

# OKSAPMIN CLAUSE STRUCTURE

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## 0. Introduction

There are 10 contrastive clause types in Oksapmin.<sup>(1)</sup> These clauses can be conceptualized as a two-dimensional system with five orders (equational, general, indirect, destination, and quotative) and two series (unexpanded and expanded). In each order the expanded series has one more optional nuclear tagmeme than the unexpanded series.

|             | Unexpanded            | Expanded            |
|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Equational  | Intransitive Equation | Transitive Equation |
| General     | Intransitive          | Transitive          |
| Indirect    | Semitransitive        | Ditransitive        |
| Destination | Motion                | Motion Transitive   |
| Quotative   | Undirected Quote      | Directed Quote      |

Chart 1: System of Clause Types

A number of peripheral tagmemes may optionally occur in the clauses of this system, with restrictions only in the Equational Clauses.

As well as the peripheral tagmemes there are a number of nuclear tagmemes. A nuclear tagmeme is restricted in its occurrence and serves as a contrastive feature of the clause type in which it occurs.

Within this system of clauses, a number of clause types may be changed into other clause types. These changes are accomplished primarily by the addition of a prefix or auxiliary verb within the Verb Phrase and occur horizontally and vertically on Chart 1 but not diagonally.

In the examples given below, the tagmemes are indicated by the appropriate symbol in parentheses following the word-by-word translation. A morpheme-by-morpheme translation is given only when this is relevant on the clause level.

## 1. Peripheral Tagmemes

The peripheral tagmemes are : Location, Subject, Time, With, and Manner. The With tagmeme has reference to accompaniment or instrument. The With and Manner tagmemes do not occur in the Equational Clauses. No more than three peripheral tagmemes have been observed in a single clause.

The peripheral tagmemes may occur in any order, but Location, Subject, and Time usually occur first in the clause, in that relative order. The With and Manner usually immediately precede the Predicate. Only one tagmeme at a time (nuclear or peripheral) has been observed to follow the Predicate, and that only in sentence-final position.

Four of the peripheral tagmemes are expounded by noun phrases. The occurrence of the noun phrases in these tagmemes is shown in Chart 2.<sup>(2)</sup>

| Noun Phrase Type                  | Peripheral Tagmemes |   |   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---|---|---|
|                                   | L                   | S | T | W |
| Location Phrase                   | X                   |   |   |   |
| General Noun Phrase               |                     | X |   |   |
| Possessive Phrase                 |                     | X |   |   |
| Time Phrase                       |                     |   | X |   |
| <u>-dapat</u> Relator-Axis Phrase | X                   | X |   |   |
| <u>-si</u> Relator-Axis Phrase    |                     |   |   | X |

Chart 2: Exponents of Peripheral Tagmemes

### 1.1 Manner Tagmeme

The Manner tagmeme is expounded by an adverb or a dependent clause. Adverbs include the following :

|                  |                                       |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <u>ahaar</u>     | 'slowly, quietly, secretly'           |
| <u>aimat(aa)</u> | 'permanently'                         |
| <u>aakit</u>     | 'strongly, loudly'                    |
| <u>be</u>        | 'for no reason', 'doing/with nothing' |
| <u>it(aa)</u>    | 'again'                               |
| <u>kapkap</u>    | 'quickly'                             |
| <u>kaakun</u>    | 'for a little while', 'temporarily'   |
| <u>titsi</u>     | 'again, some more'                    |

The verb of a dependent clause expounding a Manner tagmeme takes the following forms:

(a) Punctiliar<sup>(3)</sup>  $\emptyset$  ( $\sim$   $\underline{-m}$  with S class<sup>(4)</sup> verbs) suffixed to the verb stem plus past punctiliar aspect.

(b) Continuative  $\underline{-m} \sim \underline{-r} \sim \underline{-s}$  suffixed to the verb stem ( $\underline{-m}$  with M class verbs,  $\underline{-r}$  with R class verbs, and  $\underline{-s}$  with S class verbs.)

When a dependent clause expounds Manner it usually indicates how an action is done. But when the verb of a dependent clause is in the continuative form and expounds the Manner of a Motion Clause it indicates reason.

|           |            |                |                         |
|-----------|------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| <u>oh</u> | <u>sen</u> | <u>gusum</u>   | <u>apripaat</u>         |
| he (S)    | axe        | sharpening (M) | comes (P <sub>m</sub> ) |

'He is coming to sharpen the axe.'

|           |               |             |                            |
|-----------|---------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <u>oh</u> | <u>ung</u>    | <u>dar</u>  | <u>us</u>                  |
| he (S)    | string-bag(O) | getting (M) | has-gone (P <sub>m</sub> ) |

'He has gone to get the string bag.'

The clause kin hapaat/daipaat 'doing what?' may expound a Manner tagmeme. When it does the clause means 'how?' if the verb is in the punctiliar form. If the verb is in the continuative form the clause means 'why?'

|            |            |                           |                   |
|------------|------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <u>kin</u> | <u>hat</u> | <u>saproh</u>             | 'How will he go?' |
| how?       | (M)        | will-go (P <sub>m</sub> ) |                   |

|            |            |                           |                   |
|------------|------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| <u>kin</u> | <u>ham</u> | <u>saproh</u>             | 'Why will he go?' |
| why?       | (M)        | will-go (P <sub>m</sub> ) |                   |

When the Object of the main clause is the same as the Object of the dependent clause expounding Manner, it is not repeated.

|           |             |            |                |                         |
|-----------|-------------|------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| <u>oh</u> | <u>tong</u> | <u>aap</u> | <u>daphot</u>  | <u>maripaat</u>         |
| he (S)    | shoe        | (O)        | taking-off (M) | holds (P <sub>t</sub> ) |

'He is holding the shoe he took off.'

## 2. Nuclear Tagmemes

The clause-level nuclear tagmemes are: Indirect Object, Object, Destination, Quote and Predicate. This is the preferred order in which they occur within a clause but they may occur in any order. The Predicate tagmeme is the only obligatory tagmeme to the clause.

The obligatory occurrence (+), optional occurrence (±), and obligatory absence (-) of these nuclear tagmemes in the various clause types is shown in Chart 3.

| Clause Type           | Nuclear Tagmemes |          |          |                         |                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------|----------|-------------------------|------------------|
|                       | IO               | O        | Dn       | Q                       | P                |
| Intransitive Equation | -                | -        | -        | -                       | +P <sub>ei</sub> |
| Transitive Equation   | -                | <u>+</u> | -        | <u>+</u> <sup>(5)</sup> | +P <sub>et</sub> |
| Intransitive          | -                | -        | -        | -                       | +P <sub>i</sub>  |
| Transitive            | -                | <u>+</u> | -        | -                       | +P <sub>t</sub>  |
| Semitransitive        | <u>+</u>         | -        | -        | -                       | +P <sub>st</sub> |
| Ditransitive          | <u>+</u>         | <u>+</u> | -        | -                       | +P <sub>dt</sub> |
| Motion                | -                | -        | <u>+</u> | -                       | +P <sub>m</sub>  |
| Motion Transitive     | -                | <u>+</u> | <u>+</u> | -                       | +P <sub>mt</sub> |
| Undirected Quote      |                  |          |          |                         |                  |
| Saying Quotative      | -                | <u>+</u> | -        | <u>+</u>                | +P <sub>uq</sub> |
| Naming Quotative      | -                | <u>+</u> | -        | +                       | +P <sub>uq</sub> |
| Directed Quote        |                  |          |          |                         |                  |
| Saying Quotative      | <u>+</u>         | <u>+</u> | -        | <u>+</u>                | +P <sub>dq</sub> |
| Naming Quotative      | <u>+</u>         | <u>+</u> | -        | +                       | +P <sub>dq</sub> |

Chart 3: Contrastive Clause Types

These tagmemes, with the exception of Quote, are expounded by a phrase. The occurrence of the various phrase types in the clause-level nuclear tagmemes is shown in Chart 4.

| Phrase Type                    | Nuclear Tagmemes |   |    |    |    |
|--------------------------------|------------------|---|----|----|----|
|                                | IO               | O | Dn | Pe | Pv |
| Indirect Object Phrase         | x                | x |    |    |    |
| General Noun Phrase            |                  | x |    | x  |    |
| Possessive Phrase              |                  | x |    | x  |    |
| Destination Phrase             |                  |   | x  |    |    |
| Descriptive Phrase             |                  |   |    | x  |    |
| <u>-si</u> Relator-Axis Phrase |                  |   |    | x  |    |
| Verb Phrase                    |                  |   |    |    | x  |

Chart 4: Exponents of Nuclear Tagmemes

The type of Verbal Predicate is determined by the class of verbs expounding the Verb Phrase, or by the form of a Derived Verb Phrase, or by the form of the auxiliary in a Complex Verb Phrase.

When an Indirect Object Phrase expounds the Object tagmeme it has a specialized meaning. It singles out the action as being set on that particular goal to the exclusion of some other goal.

|              |           |                |                         |
|--------------|-----------|----------------|-------------------------|
| <u>Guyem</u> | <u>oh</u> | <u>aapnong</u> | <u>hapaat</u>           |
| Guyem        | he (S)    | house-to (O)   | makes (P <sub>i</sub> ) |

'Guyem is making a house (not a fence or something else).'

|                |                     |             |                   |   |
|----------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|---|
| <u>Kuramoh</u> | <u>imaahonogmoh</u> | <u>haa</u>  | <u>dinohmur</u>   | 'Let Kuram eat the pig (not the person).' |
| Kuram (S)      | pig-to (O)          | let-him-eat | (P <sub>i</sub> ) |   |

## 2.1 Equational Clauses

Equational Clauses have no characteristic nuclear tagmeme whose presence distinguishes them from all other clause types. They differ from all other clause types in three respects:

- (1) The exponents of the Equational Predicates are different from the exponents of the Predicates of other clause types.
- (2) The negative is formed differently. (6)
- (3) The peripheral tagmemes With and Manner do not occur with the Equational Clauses.

### 2.1.1 Intransitive Equation Clause

The Predicate of this type of clause may be expounded by a Descriptive Phrase, a Possessive Phrase, a General Noun Phrase, or a -si Relator-Axis Phrase.

|            |                   |             |                         |
|------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| <u>moh</u> | <u>puramakaaw</u> | <u>isip</u> | <u>yahohmuro</u>        |
| this (S)   | cow               | big         | good (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |

'This is a nice big cow.'

|            |              |                        |                                 |
|------------|--------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <u>tom</u> | <u>winoh</u> | <u>Mim</u>             | 'The name of the water is Mim.' |
| water      | name(S)      | Mim (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |                                 |

|             |              |            |             |                                     |
|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|
| <u>kuuo</u> | <u>haano</u> | <u>kat</u> | <u>ihir</u> | <u>tamaam</u>                       |
| women-and   | men-and      | some       | they(S)     | tamaam-sorcerers (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |

'Some men and women are tamaam sorcerers.'

|                |                          |             |                |              |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| <u>sitophe</u> | <u>garpohmur</u>         | <u>nute</u> | <u>timapti</u> | <u>aapoh</u> |
| stove (S)      | small (P <sub>ei</sub> ) | our         | sleep          | house (L)    |

'The stove is small in the house where we sleep.'

|                |                          |                       |
|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| <u>mahanoh</u> | <u>Aahenohmuro</u>       | 'Over here is Hagen.' |
| over-here (L)  | Hagen (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |                       |

|                |            |                              |                 |
|----------------|------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| <u>nuhurhe</u> | <u>daa</u> | <u>yah-si</u>                | 'We are happy.' |
| we (S)         | thought    | good-with (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |                 |

harepdapat      tem-simur  
 under-from(L)    hole-with (P<sub>ei</sub>)      'Underneath (it) has a hole.'

### 2.1.2 Transitive Equation Clause

The Predicate of this clause type may be expounded only by a General Noun Phrase or a -si Relator-Axis Phrase. In each case the nouns that may expound the Nucleus of these phrases are limited to two.

am(aa)      '(working) knowledge about'

hanhaan(aa) 'ignorance of', 'not a working knowledge'

The first of these two nouns is used for the positive and the second is used for the negative.

haan      ihirwi                      aamoh                      amaa  
 men they-only (S)                      aam-sorcery (O)                      knowledge (P<sub>et</sub>)

'Only the men know aam sorcery.' or, 'Only the men practice aam sorcery.'

kimonoh                      kuu                      ihir                      hanhaanmur  
kimon-sorcery (O)    women                      they (S)                      ignorance (P<sub>et</sub>)

'The women don't know kimon sorcery.'

In place of the Object tagmeme a Quote tagmeme (7) may occur with a Transitive Equation Clause.

ihir      paatd-e                      da                      timbas-e                      noh                      hanhaansi  
 they      are? - quote                      or                      none      -quote (Q)      I (S)                      ignorance-with (P<sub>et</sub>)

'I don't know if they are here or not.'

### 2.2 General Clauses

The General Clauses also lack any characteristic nuclear tagmeme such as is found in the Indirect, Destination, and Quotative Clauses.

#### 2.2.1. Intransitive Clause

An Intransitive Predicate has, in the Verb Phrase expounding it, a class of Intransitive Verbs, or an Intransitive Equational Predicate plus auxiliary hapaat, or a class of Semi-transitive or Transitive Verbs with the prefix ta-, or an adjunct plus the auxiliary aripaat.

haanip                      maa                      hapuriptioh                      'The people die.'  
 people (S)                      die (P<sub>i</sub>)

maasinoh                      tapurkweraa                      'The machine turns...'  
 machine (S)                      turns (P<sub>i</sub>)

nuhurhe                      yimtiproheho                      'We will cry.'  
 we (S)                      will-cry (P<sub>i</sub>)

kaa                      mahatoh                      koraa                      '(We) arrived on top...'  
 top                      up-here(L)                      arrived-at(P<sub>i</sub>)

Taraangaap      ham      baarusoh      ti      naa      apin      paathan  
 Oksapmin      down(L)      plane (S)      if      not      coming(M)      was(P<sub>i</sub>)

'...down at Oksapmin the plane had not come yet...'

nuhut      gin      mahat      aap      timaprohemur  
 we (S)      now(T)      up-here      house(L)      will-sleep (P<sub>i</sub>)

'We will sleep at the house up here now.'

aapmoh      gin      tongnapti      'Now (we) sat down in the house...'  
 house (L)      now(T)      sat (P<sub>i</sub>)

imaah      gon      tit      timan      paatgopri      '... a pig was sleeping.'  
 pig      body      one(S)      sleeping(M)      was (P<sub>i</sub>)

aramem      maa      maripaat      haanoh      kapkapwi  
 aramem-stick           holds      man(S)      quickly-only (M)

sakaarpaatohoh  
 runs (P<sub>i</sub>)      'The man who holds the aramem stick runs quickly.'

### 2.2.2 Transitive Clause

A Transitive Predicate has, in the Verb Phrase expounding it, a class of Transitive Verbs, or a Transitive Equational Predicate plus the auxiliary hapaat, or an adjunct plus the auxiliary porpaat.

enap      uh      denoh      temaraa      'His wife cooked some food...'  
 wife      she (S)      food(O)      cooked (P<sub>i</sub>)

nuhur      denoh      damaa      'We ate the food...'  
 we (S)      food(O)      ate(P<sub>i</sub>)

kuu      gaamin      tit      aap      hapingapaa  
 woman      husband-and-wife      one(S)      house(O)      were-building (P<sub>i</sub>)

'... a husband and wife were building a house.'

aatoh      naang      dekapaat      'My father pulled off some vine...'  
 my-father(S)      vine (O)      pulled-off (P<sub>i</sub>)

daraa  
 take (P<sub>i</sub>)      '...(they) take (it)...'

Saremtai      masoh      maa      aap      hatipoh  
 Saremtai      along-here (L)           house(O)      built (P<sub>i</sub>)

'(They) built a house over here at Saremtai.'

mandaapoh      aning      saan      tit      mohomaa  
 road (L)      fish      tin      one (O)      bought (P<sub>i</sub>)

'We bought a tin of fish along the road...'

paawaaoh      harepdapat      sariptimur      '(They) put the light fixture underneath.'  
 power (O)      under-from (L)      put (P<sub>i</sub>)

gin (T)    tohwaan    mamaa    gonaptioh  
 now (T)    sweet-potato (O)          plant (P<sub>T</sub>)

'Now (we) plant sweet potato.'

kaakmoh    kwai    taan    kwes poraa  
 head (O)    stone    flat(W)    split (P<sub>T</sub>)

'(He) split (his) head with a flat stone...'

saamin    tit    sut    itiroh  
 wild-pig    one (O)    killed (M)    put (P<sub>T</sub>)

'... (he) had put aside the pig that he had killed...'

am    hapaat  
 knowledge    does (P<sub>T</sub>)    '(We) learned (the language)...'

### 2.3 Indirect Clauses

Two characteristic features of the Indirect Clauses are:

- (1) The optional occurrence of the Indirect Object tagmeme.
- (2) The possible occurrence of the second order verb prefix na- (1st or 2nd person indirect object) on the verb expounding the Predicate. The absence of this prefix signifies a third person indirect object. <sup>(8)</sup>

#### 2.3.1 Semitransitive Clause

A Semitransitive Predicate has, in the Verb Phrase expounding it, a class of Semi-transitive Verbs <sup>(9)</sup>, or a class of Intransitive Verbs with the prefix pa-, or an Intransitive Equational Predicate plus the auxiliary nahapaat/daipaata, or an adjunct plus the auxiliary naporpaat/porpaat.

Kepen    ohnong    mahan    amburaa  
 Kevin    he-to (10)    over-here (L)    get-him (P<sub>st</sub>)

'(I) get Kevin over here...'

ihir    gonong    i    na-    hatiprohe  
 they (S)    you-to (10)    cross    to-you - will - do (P<sub>st</sub>)

'They will get cross at you.'

waa    maraa  
 look-at    do-it (P<sub>st</sub>)    '(They) look at it...'

noh    gurnong    be    po    na-    ham  
 I (S)    you-to (10)    just (M)    fix    to-you-doing (P<sub>st</sub>)

'I am just helping you...'

gwaar    duupsi    hatnong    taioh    na- mandaatporhan  
 bridge    base-with    up-to    place (L)    to-us-left (P<sub>st</sub>)

'(He) left us above the approach to the bridge...'





### 2.4.1 Motion Clause

A class of Motion Verbs expounds the Verb Phrase of a Motion Predicate.

kaar      tit      aprisaa      'A car came...'  
car      one(S)      came (P<sub>m</sub>)

baarusoh      Kereporaapnong      maa      hwipoh  
plane (S)      Telefomin-to (Dn)           went (P<sub>m</sub>)

'The plane went to Telefomin.'

baarusoh      aapnong      ham      arosaa  
plane (S)      house-to      down (Dn)      went-in (P<sub>m</sub>)

'The plane went into the hangar...'

mandaap      kupwi      susaa      '(We) went all the way on the road...'  
road      along-only (L)      went (P<sub>m</sub>)

Gayaap      taan      kupoh      Yarapeng      nuhut      ner  
Gayaap      side      along (L)      Yarapeng      we-two (S)      bird

hahmar      maraptin  
hunting (M)      came-until (P<sub>m</sub>)

'Yarapeng and I came hunting along the Gayaap side until...'

noh      kimsi      kom      marapraamur  
I (S)      tomorrow(T)      behind (M)      will-come-up (P<sub>m</sub>)

'I will come behind tomorrow.'

kaaput      gorhwe      paat      tainongmoh      aprin  
in-future(T)      your      being      to-this-place (Dn)      come! (P<sub>m</sub>)

'In the future come to your own place.'

nuhur      ning      ungsi      susaa  
we (S)      possum      string-bag-with (W)      went (P<sub>m</sub>)

'We went with a string bag of possum...'

ihit      gusut      apriptin  
they-two (S)      fighting (M)      came-until (P<sub>m</sub>)

'They came on fighting until...'

## 2.4.2 Motion Transitive Clause

A class of Motion Transitive Verbs expounds the Verb Phrase of a Motion Transitive Predicate.

nuhur      ungo                      oh      baarus                      temnong                      daipti  
we (S)      string-bag-and      it (O)      plane                      hole (Dn)                      put (P<sub>mt</sub>)

'We put the cargo, etc., in the plane...'

baraak                      maa                      Kereporaapo                      be                      Wepiaahnong  
writing (O)                                           Telefomin-or                      just                      Wewak-to (Dn)

darheriyaa  
send (P<sub>mt</sub>)

'(They) send the letters to Telefomin or Wewak...'

Kereporaapnong                      be                      Arenong                      amaa                      baraak                      darheriptioh  
Telefomin-to                      just                      Lae-to (Dn)                                           writing (O)                      send (P<sub>mt</sub>)

'(They) send the letters to Telefomin or Lae.'

ti                      mong                      tem                      maham                      poprisaa  
some (O)                      ground                      hole                      down-here (L)                      bring (P<sub>mt</sub>)

'(They) bring some of them under the ground...'

kopioh                      bekungsi                      poprisaa  
coffee (O)                      with-bag(W)                      bring (P<sub>mt</sub>)                      '(They) bring the coffee in bags...'

temnong                      maham                      kimonoh  
to-hole                      down-here(Dn)                      kimon-sorcery-material (O)

kaawsi                      matperhan  
with-stick (W)                      put (P<sub>mt</sub>)

'(They) put the kimon sorcery material down into the hole with a stick...'

kin                      mat                      papriprohe  
how                      (M)                      will-carry (P<sub>mt</sub>)                      'How will (we) carry (him) ?'

tomoh                      Pohaning                      go                      aayohom                      pisonmur  
water (O)                      Pohaning                      you (S)                      filled-for-them (M)                      take! (P<sub>mt</sub>)

'Pohaning, you take the water filled up for them !'

## 2.5 Quotative Clauses

The Quote tagmeme is diagnostic of the Quotative Clauses. The exponents of the Quote tagmeme are : Sentence, Paragraph, and Discourse. These may or may not be marked by a quotative enclitic -o or -e.

There are two sub-types of Quotative Clauses for each of the two Quotative Clause types : Saying Quotative and Naming Quotative.

In the Naming Quotative the Quote tagmeme is obligatory and it may have an optional Object tagmeme preceding it.

The Saying Quotative Clause may also have an optional Object tagmeme but it usually follows the Quote tagmeme. The nouns that may expound the Object in this case are limited to :

meng(aa) 'talk'

sawaa 'instruction, teaching'

These nouns are most often used when the Quote tagmeme is expounded by a Discourse.

go...ihahanoh...      oh      arwaanah...      gaarnahati prohemur  
 you if-act-like-that      it      neighbour      will-be-cross-at-you

-o      itaanir      ihir      sawaah      ariptoh  
 -quote (Q)      our-fathers      they (S)      instructions (O)      say (P<sub>UQ</sub>)

'If you do that...your neighbours will get angry at you, " our fathers instruct.'

gin      go...amaa      mengiroh-o...      noh      hanhaanmur-o...      noh  
 now you      talked -quote      I      ignorance -quote I

hanhaanmur-o      am potipoh      Pitaa      ohwe  
 ignorance - quote (Q)      said-to-them (P<sub>dq</sub>)      Peter      his

mengoh      ' "Now you talked...I don't know... I don't know" ' Peter said.'  
 talk (O)

Pitaa      ohwe      mengoh      gure...      am potipoh  
 Peter      his      talk (O)      your      said-to-them (P<sub>dq</sub>)

'Peter said to them, "Your..."'

### 2.5.1 Undirected Quote Clause

The Undirected Quote Verb aripaah 'says, calls' or the Intransitive Predicate daa hapaah 'thinks' may expound the Verb Phrase of an Undirected Quote Predicate.

In the Undirected Quote Clause, what is being said is not directed to any particular hearer (s).

(a) Saying Quotative :

tit      haan      imaah      baaapsi      inpor-      -o      arimaa  
 one      man (S)      pig      small-with      let-me-stay- quote (Q)      said (P<sub>UQ</sub>)

'One of the men said, "Let me stay with the little pig"...'

Maaso      oh      waamar      deper      -o      aririt  
 Marshall      he (S)      looking      let-us-go-across-quote (Q)      when-said (P<sub>UQ</sub>)

'When Marshall said "Let's go across and look"...'

oh      bap      noh      hanhaanmur-o      noh      hanhaan      arihe  
 he (S)           I      ignorance - quote      I      ignorance (Q)      said (P<sub>UQ</sub>)

'He said, "I don't know. I don't know."

baarus      pisapaat      haanoh      mahanoh      Aahenahmur - o      aritporhan  
 plane      carry      man (S)      over-here      Hagen      quote (Q)      said (P<sub>uq</sub>)

'The pilot said, "Over here is Hagen."...'

aritperhan  
 said (P<sub>uq</sub>)      'Having said (this)...'

aap      han      Tandaitaarah      noh      er      hahmur  
 house      down(L)      Tandaitaar (S)      I      bad      did

dame      supoh      nimur      -o      arimaa  
 malaria      attacked-me-quote (Q)      said (P<sub>uq</sub>)

'Down at the house Tandaitaar said, "I am sick. I have had an attack of malaria,"...'

(b) Naming Quotative:

daa      aap      -o      arim  
 soul      house-quote (Q)      calling (P<sub>uq</sub>)

'(They will go to) what (we) call the soul house...'

wuuti-o      arim  
 tongs-quote (Q)      calling (P<sub>uq</sub>)      '(We take) what (we) call the tongs...'

### 2.5.2 Directed Quote Clause

The Directed Quote Verb porpaat 'says, tells to someone, calls' is the exponent of the Verb Phrase of a Directed Quote Predicate.

In this clause type, what is being said is directed to someone. Thus an Indirect Object tagmeme is possible and the verb may have the second order verb prefix na- as in an Indirect Clause.

(a) Saying Quotative:

noh      Maptis      uhnong      gowe      potahat      paatinaa      noh  
 I (S)      Maptis      her-to (10)      you      being-well      stay-until      I

apripraahoh      poraa  
 will-come (Q)      said-to-her (P<sub>dq</sub>)

'I said to Maptis, "You stay well until I come back,"...'

oh      enap      uhnong      go      denoh      tit      temtin  
 he (S)      wife      to-her(10)      you      food      one      cook (Q)

potporhan  
 said-to-her (P<sub>dq</sub>)      'He said to his wife, "Cook some food!"...'

noh      ai      go      kihaano      arim      baaroh      indir      poraa  
 I (S)      yes      you      what      saying      ball      played (Q)      said-to-him (P<sub>dq</sub>)

' "Yes," I said, "Why did you play ball?"...'

...haa      aruushengwerim      nuhutnong      gi-na-      potporhan  
 to-let-it-grow-up (Q)      to-us (10)      to-us-said (P<sub>dq</sub>)

' "...to let it grow up," (he) told us...'

(b) Naming Quotative:

yot    mengoh    daa -o                      maa    poriptioh  
two    talk (O)    soul-quote (Q)                      call (P<sub>dq</sub>)

'(We) call two things the soul.'

tamaam-o                      maa                      poriptioh    '(I'm going to talk about) what (we) call  
tamaam-quote (Q)                      call (P<sub>dq</sub>)    tamaam.'

haputpaa                      ireohmur                      paan-o                      maa                      poriptioh  
dead                      theirs (O)                      paan-quote (Q)                      call (P<sub>dq</sub>)

'The dead people's things (we) call paan.'

ohwe                      winoh                      Tamenporyon                      potip  
his                      name (O)                      Tamenporyon (Q)                      called (P<sub>dq</sub>)

'(She) called his name Tamenporyon.'

### 3. Change of Clause Type

By the addition of a first order verb prefix or an auxiliary verb in the Verb Phrase, and in some cases by the addition or deletion of a clause-level nuclear tagmeme, a number of clause types may be changed into other clause types. These possible changes are shown in Chart 5. There are three types of change : unrestricted, restricted, and fossilized. Unrestricted changes are shown with double arrows and may be applied to every clause of that particular type. Restricted changes are shown with single arrows and may be applied only to clauses of that particular type which contain certain verbs in their predicate. Fossilized changes are shown with a broken arrow. They appear to have once been restricted changes, but the resultant verb forms have become fossilized and are now considered verbs in their own right.

|             | Unexpanded       | Expanded         |
|-------------|------------------|------------------|
| Equational  | Cl <sub>ei</sub> | Cl <sub>et</sub> |
| General     | Cl <sub>i</sub>  | Cl <sub>t</sub>  |
| Indirect    | Cl <sub>st</sub> | Cl <sub>dt</sub> |
| Destination | Cl <sub>m</sub>  | Cl <sub>mt</sub> |
| Quotative   | Cl <sub>uq</sub> | Cl <sub>dq</sub> |

Chart 5 : Possible Changes of Clause Type

An understanding of the possible changes of clause type in Oksapmin is important on two accounts. First of all it gives the language learner more control over the language. Secondly, it is valuable both in the setting up of a system of clauses and in evaluating that system.

### 3.1 Unrestricted Changes

The mechanism used in unrestricted changes is an auxiliary verb hapaat or nahapaat/daipaat.

#### 3.1.1 Equational Clause to General Clause

Rule: Equational Clause Predicate + hapaat 'does'

The noun phrase expounding the Predicate in this case is restricted in that no Noun Phrase Laterals (10) may occur in the changed Predicate. Usually only the head of the noun phrase occurs.

|                     |   |  |  |  |                  |
|---------------------|---|--|--|--|------------------|
| <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>kamohaim</u><br>headman (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |  |  |  | 'He is headman.' |
|---------------------|---|--|--|--|------------------|

|     |   |                     |                            |                                     |  |                      |
|-----|---|---------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------|
| --- | → | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>kamohaim</u><br>headman | <u>hah</u><br>did (P <sub>i</sub> ) |  | 'He became headman.' |
|-----|---|---------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|----------------------|

|                         |                     |                    |   |  |                            |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---|--|----------------------------|
| <u>Daraam</u><br>Daraam | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>haan</u><br>man | <u>dokaa</u><br>tall (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |  | 'Daraam is a tall person.' |
|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---|--|----------------------------|

|     |   |                         |                     |                    |                    |   |
|-----|---|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---|
| --- | → | <u>Daraam</u><br>Daraam | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>haan</u><br>man | <u>dok</u><br>tall | <u>hapaat</u><br>does (P <sub>i</sub> ) |
|-----|---|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---|

'Daraam is getting to be a tall person.'

|                                 |  |  |  |  |                      |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|--|----------------------|
| <u>tommoh</u><br>this-water (S) | <u>mumunaa</u><br>hot (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |  |  |  | 'This water is hot.' |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|--|----------------------|

|     |   |                                 |                     |   |  |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|---------------------|---|--|
| --- | → | <u>tommoh</u><br>this-water (S) | <u>mumun</u><br>hot | <u>hapaat</u><br>does (P <sub>i</sub> ) |  |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|---------------------|---|--|

'This water is getting hot.'

|                        |                     |  |  |  |                          |
|------------------------|---------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------|
| <u>Hawit</u><br>Howard | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>yiwitbasmur</u><br>not-dwarfed (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |  |  | 'Howard is not dwarfed.' |
|------------------------|---------------------|--|--|--|--------------------------|

|     |   |                        |                     |                   |                         |   |
|-----|---|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---|
| --- | → | <u>Hawit</u><br>Howard | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>naa</u><br>not | <u>yiwit</u><br>dwarfed | <u>hapaat</u><br>does (P <sub>i</sub> ) |
|-----|---|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---|

'Howard is not becoming dwarfed.'

|                    |                     |   |  |  |                      |
|--------------------|---------------------|---|--|--|----------------------|
| <u>haan</u><br>man | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>paahohsi</u><br>with-hunger (P <sub>ei</sub> ) |  |  | 'The man is hungry.' |
|--------------------|---------------------|---|--|--|----------------------|

|     |   |                    |                     |                                |   |
|-----|---|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| --- | → | <u>haan</u><br>man | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>paahohsi</u><br>with-hunger | <u>hapaat</u><br>does (P <sub>i</sub> ) |
|-----|---|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|---|

'The man is getting hungry.'

|        |   |                    |                     |                         |   |                              |
|--------|---|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| or --- | → | <u>haan</u><br>man | <u>oh</u><br>he (S) | <u>paahoh</u><br>hunger | <u>hapaat</u><br>does (P <sub>i</sub> ) | 'The man is getting hungry.' |
|--------|---|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---|------------------------------|

uh            aamoh                            hanhaanaa  
 she (S)    aam-sorcery (O)                    ignorance (P<sub>et</sub>)  
 'She doesn't know aam sorcery.'

----> uh            aamoh                            hanhaan                    hapaat  
 she (S)    aam-sorcery (O)                    ignorance                    does (P<sub>t</sub>)  
 'She is becoming ignorant of aam sorcery.'

### 3.1.2 Equational Clause to Indirect Clause

Rule:    Equational Clause Predicate + nahapaat/daipaata<sup>(11)</sup> with the addition of an optional Indirect Object Tagmeme. Note that the noun phrase which previously expounded Subject now expounds Indirect Object.<sup>(12)</sup>

Again, the noun phrase expounding the transformed Predicate is restricted.

When a first or second person indirect object is understood or overtly marked in the clause, the verb form nahapaat 'does to me/us/you' is used. When the indirect object is third person the verb form daipaata 'puts in' is used but with the meaning, in this case, 'causes someone/something to be'.

bareroh            dokaa                            'The child is tall.'  
 child (S)        tall (P<sub>ei</sub>)

\*--> bareroh            dok                            daipaata  
 child (10)        tall                            causes-it-to-be (P<sub>st</sub>)  
 'Someone is causing the child to get tall, ' or  
 'Someone is raising the child.'

noh                            kamohaimmur                    'I am headman.'  
 I (S)                            headman (P<sub>ei</sub>)

----> nohnong                            kamohaim                    nahapaat  
 to-me (10)                            headman                    does-to-me (P<sub>st</sub>)  
 'Someone is making me headman.'

aapmoh                            yahaa                            'This house is good.'  
 this-house (S)                            good (P<sub>ei</sub>)

----> oh                            yah                            daipaata  
 he (S)                            good                            causes-it-to-be (P<sub>st</sub>)  
 'He makes (it) good.'

ungoh                            temsi                            'The string bag has a hole.'  
 string-bag (S)                            with-hole (P<sub>ei</sub>)

----> unghoh                            tem                            daipaata  
 string-bag (10)                            hole                            causes-it-to-be (P<sub>st</sub>)  
 'Someone puts a hole in the string bag.'



uh                    tamaam                    amaa  
 she (S)                tamaam-sorcery (O)                knowledge (P<sub>et</sub>)

'She knows tamaam sorcery.'

---> uhnong                    tamaam                    am                    daipaat  
 to-her (IO)                tamaam sorcery (O)                knowledge causes-her-to-be (P<sub>dt</sub>)

'Someone teaches her tamaam sorcery.'

### 3.2 Restricted Changes

The mechanism used in restricted changes is a first order verb prefix pa- (with basic low tone) or ta- ( u -tu before a velar stop). pa- is used when an optional clause - level nuclear tagmeme is added; ta- is used when an optional clause-level nuclear tagmeme is deleted.

#### 3.2.1 General Clause to Indirect Clause

Rule: <sup>+</sup> na + pa + General Clause Predicate with the addition of an optional Indirect Object tagmeme. Note again that the noun phrase which previously expounded Subject now expounds Indirect Object.

When pa- is prefixed to a verb stem with basic high tone the resultant form has basic low tone.

noh                    masa                    'I got up.'  
 I (S)                    got-up (P<sub>i</sub>)

----> nohnong                    na-                    pa-masa  
 to-me (IO)                to-me-                    got-up (P<sub>st</sub>)

'Someone got me up.'

oh                    tandai                    'He stood up.'  
 he (S)                    stood-up (P<sub>i</sub>)

---> ohnong                    pa-tandai                    'Someone stood him up.'  
 to-him (IO)                stood-up (P<sub>st</sub>)

oh                    kimiritip                    'He was quiet.'  
 he (S)                    was-quiet (P<sub>i</sub>)

---> pa-kimiritip                    'Someone made (him) be quiet.'  
 was-quiet (P<sub>st</sub>)

oh                    paa                    dip                    'He ate taro.'  
 he (S)                    taro (O)                    ate (P<sub>t</sub>)

---> ohnong                    paa                    pa-dip                    'Someone fed him taro.'  
 to-him (IO)                taro (O)                    ate (P<sub>st</sub>)

### 3.2.2 Expanded Clause to Unexpanded Clause

Rule: + ta + Expounded Predicate with the deletion of the optional Object tagmeme. Note that the noun phrase which previously expounded Object now expounds Subject.

sen            saan            perpaat            'Someone pulls out the axe handle.'  
axe            handle (O)            pulls-out (P<sub>t</sub>)

-----> sen            saan            ta-perpaat  
axe            handle (S)            comes-loose (P<sub>i</sub>)  
'The axe handle comes loose.'

iraat            kwerpaat            'Someone splits the wood.'  
wood (O)            splits (P<sub>t</sub>)

-----> iraat            ta-kwerpaat            (tukwerpaat)  
wood (S)            splits (P<sub>i</sub>)  
'The wood splits of itself.'

taminoh            ung            mitporhan            '(She) puts the rat in the string bag...'  
rat (O)            string-bag (Dn)            put-in (P<sub>mt</sub>)

-----> taminoh            ung            ta-mitporhan  
rat (S)            string-bag (Dn)            put-in (P<sub>m</sub>)  
'The rat gets caught in the string bag...'

### 3.2.3 Semitransitive Clause to Intransitive Clause

Rule: + ta + Semitransitive Predicate with the deletion of the optional Indirect Object tagmeme. Note that the noun phrase which previously expounded Indirect Object now expounds Subject.

ohnong            sutip            ' (Someone) killed him.'  
to-him (IO)            killed (P<sub>st</sub>)

-----> oh            ta-sutip            'He killed himself.'  
he (S)            killed (P<sub>i</sub>)

nohnong            po            nahapaat            'He heals me.'  
to-me (IO)            heal            does-to-me (P<sub>st</sub>)

-----> noh            po            ta-hapaat            'I act properly.'  
I (S)            heal            does (P<sub>i</sub>)

taamoh            ok            daiapaat            '(Someone) dumps out the ashes.'  
ashes (IO)            spill            causes- it (P<sub>st</sub>)

-----> taamoh            ok            ta-hapaat (13) 'The ashes spill out.'  
ashes (S)            spill            does (P<sub>i</sub>)

### 3.3 Fossilized Changes

#### 3.3.1 Motion Transitive Verbs

Comparing the Motion Verbs with their corresponding Motion Transitive Verbs we get the following two lists.

| Motion Verb       |               | Transitive Motion Verb               |                |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| <u>apri</u> paat  | 'come'        | <u>popri</u> paat/ <u>papri</u> paat | 'bring'        |
| <u>arop</u> aat   | 'go in'       | <u>parop</u> aat                     | 'take in'      |
| <u>aruup</u> aat  | 'go up'       | <u>paruup</u> aat                    | 'take up'      |
| <u>dep</u> aat    | 'go across'   | <u>pandep</u> aat                    | 'take across'  |
| <u>mandep</u> aat | 'come across' | <u>pamdep</u> aat                    | 'bring across' |
| <u>marap</u> aat  | 'come up'     | <u>pamarap</u> aat                   | 'bring up'     |
| <u>sap</u> aat    | 'go'          | <u>pisap</u> aat                     | 'take'         |
| <u>wandap</u> aat | 'come down'   | <u>pukdap</u> aat                    | 'bring down'   |
| <u>wap</u> aat    | 'go down'     | <u>paap</u> aat                      | 'take down'    |

In these two lists the verbs on the left have basic high tone, except apripaat 'come'. All the verbs on the right have basic low tone. It is obvious that these particular Motion Transitive verbs have been formed from Motion verbs by the use of the prefix pa-. Since, however, some of the phonemic changes between the two sets cannot be explained by normal morphophonemic rules (for example pisapaat 'take and pukdapaat 'bring down') and because of the frequency with which these forms are used they are considered to be verbs in their own right.

#### 3.3.2 Directed Quote Verb

It is not possible to prove that the Directed Quote Verb is the result of a clause change but it seems quite feasible.

The Undirected Quote Verb stem is ari (basic high tone) M class. If the Directed Quote Verb were formed from ari by the use of pa- the expected stem form would be \*pari (basic low tone) M class. However, the Directed Quote Verb stem is pa ~ po (basic low tone) R class. In the R class verbs -ri is the form of the continuative aspect morpheme whereas M class verbs have a zero allomorph of this suffix. Thus, it may be that the ri in the expected stem \*pari was regarded as the continuative aspect suffix leaving the R class stem verb pa ~ po.

#### 4. Oksapmin Clauses as a System

We might well question the system of clauses that has been set up for Oksapmin. Does it reflect something emic to the language or not?

We have already noted that the orders Indirect, Destination, and Quotative each have a nuclear tagmeme that is characteristic of the clauses of that order. When an Equational Clause changes to a General Clause the same rule holds for both the unexpanded and expanded series. The same can be said for the change of an Equational Clause to an Indirect Clause, of a General Clause to an Indirect Clause, and of the Expanded Clauses to the Unexpanded Clauses. Therefore the clause types given under the orders set up in this system do rightly belong together. The groupings are emic.

The fact that changes occur horizontally and vertically but not diagonally also indicates that the system set up here does reflect something emic to the language.

#### NOTES

(1) The oksapmin language is spoken by 5000 people living in the area of the Telefomin Sub-District, West Sepik District. They are bounded by the Om River to the north, the Strickland River to the east, and the Papua-New Guinea border to the south. Study of the language has been carried out over a two-and-a-half-year period under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The writing of this paper has been supported in part by a grant from the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics Research Fund. Thanks are due to Joan Healey for helpful comments on a previous draft of this paper.

(2) The abbreviations used are:

Cl<sub>dq</sub> Directed Quote Clause, Cl<sub>dt</sub> Ditransitive Clause,  
Cl<sub>ei</sub> Intransitive Equation Clause,  
Cl<sub>et</sub> Transitive Equation Clause, Cl<sub>i</sub> Intransitive Clause,  
Cl<sub>m</sub> Motion Clause, Cl<sub>mt</sub> Motion Transitive Clause,  
Cl<sub>st</sub> Semitransitive Clause, Cl<sub>t</sub> Transitive Clause,  
Cl<sub>uq</sub> Undirected Quote Clause, Dn Destination Tagmeme,  
IO Indirect Object Tagmeme, L Location Tagmeme,  
M Manner Tagmeme, O Object Tagmeme, P Predicate Tagmeme,  
P<sub>dq</sub> Directed Quote Predicate, P<sub>dt</sub> Ditransitive Predicate,  
P<sub>e</sub> Equational Predicate, P<sub>ei</sub> Intransitive Equation Predicate,  
P<sub>et</sub> Transitive Equation Predicate,  
P<sub>i</sub> Intransitive Predicate, P<sub>m</sub> Motion Predicate,

$P_{mt}$  Motion Transitive Predicate,  
 $P_{st}$  Semitransitive Predicate,  $P_t$  Transitive Predicate,  
 $P_{uq}$  Undirected Quote Predicate,  $P_v$  Verbal Predicate,  
 $Q$  Quote Tagmeme,  $S$  Subject Tagmeme,  $T$  Time Tagmeme,  
 $W$  With Tagmeme,  $--- \rightarrow$  'changes to'

- (3) This was previously described as Stative Relational (in section 3.4 of Marshall Lawrence, Oksapmin Verbs, unpublished ms. February 1970). However, the continuative form has since been discovered and it has been realized that these are the dependent forms of the verb manifesting the Manner tagmeme and do not belong to the Stative Relational Set.
- (4) Verbs belong to three morphemically-defined stem classes, M class, R class and S class.
- (5) Object and Quote tagmemes do not co-occur and are illustrated in section 2.1.2.
- (6) The negative of the Intransitive Equation Clause is formed by adding the enclitic -bas to the noun phrase expounding the Predicate. The Transitive Equation Clause has special forms for the noun expounding the Predicate as shown in section 2.1.2. The negative of other clause types is formed by the morpheme naa usually occurring first in the Verb Phrase.
- (7) Quote is discussed in section 2.5.
- (8) In some cases the stem of the verb is changed to indicate third person indirect object. For example, na-ipaata 'kills me/us/you', but supaata 'kills him/her/them'.
- (9) Some verb stems belong to both the semitransitive and transitive classes. It is not always possible to determine whether a clause is Semitransitive or Transitive.
- (10) A noun phrase consists of the Noun Phrase Nucleus and the Noun Phrase Laterals. The Noun Phrase Nucleus constitutes an inner syntactic layer which is expandable. The Noun Phrase Laterals constitute an outer syntactic layer which is not expandable.
- (11) A number of Verb Phrases expounding a Semitransitive Predicate are probably a fossilized change of this type. For example, waa nahapaata/daipaata 'looks at something' and po nahapaata/daipaata 'heals someone'. The morphemes waa and po may have been nouns at one time but now have no meaning in isolation.
- (12) The concepts of Fillmore's case grammar may help throw more light on such clause changes, and in fact on the whole system of Oksapmin clauses.

(13) In a Semitransitive Predicate expounded by Verb Phrase, adjunct + auxiliary (na-hapaat/dai-paat), ta- is prefixed to hapaat in the changed predicate.