT be.five
‘There are five chickens.’ [psw_icr09.002]

d. *Ruare* *abi-na* *e* *maur* *rai.*
child where-ANA 3SG:NFUT live just
‘That child is alive indeed.’ [lapoupeemalade.024]

e. *Leitau* *e* *paj.*
L. 3SG:NFUT sleep
‘Leitau is sleeping.’ [psw_van07.007]

The grammatical subjects of active intransitive verbs have the semantic role of agent. Following the list of some active verbs (5.15), examples 5.16a and b show active intransitive verbs in simple clauses.

Intransitive active verbs

5.15	*man*	‘laugh’
	rang	‘cry’
	kubax	‘jump/fly’
	bravux	‘gather’
	kisax	‘bark’
	van	‘go/walk’
	sarmeax	‘get up’
	is	‘scream’
	joax	‘dive’
	kalax	‘squirm’

5.16 a. *Ruare* *ngail* *to* *man.*
child PL 3PL:NFUT laugh
‘The children are laughing.’ [Ruxbbuas.020]

b. *Nana* *ngail* *to* *rang.*
mother PL 3PL:NFUT cry
‘The mothers cried.’ [psw_Yia3Rida07.051]

In example 5.17 the active intransitive verb *bravux* ‘gather’ is followed by a location with the preposition *la.*

5.17 *Xarar* *ngail* *to* *bravux* *la* *xamar.*
man PL 3PL:NFUT gather LOC nakamal
‘The men gather at the nakamal.’ [Naxerramaj.012]

The prepositional phrase is not required to make this construction complete as seen in example 5.18, in which the habitual action of men gathering in the *nakamal* is discussed.

5.18 *Ddato* *bravux.*
1PL:NFUT gather
‘We gather (at a particular place).’ [psw_nakamal_trans.019]

5.4.1.1 Deriving transitive verbs from intransitive roots

Like in some other Oceanic languages that use derivational morphemes to increase the valency of intransitive verbs (Lynch et al. 2002: 44), in Lamap valence increase is achieved by the suffix *-a* on the intransitive verb root. This suffix introduces a second core argument as the grammatical object (see a detailed description of the transitive suffix *a* in section 5.4.4).
The following three patterns in regards to valence increase are found in the corpus.

5.19

Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
jangav	'be open'	*jangav-a*	'open s.t.'
marax	'be scared'	*marax-a*	'be scared of s.t.'
gas	'work'	*gas-a*	'build'

The grammatical subject of the intransitive stative verb 'be open' in example 5.20a has the semantic role of the undergoer. There is a single argument. In the example illustrated in 5.20b, the suffix *-a* introduces a new argument structure with two core arguments. The valency increases from one to two. The grammatical subject in the transitive construction 'open s.t.' is an agent and the grammatical object has a semantic role of undergoer. The intransitive S function thus becomes the transitive O function.

5.20 a. *Pusaxer* *pxapux* *jika* *e* *jangav*
flower be.white one 3SG:NFUT be.open
'One white flower is open.' [psw_Yia2Rida06.008]

b. *E* *jangav-a* *pupurav.*
3SG:NFUT open-TR door
'She opens the door.' [Ruxbbuas.019]

As in example 5.20a, the intransitive construction in 5.21a has an undergoer as S. However, in contrast to the example 5.20a above, here the transitive construction retains the undergoer as A while the suffix *a* on the intransitive verb 'be scared' introduces the new O as illustrated in example 5.21b.

5.21 a. *Vavu* *Kalua* *e* *marax.*
grandfather K. 3SG:NFUT be.scared
'Grandfather K. was scared.' [psw_Yia2Rida01.008]

b. *No* *marax-a* *xisa-m*
1SG: NFUT be.scared-TR name-2POSS
'I am scared of your name.' [psw_Yia3Rida08.060]

In contrast to examples 5.20a and 5.21a above with undergoers as S functions, the intransitive verbs *gas* 'work' and *jajax* 'line fishing' have an actor/agent as S.[36] As examples 5.22 and 5.23 show, the transitive A retains the role of agent while an undergoer/patient as the O is introduced. Further, a change in meaning can be observed between the intransitive and transitive verbs from more general action to more specific action.

5.22 a. *Nasub* *abi-xa-ng* *e* *gas.*
big.man where-PROX-SG 3SG: NFUT work
'This man is working.' [psw_HA_smokingman.001]

b. *E* *gas-a* *naim.*
3SG:NFUT work- TR house
'He builds a house.' [psw_van09.009]

5.23 a. *Tom* *e* *ja-jax.*
T. 3SG:NFUT DUP-cast
'Tom is line fishing.' [psw_HA_fishing.001]

b. *E* *ja-jax-a* *naix* *e* *u.*
3SG: NFUT DUP-cast- TR fish 3SG: NFUT be.two
'He has caught two fish.' [psw_HA_fishing.002]

[36] The reduplicated intransitive form *jajax* with the meaning of 'line fishing' is derived from the basic verb root *jax* 'cast/throw'. In its transitivised form the meaning changes to 'catch'.

5.4.2 Inherently Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs have two obligatory core arguments. The A function is normally filled by an actor/agent and the O function is filled by a patient/undergoer. In the prototypical transitive construction A is preceding the verb while O is following the verb. Nominal A arguments can be omitted when their referents can be retrieved from contextual information due to the obligatory subject indexes bound to the verb complex.

There is a small group of inherently transitive verbs in the corpus that occur without affixation. A set of unmarked transitive verbs are shown in 5.24 and examples follow in 5.25.

5.24	*te*	'cut/carve'
	sax	'climb up'
	rvaruv	'heap up'
	jao	'slice/saw'

In examples 5.26 the subject occurs before the verb, and is indexed with the third person singular nonfuture form before the verb root. The inherently transitive verb *te* 'cut/carve' (5.26a) and *sax* 'climb' (5.26b) precede the objects 'traditional canoe' and 'coconut' respectively. There is no additional morphology on the verb.

5.25 a.

Tobi	*e*	*te*	*noang*	*xavoi.*
T.	3SG: NFUT	cut	canoe	be.true

'Tobi is carving a traditional canoe.' [psw_HA_carving.001]

b.

Ita	*e*	*sax*	*maru.*
dad	3SG: NFUT	climb	coconut

Dad is climbing the coconut tree. [psw_icr08.009]

In examples 5.26 the subject of the transitive verb is expressed only with the third person singular index on the verb, while the object is a nominal expression after the verb.

5.26 a. *E* *rvaruv* *barav.*
3SG:NFUT pile.up breadfruit
'He piles up the breadfruit.' [psw_Yia2Rida.01.020]

b. *E* *jao* *naxai.*
3SG:NFUT saw wood
'He is sawing wood.' [psw_HA_saw.001]

5.4.3 Ambitransitive verbs

In the corpus only one verb has been identified so far, that can behave as either intransitive or transitive. This is the ambitransitive verb *mun* 'drink'. There is no morphological change in form occurring with either one or two core arguments. Prototypically, the concept of 'drink' involves an agent/actor and a patient/undergoer. This prototypical concept is presented in example 5.27 with 'child' as agent (A) and 'fresh water 'as patient (O).

5.27 *Ruare* *e* *mun* *noai* *mo* *susus.*
child 3SG: NFUT drink water ATTR be.fresh
'The child drinks fresh water.' [psw_HA_drinking.002]

In example 5.28 the complex construction involves the desiderative 'want' and *mun* 'drink' following as the complement of 'want'. No object follows the verb 'drink'. It is used intransitively with actor subject.

5.28 *No* *ka* *ni* *mun.*
1SG:NFUT want 1SG:FUT drink
'I want to drink.' [psw_BUKS.018]

5.4.4 Transitive verbs with obligatory transitive morphology

In addition to inherently transitive verbs described in section 5.4.2, the larger set of transitive verbs in the corpus can be analysed as comprising a verb root with a transitive suffix *a* preceding the object argument. These, mostly active transitive verbs, are obligatorily inflected with this suffix preceding the object noun phrase. No intransitive verbs without the suffix have been identified in the corpus as partners to these suffixed verb stems. Some verbs of this type attested in the corpus are listed in example 5.29. Examples in 5.30 show transitive verbs ending with *–a* in transitive clauses. Example 5.30d has a pronominal object.

5.29

max-a	‘make/cause’
varxur-a	‘clean’
sngon-a	‘put’
lngon-a	‘hear/feel’
ris-a	‘look/see’
vav-a	‘take/hold’
paj-a	‘carry’
pan-a	‘burn’
ddong-a	‘go.get’
barin-a	‘find’

5.30

a. *Bareab abi-na max-a kabur.*
woman where-ANA make-TR laplap
‘That woman makes laplap. [solwota.03]

b. *Vavu bareab e varxur-a bruxej sa*
grandparent woman 3SG:NFUT clean-TR grave POSS

rux malab kina.
little girl DIST.SG
‘The grandmother cleaned the little girl’s grave.’ [psw_Yia3Rida05.036]

c. *E sngon-a kruxer a naxai alina*
3SG:NFUT put-TR seed of tree ANA

leim la potel.
inside LOC bottle *(Bisl)*
‘He puts those seeds of the tree in the bottle.’ [psw_van08.005]

d. *Noai e paj-a xau…*
water 3SG.NFUT carry-TR 3DU
‘The water is carrying the two (father and child)…’ [solwota.24]

5.5 Object indexing

There is evidence in the corpus of a partial paradigm of object indexes, which occur in complementary distribution with the object noun phrase. Haspelmath (2013: 208) refers to indexes that substitute or 'stand instead of full nominals' as pro-indexes. The object noun phrase may be omitted when it is available in contextual information and instead is represented by a pro-index. In such cases, the verb root occurs with one of three forms of pro-suffixes that replace the object noun phrase. The corpus indicates that the use of these three object pro-indexes replace singular objects as illustrated in example 5.31. In the corpus, there is no example of a non-singular object. that is replaced by any of these object pro-indexes.

5.31 Singular object pro-indexes

-ing	1SG.OBJ
-im	2SG.OBJ
-i	3SG.OBJ

In example 5.32, the transitive suffix *-a* precedes the independent object pronoun *inao* 'me'.

5.32

Ko	*barin-a*	*inao.*
2SG:NFUT	find-TR	1SG

'You found me.' [psw_Yia3Rida.09.028]

The corresponding object pro-index for first person singular *-ing* following the verb replaces the omitted object pronoun *inao* in example 5.33. The transitive suffix *-a* is omitted when the object pro-index is attached.

5.33

Kasa	*ko*	*barin-ing.*
NEG.FUT	2SG:NFUT	find-1SG.OBJ

'You do not find me.' [psw_Yia3Rida.09.012]

In example 5.34a, the independent person pronoun *xaing* denoting the second person singular occurs as the object argument and is preceded by the transitive suffix *-a*. The object pro-index *-im* replaces the object pronoun *xaing* in 5.34b, and again, the transitive suffix *-a* is omitted.

5.34 a. *Nalo-ng* *e* *kaj-a* *xaing.*
inside-1SG.POSS 3SG:NFUT like-TR 2SG
'I like you.' [psw_Yia3Rida.08.68]

b. *Ni* *barin-im.*
1SG:FUT find-2SG.OBJ
'I will find you.' [psw_Yia3Rda.09.026]

Example 5.35a illustrates the verb ris 'look/see' with a pronoun expressing A function and a nominal expressing O function. In example 5.35b, the object is omitted and expressed only as the object pro-index *–i* encoding third person singular.

5.35 a. *E* *ris-a* *nabur* *jika.*
3SG:NFUT see- TR hole one
'She saw a hole.' [namar.015]

b. *E* *ris-i.*
3SG:NFUT see-3SG.OBJ
'She sees it.' [solwota.07]

The ambitransitive verb *mun* and the verb *xan* occur with a nominal object in examples 5.36a and 5.37a. In examples 5.36b and 5.37b, the verbs occur with the object index *-i*

5.36 a. *Ruare* *e* *mun* *noai* *mo* *susus.*
child 3SG:NFUT drink water ATTR be.fresh
'The child drinks water.' [psw_HA_drinking.002]

b. *Ko* *mun-i.*
2SG:NFUT drink-3SG:OBJ
'You drink it.' [psw_tri_posenfis.021]

5.37 a. *To* *xan-a* *naxer.*
3PL:NFUT eat-TR octopus
'They ate the octopus.' [Naxerramaj.013]

b. *To* *xan-i.*
3PL:NFUT eat-3SG.OBJ
'They ate it (the laplap).' [solwota.018]

There is only one example of non-singular object indexing in the corpus. Example 5.38 illustrates the verb root *pe* 'count' followed by the nominal object *navar* 'rock' which also means 'money'. The subject index encoding third person dual nonfuture has two forms *xu* and *ku* (see table 15, section 5.2.1). In this clause, the form *xu* is used.

5.38 *Xu* *pe-a* *navar.*
3DU:NFUT count-TR rock/money
'They count the money.' [psw_Yia2Rida09.014]

More commonly, plural pronominal objects are attested following verbs with the transitive suffix *-a* as illustrated in examples 5.39.

5.39 a. *Nanam* *e* *raj-a* *ddate.*
mosquito 3SG:NFUT sting-TR 1PL.INCL
'The mosquito stings us.' [psw_Yia3Rida09.001]

b. *Xamu* *tadd* *jun-a* *namu.*
2DU:NFUT stay wait-TR 1PL.EXCL
'You (DU) (stay waiting) wait for us.' [Lingtan.051]

5.6 Postverbal modifiers

While some Oceanic languages have a large number of verbal affixes in the verb complex, others make use of uninflected elements that are positionally bound to the verb inside the complex. These are classified as verbal postverbal modifiers (Lynch 1998: 146). The postverbal modifiers tend to combine aspectual and adverbial functions.

Postverbal modifiers which express aspectual functions denote the 'time contour' of the event (Lynch 1998: 134). This includes aspects of repetition/habitual (progressive), completion (perfective) and duration (imperfective). Manner modifiers may add emphasis.

The modifiers listed in examples 5.40a follow intransitive roots and the clause remains intransitive (examples are illustrated in sections 5.6.1 to 5.6.6). The modifiers listed in examples 5.40b form transitive clauses from both intransitive and transitive verb roots. The transitive suffix *-a* is attached to these postverbal modifiers (not to the verb root) and an object follows (examples are illustrated in sections 5.6.7 to 5.6.9). Postverbal modifiers do not occur as independent verbs in other contexts.

5.40	a.	*xabat*	'EXC, excessive'
		mamax	'CONT, continuative'
		inong	'already'
		maddao	'quietly'
		soxor	'very'
		taliban	'empty-handed'
	b.	*pis*	'around'
		bbun/bun	'completely/totally'
		jun	'wait'

5.6.1 *xabat* ‘EXC’

The modifier xabat ‘exc’ occurs in the corpus in affirmative statements and indicates that an event or process occurs excessively over a period of time.

5.41 a. *Ruare* *ixa-ng* *e* *rang* *xabat.*
boy PROX-SG 3SG:NFUT cry EXC
‘This child is crying a lot.’ [psw_HA_babybath.002]

b. *Nivu* *abi-na* *e* *bao* *xabat.*
turtle where-ANA 3SG:NFUT grow EXC
‘The turtle was really big.’ [psw_van07.006]

5.6.2 *mamax* ‘CONT’

The aspectual modifier *mamax* ‘CONT’ indicates that a situation continues for a long period. In example 5.42 *mamax* encodes the limitless passage of time in a desiderative complement clause.

5.42 *E* *ka* *rivo-n* *eri* *pxapux* *mamax.*
3SG:NFUT want tooth-3SG.POSS 3SG:FUT be.white CONT
‘He wants his tooth to stay white.’ [psw_HA_brushingteeth.003]

Example 5.43 describes the scene in which a series of activities take place while the subject is singing continuously.

5.43 *E* *kakae* *mamax.*
3SG:NFUT sing CONT
‘She is still singing (continuously).’ [psw_Yia3Rida05.030]

5.6.3 *inong* ‘already’

The modifier *inong* ‘already’, indicates the accomplishment of an action and encodes the perfect aspect. Example 5.44 is from a story in which a girl returns home in order to get something she had left behind. The grandmother however, thought that the item had been picked up earlier by another girl. This is expressed by the perfect modifier *inong.* The grandmother recalls an earlier event in the past that had been completed prior to another event that followed in the past.

5.44 *Rux* *malab* *jika* *e* *vanim* *inong.*
little girl one 3SG:NFUT come already
'A little girl came (had come) already.' [psw_Yia3Rida05.022]

Example 5.45 refers to the action of having mentioned something prior to the present conversation.

5.45 *No* *ka* *inong*
1SG:NFUT say already
'I have said (it) already.' [psw_naim_cont.050]

The perfect modifier is used in association with the stative verb 'be.dead' in example 5.46. A man tried to kill a snake and then looked to see if the snake was definitely dead, pronouncing 'It has died!'.

5.46 *E* *maj* *inong.*
3SG:NFUT dead already
'It has died!' [psw_Yia2Rida01.015]

5.6.4 *maddao* 'quietly'

The modifier *maddao* 'quietly' indicates that a situation unfolds in a 'quiet' manner.

5.47 *Ku* *uj* *maddao.*
3DU:NFUT speak quietly
'They (DU) speak quietly.' [Ruxbbuas.007]

The imperative construction in example 5.48 refers to the stative verb 'to sit' or 'stay' quietly.

5.48 *"Xati* *tadd* *maddao!"*
2PL:FUT stay/sit quietly
'"Sit still! (Be quiet!)"' [psw_BUKS.043]

5.6.5 *soxor* ‘very’

The modifier *soxor* is an intensifier meaning ‘very’. It is only attested with stative intransitive verbs.

5.49 a. *Nuddu-n* *alina* *to* *ngal* *soxor.*
family-3SG:POSS ANA 3PL:NFUT glad very
‘All of her family are very glad.’ [Rebeccakanabbuasjika.024]

b. *Naur* *e* *kab* *soxor.*
place 3SG:NFUT hot very
The place is very hot.’ [psw_Yia3Rida04.007]

c. *Naix* *abi-na* *e* *gregur* *soxor.*
fish where.ANA 3SG:NFUT be.loose very
‘That fish is very loose (i.e. wiggling).’ [psw_Yia3Rida01.017]

5.6.6 *taliban* ‘empty-handed/without anything’

The modifier *taliban* ‘empty-handed/without anything’ in example 5.50a, refers to trees that have lost all their leaves. Branches of trees are associated with hands and fingers. In example 5.50b *taliban* is used in a statement expressing an unsuccessful outcome of a turtle hunt.

5.50 a. *To* *tul* *taliban.*
3PL:NFUT stand empty-handed
‘They (the trees) are standing empty-handed (bare/without leaves).’
[psw_Yia2Rida03.005]

b. *Nato* *viur* *taliban.*
1PL.INCL:NFUT go.to.place empty-handed
‘We go ashore empty-handed.’ [psw_totel.062]

The following examples illustrate the verbal postmodifiers listed in 5.40b above. These modifiers all occur in transitive clauses, regardless of the transitivity of the main verb.

5.6.7 *pis* ‘around’

The modifier *pis* indicates that a situation involves motion ‘around’. Examples 5.51a and b illustrate this morpheme modifying the verbs ‘walk’ and ‘fly’ respectively. In both examples it is inflected by *-a* preceding the object.

5.51 a. *To* *van* *pis-a* *namu.*
3PL:NFUT walk around-TR 1INCL
‘They (the cattle) walk around us.’ [psw_golobus.016]

b. *E* *kubax* *pis-a* *bai-n.*
3SG:NFUT fly around-TR head-3SG.POSS
‘It (the mosquito) was flying around his head.’ [psw_Yia3Rida09.046]

5.6.8 *(b)bun* ‘completely/totally’

The modifier *(b)bun* occurs in the corpus as illustrated in example 5.52 describing the completion of the action ‘kill’. The verb *tang* without this post-modifier has the meaning of ‘grab/hold’.

5.52 *Xivur* *ngail* *to* *tang* *(b)bun-a* *naxer*
man PL 3PL:NFUT grab/hold completely-TR octopus
‘The men killed the octopus.’ [Naxerramaj.003]

5.6.9 *jun* ‘wait’

The modifier *jun* ‘wait’ modifies the meaning of three intransitive verbs, *tul* ‘stand’, *tadd* ‘sit/stay’ and *rox* ‘exist/live’ describing the manner of ‘waiting for someone’ as ‘stand waiting for s.o.’, ‘sit/stay waiting for s.o.’ and ‘be waiting for s.o.’.

5.53 a. *Eri-* *tul* *jun-ing.*
3SG:FUT stand wait-1SG.OBJ
‘She will wait for me.’ [psw_golobus.010]

b. *Xamu* *tadd* *jun-a* *namu.*
2DU:NFUT stay/sit wait-TR 1PL.EXCL
‘You (DU) (stay waiting) wait for us.’ [Lingtan.051]

c. *To* *rox* *jun-a* *bravux-ian.* *jika.*
3PL:NFUT exist wait-TR gather- NMLZ2 one
'They are waiting for a gathering.' [psw_HA_menpreparefood.001]

5.7 Reduplication

The corpus shows evidence of a productive reduplication process of verbs. The form of reduplication is varied and has multiple functions and semantic consequences.

5.7.1 Forms of reduplication

The following forms of reduplication are attested in the Lamap corpus. Based on the position of reduplicated affixes, it appears that there is a reduplicative prefix.

5.54 CV full reduplication

bbu	'join'	*bbu-bbu*	'meet' reciprocal

5.55 CV partial reduplication

tabir	'carry (load)'	*ta-tabir*	'pregnant' durative
ddong	'go.get'	*ddo-ddong*	'search for' iterative

5.56 CVC full reduplication

xus	'ask s.o.'	*xus-xus*	'ask s.o./beg' iterative
max	'make/cause'	*max-max*	'cause' durative
tux	'hit/hammer'	*tux-tux*	'beating/hitting' excessive
tadd	'sit/stay'	*tadd-tadd*	'stay' durative
sur	'follow'	*sur-sur*	'follow.reciprocal'
xan	'eat'	*xan-xan*	'eat' excessive

5.57 CVC partial reduplication

pasus	'give birth'	*pas-pasus*	'give birth' plural
kinaj	'green'	*kin-kinaj*	'blue-green' intensity
minaj	'different'	*min-minaj*	'many different ones' plural

5.58 CVN reduplication with nasal segment of pre-nasalised voiced plosive

jogor	'attach s.t. to the waist'	*jong-jogor*	'stuff s.t. into s.t.' iterative
kubax	'fly'	*kum-kubax*	'hop' repetitive

5.59 CVC(i)(u) augmented reduplication

tax	'tie with rope'	*tax-i-tax*	'hang/swing'
tav	'land (bird on tree)'	*tav-i-tav*	'land and fly off'
rox	'exist/live'	*rox-i-rox*	'live'
ter	'fall down'	*ter-i-ter*	'fall down/tumble'
ngal	'glad/happy'	*ngal-u-ngal*	'cheerful/bright'

The most common or general function of reduplication is that of semantic plurality. Context dependent, the plurality can refer to participants, or the plurality of a state (durative), process (intensity, habitual) or action (repetitive, excessive, iterative). Some examples from the corpus follow. In some cases, more than one function of reduplication may be present.

In example 5.60 the reduplicated form of the verb *tadd* 'stay/sit denotes durative aspect, with a situation occurring over an extended period of time.

5.60

E	*tadd-tadd*	*la*	*naon.*
3SG:NFUT	DUP-stay	LOC	beach

'He is staying at the beach' [psw_totel.058]

The stative verb rox 'exist/live' also falls into this category. The example in 5.61 denotes the habitual state of living, up until one particular event happens.

5.61

To	*rox-i-rox…*
3PL:NFUT	DUP-AUG-live

'They lived on and on (until one day)…' [Lingtan.006]

Examples 5.62a and b originate from a story of a mother hen with her chickens. The reduplication in the purpose clause in 5.62a encodes both the plurality of participants and the multiplicity of 'eating'. In example 5.62b the actor subject is singular performing an action multiple times as she is laying many eggs. The verb 'give birth' is used for the hen laying eggs, as well as birthing live young.

5.62 a. *Ku* *lang* *gora* *xan-xan-i*
3DU:NFUT grab PURP DUP-eat-3SG.OBJ
'They (DU) grab them to eat them (gobble them up).' [psw_faolstori.006]

b. *Boruv* *abi-na* *e* *pas-pasus.*
chicken where-ANA 3SG:NFUT DUP-give.birth
'That hen is laying (eggs)' [psw_faolstori.003]

The reduplication process may result in a semantic change of verbs as in example 5.63. The verb *ddong* in example 5.63a refers to the action of 'going to get something' with the sense of looking for something and knowing where to find the object. The transitive suffix *-a* is attached to the verb root, preceding a direct object. The reduplicated form *ddo-ddong* 'search for' is illustrated in example 5.63b and has the meaning of actively searching an object without knowing its whereabouts. The reduplication has a partial de-transitivising function as the transitive suffix *-a* is dropped with the reduplicated form. The object still follows the verb directly, but there is no implication of 'finding' something.

5.63 a. *E* *ddong-a* *xanian*
3SG:NFUT go.get-TR food
'She goes to get food (looks for).' [namar.006]

b. *E* *ddo-ddong* *naxux.*
3SG:NFUT DUP-go.get crab
'She is searching for crabs.' [namar.014]

In example 5.64, it is explained that the husband of a pregnant woman is not able to join the other men on their turtle hunt. The basic verb root *bbu* means 'join'. The future negative form *kasa* occurs here in its abbreviated form *kas.*

5.64 *Kas* *e* *bbu* *kan-a* *namite.*
NEG.FUT 3SG:NFUT join with-TR 1PL.EXCL
'He will not (cannot) join us. [psw_totel.058]

The semantic definition changes to 'meet' with the notion that the action is performed conjointly or reciprocally when this verb is reduplicated.

5.65 *E* *bbu-bbu-a* *bbu-bbu-an* *jika*
3SG:NFUT DUP-join-TR DUP-join-NMLZ2 one
'He meets a friend.' [psw_Yia3Rida04.015]

Valency of transitive verbs may be reduced by the morphological process of reduplication. The verb *tax* ‘tie (s.t. with rope)’ reduces its valence by reduplication and also undergoes a semantic change. In example 5.66a, the third person plural subject index has the A function as actor and *naim* ‘the house’ is the undergoer with O function. In example 5.66b, the now de-transitivised verb means ‘hang/swing’. *Ruare* ‘boy’ as the actor has the S function.

The verb encodes a repetitive event by the reduplication process.

5.66 a. *To* *tax-a* *naim*
3PL:NFUT tie-TR house
‘They tied the house (with rope).’ [psw_naim_cont.018]

b. *Ruare* *abi-na* *e* *tax-i-tax.*
boy where-ANA 3SG:NFUT DUP-AUG-tie
‘That boy is (hanging on the rope) swinging.’ [psw_HA_swing.002]

Finally, the example 5.67b illustrates the use of reduplication in a reciprocal event. The verb *sur* ‘follow’ (5.67a) is reduplicated in example 5.67b with the third plural pronoun *xate* having the O funtion, indicating a reciprocal action.

5.67 a. *E* *sur-a* *rama-n.*
3SG:NFUT follow-TR father-3SG.POSS
‘He followed his father.’ [solwota.20]

b. *To* *sur-sur-a* *xate.*
3PL:NFUT DUP-follow-TR 3PL
‘They followed each other.’ [Naxerramaj.018]

6 Chapter Six

SIMPLE VERBAL CLAUSE

6.1 Introduction

Building on the understanding of the noun phrase introduced in the previous chapter, this chapter describes the structure of core arguments in the basic verbal clause in section 6.2 and non-core arguments in section 6.3. The negative existential morpheme *mue* is addressed in 6.4. Section 6.5 considers non-declarative clauses including interrogatives, imperatives and prohibitives. The chapter concludes with clausal modifiers described in 6.6.

6.2 The Basic Structure of the Verbal Clause

The grammatical functions S, A and O and their core arguments were discussed in section 5.4 of verb classes. Lamap has SVO word order and behaves typologically like many other Oceanic languages with a nominative/accusative encoding of core syntactic roles (Lynch et al. 2002; Ross 2004). The grammatical functions A and S share the same syntactic position preceding the verb complex whereas O follows the verb complex. Non-core arguments are obliques and almost all are introduced by a preposition. The corpus provides evidence of a small number of local nouns which occur as obliques without a preposition.

6.2.1 Single argument - Intransitive clauses

In single argument intransitive clauses, the verb encodes the grammatical subject as an obligatory subject index preceding the verb. The grammatical subject (S) of intransitive verbs can be encoded as a complex noun phrase, a pronoun, or simply as the subject index.

In example 6.1 the grammatical subject comprises the nominal phrase ‘the mothers’ and the bound subject index encoding third person plural nonfuture precedes the intransitive active verb ‘cry’.

6.1 [*Nana* *ngail*]$_S$ *to*$_{(S)}$ *rang.*
mother PL 3PL:NFUT cry
'The mothers cried.' [psw_Yia3Rida07.051]

In example 6.2 the personal noun has the S function as the single core argument. The intransitive active verb *kubax* 'jump' is preceded by the obligatory nonfuture subject index co-referencing the subject.

6.2 [*Lingtan*]$_S$ *e*$_{(S)}$ *kubax.*
L. 3SG:NFUT jump
'Lingtan jumped.' [Lingtan.055]

In example 6.3 the third person singular pronoun has the S function as the single core argument. The corresponding bound subject index precedes the intransitive verb *gas* 'work'.

6.3 [*Nai*]$_S$ *e*$_{(S)}$ *gas.*
3SG 3SG:NFUT work
'He is working.' [psw_3IRR.013]

In Lamap it is common for the subject noun phrase not to be overtly expressed when the referent is easily retrievable from contextual information. When the subject noun phrase in a language is optional and can be expressed only by an index, the typological term proposed by Haspelmath (2013: 207) is 'cross index'. The subject in example 6.4 is solely encoded by its index before the intransitive active verb *man* 'laugh'.

6.4 [*E*]$_{(S)}$ *man.*
3SG:NFUT laugh
'He is laughing.' [lapoupeemalade.022]

The negative morpheme *sba* occurs between the bound subject index and the intransitive verb as illustrated in example 6.5.

6.5 [*To*]$_{(S)}$ *sba* *ram-rame.*
3PL:NFUT NEG DUP-play
'They are not playing.' [psw_icr23.17]

In example 6.6 the subject (S) has the semantic role of an undergoer rather than an agent/actor with the adjectival verb *tas* ‘be.tired’. The third person plural nonfuture subject index *to* is in first position of the verb complex and followed by the negative morpheme *sba* preceding the verb.

6.6	[*To*]$_{(S)}$	*sba*	*tas*
	3PL:NFUT	NEG	be.tired

‘They were not tired (of dancing).’ [psw_Yia3Rida05.012]

6.2.2 Two argument constructions: Transitive Clause

The transitive clause has two core arguments with the functions A and O. In the example below, the complex noun phrase expresses the A function in the grammatical subject position. The nominal *bruxej* ‘grave’ has the O function in the grammatical object position after the verb.

6.7	[*Vavu*	*bareab*]$_{A}$	*e*$_{(A)}$	*varxur-a*	[*bruxej.*]$_{O}$
	grandparent	old.woman	3SG:NFUT	clean- TR	grave

‘The grandmother is cleaning the grave’ [psw_Yia3Rida05.036]

The personal noun *Kalo* in example 6.8 has the A function in the transitive clause. The active verb *paj* ‘carry’ is preceded by the bound subject index *e*. The undergoer *bbuas* ‘pig’ forms the second argument with the O function and follows the transitive verb suffixed with *-a.*

6.8	[*Kalo*]$_{A}$	*e*$_{(A)}$	*paj-a*	[*bbuas.*]$_{O}$
	K.	3SG:NFUT	carry- TR	pig

‘Kalo is carrying the pig.’ [Ruxbbuas.015]

Like S in the intransitive clause, the A argument in the transitive clause can also be encoded by the pre-verbal subject index alone when the referent of the subject noun phrase is contextually available. The inherently transitive verb *rvaruv* ‘pile up’ in example 6.9 is preceded by *e* encoding the third person singular nonfuture subject index as A. The O function is filled by the nominal *barav* ‘breadfruit’.

6.9 [*E*]$_{(A)}$ *rvaruv* [*barav.*]$_{O}$
3SG:NFUT pile.up breadfruit
'He piles up the breadfruit.' [psw_Yia2Rida.01.020]

The example in 6.10 illustrates the bound subject index encoding future preceding the verb. The O function is filled by the pronoun *xaing.*

6.10 [*Ni*]$_{(A)}$ *gar-a* [*xaing.*]$_{O}$
1SG:FUT rub-TR 2SG
'I will rub you (with a coral).' [psw_van03.006]

It is possible for pro-indexes, following the transitive verb, to encode O function. In example 6.11, the third person singular object pro-index *-i* is attached to the transitive verb 'take'.

6.11 [*Rama-n*]$_{A}$ *e*$_{(A)}$ *vav*[*-i.*]$_{(O)}$
father-3SG.POSS 3SG:NFUT take-3SG.OBJ
'I will rub you (with a coral).' [solwota.019]

The example in 6.12 illustrates a negative clause with 'the mosquitos' as A function and the cross-index *to.* The pronoun *ddate* has O function, following the transitive verb.

6.12 [*Nanam ngail*]$_{A}$ *to*$_{(A)}$ *sba raj-a* [*ddate.*]$_{O}$
mosquito PL 3PL:NFUT NEG sting-TR 1PL.INCL
'The mosquitos did not sting us.' [psw_Yia3Rida09.022]

Finally, in the negative example in 6.13, the third person singular subject index has the A function. The O function in this example is encoded by the object pro-index *-i* on the verb root.

6.13 [*E*]$_{(A)}$ *sba* *ris-*[*i*]$_{(O)}$
3SG:NFUT NEG see-3SG.OBJ
'She does not see it.' [psw_Yia1Rida06.008]]

6.2.3 Ditransitive situations

A ditransitive verb requires three core arguments including the grammatical subject, the grammatical object and a required second or indirect object (Whaley 1997: 184).

The verb ‘give’ illustrated in example 6.14 has a valence of three in English since the verb requires a semantic role of actor as subject, a semantic role of undergoer/theme as object and finally it requires a third semantic role, that of a recipient as the indirect object.

In the Lamap Corpus there do not appear to be ditransitive verbs. Clauses with more than two participants encode the third participant as a non-core argument using different kinds of prepositional phrases. The morphosyntactic pattern in example 6.14 is identical to a transitive construction with two core arguments. The post-verbal suffix *-a* introduces the O function ‘flower’. The third non-core argument is introduced by the preposition *a* ‘to’, followed by the pronoun *nai*.

6.14	[*Mxibbu-n*]$_{A}$	*e*$_{(A)}$	*pisax-a*	[*pusaxer*]$_{O}$	[*a*	*nai*]$_{OBL}$
	grandchild	3SG:NFUT	give-TR	flower	to	3SG

‘The grandchild gives a flower to her.’ [psw_HA_hug.002]

In example 6.15 the pre-verbal bound subject index encodes the A function, the ‘child’ is the undergoer with the O function followed by the prepositional phrase comprising the preposition ‘to’ and the nominal ‘fish’.

6.15	[*E*]$_{(A)}$	*vxan-a*	[*nain*	*ngail*]$_{O}$	[*a*	*naix.*]$_{OBL}$
	3SG:NFUT	feed-TR	child	PL	to	fish

‘She is feeding the fish to her babies.’ [vnm2.03]

The transitive verb in example 6.16 has a nominal O function. The comitative preposition *kan* introduces the ‘soap’ as an oblique.

6.16	[*No*]$_{(A)}$	*kakas-a*	[*vea-ng*]$_{O}$	[*kan-a*	*sov*	*jikang.*]$_{OBL}$
	1SG:NFUT	wash-TR	hand-1SG.POSS	with-TR	sov (*BISL*)	one

‘I wash my hand(s) with soap.’ [psw_HA_watertap.005]

6.2.4 Morphosyntactic alignment

Morphosyntactic alignment is the system that encodes the grammatical relationships between arguments and the verb. It necessarily contrasts transitivity and intransitivity (Whaley 1997). Lamap reflects the Nominative/Accusative system with encoding of A/S in the shared subject position before the verb and O occurring after the verb.

The grammatical functions in Lamap are defined morphologically by verbal agreement and syntactically by constituent order. The organisation of grammatical functions in Lamap is marked by SV/AVO word order. Additionally, S/A indexes precede the verb while O pro-indexes follow the verb.

For entities functioning as grammatical subjects, number is encoded by subject indexes on the verb. These indexed verbs show contrasts between singular, dual and plural. In example 6.17 the singular nominal subject 'dog' is followed by *jika* 'one' and is cross-indexed by the third person singular nonfuture form *e* preceding the verb.

6.17 *Lipax* *jika* *e* *vanima…*
dog one 3SG:NFUT come
'A dog comes (along)…' [psw_Yia2Rida08.006]

In example 6.18 the subject noun phrase constitutes of the two persons 'the mother and her son'. The obligatory pre-verbal subject index encoding the third person dual nonfuture corresponds to the dual subject persons.

6.18 [*Nana* *kan-a* *naru-n* *sibueo*]$_{NP}$ *ku* *barin-a…*
mother with-TR offspring-3SG.POSS male 3DU:NFUT find-TR
'The mother and her son found …(an octopus)' [Naxerramaj.001]

In example 6.19 the subject *xivur* '(old)man' indicates plurality by the post-modifier *ngail* (described in section 4.2.7). It is also cross-indexed with *to* encoding third person plural nonfuture time.

6.19 *Xivur* *ngail* *to* *gas.*
man PL 3PL:NFUT work
'The men are working.' [psw_naim_trans.009]

The cross-index on the verb may be the only overt expression of the number of the subject.

6.20 *To* *kubax.*
3PL:NFUT jump
'They jumped.' [psw_faolstori_comb.027]

In contrast, mass nouns show singular agreement in the verb complex.

6.21 *Noai* *e* *susus.*
water 3SG:NFUT be.cold
'The water is cold.' [psw_HA_babybath.Ref.002]

6.3 Non-core arguments

Non-core arguments are typically introduced by a preposition, however some local nouns do not require a preposition (see Chapter 3, section 3.5). Examples with local nouns are illustrated.

6.22 a. *E* *van* [*eao.*]$_{\text{LOCAL}}$
3SG:NFUT go open.sea
'He is going out to the open sea.' [psw_van06.003]

b. *E* *sax* [*masav.*]$_{\text{LOCAL}}$
3SG:NFUT climb on/up
'He climbs on top.' [psw_Yia2Rida01.006]

c. *E* *sason* [*penaxer*]$_{\text{LOCAL}}$ *a* *navar.*
3SG:NFUT hide underneath of rock
'It is hiding under the rock.' [psw_icr16.009]

In example 6.23 the local part noun *arbaen* 'middle' is followed by a prepositional phrase with the human nominal *xarar* 'man'.

6.23 *E* *ris-a* *ruare* *jika* [*arbaen*]$_{\text{LOCAL}}$ *a* *xarar* *alina.*
3SG:NFUT see-TR boy one middle of man ANA
'She sees a boy in the middle (among) those men.' [psw_Yia3Rida05.017]

More commonly prepositions introduce non-core arguments. Lamap has both inflected and uninflected prepositions introducing location, source or goal.

6.24	*la*	LOC
	lo(n)	'in'
	a	'of/from/to'
	kan	'with'

The preposition *la* precedes nominals providing spatial information of location 'at, on, to', source 'from' as well as goal and temporal location. It is the most general preposition. In example 6.25a the preposition precedes the physical location encoded as the nominal *xamar* 'nakamal'. In example 6.25b the preposition precedes the nominal *barixer* 'trunk'.

6.25	a.	*To*	*bravux*	*la*	*xamar.*	
		3PL:NFUT	gather	LOC	nakamal	
		'They gather at the nakamal.' [Naxerramaj.012]				
	b.	*E*	*ves-a*	*nulo*	*la*	*barixer*
		3 SG:NFUT	step.in-TR	poison	LOC	trunk
		'He stepped in the poison on the trunk. [Lingtan.021]				

In example 6.26 the preposition *la* has the meaning 'to'.

6.26	*E*	*viur*	*la*	*vae*	*jika.*
	3SG:NFUT	go.to.place	LOC	village	one
	'It (the wave) goes to a place, to a village.' [psw_van01.008]				

In some constructions the local part-noun *leim* 'inside' is followed by the prepositional phrase as in example 6.27a. Likewise, the local part-noun *masav* 'on/up' sometimes is followed by the prepositional phrase as in example 6.27b. This is a common pattern for expressing location.

6.27	a.	*E*	*paj*	*leim*	*la*	*barixadd.*
		3SG:NFUT	lie	inside	LOC	basket
		'It is inside the basket.' [psw_icr22.006]				
	b.	*E*	*tadd*	*masav*	*la*	*netev.*
		3SG:NFUT	sit	on/up	loc	shelf/table
		'It is up on the table.' [psw_HA_feedingbaby.007]				

The following examples (6.27c and d) illustrate that a prepositional phrase is not obligatory.

6.27 c. *No* *ram-rame* *leim.*
1SG:NFUT DUP-play inside
'I am playing inside.' [psw_Yia3Rida07.005]

d. *E* *si-sir* *pij-a* *nukae* *mo* *ma-mas*
3SG:NFUT DUP-sweep all- CONSTR leaf ATTR DUP-be.dry

masav.
on/up
'He is sweeping up all the dry leaves.' [psw_Yia3Rida08.005]

In example 6.28 the preposition *la* locates an event at a particular time. Temporal adjuncts often precede the main clause. The noun *miaj* 'time' is followed by the possessive preposition *a* 'of'.

6.28 *La* *miaj* *a* *xivur* *ngail* *to* *van,*
LOC time of man PL 3PL:NFUT go
'When the men went,…' [Naxerramaj.006]

The preposition *lo* 'in' also locates a situation in a specific time or space. In the corpus most temporal locations occur with this preposition before the verb clause (see also section 3.5.4).[37] In example 6.29 *lo* precedes the temporal noun 'morning'.

6.29 *Lo* *panoxor* *jika* *naus* *e* *us*
in morning one rain 3SG:NFUT rain
'One morning it was raining.' [psw_van01.001]

In example 6.30 *lo* denotes a spatial location and occurs after the verb clause.

6.30 *Ko* *lo-los* *lo* *ras.*
2SG:NFUT DUP-swim in sea
'You swim in the sea.' [psw_Yia3Rida08.040]

[37] The preposition in example 6.29 may derive the common noun *nalon* 'inside' with the nominal prefix *na-* and the possessor suffix *–n.* As noun it is used to denote an abstract or non-physical 'inside' of an entity, most commonly to express emotions.

Other temporal nouns preceded by *lo* in the corpus are:

6.31 *lo* *maring* '(in the) evening'
lon *ixa(ng)* 'now (PROX.SG. here)

It is possible that *la* and *lo* are allomorphs, although a distribution pattern has not been identified as yet.

The locative preposition *a,* has the meaning 'at/on/to'. In example 6.32 the preposition means 'to' denoting a goal.

6.32 *Rux* *bbuas* *e* *sur-a* *Kalo*
little pig 3SG:NFUT follow-TR K.

a *vim* *isa-n.*
LOC.to go.home CLF1-3SG.POSS
'The little pig followed Kalo to his home.' [Ruxbbuas.024]

The preposition *a* also functions as a possessor morpheme with the meaning 'of' (see section 4.2.6). This is illustrated in example 6.33 with the local part noun *arbaen* 'middle/centre' as the possessum and *xarar* 'men' as possessors, repeated from example 6.23 before. In this case this is not a prototypical possessive relationship between possessum and human possessor but rather a spatial relationship between 'middle' and 'those men' (see section 4.2.6.3).

6.33 *arbaen* *a* *xarar* *alina*
middle of man ANA
'in the middle of (among) these men' [psw_Yia3Rida05.017]

The prepositions *kan* 'with' has comitative and instrumental functions and is also used to link two noun phrases in a coordinated construction (see section 4.2.8.1). This preposition makes use of the morphology associated with verbs and can occur with the transitive suffix *-a,* or with one of the object pro-indexes. The example 6.34 illustrates this preposition suffixed with *-a* introducing an instrument.

6.34 *E* *jao* *kan-a* *xijao*
3SG:NFUT cut with-TR knife
'He cuts with a knife.' [psw_HA_peel2.002]

When a (pro)nominal object is not expressed, the preposition takes the object pro-index.

6.35 *E* *ram-rame* *kan-i.*
3SG:NFUT DUP-play with-3SG.OBJ
'He plays with her.' [psw_HA_piggiback.002]

In 6.36 *kan* introduces a human participant.

6.36 *Naxer* *abi-na* *e* *uj* *kan-a* *ruare.*
octopus where-ANA 3SG:NFUT speak with-TR boy
'The octopus spoke with the boy.' [Naxerramaj.007]

6.4 The negative existential morpheme *mue*

As described in 5.3.1, the negative morpheme *sba* occurs between the pre-verbal subject index and the verb root to negate nonfuture verbal clauses. The negative morpheme *kasa* negates future verbal clauses. In addition, there is a negative existential verb *mue* 'be not'. It is used in clausal constructions but may be also the sole element of a clause.

In example 6.37 *mue* is preceded by the third person singular subject index *e* encoding nonfuture.

6.37 *Boruv* *jika* *e* *mue.*
chicken one 3SG:NFUT be.not
'One chicken is gone.' [psw_icr09.008]

In example 6.38 *mue* is preceded by the third person plural subject index *to* encoding nonfuture time.

6.38 *To* *mue* *puiji.*
3PL:NFUT be.not all
'They (the colours) were all gone.' [psw_van03.011]

The inflected negative verb *mue* functions as the negative response to a polar question with the meaning ‘no’.

6.39	*E*	*mue,*	*ku*	*sba*	*tadd*	*aim.*
	3SG:NFUT	be.not	3DU:NFUT	NEG	sit/stay	home
	‘No, they (DU) are not home.’ [psw_icr23.010]					

The corpus has no evidence of *mue* occurring in a verbal clause encoding future time.

6.5 Non-Declarative Clauses

6.5.1 Interrogatives

Interrogative clauses serve to elicit information from the addressee(s) (Whaley 1997: 287). This section will describe polar interrogatives and content questions attested in the corpus.

Polar interrogatives are yes/no questions allowing for a negative or positive response. The choice of subject indexes used is determined by the reference to either nonfuture or future events. Polar questions in Lamap show no syntactic difference to statements. They are recognised by an audible rise in intonation sentence finally (↗), or by a question mark in translated materials.

Examples 6.40a and b originate from audio recordings and examples 6.40c and d are extracted from texts. All examples illustrate that the syntactic structure of polar questions is SV/AVO thus they are identical to those of statements (see section 6.2.4).

6.40 a. *To* *tamuis-im* *inong?* ↗
3PL:NFUT circumcise-2SG.OBJ already
'Have they circumcised you (yet)?.' [psw_BUK1.046]

b. *Xamu* *ris-a* *barixer* *a* *maru?* ↗
2DU:NFUT see-TR trunk of coconut
'(Can) you see the coconut tree?' [Lingtan.007]

c. *Ku* *tadd* *aim?*
3DU:NFUT stay home
'Are they (DU) at home?' [psw_icr23.003]

d. *To* *ram-rame* *la* *noai* *mo* *je?*
3PL:NFUT DUP-play LOC water ATTR flow
'Are they playing in the river?' [psw_icr23.018]

Polar questions can be answered with *e vo* 'yes (*lit.* 'It is genuine/good')' or e mue 'no' (*lit.* 'It is not'). The positive reply illustrated in example 6.41 may stand alone and is the response to the question illustrated in example 6.40d above. See example 6.39 (previous page) for "*E mue"* 'No!'.

6.41 *E* *vo!"*
3SG:NFUT be.true
'"Yes! "'. [psw_icr23.019]

In contrast to polar interrogatives that seek a 'yes' or 'no' response, content interrogatives request a particular piece of information and rely on specific question words or expressions (Whaley 1997: 238).

Content questions in Lamap have a fall in intonation sentence finally (↘) and make use of interrogative constituents. These mostly occur *in situ*, although in some translated material they occur initially.

6.42 *nisa* 'what' (action)
nisava 'what' (thing)
raba nisa 'why' (because of/for what)
xase 'who'
abi 'where'
gebe 'be like what'
vis 'be how many/much'

The interrogative element ‘what’ has two forms relating to two different functions. *Nisa* is used to inquire about an action or event, whereas *nisava* inquires about a physical or abstract entity. This is illustrated in examples 6.43 to 6.45.

6.43 *Xato* *max-a* *nisa?*
3PL:NFUT make-TR what
‘What are they making (doing)?’ [psw_icr16.001]

6.44 *Nisava* *xina-i?*
what DIST.SG-3SG.OBJ
‘What is that?’ [psw_icr22.001]

When *nisa(va)* is preceded by the lexeme *raba* ‘for/because’ the interrogative construction receives the meaning ‘why’. This type of question is answered with *raba* ‘for/because’.

6.45 a. *Ko* *man* *raba* *nisa?*
2SG:NFUT laugh because/for what
‘Why are you laughing?’ [psw_Yia3Rida04.015]

b. *To* *ngal* *soxor* *raba…*
3PL:NFUT happy very because/for
‘They are happy because…’ [Rebeccakanabbuasjika.024]

The interrogative *xase* ‘who’ is used to inquire about a person and like most other constituent interrogatives, it occurs *in situ* in the expected clausal position of the associated nominal.

6.46 *Xase* *eri-* *paj-a* *xate* *a* *vim?* ↘
Who 3SG:FUT carry-TR 3PL LOC.to go.home
‘Who will carry them home?’ [Baravsaxabat.012]

Interrogatives about locations requires the lexeme *abi* following the verb complex, in the position a locative expression (typically) occurs in declarative clauses.

6.47 *Xati* *van* *abi?* ↘
2PL:FUT go where
'Where are you going? [personal conversations]

The interrogative *gebe* 'be like what' is inflected as a verb with a subject index. In the corpus, the subject index is always the third person singular nonfuture. This interrogative is used when inquiring about the course of an event or situation. In example 6.48 the pronoun is positioned first, preceding the inflected interrogative lexeme.

6.48 *Xaing* *e* *gebe?*
2SG.OBJ 3SG:NFUT be.like.what
'What happened to you?' (*lit.* 'You, what was it like?') [psw_Yia3Rida01.041]]

This interrogative lexeme is also used when inquiring about someone's well being in which case it has the meaning 'how'.

6.49 *Ko* *lngon-i* *e* *gebe?*
2SG:NFUT feel-3SG.OBJ 3SG:NFUT be.like.what
'How are you? (*lit.* 'You feel like what?')'[psw_Yia3Rida01.041]]

In order to inquire about quantity 'how many/how much', the interrogative '*vis'* 'be how many/much' is used and the initial [e] likely encodes the third person singular nonfuture subject index that is fossilised to the root *vis.* In declarative sentences *evis* means 'some' (see section 4.25). In example 6.50 the interrogative *vis* is used to inquire about the time. Example 6.51 stems from a story, when a man is inquiring about the price of tomatoes.

6.50 "*Mario* *e* *vis?"*
sun 3SG:NFUT be.how.many
'"What time is it?"' (*lit.* 'The sun is how many/much?') [personal conversations]

6.51 “*E* *vis* *a* *xate?”*
3SG:NFUT be.how.many for 3PL
‘“How much for these?*”*’ (*lit.* ‘it is how many/much for these?’)
[psw_Yia2Rida09.018]

6.5.2 Imperatives and prohibitives

Imperative constructions express commands and demand actions. They are usually distinct from declarative sentence types (Whaley 1997). Imperatives can be positive or negative, the latter also referred to as prohibitives. The corpus presents examples of the negative prohibitive morpheme *mara* that occurs at the beginning of verb complex. In most examples in the corpus the bound subject indexes of the verb complex are restricted to second person subject indexes *ki* and *xati*. Denoting a negative imperative force, the subject indexes encode future time. This is a key difference from future negatives with *kasa* (section 5.3.2) which are almost always inflected with the subject indexes encoding nonfuture time. This is similar to Uluveu (Healey 2013: 182) which has the prohibitive prefix *sa-* that obligatorily occurs with irrealis subject indexes (referencing future time).

Examples 6.52 are imperatives with the second person singular subject index in future tense, followed by the verbs *sason* ‘hide’ (6.52a) and ‘dig’ (6.52b).

6.52 a. *“Ki* *sason* *ame!”*
2SG:FUT hide again
‘“Hide again!*”*’ [psw_Yia3Rida09.026]
b. *“Ki* *xir-a* *nabur!”*
2SG:FUT dig-TR hole
‘“Dig a hole!*”*’ [psw_faolstori_comb.020]

The imperative in example 6.53 illustrates the subject index encoding second person plural future preceding the verb.

6.53 *“Xati* *vanima* *ruare* *isa-ng* *ngail!”*
2PL:FUT come child CLF1-1SG.POSS PL
‘“Come my children!”’(*lit.* ‘You (PL) come my children!’) [Baravsaxabat.015]

Examples 6.54a and b illustrate prohibitive clauses using the prohibitive morpheme *mara.* In clauses, *mara* precedes the verb complex, which is always inflected with subject indexes in future tense.

6.54 a. *“Mara ki van amo soxor!”*
PROH 2SG:FUT walk far very
‘“Don’t go too far!”’ [namar.008]

b. *“Mara xati xan-ing!”*
PROH 2PL:FUT eat-1SG.OBJ
‘“Don’t eat me!”’ [naxerramaj.008]

6.6 Clausal Modifiers

The modifier *rai* ‘just/only’ is attested in the corpus as a clausal modifier. All examples illustrate its position to be clause final, following objects and prepositional phrases when present.

6.55 *To tax-a naim rai.*
3PL:NFUT tie-TR house just
‘(In earlier days) they just tied the house (with rope).’ [psw_naim_cont.018]

6.56 *Xati van pean rai.*
2PL:FUT go tomorrow just
‘You will just go tomorrow (not today).’ [psw_eri-.018]

6.57 *E sba kis rai.*
3SG:NFUT NEG be.beautiful just
‘She is just not beautiful (not at all beautiful).’ [psw_van03.018]

6.58 *To sba tas rai*
3PL:NFUT NEG be.tired just
‘They were just not tired (of dancing).’ [psw_Yia3Rida05.012]

A second clausal modifier is *ame* ‘again’. Like *rai* ‘just’ *ame* ‘again’ occurs clause finally. In example 6.59 it follows the object noun phrase, indicating the repetition of an action.

6.59	*E*	*kakae-a*	*naboi*	*kina*	*ame.*
	3SG:NFUT	sing-TR	song	DIST.SG	again
	‘She sings the song again (and again).’ [Lingtan.036]				

When occurring with the negative morpheme *sba*, *ame* can be translated as ‘not yet’.

6.60	*No*	*sba*	*xan*	*ame.*
	1SG:NFUT	NEG	eat	again
	‘I have not eaten yet. [psw_BUKS.012]			

In the stative clause in example 6.61 *ame* follows the verbal postmodifier *soxor* ‘very’.

6.61	*Ddu*	*kis*	*soxor*	*ame.*
	1DU.INCL:NFUT	be.beautiful	very	again
	‘We look very beautiful again.’ [psw_van.004]			

7 Chapter Seven

Summary

The analysis of the simple verbal clause in Lamap is the first step in writing a contemporary description of the language based on natural language with written and oral texts provided by community members. It is the start of creating a permanent record with and for the community. Using modern linguistic frameworks that are less based on linguistic studies of Indo-European languages makes this analysis more accessible and allows further comparative studies with other Malakula and Oceanic languages from hereon in. This thesis written in English is intended to complement Charpentier's (1979) French language account of Lamap whilst also providing new insights.

While the new Lamap Corpus is already a substantial resource and increasing in volume, it is undisputable that the contact with Lamap speakers during the literacy workshops and three weeks in the field represents the very beginnings of corpus development.

Although an in depth analysis of the phonology of Lamap requires a larger corpus of audio recordings with a range of natural language speakers, the consonant and vowel inventory were presented in chapter two of this thesis. A small number of minimal pairs are present in the new Lamap Corpus; however, there are plentiful contrastive sets. Due to the limited distribution of certain consonants in the corpus, a tentative number of 17 underlying consonant phonemes is suggested. This differs from the earlier reported 23 consonant phonemes in Charpentier (1979), and Crowley's (2002) 19 consonants. A key difference concerns the treatment of labialised sequences as allophones of prenasalised plosives, rather than as separate phonemes. In this work, the bilabial trill was identified as phonemic.

The voiceless bilabial trill is potentially contrastive with the voiceless bilabial plosive however, more evidence is needed to rule out allophony. Rather than contrasting the prenasalised plosives /b/ and /g/ with the articulation [^{n}d], the articulation [^{n}d^{r}] is treated as the contrastive segment /D/.

A second major distinction between this analysis and Charpentier's (1979) earlier work is the analysis of a simple five-vowel phoneme inventory. It is possible that further vowel contrasts will be identified with a larger corpus, but the present corpus offers only five phonemic contrasts. It is also possible that the language has undergone a neutralisation of vowel contrasts in the years since Charpentier's field work.

Chapter three presents the analysis of the noun classes in Lamap which is consistent with noun classes identified in other Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002). The work identifies three classes of nouns, these being common, personal and local nouns.

Chapter four describes nominal modifiers classified by position and function. This comprises a small number of prenominal modifiers, and the postnominal modifiers in order, lexical modifiers, demonstratives, attributive modification, quantifiers, possession and numbers. There is certainly room for further analysis, especially the analysis of demonstratives. In terms of possession, a detailed analysis of inalienable (direct) and alienable (indirect) possession has been offered. Lamap has two classifiers. While possessive suffixes and a plural possessive form have been documented by Charpentier (1979: 72-4), this study illustrates two classifiers in Lamap which have two allomorphs each. One is associated with suffixed possessors, and the other with (pro)nominal possessors. The classifier CLF2, used for food, drink and some part/whole possessive relationships, displays a typical pattern of possessive systems in Melanesian languages (Lynch et al. 2002: 41). Additionally, the possessive preposition *a* is added to the list of structures employed by Lamap in the new corpus to express non-human possessor relationships.

Chapter five presents one of the major findings of this study: the identification of two bound subject index paradigms in Lamap encoding nonfuture and future time as opposed to the earlier account of one single paradigm of 'preverbal pronouns', also defined as verbal particles (Charpentier 1979: 47; 85).

The morpheme *a,* earlier analysed intermittently as a 'particule, préposition' and 'joncteur' (Charpentier 1979), has indeed different functions that are described in this thesis. Most significantly, it has been identified as a transitive affix that is in

complimentary distribution with a set of singular object pro-indexes. Finally, postverbal modifiers are illustrated according to their forms and functions. While some are following intransitive verb roots, others form transitive clauses from both intransitive and transitive verb roots.

A structurally interesting pattern involves negative and prohibitive constructions described in chapter five and six. Certain negators are situated at the beginning of the verb complex, and patterns occur in the selection of subject index paradigms with these negators.

Chapter six concludes the analysis of the simple verbal clause with the illustration of the basic structure of the clause. Core and non-core arguments are discussed as well as the morphosyntactic alignment in Lamap. Non-declarative clauses are considered with interrogatives, imperatives and prohibitives. Finally, two clausal modifiers that may modify a whole clause were noted.

I strongly anticipate that I will continue to be involved in further work with the Lamap community. There are a number of grammatical topics identified in the data which have not been discussed in this thesis. These topics include:

- complex (compound) verbs
- potential aspectual (possibly lexical) verb modification
- non-attributive relative clauses
- adverbial subordinate clauses
- complement clauses
- serial verb constructions
- discourse features (including noun phrase fronting).

Through the study of complex constructions, a closer examination can be made of the morphology identified in this work as nonfuture and future tense. It may be that evidence for an analysis of realis/irrealis mood is identified.

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Appendix A: Ethical Approval

Geography Programme
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The University of Waikato
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colin.mcleay@waikato.ac.nz
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19 September 2017

Dear Claudia,

Claudia Williams
Julie Barbour

Applied Linguistics

Re: **FS2017-40 The Lamap Language: A Grammar Sketch**

Thank you for submitting your revised application to the FASS Human Research Ethics Committee. We have reviewed the final electronic version of your application and the Committee is now pleased to offer formal approval for your research activities, including the following:

- research with Speakers.
- research with Field Assistants.
- participant observations.

We would ask that you please provide Eileen Fenner, the FASS Ethics Committee Administrator, with a paper copy of your final application that has been signed by yourself and your supervisor.

We encourage you to contact the committee should issues arise during your data collection, or should you wish to add further research activities or make changes to your project as it unfolds. We wish you all the best with your research. Thank-you for engaging with the process of Ethical Review.

Regards,

Colin McLeay, Chair
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix B: Cultural Centre

VANUATU NASONAL KAUORAL KAONSEL
Vanuatu National Cultural Council
Conseil National de la Culture de Vanuatu
VANUATU KAUORAL SENTA
Vanuatu Cultural Centre
Centre Culturel de Vanuatu

P.O. Box 184, Port-Vila, Vanuatu Tel: 22129 Fax: 26590 vks@vanuatuculture.org

APPLICATION FORM FOR RESEARCH IN VANUATU

All research in Vanuatu falls under the jurisdiction of the Vanuatu Cultural Centre and the Vanuatu National Cultural Council which must be notified of any research activity in the country.
Please, answer to the following questions before to send your query to: alazare@vanuatu.gov.vu

1	Name:	Claudia
2	Surname:	Williams
3	Name of your institution:	University of Waikato
4	Address of the institution:	Gate 1, Knighton Road, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240, New Zealand
5	Phone:	Claudia Williams + 64 21 794 793 Dr. Julie Barbour +64 7 8384466 x19336
6	Email:	claudiamaria.williams@gmail.com

7 Subject of your research (please, attach 1 or 2 pages giving details about your subject and about partners and funds engaged):

This project is a modern study of the Lamap language, spoken in Port Sandwich, Malekula. The project is a Masters' research project, with the University of Waikato, under the supervision of Dr. Julie Barbour of the Malekula Languages Project. The project is funded by a Masters' Research Scholarship from the University of Waikato, and I am partly self-funding the field trip.

With the permission of the Cultural Centre of Vanuatu and the Lamap community, I would like to record and document the language of Lamap. My work will complement and extend Jean-Michel Charpentier's previous work from 1979, written in French. This will be the first English account of the Lamap language.

In 2015 and 2016, I visited Malekula as a volunteer, and participated in two Literacy Workshops in Norsup. These were organized by the Ministry of Education Vanuatu for the implementation of Vernacular Literacy. Lamap was one of the languages included in the workshop, and I worked

with two Lamap teachers, Armelle Leymang and Blandine Damassing.

My long-term goal is to support the community and local teachers in developing a written form of their language with the aim to preserve the language and make it accessible in the local school to enable language learning.

During my visit to the field, I will record the following types of information:

- Phrase and sentence examples in Lamap
- Stories, songs, anecdotes and/or descriptions of daily tasks
- Vocabulary
- Notes about the use of the language
- Photographs in correspondence with the recordings for context

As outputs of my research, I will produce materials for the school:

- thematic word lists and spelling lists
- alphabet and number posters
- printed stories and songs
- a school grammar, presenting the language structures

I am a speaker of English, French, and a little Bislama.

8 Location in Vanuatu: Lamap, Malekula, Malampa Province

9 How many persons are included in the staff One coming for this research?

10 How long time will you stay in Vanuatu? October 25, 2017 to November 25, 2017

11 Is it the first time you come as researcher in Vanuatu? (If not, please indicated the title, the subject and the location in Vanuatu of your last researches)

I was privileged to come to Vanuatu as a volunteer in 2015 and 2016. I have worked alongside with Armelle Leymang and Blandine Damassing, two Lamap teachers, in Norsup on Malekula during literacy workshops (see 7. above). During these workshops a number of readers and posters were translated and produced in Lamap for local schools. An initial wordlist was created in Lamap/Bislama/French/English and is an ongoing project as more books are translated from Bislama at present.

12 How your research will be used after your fieldwork in Vanuatu (publication, seminar, documentary, etc.)?

The language analysis resulting from the fieldwork will be used to produce a grammar sketch of the language of Lamap, as a Masters' Thesis for the University of Waikato. Copies will be presented to the community leaders and teachers of Lamap as well as to the Cultural Centre in Vanuatu. After my graduation, the dissertation or excerpts may be published and/or used in seminars and teaching purposes. Language recordings and possible videos will be archived at VKS and the Malekula Languages Project archive at

the University of Waikato, with Dr. Julie Barbour. Additional literacy material resulting from this research will be available to the community for teaching purposes.

I declare on my word ofhonor that the information provided above is true and complete and that I am aware that any incorrect statements may invalidate my expression of interest.

Date : 20/09/17

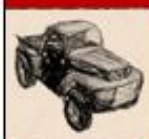
Location : University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Signature (s) : (CLAUDIA WILLIAMS) (Julie Barbour)

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences under approval FS2017-40 on 19th September, 2017. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, email fassethics@waikato.ac.nz, postal address, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3 105, Hamilton 3240.

Appendix C: First Consonant Chart (Extract)

Drawings by Blandine Damassing created during the Literacy workshop 2015, Norsup, Malakula, Vanuatu. Produced for educational purposes by Armelle Leymang, Blandine Damassing and Claudia Williams 2016.

B b	Bb bb	Ch ch	D d	Dr dr	G g
					
bainav	**bb**üas	**ch**ingaüv	**d**aringang	**dr**ümeao	**g**ile
K k	L l	M m	N n	Ng ng	P p
					
käbur	**l**ipäx	**m**äru	**n**ivu	**ng**öa**ng**	**p**üp**ü**räv
R r	S s	T t	V v	X x	P p
					
rieväch	**s**ivir	**n**etev	**v**aiv	**x**anian	

Appendix D: Literacy Resource: Marine Life Book (Extract)

Information of this manual was collated by Jessica B. Kahler from the US.Peace Corps between 2004-2007. The Lamap vocabulary items were collected by Claudia Williams during field work for the Malakula Languages Project.

Ember parrotfish or similar
Scarus rubroviolaceus
BLUFIS

Bridled parrotfish or similar
Scarus frenatus
BLUFIS

Egghead parrotfish or similar
Scarus oviceps
BLUFIS

Napolean wrasse
Cheilinus undulates
NAPOLEAN

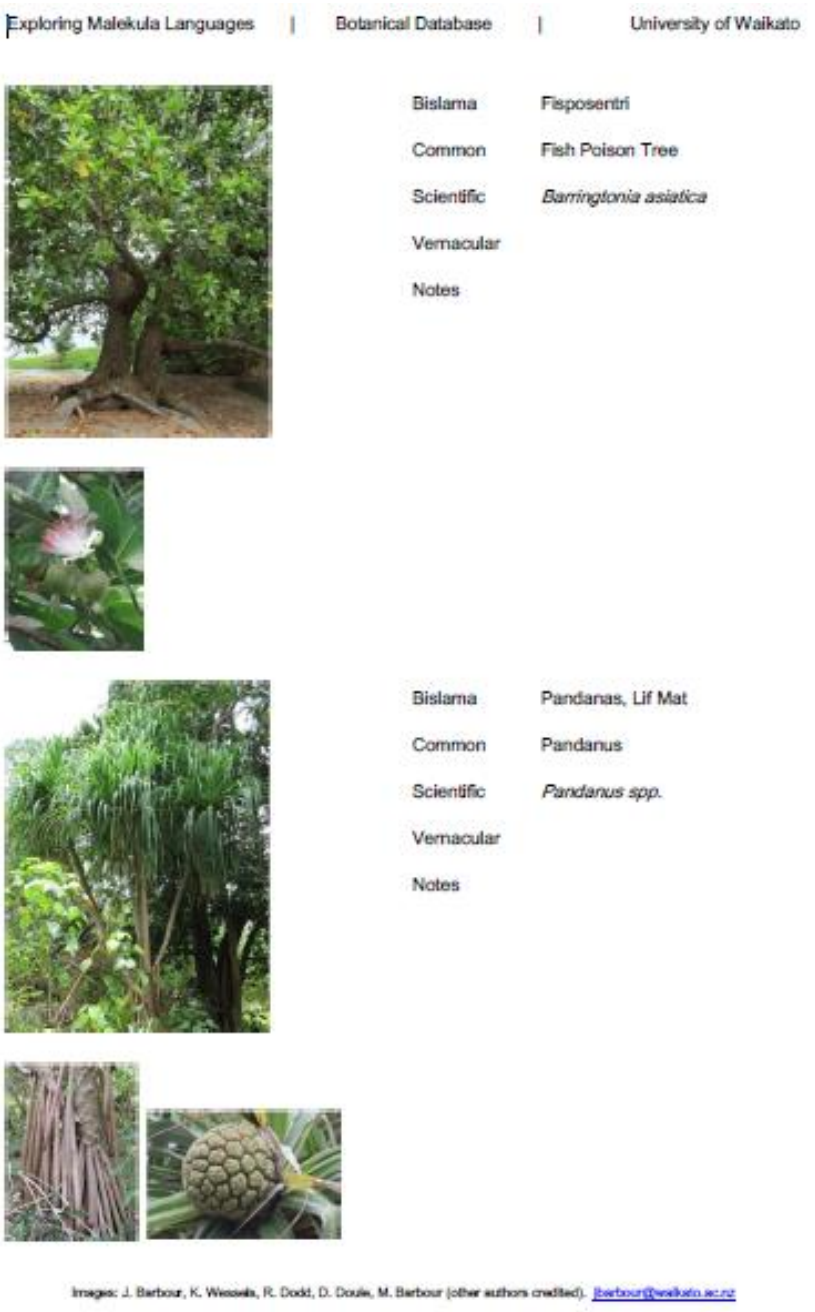
Klunziger's wrasse or similar
Thalassoma klunzingeri
SOP

Sunset wrasse
Thalassoma lutescens
SOP

Appendix E: Botanical Database Malekula Island, Vanuatu (Extract)

This material has been prepared for use by speakers of the Malekula languages.

Lamap vocabulary has been elicitied during fieldwork for the Malekula Languages Project 2017.



Appendix F: Human Activities (Extract)

Malekula Languages Project Workbook (2015)

10
jbarbour@waikato.ac.nz

Exploring Vanuatu Languages Human Activities University of Waikato.

Appendix G: Literacy Materials

I Can Read Series written by Sue Monk, translated to Bislama by staff at the Ministry of Education and Training, and translated from Bislama to Lamap by Armelle Leymang and Blandine Damassing.

File Name	Title
psw_icr01	I can read
psw_icr02	I like food
psw_icr03	T-shirts
psw_icr04	Colours
psw_icr05	Animals
psw_icr06	Soft and hard
psw_icr07	The lost tooth
psw_icr08	My family n/a
psw_icr09	The chickens
psw_icr10	Uncle's truck
psw_icr11	House
psw_icr12	Legs
psw_icr13	Garden
psw_icr14	In the sea
psw_icr15	Where are they going?
psw_icr16	What are they doing?
psw_icr17	At the store n/a
psw_icr18	Ants and lizard
psw_icr19	Big and little
psw_icr20	What has wheels
psw_icr21	In the sky
psw_icr22	What is it?
psw_icr23	Where are they?
psw_icr24	Come with us!

Vanua Readers translated to Bislama by staff at the Ministry of Education and Training, and translated from Bislama to Lamap by Armelle Leymang and Blandine Damassing. The Year Two and Three Readers were translated solely by Armelle Leymang.

Year One		Original authors
psw_van01	Aelan blong dakdak	Eunice Simbolo
psw_van02	Ben I traem blong wokbaot	Daniel Iamiam
psw_van03	Sanbij	Ronald Seikiai
psw_van04	Kon	Raymond Nasse

psw_van05	Mi save singsing	Harry Maudonia
psw_van06	Papa go huk	Eunice Simbolo
psw_van07	Smol totel blong Leitau	Eunice Simbolo
psw_van08	Wan tri insaed long potel	Daniel Iamiam
psw_van09	Wan gudfala man	Pauline August

Year Two

psw_Yia2Rida01	Vavu Kalua	Nanette Vakessa
psw_Yia2Rida02	Robong	Nanette Vakessa
psw_Yia2Rida03	Natapoa	Tanimo Calixto
psw_Yia2Rida04	Xaritav ngail	Marie-Alexis Liatlatmal
psw_Yia2Rida05	Sivir mo langungal ngail	Ismail Pakoa
psw_Yia2Rida06	Jigauv pxapux kana nio	Tanimo Calixto
psw_Yia2Rida07	Sxovulian mo bao	David Kaukari
psw_Yia2Rida08	Betil bbuang jika	Louis Cyske
psw_Yia2Rida09	Rux malab Sawan	Louis Cyske

Year Three

psw_Yia3Rida01	Karav	Gladys Patrick
psw_Yia3Rida02	Nabol	Blaise Tao
psw_Yia3Rida03	Xarar mo ddang	Leipaki Hekar
psw_Yia3Rida04	E man xabat	David Kaukari
psw_Yia3Rida05	Melsisis	Louise Cyske
psw_Yia3Rida06	Valeva	Eunice Simbolo
psw_Yia3Rida07	Nean tamis Nigel	Leah Viro
psw_Yia3Rida08	Nean a Disemba (poems)	Thomas Laan, Loreen Bani, Nakou Nanmantil, Jossie Obed, Yamei Johnson, Dick Bule, Obed Sumbetovi, Estelle Bakeo, Leah Vora.
psw_Yia3Rida09	Nanam	David Tovovur

Year Two Posters

psw_Yia2Posta1	Likopik
psw_Yia2Posta2	Xarar lalap
psw_Yia2Posta3	Salad a vixai

Year Three Posters

psw_Yia3Posta1	Xos
psw_Yia3Posta2	Rul blong gem
psw_Yia3Posta3	Nukai Winmil

Locally source readers translated from Bislama to Lamap by Armelle Leymang and Blandine Damassing.

Vinmavis Readers	
psw_vnm02	Mimi e roi (Pauline Auguste)
psw_vnm04	Setoko (Luke Masso)

Malakula Languages Project Readers	
Y1-1a	No paj (Mi mi mekem wanem)
Y1 -2a	No xan vimor (Mi laekem kakae)
Y1-2b	Mi kakae faol
Y1-5	Wanem ia
Y1-6a	Bigwan/smolwan
Y1-7	Ina e ka (Mama I talem)
Y1-9	Nambas

Appendix H: List of Recordings

The following files were recorded in November and December 2017. All recordings were made in Lamap and surrounding hamlets.

Conversations and unplanned narratives

Title	Length	Speakers	Location
Meetinghouse/nakamal	0.14:02	Remon, Mariette	Pneov
House building	0:03:07	Remon, Christian, Robert, Valentino	Pneov
House building continued	0:10:02	Remon, Christian, Robert, Valentino	Pneov
All Saints' Day	0:00:21	Mariette	Lamap
Garden	0:00:33	Mariette	Lamap
Noemi goes to the garden	0:01:13	Noemi	Pneov
Poison tree	0:02:30	Christian, Mariette	Pneov
Catching turtles	0:06:27	Robert	Pneov
Bbuas	0:03:05	Valentino, Remon, Robert	Pneov
Kinship	0:01:22	Valentino, Robert, Mariette, Carmeline	Pneov
Levelev, fishing net	0:01:30	Remon, Robert, Valentino	Pneov

Stories including some traditional stories, and some told in response to visual images

Solwota (the story of the sea)	0:02:33	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
Namar (the story of the yam snake)	0:03:55	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
Lingtan (a Lamap story)	0:06:00	Armelle	Lamap
Armelle i go lo bus	0:02:12	Armelle	Lamap school
Renata	0:00:11	Mariette	Pneov
Twin brothers	0:05:35	Mariette	Lamap
Eel stori	0:03:00	Robert, Mariette	Pneov
Faol stori	0:02:31	Carmeline	Lamap
Faol stori, women tell the story	0:02:11	Astrid, Noemi, Mariette	Pneov
Faol stori, Armelle tells the story	0:02:13	Armelle	Lamap

psw_HA_atwork	0:00:21	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_schooldesk	0:00:32	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_quarrel	0:00:24	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_manprofile	0:00:16	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_cleaner	0:00:18	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_fishing	0:00:05	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_tv	0:00:05	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_paddle	0:00:03	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_canoe	0:00:11	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_archery	0:00:05	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_bundle	0:00:07	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_dive	0:00:03	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_fish	0:00:06	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_builder	0:00:05	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_saw	0:00:05	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_carving	0:00:07	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school
psw_HA_cattle	0:00:07	Yvette, Armelle	Lamap school

Literacy materials translated from French source material and read aloud

Barav sa xabat	0:03:45	Yvette	Lamap school
Naxer ramaj	0:05:05	Yvette	Lamap school
Rebecca kana bbuas jiika	0:03:13	Armelle	Lamap school
La poupee malade	0:01:55	Yvette	Lamap school
Rux bbuas	0:02:08	Yvette	Lamap school

Teaching materials written and read aloud prompted by visual images from the Malekula Languages Project Handbook (Lamap school, teachers Yvette Meleun and Armelle Leymang)

Human Activities wkbuk and pg1_2	0:35:00
Human Activities wkbuk and pg5_6	0:31:10
psw_HA_feeding baby	0:01:01
psw_HA_dadandson	0:00:57
psw_HA_pushchair	0:02:28
psw_HA_praying	0:00:50
psw_HA_drinking	0:10:17
psw_HA_boywithbanana	0:00:12

Human Activities wkbuk and pg6_7	0:11:27
psw_HA_girlseating	0:00:13
psw_HA_teacup	0:00:50
psw_HA_smokingman	0:01:42
psw_HA_schoolgirl	0:00:25
psw_HA_dishes	0:00:33
psw_HA_baglady	0:00:13
psw_HA_piggyback	0:00:16
psw_HA_bush	0:00:25
psw_HA_orientalwoman	0:00:22
psw_HA_balloon	0:00:14
psw_HA_birthday	0:00:17
psw_HA_window	0:00:06
Human Activities wkbuk and pg8_9	0:04:20
psw_HA_brushingteeth	0:00:17
psw_HA_singinggirl	0:00:32
psw_HA_choir	0:00:38
psw_HA_watertap	0:00:29
psw_HA_babybath	0:00:13
psw_HA_cleandish	0:00:16
psw_HA_laundry	0:00:18
psw_HA_hang_swing	0:00:20
psw_HA_sweep	0:00:14
Human Activities wkbuk and pg9_11	0:05:04
psw_HA_banana	0:00:29
psw_HA_peel1	0:00:18
psw_HA_peel2	0:00:11
psw_HA_menprepfood	0:00:15
psw_HA_pawpaw	0:00:22
psw_HA_choppingfood	0:00:17
psw_HA_hug	0:00:20
psw_HA_guitar	0:00:09
psw_HA_megaphone	0:00:05
psw_HA_discussion	0:00:12
psw_HA_listen	0:00:10
psw_HA_book	0:00:14

Songs

Kikinaxaje song	0:00:48	Mariette	Lamap
Tutuaxe - Napoleon fish	0:03:46	Herna	Sekta 2
Turtle song and numbers	0:02:05	Herna	Sekta 2
Faol stori song	0:00:19	Astrid, Noemi, Mariette	Pneov
Catching turtles and song		Robert, Remon	Pneov

Phonological Elicitation

ebis/ebuis	0:00:03	Yvette	Lamap school
ebis/ebuis	0:00:05	Armelle	Lamap school
psw_phon_p_pp	0:00:19	Armelle	Lamap school
psw_phon_p_pp1	0:00:21	Yvette	Lamap school
psw_phon_b1	0:00:13	Yvette	Lamap school
psw_phon_bb_b	0:01:29	Chief Herna	Sekta 2
psw_phon_b	0:00:35	Chief Herna	Sekta 2
pue	0:00:16	Mariette	Lamap
phrase at end of stories	0:00:12	Mariette	Lamap

Appendix I: Text Samples

psw_HA_listen

Human Activities, Malekula Languages Project Workbook

Armelle, Lamap school, 08 Nov 2017, pg. 11 Human Activities pikja.5 STE068 (10sec) report

Ref.001

Ruare	*ixa-te*	*mo*	*roi*	*to*	*palong-a*	
child/boy	PROX-PL	ATTR	be.three	3PL:NFUT	listen	-TR

sue	mo	voi.
talk	ATTR	be.good

'These three children listened to a good talk.'

psw_HA_listen.wav 0 4.857

Ref.002

Xarar	*mo*	*bao*	*jika*	*e*	*uj*	*vxaj-a*	*natos*
man/person	ATTR	be.big	one	3SG:NFUT	talk	about-TR	picture/drawing

a	xate.
LOC.to	3PL

'A big man (an adult/teacher) talked about a drawing/picture to them.'

psw_HA_listen.wav 4.857 10.5258276644

---

psw_icr16

I can read 16 'What are they doing?'

Lamap, Lakotoro workshop November 2015: translated by Blandine Damassing and Armelle Leymang

001

Xato	*max-a*	*nisa?*
3PL:NFUT	make/happen-TR	be.like.what

'What are they doing?'

002

Lipax	*e*	*max-a*	*nisa?*
dog	3SG:NFUT	make/happen-TR	be.like.what

'What is the dog doing?'

003

E	*xuj-a*	*mimi.*
3SG:NFUT	chase-TR	cat

'It is chasing the cat.'

004

Mimi	*e*	*max-a*	*nisa?*
cat	3SG:NFUT	make/happen-TR	be.like.what

'What is the cat doing?'

005

E *sason* *penaxera* *nukai.*
3SG:NFUT hide underneath leaf/bush
'It is hiding (in the underneath of) the bush.'

06

Krokodael *e* *max-a* *nisa?*
crocodile 3SG:NFUT make/happen-TR be.like.what
'What is the crocodile doing?'

007

E *lo-los* *la* *noai* *mo* *bao.*
3SG:NFUT DUP-swim LOC river ATTR. be.big
'It is swimming in the big water/river.'

08

Naix *e* *max-a* *nisa?*
fish 3SG:NFUT make/happen-TR be.like.what
'What is the fish doing?'

09

E *sason* *penaxera* *navar* *jika.*
3SG:NFUT hide underneath rock/money one
'It is hiding under (in the underneath of) one stone.'

10

Ruare *mo* *keke* *ngail* *to* *max-a* *nisa?*
child/boy ATTR be.small PL 3PL:NFUT make/happen-TR be.like.what
'What are the small children doing?'

11

To *vev* *araxa* *ruare* *mo* *lalap* *ngail.*
3PL:NFUT run after/late/behind/before-TR child/boy ATTR be.big PL
'They are running after the big children.'

12

Ruare *mo* *la-lap* *ngail* *to* *max-a* *nisa?*
child/boy ATTR DUP-be.big PL 3PL:NFUT make/happen-TR be.like.what
'What are the big children doing?'

13

To *sax* *masav* *la* *naxai* *jika.*
3PL:NFUT climb on/up LOC tree/wood one
'They are climbing (the top of) up a tree.'

14

Ddate *ddato* *max-a* *nisa?*
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL:NFUT make/happen-TR be.like.what
'What are we doing?'

namar

Namar ‘Yam Snake’ ‘L'origine de l'igname serpent’

Remembered and told by Yvette, recorded with Armelle at Lamap school, 10 Nov 2017. (1.55min)
Stori blo yam snek.
report

Ref.001

Namar naddam
snake year/yam
‘Stori blo yam snek./L'origine de l'igname serpent./The story of the yam snake.’

namar.wav 0 2.924

Ref.002

Saroai, saroai soxor inong,
long.time.ago long.time.ago very already

‘Long long time ago,
namar.wav 2.924 7.514

Ref.003

la vae abi sa ddate ixa-ng Malakula e
LOC island where poss 1PL.INCL PROX-SG M. 3SG:NFUT

kadda bareab jikang e maur ini.
have -TR wife one 3SG:NFUT live OBL/OBJ
On our island Malakula, there lived a woman.

namar.wav 7.514 19.353

Ref.004

Xivur isan e maj ddan-i.
old man CLF1 -3SG.POSS 3SG:NFUT dead leave -3SG:OBJ
Her husband was dead.

namar.wav 19.353 23.938
Ref.005

E rox jibo-n kana rux malab
3SG:NFUT live/exist be.oneself-3SG.POSS with/and -TR little/young girl

isan.
poss -3SG.POSS
She lived alone with her daughter.

namar.wav 23.938 28.482
Ref.006

Sur nabong puiji rux malab xina
follow day all/every/ little/young girl DIST:SG

e ddonga xanian naxau.
3SG:NFUT go.get -TR food CLF2 - two
Every day the little girl/daughter went to get food for them.

namar.wav 28.482 36.898

Ref.007

E *pepe* *naxux* *kana* *-TR* *nobang.*
3SG:NFUT gather crab with/and water yam
She gathered crabs and water yams.

namar.wav 36.898 40.824
Ref.008

Nana *isan* *e* *ka,* *e* *kai*
mother/mum poss -3SG.POSS 3SG:NFUT want/say 3SG:NFUT say -obj.m

isan *ka,"* *Mara* *ki* *van* *amo* *soxor!"*
poss -3SG.POSS want/say PROH 2SG:FUT go/walk far very
Her mother said, she said to her (that) :"'Do not go too far!'"

namar.wav 40.824 48.239
Ref.009

"No *mar-marax* *sa* *ev* *bi* *ka* *taus* *jikang* *bi*
1SG:NFUT DUP-be.scared/frightened CLF1 COP POT that thing one POT

max-a *xaing."*
happen -TR 2SG
I am (worried about you) afraid that something might happen to you.

namar.wav 48.239 55.274
Ref.010

La *nabong* *jika,* *rux* *malab* *kina* *e* *van*
LOC day one little/young girl DIST:SG 3SG:NFUT go/walk

amo *soxor.*
far very
One day the daughter went too far.

namar.wav 55.274 60.546

Ref.011

E *bara* *-TR* *naddam* *evis* *many* *kana* *-TR*
3SG:NFUT find/seek year/yam some/how with/and

naxux, *naxux* *a* *naras* *evis.*
crab crab of/to/and sea some/how many
She found some yam and crabs.

namar.wav 60.546 67.455
Ref.012

E *max-i* *-3SG:OBJ* *a* *ku* *xani.* *-obj.m*
3SG:NFUT make,do *** 3DU:NFUT eat
She made it and they ate it.

namar.wav 67.455 69.664
Ref.013

La *nabong* *abina,* *pean* *ame,* *more* *e* *veu*
LOC day that tomorrow again/yet/no 3SG:NFUT return

la *naur* *abin* *ame,* *more* *e* *pepe* *naxux*
LOC place that again/yet/no 3SG:NFUT gather crab
On that day, the next morning, she went back to that place to gather crabs,

namar.wav 69.664 78.319
Ref.014

e *ddoddong* *naxux,*
3SG:NFUT look.for crab
she looked for crabs,

namar.wav 78.319 80.546
Ref.015

e *risa* *nabur* *jika.*
3SG:NFUT see -TR spec.- hole one
She saw a hole.

namar.wav 80.546 82.362
Ref.016

e *sasax* *la* *nabur* *abina.*
3SG:NFUT DUP-climb LOC spec.- hole that
She climbed into that hole.

namar.wav 82.362 84.528
Ref.017

e *sba* *jbara* *naxux* *iddes,*
3SG:NFUT no touch -TR crab some, any
She did not (touch/feel) find any crabs,

namar.wav 84.528 86.611
Ref.018

e *jbara* *nib* *a* *namar.*
3SG:NFUT touch -TR body of/to snake
she (touched) found the body of a snake.

namar.wav 86.611 89.354
Ref.019

Namar *abi-na* *e* *sxovut* *a* *e* *va* *vae.*
snake where -ANA 3SG:NFUT slither and 3SG:NFUT go out
The snake slithered (out of the hole,) and went outside.

namar.wav 89.354 93.428
Ref.020

Namar *abina* *e* *joxoba* *rux* *malab*
snake where -ANA 3SG:NFUT upset -TR little/young girl

e *xina.*
3SG:NFUT DIST:SG
The snake was angry/upset with the little girl.

namar.wav 93.428 97.488
Ref.021

"Sura *nisava* *ko* *bbulngalunga* *naim* *isang?"*
follow -TR what 2SG:NFUT rot/spoil -TR house 1SG.POSS
Why are you spoiling, destroying my house?

namar.wav 97.488 100.649
Ref.022

Rux *malab* *kina* *e* *ka* *isan* *ka*
little/young girl DIST:SG 3SG:NFUT want/say poss -3SG.POSS that

"E *sba* *naim* *isa-m* *abi-nai!*

3SG:NFUT NEG house poss -2SG.Poss where -ANA -3SG:OBJ
The little girl said to the snake (that:)"This is not your house.

namar.wav 100.649 105.477
Ref.023

Ev naim sa naxux!"
COP house poss crab
It is the house of the crab!'

namar.wav 105.477 108.258
Ref.024

Namar e ka, namar e kai
snake 3SG:NFUT want/say snake 3SG:NFUT want/say -3SG:OBJ

isan ka "Xarar puiji to
poss -3SG.POSS that man/person all/every/all together 3PL:NFUT

lbai."
can/know -3SG:OBJ
The snake said, the snake said (to her that) "Everyone knows that!"

namar.wav 108.258 115.319138322

Baravsaxabat
Yvette read at Lamap school, 09 Nov 2017, Author: Estelle Bakeo, illustrated by Joseph Kalo.
report
Ref.001

Barav sa xabat gora limaddumadd.
pawpaw for/to LOC.TEMP- midday
Baravsaxabat.wav 0 3.627
Ref.002

Buetirbaix nalon e kaja barav sa xabat ngail.
mother.hen inside -3SG.POSS 3SG:NFUT like -TR pawpaw PL
The mother hen enjoys (likes) pawpaw.

Baravsaxabat.wav 3.627 11.105
Ref.003

E kena rux boruv isan ngail a e
3SG:NFUT call -TR young/little chicken CLF1-3SG.POSS PL of 3SG:NFUT

rim.
be.five
num
She is calling her five little chickens.

poss/plural/number 'pl of five'
Baravsaxabat.wav 11.105 16.289
Ref.004

"Ruare isang ngail, ddati van xoxos
child/boy poss - 1SG.POSS PL 1PL.INCL:FUT go/walk DUP-gather

barav sa xabat!"
pawpaw
My children, let's go to gather breadfruit.

Baravsaxabat.wav 16.289 23.47

Ref.006

rux *boruv* *xi* *mo* *vnamo* *e* *xusi*
young/little chicken ANIM ATTR before 3SG:NFUT ask -obj.m
the first small chicken/ the first chick asks.

Baravsaxabat.wav 32.933 36.833
Ref.007

"E *rim!",* *buetirbaix* *e* *kai.*
3SG:NFUT be.five mother.hen 3SG:NFUT want/say -obj.m
"Five!", the hen says.

Baravsaxabat.wav 36.833 41.311
Ref.011

"Axang *rai!",* *buetirbaix* *e* *kai.*
MED -SG just/only mother.hen 3SG:NFUT want/say -obj.m
Just there, the mother hen replies. Juste ici, juste la.

Baravsaxabat.wav 67.952 72.075
Ref.013

"Ddate!" *buetirbaix* *e* *kai.*
ddate buetirbaix e ka -i
We will!, says the mother hen.

Baravsaxabat.wav 81.714 85.554
Ref.015

"Ddate!", buetirbaix e kai. "Xati vanima ruare
1PL.INCL mother.hen 3SG:NFUT want/say-obj.m 3PL:FUT come child/boy

isa-ng *ngail!"*
poss -1SG.POSS PL
"'We will!, replies the mother hen. Come my children!"'

Baravsaxabat.wav 93.051 100.399
Ref.016

"Ddati *van* *a* *pisana* *barav* *sa* *xabat* *ngail* *gora*
1PL.INCL:FUT go/walk and pick.up -TR pawpaw PL for/to

xanian *abi* *la* *limaddumadd."*
food where/that/which LOC LOC.TEMP- midday
Let's go and pick up pawpaw for lunch.

Baravsaxabat.wav 100.399 110.126
Ref.017

"Mmmmh!", boruv mo keke e rim to kai."
*** chicken ATTR be.small 3SG:NFUT be.five 3PL:NFUT want/s-OBJ-3SG
"Yummy!", say the five little chickens.

Baravsaxabat.wav 110.126 115.515
Ref.018

"Barav *sa* *xabat* *ngail* *gora* *xan-ian* *abi* *la*
pawpaw PL for/to food -NMLZ2 where/that/which LOC

limaddumadd."
LOC.TEMP- midday
"Pawpaw for lunch." Baravsaxabat.wav 115.515 122.345