A Grammar of Oksapmin

Robyn Loughnane

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Abstract

This thesis describes the features of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Oksapmin, a Papuan (Non-Austronesian) language of Papua New Guinea. Oksapmin is spoken by around 8000 people, most of whom reside in the Tekin valley in Sandaun Province. The analysis in this thesis is based on the study of data from both elicitation and text collection undertaken on two field trips between 2004 and 2006: from May to October 2004, and from October 2005 to January 2006.

A general introduction is provided in Chapter 1, phonology, phonotactics and morphophonology are discussed in Chapter 2, word classes in Chapter 3, demonstratives in Chapter 4, nouns in Chapter 5, postpositions in Chapter 6, noun phrase syntax in Chapter 7, verbs in Chapter 8, coverbs in Chapter 9, clausal syntax in Chapter 10, phrasal clitics in Chapter 11, and clause combining in Chapter 12. Four sample texts are provided as appendices. Sound files are provided on the accompanying CD for many of the examples scattered throughout the thesis, as well as for all the texts in the appendices.

The most interesting and important grammatical subsystem in Oksapmin is the evidential one, which permeates various areas of the grammar. Without proper knowledge of this system, one cannot make a single grammatical sentence in the language. Recall that evidentiality is, roughly speaking, when a speaker marks how he or she came about the knowledge on which a given utterance is based. Evidentiality in Oksapmin is indicated with past tense verbal inflection, with enclitics, and with a number of other constructions. The evidential system is typologically unusual in that the primary contrast it marks is participatory/factual versus visual/sensory evidence; this distinction is made in the verbal inflection. Participatory/factual evidentials are not widely attested cross-linguistically, and those systems that do exist have been largely ignored in the typological literature.

Some of the other areas of grammar discussed in this thesis include prenasalised consonants with nasal allophones, noun phrases with a complex syntactic structure, a range of demonstratives which distinguish for elevation, a large vocabulary of kin terms including a set of dyadic kin terms, extensive use of complex predicates consisting of a light verb plus a coverb, and a variety of clause combining strategies including clause chaining.

Declaration

This is to certify that

i.   the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD,

ii.   due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

iii.   the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, language examples, bibliographies and appendices.

Signed

Robyn Loughnane

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

1	First person	NEG	Negative
2	Second person	NOMLS	Nominalizer
3	Third person	O	Object
ADJ	Adjective	p	Plural (of pronoun)
ALONE	Alone pronoun	PER	Personal-factual evidential
ANPH	Anaphoric	PFV	Perfective
ASSC	Associative	PL	Plural
CAUS	Causative	PN	Proper noun
CERT	Certain	PNCT	Punctual
CNJ	Conjunction	POSS	Possessive
CNTRF	Counterfactual	PQ	Polar question
CNTRS	Contrastive focus	PROB	Probable
d	Dual (of pronoun)	PROP	Proprietive
DEF	Definite	PRS	Present
DEM	Demonstrative	PRX	Proximal
DENZ	Denizen	Q	Reported question marker
DST	Distal	QUOT	Quote
EMPH	Emphatic	RECG	Recognitional
Eng	English	RECP	Reciprocal
EX	Exclusive	REDP	Reduplication
EXCS	Excessive	REFL	Reflexive
f	Feminine	REL	Relative pronoun
FF	Far future	REP	Reported evidential
FOC	Information focus	RESP	Response
FP	Far past	s	Singular (of pronoun)
HAB	Habitual	SBRD	Subordinator
HES	Hesitation	SEQ	Sequential
IF	Immediate future	SG	Singular
INDF	Indefinite	SIM	Simultaneous
INFR	Inferred	TODF	Today future
INTR	Intransitive	TODP	Today past
IPFV	Imperfective	TOP	Topic
IMP	Imperative	TP	Tok Pisin
IN	Inclusive	TR	Transitive
IRR	Irrealis	v	Variety (of flora or fauna)
LINK	Prosodic linker	VIS	Visual-sensory evidential
m	Masculine	YESTP	Yesterday past
MID	Middle		

Kin term abbreviations

B	Brother	S	Son
D	Daughter	SIB	Sibling
e	Elder	SS	Same sex
F	Father	W	Wife
H	Husband	y	Younger
M	Mother	Z	Sister
OS	Opposite sex		

Symbols and Conventions:

.	Links multiple words in the one gloss
-	Affix boundary
=	Clitic boundary
*	Ungrammatical
?	Of doubtful grammaticality
#	Morphosyntactically well formed but semantically ill formed
//	Phonemic transcription
[]	Phonetic transcription
[]	Syntactic unit
()	Gloss of a zero morpheme not represented in the example

Chapter 1
Introduction

Oksapmin is spoken in a peaceful, fertile valley in the mountains of Papua New Guinea, where, at any time of the day, thin columns of smoke can be seen slowly rising upwards from small fires lit by people making new gardens. Behind this peaceful snapshot of agrarian life, however, lies a complex network of social interactions, where the day's activities become the day's news, recounted up and down the valley. The medium of this news is, of course, Oksapmin, a language particularly suited for relating gossip: with a single verb a speaker can relate when something happened, the means by which the news is known, who was doing what to whom, and whether the event was one-off, ongoing or repeated.

1.1 Oksapmin: Background Information

Oksapmin is spoken by approximately 8000 people (Lawrence, M. 1993), most of whom live in villages dotted in and around the Tekin, Bak and Oksapmin stations in the Tekin Valley, located in the Oksapmin subdistrict of Telefomin district, Sandaun Province (formerly known as West Sepik Province), Papua New Guinea (henceforth PNG). There are an additional few hundred speakers living in Tabubil, Western Province, and smaller numbers living in other major centres in PNG.

The name 'Oksapmin' is the name given to the people in the Tekin Valley and their language by the Telefomin to the west and means 'the bush people of the water' (Lawrence, M. 1993). There is no indigenous name for the language, which the Oksapmin people refer to as simply *nuxule meŋ* 'our language'.

Oksapmin is the main language of communication in the Tekin Valley and is still the first language that the vast majority of children in the area learn. Tok Pisin and English are, however, becoming more prominent. Primary school is conducted primarily in Tok Pisin and high school is conducted in English. Most adults under about 50 or so are fluent in Tok Pisin as a second language.

Bimin and other Ok languages are spoken to the west of Oksapmin. Hewa (Sepik Hill family) is spoken to the north-east of Oksapmin across the Ok Om River. Duna and Bogaia (Duna-Bogaia family) are spoken to the south-east of Oksapmin

across the Strickland Gorge. The Bimin language area, the Ok Om River (labelled Om River), and the Strickland River gorge are shown in Map 1-1 below.

1.1.1 Dialects

There are two main dialects of Oksapmin as defined by M. Lawrence (2006 and elsewhere). These are referred to throughout this thesis as Lower Oksapmin and Upper Oksapmin. The rough geographical split of these dialects is shown in Map 1-1 below, taken from M. Lawrence (2006).

Map 1-1.   The two major dialects of Oksapmin
            Reproduced from Lawrence, M. 2006: 207
            Dialect 1 = Upper Oksapmin.
            Dialect 2 = Lower Oksapmin.

These two major dialects are distinct but mutually intelligible. M. Lawrence (1980) estimates the cognate percentages between the dialects (based on the comparison of Swadesh lists) to be 87% (between Divanap where the Lawrences primarily worked and Tapeyap near where I primarily worked). According to M. Lawrence (1980), most varieties of Lower Oksapmin share between 80% and 90% of vocabulary with Upper Oksapmin. Most of the texts I collected were from speakers of

Lower Oksapmin and I conducted elicitation in Lower Oksapmin only. Speakers were primarily from the following villages: Kusanap, Waulap, and Ranimap. I have not systematically compared the two dialects and only note major differences where these are apparent from a comparison of my own data and the description of Upper Oksapmin by the Lawrences. Although all of the dialects seem to be mutually intelligible, speakers report that it is difficult to understand people from certain dialects different from their own. Many words are identical across dialects as shown in (1-1) below for *itəp* 'father.3POSS'.

(1-1) *itəp* (Upper Oksapmin)
       itəp (Lower Oksapmin)
       'father.3POSS'

Some items differ systematically between dialects such as the addition of the connective *=a* 'LINK' which is much more common in Upper Oksapmin than in Lower Oksapmin (see Chapter 11, §11.4.1) as in (1-2) below for *xit(a)* 'flesh'.

(1-2) *xit(=a)* (Upper Oksapmin)
       xit   (Lower Oksapmin)
       'flesh'

Some items have minor differences of one or two phonemes as in (1-3) below for *oper/opil* 'right-hand'.

(1-3) *oper* (Upper Oksapmin)
       opil (Lower Oksapmin)
       'right hand'

Some words have more significant differences but are still recognizable as cognates as in (1-4) below for *romder/almədil* 'grandparent&grandchild.PL'.

(1-4) *romder*   (Upper Oksapmin)
       almədil   (Lower Oksapmin)
       'grandparent&grandchild.PL'

Other meanings are expressed by lexical items which originate from different sources as in (1-5) below for 'domesticated pig'.

(1-5) *imax* (Upper Oksapmin)
       tap   (Lower Oksapmin)
       'domesticated pig'

See Chapter 2, especially §2.1.1.6, for more on the consistent sound correspondences between the dialects.

1.1.2 Previous Linguistic Research

Previous research into the Oksapmin language was conducted by Marshall and Helen Lawrence of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (henceforth SIL), who worked in the Tekin Valley on and off for decades from the late 1960s onwards translating the new testament into Oksapmin. The research done by the Lawrences is on Upper Oksapmin[1], whereas I studied Lower Oksapmin.

Marshall Lawrence has published seven articles (Lawrence, M. 1971a; 1972a; 1972b; 1977a; 1977b; 1987; Boram and M. Lawrence 1977) and a dictionary of (Upper) Oksapmin (Lawrence, M. 1993, 1st ed.; 2006, 2nd ed.) as well as having written a number of unpublished manuscripts and drafts, many of which are available through SIL (Lawrence, M. n.d.; 1969; 1970a; 1970b; 1970c; 1970d; 1970e; 1971b; 1971c; 1977c). Helen Lawrence has also published one article (Lawrence, H. 1972). Specific aspects of the Lawrences' work will be referred to in more detail where applicable throughout the thesis.

For references to anthropological work in the area, see §1.2.

1.2 The Oksapmin People and Culture

This section provides a snapshot of modern life in the Tekin Valley based on observations made incidental to the linguistic fieldwork undertaken for this thesis. It is intended to provide some cultural background to the thesis, rather than a thorough anthropological sketch of Oksapmin society, as anthropological fieldwork was not undertaken by the current researcher. The major published anthropological research works undertaken by various researchers in the Tekin Valley are Boram (1976; 1980), Boram and M. Lawrence (1977), Brutti (1997; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2005), Brutti and Boissière (2002), Moylan (1981), Perey (1975), Saxe (1981; 1982; 1985), Saxe and Esmonde (2004; 2005), Saxe and Moylan (1982), and Weeks (1981).

The Oksapmin people now live in a blend of a traditional and non-traditional ways. They dress in a Western way. They buy goods from the "trade stores" in the area, when they are stocked. Most children go to school until around grade six or

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[1] M. Lawrence (1993) distinguishes these two dialects in his dictionary of Oksapmin where he calls Upper Oksapmin "dialect 1" and Lower Oksapmin "dialect 2". In M. Lawrence's (1980) dialect survey, however, eight dialects are distinguished. Dialects #1 and #2 in M. Lawrence 1980 correspond to Upper in M. Lawrence 1993 and dialects #3, #4, #5, #6, #7, #8 correspond to Lower in M. Lawrence 1993. I use the terms "Upper Oksapmin" and "Lower Oksapmin" as this is what the people call them based on the physical location of the dialects: Lower Oksapmin is spoken at a lower elevation than Upper Oksapmin.

eight. Most people attend church, and witchcraft and sorcery are no longer openly practised. Traditional wars no longer take place. The modern dream of most Oksapmin people is similar to that of many Western people: that their children will be able to finish school and get a job. This remains, however, out of reach for most people in the Tekin Valley because of poverty and lack of access to facilities.

As a result of these recent cultural changes, although Oksapmin is still the main language used in everyday interaction, people in the area do not use the language exactly as it was used before major contact with Tok Pisin. There is no doubt that Tok Pisin is beginning to influence the language. There are already a number of words from Tok Pisin which have completely replaced the indigenous words. For example the intransitive verb *tixe-* 'be sick' has been completely replaced by the adjective/coverb *sik* 'sick' in the speech of younger speakers. A number of recently invented indigenous equivalents of common Tok Pisin sayings are now widely used. These were most likely only rarely used with these meanings previously, for example the use of *xa ixtinuŋ* 'let it be like that' is possibly modelled on the use of *maski* (TP) 'forget it' and the use of *olxol* '3sm.REFL' as a conjunction (see Chapter 12, §12.3.3) is possibly modelled on the use of *tasol* (TP) 'but'. The exact extent of this influence and the processes at work would be an interesting area for further research and is not covered in this thesis.

The Oksapmin people do, however, still follow a modern version of many traditional customs and laws. They still cultivate gardens, hunt, collect pandanus nuts and raise pigs in a largely traditional way. There is no vehicle access to Tekin Valley – the only way in or out is by foot or by plane, which severely limits the development of infrastructure and the delivery of goods and services in the area. There is no electricity or running water (except for the health centres and a few individuals who have electricity generators and water tanks).

There has recently been renewed interest in traditional culture in the area. On special occasions, locals participate in traditional singing and dancing, as well as traditional dress competitions. Traditional singing and dancing takes place, for example, on the PNG national holiday on 16 September, Independence Day. People playing traditional lizard-skinned *walon* 'drums' are shown in Figure 1-1 below.

Figure 1-1.   Local men playing traditional *walon* 'drums' and dancing Independence Day, Tekin Station, 16 September 2004

On Independence Day 2004, there was also a dress-up competition for best traditional dress. The winners are shown in Figure 1-2 below. Those who are particularly attentive to detail may have already noted that the costumes below are not entirely historically accurate as the female winner is wearing a bra. Only very brave men and women wear fully traditional dress nowadays because most people in the area are fervent Christians and are too modest to go bare-breasted or to wear a penis gourd in public.

Figure 1-2.   Best dressed competition winners Joyce James (left) and unknown man (right).
Independence Day, Tekin Station, 16 September 2004

A very popular modern phenomenon now present in the area is the so-called 'string bands' which are popular throughout PNG. String bands typically consist of four or five men who all sing and play guitar in a style which appears to be loosely based on country-and-western music. String bands feature in any major celebration and are very popular. A local string band is shown in Figure 1-3 below.

Figure 1-3.   A local string band.
              Independence Day, Tekin Station, 16 September 2004

1.2.1 Food

The majority of people in the Tekin Valley rely on subsistence farming for their daily food requirements. Sweet potato and taro are the staple foods in the area. Foreign vegetables were introduced by the missionaries over the last couple of decades and are popular, as are local 'bush greens', various fruits and *karuka* (TP) 'pandanus'.

Most women raise pigs and a recent innovation near Tekin Station has been the establishment of a community pig enclosure, a large fenced-off area where the pigs are kept. The community's Seventh-Day Adventists do not eat pork and instead raise cassowaries, which cannot be bred in captivity and must be hunted, or caught as chicks in the wild and raised in captivity. A growing number of people in the area raise chickens. Hunting is a further source of protein.

Brutti and Boissière (2002) discuss the importance of the pig in Oksapmin culture. In traditional rituals honouring the main female deity in Oksapmin culture, "des cochons étaient tués et mangés parallèlement au sacrifice humain, pour souligner l'importance de cet animal, non pas comme substitut mais comme complément, équivalent de l'homme"[2] (Brutti and Boissière 2002: 145). Today, pigs remain an important symbol of wealth in Oksapmin society.

There is a weekly market at Tekin Station where people sell their vegetables, meat, string bags and imported goods. There are also a number of the typical PNG 'trade stores' in the area: small general stores where people buy basic goods such as salt, matches, flour, rice, noodles, biscuits, cooking oil, washing powder, soap, kerosene and pots.

Although people normally cook and eat in their kitchen house, pigs (or any other available meat) are occasionally cooked along with sweet potato, taro and bush greens in a shallow ground oven. Cooking such a *mumu* (TP) 'ground oven' (Oksapmin *kəm* 'feast') is something which occurs at irregular intervals, often on special occasions such as Independence Day, Christmas and New Year's. Traditionally large inedible leaves, such as banana leaves, are placed as a bottom layer on which layers of sweet potato, taro, greens and meat are placed before another layer of inedible leaves and finally hot stones. Aluminium foil, although rarely available in

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[2] "pigs were killed and eaten in tandem to human sacrifice in order to emphasize the importance of the pig, not as a substitute but as a complement, equivalent to man" [RL]

the village, is a modern addition to the *mumu* when it is cooked in town. It is used as an extra layer to fortify the layers of inedible leaves as shown in Figure 1-4 below.

Figure 1-4.   A modern mumu
                Tabubil, January 2006.

1.2.2 Kinship Relations

Kinship relations are a very important part of Oksapmin culture. Most older Oksapmin people have an amazingly detailed knowledge of who they are related to and how they are related to them. Two distinct word classes are used to express these kin relations in Oksapmin: lexical kin nouns (see Chapter 5, §5.1), and dyadic kin terms (see Chapter 3, §3.5, and Chapter 7, §7.8).

Lexical kin nouns define the kinship relation of a single person or a group of people with regards to a given ego, who may be the speaker or a group including the speaker, e.g. *em* 'my/our mother', the addressee(s), e.g. *sja* 'your mother', or a third person or persons, e.g. *sup* 'his/her/their mother'. A number of these are self-reciprocal, for example a grandparent and a grandchild call each other by the same lexical kin noun, namely *aw* 'my grandparent/my grandchild'. Another salient difference from a European kinship system is that the Oksapmin system uses the same

terms for one's mother's sister(s) and one's mother, as well as the same terms for one's father's brother(s) and one's father. This leads to a distinction between cross and parallel cousins, where cross cousins are the children of a parent's opposite sex sibling(s) and parallel cousins are the children of a parent's same sex sibling(s). The same kin term is used for male and female parallel cousins as is used for brothers and sisters respectively.

The use of many lexical kin nouns is often extended to refer to anyone who has a relationship which may be compared to that of a similar kin relationship. For example, an older male of the same clan who is a close friend of the family may be referred to as *ita* 'father' by the children of the family even though he is not a close blood relative. The term *aw* 'grandparent, grandchild' is also used as a general term of address for younger people addressing older people and vice versa. The terms *mon* 'brother' and *kol* 'sister' are also used as general address terms for men and women respectively.

Dyadic kin terms define the kinship relation of two or more people with respect to each other, e.g. *nəgmd* 'two same sex siblings'. Unlike with lexical kin terms, the relationship expressed with dyadic kin terms does not change, e.g. with a change in speaker or when taking the perspective of different members of the group, but only changes when the referent changes.

1.2.2.1 Examining Perey (1975)

Perey (1975) claims that a number of lexical kin terms in Oksapmin are the same as terms used to indicate body parts and parts of the natural world. Perey's terms, along with the world and kin meanings, are shown in Table 1-1 below. For example, Perey claims that the word *nona* 'nipple, milk' is also used to refer to one's mother.

Perey's Oksapmin term	Perey's world meaning	Perey's kin meaning
nona	nipple, milk	mother
kana	hand, man	brother
mona	thigh	brother
kaka	head	father's brother, brother's son
ita, *ata*	(*eta*) penis	father
awa	wind, sky	grandparent, grandchild
uma	Ok Om River	cousin

Table 1-1.   Perey's (1975) kin terms

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There are two problems with Perey's claim. First, many of Perey's terms do not have the kin meaning which he states. Second, those which do have both of Perey's world and kin meanings do not share a single phonological form (except for *uma* 'Ok Om River/cousins', see below). This is demonstrated in Table 1-2 below which shows the corresponding terms from my own research, along with their world and kin meanings. A number of these terms, e.g. *non* 'breast' do not have a corresponding kin meaning. Other terms, e.g. *mun* 'thigh' and *mon* 'brother' have similar, but not identical phonological forms. Only *um* 'Ok Om River, cousin' was found to have a single phonological form which expresses both of the meanings claimed by Perey.

Lower Oksapmin term	World meaning	Kin meaning
non	'breast'	?
xan	'man', 'thing', 'hand'*	?
mun	'thigh'	*mon* 'brother', 'son'
kak	'head'	?
et	'penis'	*at ~ ita* 'father (first or second person possessed, singular)'
əw	'sky'	*aw* 'grandparent, grandchild (first
awa	'wind'	person possessed, singular)'
um	'Ok Om River'	'cross cousin (first person possessed, singular)'

Table 1-2.   Lower Oksapmin equivalents to Perry's kin terms
? indicates that I have not found such a kin meaning during my research of Lower Oksapmin
*N.B. *xan* meaning 'hand' is used in compounds only, the word usually used for 'hand' in Lower Oksapmin is *bes*.

Note that the term *xan* 'man' can have a kin interpretation in some contexts, but these interpretations can all be derived from the meaning 'man' and are regarded as implicature. For example, when used with a possessor, *xan* can mean 'clan member', e.g. *ox noxe xan* 'he is a our man' can be used to mean 'he is our clan member'.

The same can be concluded upon examining M. Lawrence's (1993) research on (Upper) Oksapmin: none of Perey's terms have both the same phonological form and both the world and kin meaning he claims. This is shown in Table 1-3 below, where e.g. *mun(ä)* 'thigh' and *mon(ä)* 'brother' have Perey's claimed world and kin meanings but have different phonological forms, and *non(ä)* does not have Perey's claimed kin meaning. Only *käk(ä)* 'head' is reported by M. Lawrence (1993) to have the kin meaning claimed by Perey.

Upper Oksapmin term	World meaning	Kin meaning
non(ä) /non(a)/	'breast'	Ø
hän /xan/	'1. person; man 2. thing' (also *hän tam* /xan təm/ 'hand')	Ø
mun(ä) /mun(a)/	'1. thigh 2. floor joist'	*mon(ä)* /mon(a)/ '1. son 2. younger brother 3. parallel cousin'
käk(ä) /kak(a)/	'head'	'1. father's younger brother; uncle 2. older brother's son; nephew'
eit(ä) /əit(a)/	'penis'	*ät(ä)* /at(a)/ 'father'
aw(ä) /əw(a)/	'sky'	*äw(ä)* /aw(a)/ '1. grandfather 2. grandchild; grandson; granddaughter 3. woman's parent-in-law; mother-in-law; father-in-law 4. daughter-in-law'
inim(ä) /inim(a)/	'wind'	
Ø	Ø	*um(ä)* /um(a)/ 'cross cousin'

Table 1-3.   (Upper) Oksapmin equivalents to Perry's kin terms
Source: Lawrence, M. 1993
Terms are first given using M. Lawrence's orthography followed by a phonemic representation according to my understanding of his orthography
Ø indicates that the term was not listed in M. Lawrence (1993) for (Upper) Oksapmin with the relevant meaning

Only two of the above terms are, according to either my data or M. Lawrence's data, homophonous in Oksapmin: *kak* 'head, uncle/nephew', and *um* 'Ok Om River, cousin'. Although many of the other kin terms in the above table are similar (but not identical) in form to body and world terms, additional linguistic or cultural evidence needs to be provided to support the claim that these terms "join because they join within the Oksapmin mind" (Perey 1975: 236). Perey does not provide such linguistic or anthropological evidence to back up his claim other than the similarity of the terms.

Further, there is evidence that at least one of Perey's pairs of terms *ita*, *ata* 'father' and *eta* 'penis' are unrelated. Each of this pair of terms have cognate reflexes in the Ok languages, as shown in Table 1-4 below. This is evidence that these two terms are completely unrelated, thus strengthening the case against Perey's claim that they are related.

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Meaning	Mian	Tifal	Telefol	(Upper) Oksapmin	(Lower) Oksapmin	pOk-Oksapmin
penis	eǐt	-	ĕt	əit	et	*eit
father.1POSS	-	atùmón	áatúm	at	at	*at(umon)

Table 1-4.   Ok and Oksapmin reflexes for *eit and *at(umon)
From Loughnane and Fedden in prep.
Tifal data originally from Healey and Steinkrauss 1972
Telefol data originally from Healey and Healey 1977
(Upper) Oksapmin data originally from Lawrence, M. 1993

1.2.3 Clan Groupings

Clan membership was and is a very important part of Oksapmin culture although this importance is slowly declining. Clan membership in the Tekin Valley is determined via the patriline. That is, an Oksapmin person, male or female, is a member of the same clan as his or her father. Traditionally, it was taboo for an Oksapmin person to marry someone from their own clan. Nowadays, this taboo is less powerful and intra-clan marriage occurs.

Most clans have a special relationship or alliance with one or more other clans, which is referred to as *etgəp*, literally 'semen'. In times of war, allied clans usually fought side by side. Traditionally, it is taboo for an Oksapmin person to marry someone from an allied clan, as well as someone from their own clan.

Each clan has a story of its inception, a *tdəlpətpa meg* '(how)-they-began story'. Clans who are in an *etgəp* relationship usually share some or all of their origin myth. Most origin myths involve magical events, which often involve anthropomorphism of some kind. See the Kusan Jelixtam clan origin myth in Appendix 1 for an example.

Many village names in the area are also clan names and the village areas are the traditional dwelling areas of the different clans.

Some of the larger clans are divided into a number of smaller subclans. The word *tam* 'fireplace' is used to refer to a subclan. A number of smaller clans do not have any subclans. The major clans in the area, with *tam* 'subclans' and *etgəp* 'allied clans' in brackets where known and extinct clans indicated with a dagger, are the following:

apin, aspa, awən, axlenan, bak, bəkbek, bətjan, dapul (tam: bikitam, togotam, təpetam, tomjantam), dipan (tam: swetam, wetaptam, gasamtam, dipantam, dupxiltam; etgəp: waul), dupxil (etgəp: wetap), dəpəxja, dəran, en (etgəp: waul), gəma, gamalanim, gaw, gon, gos, gul (etgəp: wetap), gəna, gaxan (tam: diplatam, swetam, bəkbektam, andapetam), jelix (tam: baktam), juwa, jəntan (tam: moŋsuptam), ketjan, kunan, kupte, kusan (tam: jelixtam, bulatam, dəsəxtam), †kusem, kuskus, kweptan, kəmxejan, kənan, kəpenan, lamxe, lapaj, leban, lenxes, lidan, libil, lowonmiŋjan, lupan, menmax, moŋsup (etgəp: wetap), mosan, natpol, niŋsup, †on, ranim, ramxe (tam: tintam, togontam, jaliktam; etgəp: tek), sika, sili, sisi, talmin, tek (tam: warontam, mjantam, baktam, niŋsuptam, ketsuptam, swetam; etgəp: ramxe), tomjan, trin, trap, tələp (tam: en, awon), təpe, xawim, xipan (tam: pasuptam, dupbansuptam), xowel, xoxom (etgəp: wetap, təpe, bətjan, sili), xujan, waul (etgəp: en; dipan), wetap (etgəp: gul; moŋsup; dupxil), wijan

An in-depth study of the clan relationships in the Tekin Valley would be an interesting area for further research.

1.2.4 Magic and the Spirit World

The Oksapmin people are rapidly losing the part of their traditional culture which deals with the traditional spirit world. The Oksapmin people have enthusiastically embraced Christianity and no longer openly practice traditional witchcraft and sorcery.

People under the age of around 40 or so appear to have little knowledge of this aspect of traditional culture. They have never been inside spirit houses (Haus Tambaran (TP), *ap jawar* (Oksapmin, Lawrence, M. 1993)) men's houses (Haus Man (TP), *kawapte* (Oksapmin)), or women's menstruation huts (*kwapap* (Oksapmin)), as these were all torn down after the missionaries arrived in the area in the late 1960s. These have not been rebuilt in the area since.

This is not to say, however, that people do not have lingering beliefs and knowledge about these areas of their traditional culture. It is very common, for example, for the cause of a death in the area to be attributed to witchcraft or sorcery.

1.2.5 Body Part Counting System

Like a number of other Papuan languages, e.g. Korowai, Wambon, Kombai, and Mandobo (van Enk and de Vries 1997), Fasu, Foe, Enga (Franklin 2001), Hewa (Vollrath 1981), Bosavi (Schieffelin and Feld 1998), Menggwa Dla (de Sousa 2006) and Mian (Fedden 2007), Oksapmin has a body part counting system. The Oksapmin system has been previously discussed by Saxe and Esmonde (2004; 2005), Saxe

(1981) and Moylan (1982). The body parts used in the Oksapmin counting system are as shown in Table 1-5 below. Each body part indicates a number, starting with the thumb on one side to indicate 'one' and working up the arm to the head and then back down the other side. The noun *tən* 'side' is used to indicate the repeated body parts from 14 to 27.

Oksapmin word	Body part	Numeral
tipun ~ tupun	thumb	1
ləwatipun	index finger	2
bumlip	middle finger	3
xətlip	ring finger	4
xətxət	little finger	5
xadəp	wrist	6
bes	forearm	7
amun	elbow	8
tuwət	upper arm	9
kat	shoulder	10
gwel	side of neck	11
nat	ear	12
kin	eye	13
lum	nose	14
kin tən ~ tən kin	(other) side eye	15
nat tən ~ tən nat	(other) side ear	16
etc.		

Table 1-5.   Body part numerals in Oksapmin

In order to modify another noun, the relevant body part occurs with the possessive marker *=xe* 'POSS' as shown in (1-6) below.

(1-6)   *jæe   amun=xe   dik   jox   na=pi-n-gop=li=o*
        then   elbow=POSS   time   DEF   NEG=come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP=EMPH
        'Then, he didn't come for eight nights.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

The body part noun can also occur as the head of an NP with an ordinal meaning as shown in (1-7) below.

(1-7)   *təwət   jox   ko-ŋ   li-n-gop=li*
        upper.arm   DEF   arrive-PNCT   SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'On the ninth (night) he arrived.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

There are two additional numerals related to body part terms which do not fit into the above system: *xətxət tibəs* 'no little finger' and *xanengon* 'fist'. The expression *xətxət tibəs* 'no little finger' is used to mean 'four' in exactly the same way as the body part terms above, as shown in (1-8) below. The term *xanengon* 'fist', used to mean 'five', appears to be derived from *xan* 'hand' and *gon* 'whole', meaning

'whole hand' or 'fist', but is synchronically monomorphemic and does not occur in the possessor construction, but, like foreign numerals, modifies nouns directly, as shown in (1-9) below.

(1-8) *məmxan*   *be*   **xətxət**   **ti=bəs=xe**
what's.it   just   **little.finger**   **INDF=NEG=POSS**

day-s=d=o   *wan*   *week=d=o*
day(Eng)-PL(Eng)=PQ=CNJ   one(Eng)   week(Eng)=PQ=CNJ

x-t-pol=xənox
be-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
'What's it, um, when four days or a week had passed, …' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal)

(1-9) *jəlix*   *i-de=x*   *pti-n=a*   *it*   *ma*
PN   DEM.DST-across=3sm   be.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   again   REL

faiv-pela   *man*   *mə=ixil*   **xanengon**   *xan*
five(Eng)-ADJ(TP)   man(TP)   DEM.PRX=3p   **five**   man

mə=ixil   *mde-xi-pa*   *jox*
DEM.PRX=3p   come.across-PFV-PER.FP.PL   SBRD
When (they) stayed across there at *jəlix*, … Again, when these five of the men came back across (to *jəlix*), … ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal)

Saxe and Esmonde (2004) describe how the Oksapmin body-part counting system is now being replaced by the Western counting system via the school system and economic exchanges with Western-style businesses. Saxe and Esmonde (2004) also argue that trade stores today support change towards the exclusive use of Tok Pisin for describing the amount of money involved in transactions in Oksapmin trade stores.

1.3 Genetic Affiliation

The classification of Oksapmin as a Trans New Guinea (henceforth TNG) language has long been, and still is, accepted as uncontroversial, for example Ross (2005) notes that the Oksapmin pronouns fit the main TNG family pattern (2005: 32) and Pawley (2005) posits forms for a number of TNG cognates present in Oksapmin.

Within the TNG family, Oksapmin has long been thought of as the sole member of its TNG subfamily as outlined in 1.3.1 below, although in 1.3.2 I will argue that it forms a subfamily with the Ok languages.

1.3.1 TNG-Level Isolate

Oksapmin has, until now, been classed as a family-level isolate within the TNG family by most researchers, e.g. by Wurm (1982), Pawley (2001; 2005), Ross (2005), Healey, A. (1964), and Lawrence, M. (1993).

In his PhD thesis, a survey of the Ok language family, Healey argues that the lexical similarities between Oksapmin and members of the Ok family are most likely due to borrowing rather than to a genetic relationship. Specifically, Healey claims that the cognate percentages (based on Swadesh lists) between Oksapmin and the respective Ok languages decline as the geographical distance between them increases: Oksapmin has 17% cognates with Bimin, 7% with other mountain Ok languages and 3% with Lowland Ok languages (A. Healey 1964: 115). Arguing that this pattern of cognates is indicative of borrowing, rather than genetic relation, Healey assigns Oksapmin the classificatory status of a family-level isolate (A. Healey 1964: 108) within the larger TNG family.

M. Lawrence does not posit a different classificatory status of Oksapmin to Healey and writes that the name Oksapmin "is misleading as it suggest[s] that the Oksapmin language is part of the Ok family of languages, which it is not. It is considered a language isolate" (Lawrence, M. 1993: 206).

Voegelin (1965) did, however, propose an Ok-Oksapmin phylum (Wurm 1982: 6), although this idea was not taken up by other researchers. Alternatively, Laycock (1973) suggested that Oksapmin may possibly be related to Yuri (located in the west of Sandaun Province).

1.3.2 Ok-Oksapmin

In recent joint work (Loughnane and Fedden In prep.), I have argued that Oksapmin and the Ok languages share a number of cognate bound morphemes and cognate morphological paradigms, in addition to large numbers of cognate vocabulary items. As a result, Oksapmin is classified here as an Ok-Oksapmin family language within the larger TNG family.

Although Oksapmin is related to the Ok languages, it is less closely related to them than they are to each other as shown in Figure 1-5 below.[3]
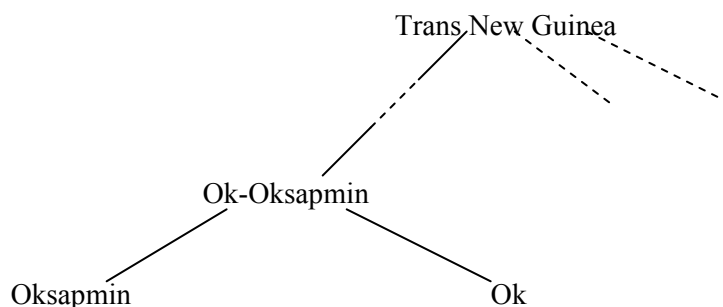
Figure 1-5.   Ok-Oksapmin family tree

This classification means that Oksapmin would be included in any groupings within the TNG family of which Ok languages form a part such as the "Ok group" (Voorhoeve 2005).

Evidence for the classification of Oksapmin as an Ok-Oksapmin language from the pronouns of Oksapmin and the Ok languages is given in 1.3.2.1 below. See Loughnane and Fedden (in prep.) for further evidence, including detailed regular sound changes, cognate verb morphology and a cognate list.

1.3.2.1 Ok-Oksapmin Pronouns

Due to the linguistic situation in New Guinea, where multilingualism and language mixing have reigned supreme for millennia (see e.g. Ross 1996; 2001, Foley 1986; 2000), identifying a genetic relationship between two languages can be even harder than elsewhere in the world.

Borrowing of lexemes and diffusion of typological features have both occurred on a large scale, meaning that cognate lexemes alone cannot provide adequate proof of genetic relatedness, nor can shared typological features (see e.g. Foley 1986: 263-68, Durie and Ross 1996: 13). Instead, more rigorous proof of a genetic relationship is required, such as cognate bound morphology and cognate paradigms (see e.g. Foley 1986, 2000; Comrie 1989; and Nichols 1996), which are thought to be not as susceptible to borrowing as individual lexemes.

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[3] The Ok languages clearly exhibit a number of shared innovations, which Oksapmin lacks. For example the second person and first person inclusive pronouns have a /b/ segment, which is absent in the Oksapmin forms, as shown in Table 1-6.

Keeping this in mind, the strongest evidence that Oksapmin is related to the Ok languages comes from bound morphology and paradigms. Pronouns in Oksapmin and the Ok languages exhibits clear correspondences in both of these domains. The pronouns from Oksapmin and Mian, as well as the pronoun roots for Telefol and Tifal are shown in Table 1-6 below (from Loughnane and Fedden, in prep.), along with the reconstructed proto-TNG forms from Ross (2005). This paradigm shows the following correspondences:

- first person is indicated by an alveolar nasal
- second person by a velar stop
- third person singular feminine by a high back vowel (except Mian)
- and third person plural by a high front vowel.

Gloss	Telefol	Tifal	Mian	Oksapmin	pOk-Oksapmin	pTNG
1s	ni- ~ na-	na-	né (né-)	nox	*nV	*na
1pEX	nu- ~ no-	nu-	ní (ní-)	nuxul	*n{u,i}	*ni ~ *nu
1pIN			níbó (níb-)	dil	*{n,d}i	
2sf	kub-	kub-	óbó (ób-)	go	*{k,g} {u,o}	*ŋga
2sm	kab-	kab-	kóbó (kéb-)			
2p	ib-	ib-	íbó (íb-)	gul	?	*ŋgi ~ *nja
3sf	u-, o-	u-	ó (ó-)	ux	*u	*ua
3sm	i-	a-	é (é-)	ox	*V	*[y]a
3p	i-	i-	í (í-)	ixil	*i	*i̱

Table 1-6.   Pronoun roots, bound forms with hyphen
            Source for Telefol and Tifal: Healey 1964: 67
            Source for pTNG: Ross 2005: 29

Examining the pronouns shown in Table 1-6 above, the pronouns in the Ok languages Telefol, Tifal and Mian appear, at first glance, no more closely related to Oksapmin than to the proto-TNG forms, as there are no shared innovations in both Oksapmin and the Ok languages.

Evidence comes, rather, from a second, emphatic set of pronouns present in Oksapmin and the Ok languages Mian, Telefol, Tifal and Faiwol. This pronoun series in all four languages is characterised by an /l/ segment, as shown in Table 1-7 below (from Loughnane and Fedden, in prep.), along with the proto-Ok-Oksapmin forms.[4]

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[4] Assuming that the /xt/ for dual and /xl/ for plural are an Oksapmin innovation.

Gloss		Telefol	Tifal	Faiwol	Mian	Oksapmin	pOO
1s		nala-	nila-	nala-	néle-	*nol	*nVl(V)
1dEX						*nuxtal	
1p(EX)		nulu-	nuúlí-	nulu-	níli-	*nuxlal	*n{u,i}lV
1dIN						*dital	
1pIN					nílib-	*dilal	*{n,d}ilV
2s	f	kulub-	kultub-	no data	ólob-	*gol	*{g,k}Vl
	m	kalab-	kaltab-		kéleb-		
2d						*gutal	
2p		ilib-			ílib-	*gulal	?
3sf		ulu-	ulu-		ólo-	*ul	*ul(V)
3sm		ila-	ala-		éle-	*ol	*Vl(V)
3d						*ixtal	
3p		ili-	ila-		íli-	*ixlal	*il(V)

Table 1-7.   Emphatic pronouns in Telefol, Tifal, Faiwol (Healey 1964), Mian and Oksapmin

The Oksapmin forms given in Table 1-7 above do not synchronically form a pronoun series, but can be reconstructed from two additional pronoun series present in modern-day Oksapmin: reflexive and 'alone' (see Chapter 3, §3.4, for details). The bolded segments in Table 1-8 below correspond exactly to the reconstructed forms given above. For the complete step-by-step reconstruction of the old Oksapmin emphatic forms, see Appendix 5.

Regular pronouns	Reflexive pronouns	'Alone' pronouns	Gloss
nox	nonxol	nonxap	1s
nuxut	nuxtanut	**nuxtal**xe	1dEX
nuxul	nuxlanul	**nuxlal**xe	1pEX
dit	ditadit	**dital**xe	1dIN
dil	diladil	**dilal**xe	1pIN
go	**gol**gol	**gol**gap	2s
gut	gutagut	**gutal**xe	2d
gul	gulagul	**gulal**xe	2p
ux	**ul**xol	**ul**xap	3sm
ox	**ol**xol	**ol**xap	3sf
ixit	ixtaxit	**ixtal**xe	3d
ixil	ixlaxil	**ixlal**xe	3p

Table 1-8.   Regular, reflexive and 'alone' pronoun forms

The strongest evidence from the pronouns, however, is a number of bound pronominal suffixes which are cognate across these languages, as shown in Table 1-9 below (from Loughnane and Fedden, in prep.). The proto-Ok-Oksapmin forms fit all proposed regular sound change rules for consonants.

Meaning	Oksapmin	Mian	Telefol	Tifal	Faiwol	pOO
with, and	=si	=sa	-só	-soo	-soo	*-sV(V)
like	=təp 'associative'	-	-táb	-tab	-	*-tap
alone	-xap ~ -gap	-	-kúp 'exclamatory'	-	-	*xVp
reflexive, self	-xol ~ -gol	-	-kal ~ -kol ~ -kil	-kal ~ -kol 'emphatic'	-kal	*xVl

Table 1-9.   Pronominal suffix forms for Oksapmin, Mian, Telefol (Healey and Healey 1977), Tifal (Healey and Steinkraus 1972) and Faiwol (Healey 1964: 66)

For more evidence for the genetic relationship between Oksapmin and the Ok languages, see Loughnane and Fedden (in prep.).

1.4 Typological Overview of Oksapmin

Oksapmin is, in many ways, typical of both a Papuan language and a TNG language. It has many of the features listed by Wurm et al. (1975)[5] as typical of Papuan languages: one /r/ ~ /l/ phoneme, one /p/ ~ /f/ phoneme, dual number in pronouns, medial verbs, no number marking on nouns (although kin nouns are an exception), few numerals but a body part counting system, and SOV word order. As Wurm predicts for a Papuan language with "Set 1" pronouns (1975b), Oksapmin is mainly suffixing.

Despite these clear Papuan attributes, Oksapmin has a number of weird and wonderful typological features not commonly found in New Guinea and elsewhere. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the evidential system, which has a split in evidential categories not widely reported among the world's languages: participatory-factual versus visual-sensory (see Chapter 8, §8.2.1.4). This split is unusual in that there is a level of evidence, namely participatory-factual, which is stronger than visual-sensory evidence. This is rare as visual evidence is generally considered (see e.g. Aikhenvald 2004) to be the strongest form of evidence available in evidential systems cross-linguistically. In addition, the verbal evidentiality inflection interacts in interesting ways with modal and evidential clitics, in particular the reported clitics =li 'REP', described in Chapter 11, §11.1.8.

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[5] See also Foley (1986; 2000) for a more recent picture of the characteristics common to the languages of New Guinea.

1.4.1 Phonology

The phonology of Oksapmin has six vowels and 16 consonants (see Chapter 2, §2.1). Within the stop consonants, there is a distinction between prenasalised voiced stops and voiceless stops. The prenasalised voiced stops in Oksapmin can be shown to have nasal allophones, e.g. /^{m}b/ → [mb], [m] (see Chapter 2, §2.1.1.1). There is also evidence for a labialised velar series, /k^w/, /^{ŋ}g^w/ and /x^w/ (see Chapter 2, §2.1.1.4).

Oksapmin's six phonemic vowels include a schwa. In addition, there is evidence that many phonetic schwa vowels are not present underlyingly, but have been inserted to break up illicit consonant clusters, e.g. /pti/ → [pəti] (see Chapter 2, §2.4).

Syllable structure is fairly restricted, with a maximum of two consonants present in the onset and one in the coda (see Chapter 2, §2.2). Only a single vowel may occur in the nucleus.

There are a number of phonological processes at work in the language, for example fricatives are voiced between voiced segments, both within words and across word boundaries (see Chapter 2, §2.6).

1.4.2 Word Classes

The word classes in Lower Oksapmin consist of the following: verbs, coverbs, particles, pronouns, dyadic kin terms, demonstratives, nouns, postpositions, phrasal enclitics, interjections, manner adverbs, and conjunctions/complementizers (see Chapter 3 for more on word classes).

Nouns and coverbs are open (i.e. productive) word classes and make up the majority of words in Oksapmin. In contrast, verbs form a medium-sized closed class. The high functional load placed solely on verbs in some other languages, such as English, is shared between simple verbal predicates and complex predicates consisting of a light verb and a coverb.

1.4.3 Morphology

Oksapmin verbs take both prefixes and suffixes. Verb prefixes track valence and object marking, whereas verb suffixes mark tense, aspect, number of the subject, and evidentiality. Person of the subject is not marked on verbs, but the participatory-

factual versus visual-sensory evidential distinction often acts as proxy subject marking. See Chapter 8 for details on verb morphology.

There is much less in the way of morphology elsewhere in the language. Lexical kin nouns are inflected for person of the possessor, as well as the number of the referent (Chapter 5, §5.1). Dyadic kin terms are inflected for the number of the referent (Chapter 3, §3.5). Spatial demonstratives may be inflected for elevation (e.g. up, down, straight) (Chapter 4, §4.1.1.1).

1.4.4 Syntax

Oksapmin is a verb final language. The most commonly attested word order in sentences is SOV although this word order is subject to some variation (see Chapter 10 for details). The dominant word order patterns are shown in Table 1-10 below.

Basic order
S O V
N Dem
N Det
N PostP
Adj N / N Adj
RelC N
Gen N

Table 1-10.　　Word orders in Oksapmin

Given the above word orders, Oksapmin could be described as a right-headed language, which is typical of Papuan languages (Foley 2000). Simple clause word order is subject to change according to pragmatic factors.

The most common ways to combine clauses in Oksapmin are via subordination, medial verbs and reported-speech constructions. The most frequently attested form of subordinate clause, adverbial subordinate clauses, are expressed via the nominalization of the subordinate clause (Chapter 12, §12.2). Oksapmin makes frequent use of clause chaining with medial verbs, although it does not have a complex switch reference system (Chapter 12, §12.4). Oksapmin makes extensive use of reported speech, which it uses in a large range of contexts (Chapter 12, §§12.1.1–2).

1.5 About this Thesis

The phonology, morphology and syntax of this intriguing and complex language comprise the object of study of the present thesis. Such a glimpse of the hidden cogs and gears of this vehicle of communication, in addition to being interesting objects of study in their own right, might also add something to our understanding of human language in a broader sense. It is only through learning as much as possible about the full range of human languages in existence that we can form and test theories about its nature. There are more than 700 Papuan languages spoken in New Guinea (Wurm 1982), and there have been in-depth studies of only a small percentage of these, so this study is, hopefully, a tiny step towards a fuller understanding of Papuan languages, and of human language in general.

As more and more languages become endangered with each passing year, an additional purpose of studies like this one is a less theoretical, more practical one, namely documentation. Wurm (2001) describes how many languages in Papua New Guinea face becoming endangered due to several factors: the increasing mobility of the population, intermarriage between speakers of different languages, electronic media which use Tok Pisin or English, and educational policies which favour the use of Tok Pisin or English over indigenous languages. All of the texts recorded during fieldwork for this thesis have, accordingly, been deposited with the PARADISEC[6] archive as a record of the language for the future, should it too become endangered.

1.5.1 Data

The work in this thesis is based on data which I collected primarily in Tekin, Sandaun Province, and also in Tabubil, Western Province, during two field trips: from May to October 2004, and from October 2005 to January 2006. Elicitation was also conducted on a brief trip to Brisbane to work with native speakers Roseli and Rupin Lapin.

Four different types of data were used in this thesis:

-      examples elicited verbally
-      examples which were elicited using a particular stimulus
-      examples from spontaneous texts which I recorded
-      examples observed in natural situations

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[6] See www.paradisec.org.au for details.

My main language consultant during the first field trip was Kila Dasyal (≈ 20 yo f), and during the second trip, Julie James (≈ 20 yo f). I conducted extensive elicitation with both Kila and Julie. Examples in this thesis which were elicited from Kila or Julie are all glossed as elicitation as shown in example (1-10) below. These examples were mostly not recorded on tape and sounds files are not provided. (The star in the example below signifies an incorrect form.)

(1-10) *pig-di-pla*
        show-PFV-FF.SG
        'I/you(sg)/he/she will show.' **(Elicited)**

In addition to verbal elicitation, I conducted video assisted elicitation[7] with Julie James (≈ 20 year old female[8]), Misseth Apipnok (≈ 25 yo f), Henna Kashat (≈ 35 yo f), and Roseli Lapin (≈ 35 yo f). I also went through the TAM questionnaire from Dahl (1985) with Julie James. These are all glossed as elicitation with the details given of the original video or written stimulus, as shown in example (1-11) below. The MPI 'reciprocal' and 'put' examples were recorded on tape and sounds files are provided on the attached DVD. The TAM questionnaire examples were not recorded on tape and sound files are not provided.

(1-11) *xan*   *mi-de=x*   *xim*   *al-pat*
        man   DEM.PRX-across=3sm   clothing   put.on-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'The man is putting on clothing.' **(Julie James MPI Put 53)**

I collected texts from a variety of people around Tekin and Tabubil and then transcribed them with the aid of Kila or Julie. In addition Savonna Frank recorded and transcribed a number of texts from his grandmother, Dulum Aleap. I have a resultant text collection of around 100 texts (approximately 60 from 2004 and approximately 40 from 2005/2006) consisting of approximately seven and a half hours of speech with each text averaging around four or five minutes in length. The majority of these have been transcribed in the Shoebox or Toolbox software programs resulting in approximately 650 pages of interlinearised text. Four of these texts occur as appendices to this thesis (with sound files provided for these on the attached DVD).

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[7] Using the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology 'reciprocal' and 'put' video elicitation tools, see http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/tools.php for details.
[8] Henceforth *yo f/m*

I recorded texts on audio cassette tapes using a portable Sony Walkman[9] © cassette recorder with a Sony[10] microphone as these were the most convenient and reliable recording devices to take to a remote location with no electricity.

Texts were recorded from the following speakers: Kila Dasyal (≈ 20 yo f, from Kusanap), Julie James (≈ 20 yo f, from Waulap), Savonna Frank (≈ 13 yo m, from Kusanap), Hirai (≈ 16 yo m, from Ranimap), Dulum Aleap (A.K.A. Baku) (≈ 60 yo f), Dalput (≈ 65 yo m), Welmin (≈ 70 yo m), Dasyal Gahan (≈ 55 yo m, from Kusanap), Paiiz Wengsin (≈ 25 yo m), Max Elit (≈ 45 yo m), Henna Kashat (≈ 35 yo f, from Ranimap), Tracks Babyan (≈ 40 yo f), Palis (≈ 40 yo f), Tilit Non (≈ 65 yo m), Joyce James (≈ 25 yo f, from Waulap), James Awtot (≈ 45 yo m), Tapsut (≈ 65 yo m), Bitel Palmal (≈ 60 yo m), Miriam Babyan (≈ 40 yo f), Kerina Mapul (≈ 45 yo f), Geno Dipin (≈ 35 yo m), Pesen (≈ 40 yo m).

When examples from texts are used, the speaker and title of the text are provided as shown in example (1-12) below. Sounds files are provided for many of the examples from texts on the attached DVD.

(1-12) *jæe* *go* *xənxan* *n-x=d=o* *nox* *pl* *jæe*
 then 2s forget 1/2.O-MAKE=PQ=QUOT 1s tell(.PRS.SG) then
 'I told her: "don't you know who I am?", then…' **("Today" by Kerina Mapul)**

1.5.2 Theoretical Approach

This grammar is not written in the framework of a single linguistic theory. As Dryer (2006) notes, however, it is not possible to write an atheoretical grammar:

> The idea that [grammatical] description can be atheoretical is simply confused. The analytical assumptions and the concepts one assumes necessarily constitute a set of theoretical assumptions. If all work in the field shared the same set of assumptions, the notion of theory might be unnecessary, but it would still be the case that all such work would be assuming the same theoretical framework. (Dryer 2006: 212)

This does not mean, however, that it is best to write a grammar within the framework of a given formalism as:

> There is generally an inverse relationship between the adoption in grammars of specific formalisms and their readability by linguists of different schools and at different times. The most enduring and

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[9] Models: TCS-600DV, WM-GX400, TCS-580V and GX-400.
[10] Model: ECM MS-907.

accessible descriptions turn out to be those that employ natural language (rather than a formal representational system) as their descriptive metalanguage. (Evans and Dench 2006: 6)

A good grammar writer must "balance a respect for the distinctive genius of the language with an awareness of how other languages work" (Evans and Dench 2006: 1). With this goal in mind, this grammar is not written within any particular theoretical framework and is best described as fitting within a framework of 'general comparative grammar' (Lehmann 1989) or 'basic linguistic theory' (Dixon 1997).

When it helps to explain the workings of a particular area of the language, however, I will explicitly draw upon relevant formal theories.

1.5.2.1 Approach to Morphology

For practical purposes, I will indicate morpheme boundaries throughout this thesis for parts of inflectional forms of words where I hypothesize that there is a consistent connection in the minds of speakers between a given part of an inflectional form and a given meaning or morphological rule. These are marked for practical pedagogical purposes to aid the reader in recognising the forms associated with such meanings or rules. Zero morphemes, where the lack of a certain morpheme gives a particular meaning, are indicated with round brackets as in (1-13) below, where the imperfective meaning comes from the absence of the perfective suffix -*ti* 'PFV'.

(1-13) *su-pla*
        kill-(IPFV.)FF.SG
        '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will be killing.'

As Dryer (2006) noted, there is necessarily theory underpinning a grammatical description. Morphology is one area where this is particularly apparent; the use of morpheme boundaries implies that words can be segmented into discrete morphemes, which are put together building-block style to create words. There is evidence against this in Oksapmin, and in languages more generally (see e.g. Spencer 1991). Thus, the practical approach outlined above is used with the caveat that these indicate meaning-to-form correspondences only, and do not imply that discrete building-block morphemes exist in the language.

Specifically, a number of researchers reject a morpheme-based approach because it implies a one-to-one mapping of semantics to morphemes, for which there

is an abundance of counterevidence (see e.g. Spencer 1991). The perfective "morpheme" in Oksapmin provides an example of a problem with this one-to-one mapping.

In most tense/evidentiality/number combinations, and for most verbs, the perfective "morpheme" is a suffix added to the verb root. This is usually *-ti* as in example (1-15) below. At first glance, then, we may wish to posit a morpheme whose meaning is perfective as the glossing indicates in the example below.

(1-14) *su-ti-p*
　　　　kill-PFV-PER.FP.SG
　　　　'(I) killed (something/someone) before yesterday.'

The problem is that some verbs have a suppletive perfective stem rather than a perfective suffix. The verb *s* 'go' has a suppletive perfective form as shown in example (1-15). It is not possible in such examples to segment a perfective "morpheme" from the verb root.

(1-15) *xu-p*
　　　　go.PFV-PER.FP.SG
　　　　'(I) went before yesterday.'

In addition, sometimes what we might want to call the perfective morpheme can indicate the today past tense without any additional overt morphology. This is shown in the example below where the presence of *-ti* and absence of any further tense morphemes indicates not only perfective aspect but also today past. If a morpheme-based approach is followed, it is required to show this with a zero morpheme. (N.B. I give evidence in Chapter 8, §8.2.2.3, that the *-t* in the example below is indeed the same morpheme as *-ti* above.)

(1-16) *su-t-Ø*
　　　　kill-PFV-PER.TODP.SG
　　　　'(I) killed (something/someone) this morning.'

Further, in the present tense, the perfective, singular and present meanings are all indicated by no additions to the verb root. Again, in such examples it is not possible to segment a perfective morpheme without positing a zero morpheme. A zero morpheme is also necessary here for tense and number of the subject.[11]

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[11] Another possible analysis here is *su-Ø* 'kill-PFV.PRS.SG', where one zero morpheme indicates perfective, present and singular. In any case, the point made here is the same: that perfective is indicated by adding nothing to the verb root.

(1-17) *su-Ø-Ø*
      kill-PFV-PRS.SG
      '(I) killed (something/someone) just now.'

Counterintuitively, zero morphemes must also be posited elsewhere to mark the imperfective in contrast to the perfective as shown in the example below

(1-18) *a.*   *su-Ø-pla*
              kill-IPFV-FF.SG
              '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will be killing.'

       b.   *su-ti-pla*
              kill-PFV-FF.SG
              '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will kill.'

In summary of the above, sometimes the perfective in Oksapmin may be indicated by a segmentable morpheme, a change in verb stem, and zero. The perfective "morpheme" can also indicate the today past tense without any additional overt morphology. This is evidence similar to that given by Spencer (e.g. 1991) against a morphemic analysis of words.

An alternative to a morpheme based approach is a word and paradigm model (realisational-inferential model, see Spencer 2004, Stump 2001) where different inflectional forms are created via rules instead of via the addition of morphemes. This model allows for regular formation of the various inflectional forms but also allows for slots in the paradigm to be filled with irregular forms or reference to irregular rules. It also gets rid of the need to posit zero morphemes where they are default zeros as in example (1-17) above.

Chapter 2
Phonology, Phonotactics and Morphophonology

Oksapmin displays a number of interesting features in its phonology, phonotactics and morphophonology, despite the fact that it has a fairly simple phoneme inventory, similar to those found in many other Papuan languages. Of interest in the phonology are the labialised velar series (§2.1.1.4), and the prenasalised voiced consonants (§2.1.1.1). There are two schwa vowels which must be carefully teased apart: one phonemic (§2.1.3.6) and one non-phonemic. The non-phonemic schwa vowel is inserted during syllabification and leads to sometimes surprising variations in pronunciation of certain words, especially verb stems (§2.2.4 and §2.4). The process of fricative voicing is realised both morpheme internally and across word and morpheme boundaries: the allophonic variation between voiced and unvoiced fricatives (§2.1.1.3) is mimicked across word boundaries in some environments (§2.6).

In terms of the structure of the chapter, the phonemes of Oksapmin are presented with explanation and justification of analysis (§2.1), followed by a discussion of the restrictions on syllable types (§2.2), which affects the phonemic analysis. In §2.3, phonological processes which occur during word formation are discussed. In §2.4, an analysis of syllabification is discussed, which involves schwa insertion to break up illicit consonant clusters. Discussions of the processes of vowel harmony (§2.5) and fricative voicing (§2.6) follow. Then the intonational phrase (§2.7) is discussed and evidence is given against the presence of prosodic suprasegmental phonemes. In §2.8 the orthography used in this thesis is presented.

2.1 Phonology

The phoneme inventory of Oksapmin consists of 16 consonants and six vowels. There are no suprasegmental phonemes in Oksapmin, unlike in some neighbouring languages, e.g. Mian (Fedden 2007). An analysis of the phonology is given below in

§§2.1.1-2.1.2 for consonants, §§2.1.3-2.1.4 for vowels, and §2.1.5 for suprasegmentals.

2.1.1 Consonants

Oksapmin has the consonant phonemes shown in Table 2-1 below.[1] There are two series of stops: voiced prenasalised and voiceless. There is a fricative series with the same places of articulation as the voiced prenasalised stop series. There are also two nasals, two glides and a lateral.

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labialised Velar
Stops	Voiceless		t		k	k^w
	Prenasalised voiced	^mb	nd		^ŋg	$^ŋg^w$
Fricatives		ɸ	s		x	x^w
Nasals		m	n			
Glides		w		j		
Lateral			l			

Table 2-1.　　　Consonants

The consonant phonemes are shown with their allophones in Table 2-2. Environments are given for allophones with restricted distribution. Environments are not given for phonemes with a single allophone, and allophones with the most general distribution ("elsewhere" allophones).

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[1] In an SIL manuscript on phonology (Lawrence, M. 1969) and in footnotes in various articles the Lawrences gave the following analyses of the consonant phonemes in (Upper) Oksapmin: /b/, /d/, /g/, /g^w/, /p/, /t/, /k/, /k^w/, /s/, /x/, /x^w/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/, /w/, /y/ (Lawrence, M. 1969; Lawrence, M. 1972), /b/, /d/, /g/, /p/, /t/, /k/, /s/, /x/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /r/, /w/, /y/ (Lawrence, M. 1972a; 1972b; 1987).

Phoneme	Allophones	Environment (where relevant)
/t/	[t]	
	[t] ~ [tʰ]	_#
/k/	[k]	
	[k] ~ [kʰ]	_#
/kʷ/	[kw]	
/ᵐb/	[mb]	
	[m]	_$
/ⁿd/	[nd]	
	[n]	_$
/ᵑg/	[ŋg]	
	[ŋ]	_$
/ᵑgʷ/	[ŋgw]	
/ɸ/	[ɸ]	$_
	[β]	V_V
	[p]	_$C
	[p] ~ [pɸ] ~ [pʰ]	_#
/s/	[s]	
	[z]	V_V
/x/	[x]	
	[ɣ]	{V, C[+sonorant]} _ {V, C[+sonorant]}
	[ç]	$_[i],[j]
		[i]_$
	[j]	[i]_V
/xʷ/	[xw]	
/l/	[l]	
/m/	[m]	
/n/	[n]	
/j/	[j]	
/w/	[w]	

Table 2-2.   Consonants and their phonetic realizations

Note that the phoneme /ɸ/ has some fricative allophones ([ɸ], [β]) and some stop allophones ([p], [pɸ], [pʰ]). This spread of allophones reflects the fact that there is no bilabial voiceless stop (/p/) phoneme: the /ɸ/ phoneme uses allophones of both. According to joint research (Loughnane and Fedden In prep.), there were originally two bilabial stop phonemes (/p/ and /mb/), as well as a labiodental fricative (/f/), in proto Ok-Oksapmin. The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ and the labiodental fricative /f/ in the proto language collapsed to /ɸ/ in Oksapmin (see Loughnane and Fedden In prep. for details).

2.1.1.1 Prenasalised Voiced Stops

Phonemic prenasalised stops are a common feature of Papuan languages. TNG languages which are reported to have a phonemic series of prenasalised stops include Usan (Reesink 1987), Kewa (Franklin and Franklin 1962), Kalam (Pawley 1966), Hua (Haiman 1980) and Barai (Olson 1975). Pawley (1995; 2001) reconstructs prenasalised stops for proto Trans New Guinea. Prenasalised stops are reported to occur in languages in other parts of the world including: Sedang (Austro-Asiatic; Smith 1979), Fijian (Austronesian; Milner 1972), Ririo (Austronesian; Laycock 1982), Adzera (Austronesian; Holzknecht 1989), Anguthimri (Australian; Crowley 1981), Sinhala (Indo-European; Gair and Paolillo 1997, Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 120).

According to Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996: 119-123) there is not necessarily any phonetic difference between a prenasalised stop and a homorganic nasal plus stop cluster.

A prenasalised voiced consonant in Oksapmin is realised as a nasal plus voiced stop intervocalically and syllable initially.[2] Syllable finally a prenasalised voiced stop is realised as a nasal only. The generalised rule for prenasalised stops is given in (2-1) below.

(2-1) ^{N}C → N   / _ $
                → NC   / elsewhere

Several pieces of evidence support the analysis of this series as prenasalised stops, rather than a voiced stop series that is prenasalised in certain environments. First, a voiced stop in Oksapmin only ever occurs with a coarticulated nasal preceding it. Admittedly, the nasal may be difficult to hear at the start of a word or at the start of a syllable after a voiceless segment, and other researchers in PNG have also found this, see e.g. Reesink (1987: 29). However, the presence of prenasalisation is easily detected by examining a visual representation of the wave form and intensity chart of the sound as shown below in Figure 2-1 below for the word *gan* /^{ŋ}gan/ [ŋgan] 'bird variety' and in Figure 2-2 for the word *dətlaŋ* /^{n}dətla^{ŋ}g/ [ndətlaŋ] 'bird variety' (in each case the prenasalisation at the beginning of the word is circled in red). In each case the nasalization is clearly visible and is comparable in length to other phonemic nasals.

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[2] M. Lawrence does not posit a series of prenasalised voiced stops. He does, however, note that "voiced stops between vowels (even across word boundaries) are prenasalised" (Lawrence, M. 1993: 208).

34
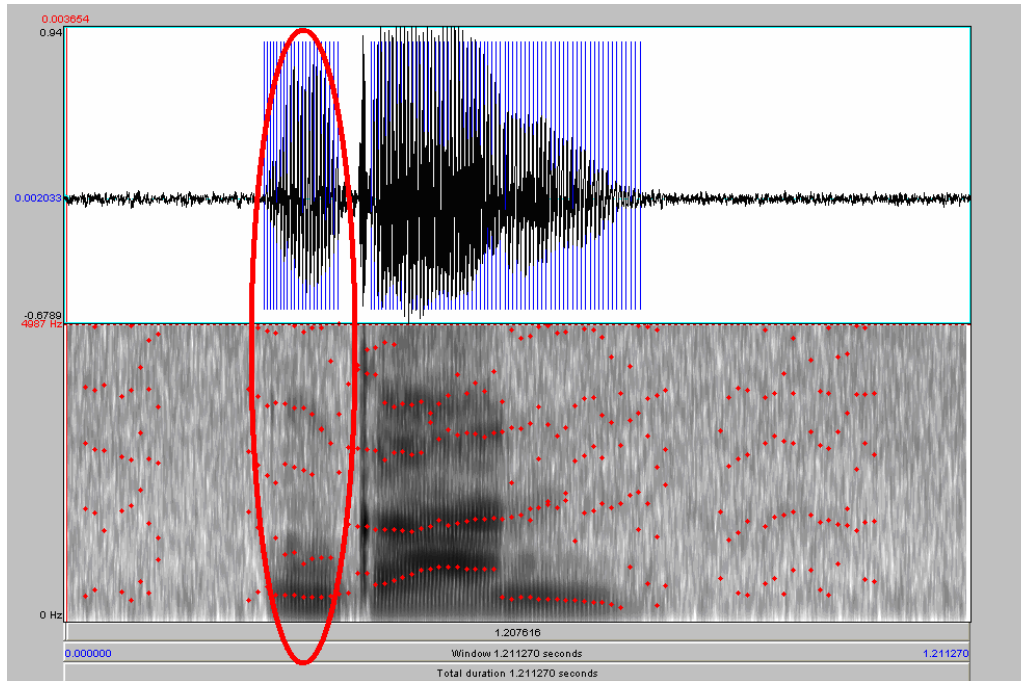
Figure 2-1.   Screenshot from Praat © of *gan* 'bird variety'
                    (Wave form and intensity chart)
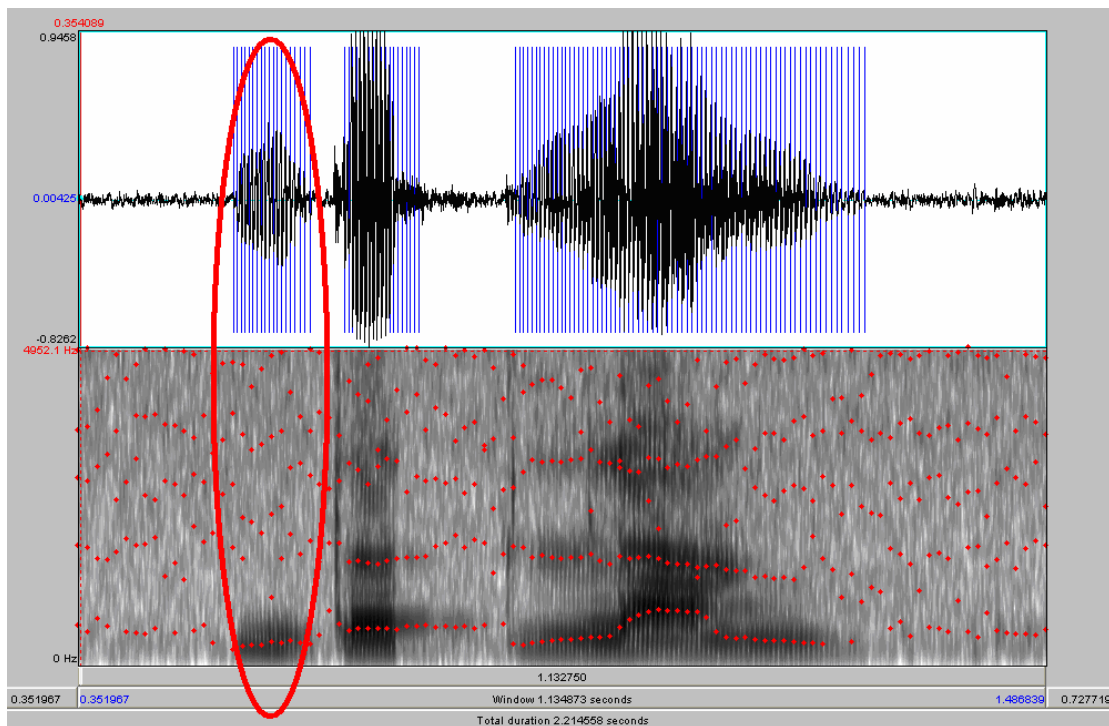
Figure 2-2.   Screenshot from Praat © of *dətlaŋ* 'bird variety'
                    (Intensity chart)

The second piece of evidence for the prenasalised stop series is alternation between a prenasalised stop and a nasal in a single morpheme as per the allophonic rule given above. This is shown in the examples below where each a) example shows

the prenasalised stop realised as a coarticulated nasal plus stop and each b) example shows the prenasalised stop realised as a nasal in the same morpheme with different syllabification due to the addition of affixes. (See §2.3.1 for a discussion of why /ul/ drops out in example (2-2) below.)

(2-2)   *a.*   *əbul-*   +   *-Ø*
               get   PRS.SG
               → /ə^{m}bul/
               → [əmbul]
               'got (just now)'

        b.   *əbul-*   +   *-tu*   +   *-l*
               get   PFV   PER.YESTP
               → /ə^{m}btul/
               → [əmtul]
               'got (yesterday)'

(2-3)   *a.*   *d-*   +   *-pat*   +   *-Ø*
               eat   IPFV.SG   PRS
               → /^{n}dpat/
               → [ndəβat]
               'is eating'

        b.   *a-*   +   *d-*   +   *-pat*   +   *-Ø*
               BEN   eat   IPFV.SG   PRS
               → /a^{n}dpat/
               → [anɸat]
               'is eating someone's (food) on them'

(2-4)   *a.*   *gono*   +   *-pat*   +   *-Ø*
               plant   IPFV.SG   PRS
               → /^{ŋ}gonɸat/
               → [ŋgonɸat]
               'planted'

        b.   *a-*   +   *gono*   +   *-pat*   +   *-Ø*
               BEN   plant   IPFV.SG   PRS
               → /a^{ŋ}gnoɸat/
               → [aŋnoɸat]
               'planted (something) on behalf of someone else'

The distinction between the prenasalised stops /^{m}b/ and /^{n}d/ and the nasals /m/ and /n/ is thus neutralised syllable finally. In syllable final position, it is only sometimes possible to determine whether a [m] or [n] is underlyingly a prenasalised stop or a nasal: this can be determined with the addition of a suffix, but this is only possible with a small number of words. The distinction between /^{n}d/ and /n/ is

demonstrated below with the addition of the plural kin suffix -il to dyad terms ending in /ⁿd/ and /n/ respectively.

(2-5)   a.   /ŋgamnd/ → [ŋgamən] 'husband and wife'
        b.   /ŋgamndil/ → [ŋgamndil] 'husband and wives' (gamd + il)

(2-6)   a.   /tokon/ → [tokon] 'aunty and niece or nephew'
        b.   /toknil/ → [toknil] 'aunties/aunty and nieces or nephews' (tokon + il)

A third piece of evidence for the existence of a prenasalised stop series is the complementary distribution of [ŋ] and [ŋg] as allophones of /ⁿg/. The distribution of [ŋ] is limited to syllable final position, while [ŋg] is limited to syllable initial position. Along with the directly attested alternation between [ŋ] and [ŋg] as shown in (2-4) above, this provides strong evidence that [ŋ] and [ŋg] are allophones of a single phoneme /ⁿg/. Although complementary distribution cannot be shown for [mb] ~ [m] and [nd] ~ [n] in the same way because of the existence of the phonemes /m/ and /n/, the assumed overall parallelism of the whole system, as well as other evidence given above, provides strong evidence for all three prenasalised stops. See §2.1.1.4 for details on /ⁿgʷ/.

2.1.1.1.1 /ᵐb/

The phoneme /ᵐb/ has the allophones [m] and [mb] according to the rule in (2-7) below. The phoneme /ᵐb/ can occur in syllable initial or syllable final position.

(2-7)   /ᵐb/   → [m] / _ $
              → [mb]/ elsewhere

The above allophones are illustrated in (2-8) below:

(2-8)   _$ /aᵐbxotiɸlox/ → [amxotiplox] 'will get rid of it for him' (a-boxo-ti-plox 'BEN-get.rid.of-PFV-TODF.SG')
                   /əᵐbtul/ → [əmtul] 'got him/her/it' (from (2-2)b. above)

         $_   /təlᵐbe/ → [təlmbe] 'Jew's harp'
                   /ᵐboxos/ → [mboxos] 'get rid of it' (boxo-s 'get.rid.of-PNCT')
                   /ᵐbət/ → [mbət] 'hair'

         V_V   /xəᵐbal/ → [xəmbal] 'tasty'
                   /aᵐbax/ → [ambax] 'tusk'
                   /ⁿdaᵐban/ → [ndamban] 'gossiper'

2.1.1.1.2 /ⁿd/

The phoneme /ⁿd/, in a similar fashion to /ᵐb/, has the allophones [n] and [nd], as per the rule in (2-9) below, and occurs syllable initially or syllable finally.

(2-9)   /ⁿd/   → [n]   / _$
                  → [nd]   / elsewhere

The above allophones are illustrated in (2-10) below:

(2-10)   _$ /wəⁿdɸat/ → [wənpat] 'is coming down' (*wəd-pat* 'go.down-IPFV.SG(.PRS)')

/aⁿdɸuɸti/ → [anɸupti] 'open (something of someone else)' (*a-dpul-pti* 'BEN-open-IPFV.PL(.PRS)')

/mⁿdliɸti/ → [mənlipti] 'are taking (PRX.O)' (*m-dl(i)-pti* 'PRX.O-take-IPFV.PL(.PRS)')

/tamⁿd/ → [tamən] 'father and child'

$_   /ⁿdɸtun/ → [ndəptun] 'open and...' (*dpul-tu-n* 'open-PFV-NOMLS')

/ⁿdliɸti/ → [ndəlipti] 'are taking' (*dl(i)-pti* 'take-IPFV.PL(.PRS)')

/tamⁿdil/ → [tamndil] 'father and children' (*tamd-il* 'father&child-PL')

V_V   /ɸoⁿdɸti/ → [ɸondəpti] 'are bringing down' (*p-wəd-pti* 'CAUS-go.down-IPFV.PL(.PRS)')

/ⁿdilaⁿdil/ → [ndilandil] '1pIN.REFL'

/məⁿdex/ → [məndex] 'across here' (*mə-de=x* 'DEM.PRX-across=3sm')

2.1.1.1.3 /ⁿg/

Just like the other prenasalised voiced stops, /ⁿg/ has the allophones [ŋ] and [ŋg], as in the rule in (2-11) below, and can occur in syllable initial or syllable final position.

(2-11)   /ⁿg/   → [ŋ]   / _ $
                  → [ŋg]   / elsewhere

The above allophones are illustrated in (2-12) below:

(2-12)   _$ /nəⁿgmd/ → [nəŋmən] 'same sex siblings pair'

/aⁿgnoɸat/ → [aŋnoβat] (*a-gono-pat* 'BEN-grow-IPFV.SG(.PRS)')

/meⁿg/ → [meŋ] 'speech'

$_   /ⁿgonɸat/ → [ŋgonβat] 'is growing' (*gono-pat* 'grow-IPFV.SG(.PRS)')

/ⁿgoŋ/ → [ŋgoŋ] 'whistle'

/ⁿgiɸəl/ → [ŋgiβəl] 'digit, finger, toe'

V_V   /nəⁿgmⁿdil/ → [nəŋgəmndil] 'same sex siblings (>3)' (*nəgmd-il* 'SS.SIB-PL')

/meⁿgl/ → [meŋgəl] 'spoke' (*meg=li* 'speech=SAY(.SEQ)')

/muⁿgum/ → [muŋgum] 'thunder'

2.1.1.2 Voiceless Stops

There are two voiceless stops in Oksapmin: /t/ and /k/. Voiceless stops in Oksapmin are usually unaspirated although they may optionally be aspirated at the end of a word or at the end of a sentence[3]. Note that there is no bilabial voiceless stop phoneme. However, the fricative phoneme /ɸ/ (§2.1.1.3) has a bilabial voiceless stop allophone in syllable final position. See §2.1.1.4 for details on /kʷ/.

2.1.1.2.1 /t/

/t/ is usually unaspirated although it may be aspirated at the end of a larger phonological unit such as the word or sentence as shown in the allophonic rule in (2-13) below. /t/ can occur in syllable initial or syllable final position.

(2-13) /t/   (→ [tʰ] / _ #)
         → [t] / elsewhere

The above allophones are illustrated in (2-14) below:

(2-14) $_   /toxan/ → [toxan] 'sweet potato'
         /taɸ/ → [tap] 'pig'
         /tem/ → [tem] 'hole'

         V_V   /ᵐbitaⁿg/ → [mbitaŋ] 'decoration'
         /ⁿgətel/ → [ŋgətel] cut (*gətel* 'cut(.PRS.SG)')
         /utaⁿg/ → [utaŋ] 'carry on shoulders'

         _$ /ⁿdtɸol/ → [ndətɸol] '(I'll) take'
         /atwax/ → [atwax] 'lips'
         /ᵐbətᵐbet/ → [mbətmbet] 'pain'

         _ #   /kut/ → [kutʰ] ~ [kut] 'tomorrow'
                  /wet/ → [wetʰ] ~ [wet] 'package'
                  /wot/ → [wotʰ] ~ [wot] 'two'

---

[3] My analysis contrasts with M. Lawrence (1969) who claims that the aspirated allophones of the voiceless stops occur word initially, as the second member of a consonant cluster and word finally.

2.1.1.2.2 /k/

Like /t/, /k/ is usually unaspirated but it may be aspirated at the end of a larger phonological unit such as a sentence, or at the end of a word spoken in isolation as shown in (2-15) below. /k/ can occur in syllable initial or syllable final position or marginally as the second member of a consonant cluster.

(2-15)   /k/   (→ [kʰ] / _ #)
                   → [k] / elsewhere

           The above allophones are illustrated in (2-16) below:

(2-16) $_   /kiskʷes/ → [kiskwes] 'cut'
                   /kət/ → [kət] 'half'
                   /kaw/ → [kaw] 'stick'

           V_V   /kokon/ → [kokon] 'messy (of pigs hair)'
                   /ake/ → [ake] 'stomach'
                   /akit/ → [akitʰ] 'strongly'

           _$ /kaktəx/ [kaktəx] 'ground'
                   /ᵐbuksuɸ/ [mbuksup] 'rash (on body)'
                   /koklax/ [koklax] 'forked'

           _#   /kak/ → [kakʰ] ~ [kak] 'head'
                   /muk/ → [mukʰ] ~ [muk] 'group'
                   /tek/ → [tekʰ] ~ [tek] (clan name)

2.1.1.3 Fricatives

There are three fricatives in Oksapmin: /ɸ/, /s/, and /x/. Fricatives are underlyingly voiceless but, within the domain of the word, fricatives are usually voiced between two voiced elements though they may nonetheless be unvoiced in slow, careful pronunciation. Fricatives may also be voiced between two voiced elements outside of the domain of the word (§2.6). See §2.1.1.4 for details on /xʷ/.

2.1.1.3.1 /ɸ/

The phoneme /ɸ/ is treated here as a fricative as it has fricative allophones, voiceless at the start of a syllable and voiced between vowels, akin to the other fricatives. Unlike the other fricatives, /ɸ/ also has, however, a voiceless stop allophone and could

alternatively be analysed as a voiceless stop, /p/. Historically, /ɸ/ in Oksapmin probably derives from the collapse of two phonemes, /*p/ and /*f/ in proto Ok-Oksapmin, into a single phoneme (Loughnane and Fedden In prep.).

The phoneme /ɸ/ is realised as a voiceless bilabial fricative syllable-initially, as a voiced bilabial fricative intervocalically and as a voiceless bilabial stop syllable-finally. /ɸ/ may additionally be aspirated or have a fricative release when it occurs at the end of a larger phonological unit such as a word or sentence (see also the aspiration rule for /t/ and /k/ above). This is shown in the rule in (2-17) below.

(2-17)   /ɸ/   (→ [p] ~ [pɸ] ~ [ph] / _#)
            → [p] / _$
            → [β] / V_V
            → [ɸ] / $_

The above allophones are illustrated in (2-18) below:

(2-18) $_   /ɸat/ → [ɸat^h] 'is' (*pat* 'stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)')
            /axɸal/ → [axɸal] 'poison, sorcery'
            /a^{n}dɸekl/ → [anɸekəl] (*a-dpekl* 'BEN-open.eyes(.PRS.SG)')

         V_V   /^{m}boɸol/ → [mboβol] 'heart'
            /liɸin/ → [liβin] 'true'
            /əɸoɸ/ → [əβop] 'meat'

         _$ /ɸtɸja/ → [ɸətəpja] 'will be (sg)' (*pt-pja* 'stay.IPFV-FF.SG')
            /təɸ^{n}da/ → [təpnda] 'same'
            /ŋgeɸsuɸ/ → [ŋgepsup] 'diarrhoea'

         _#   /taɸ/ → [tap] ~ [tapɸ] ~ [tap^h] 'pig'
            /aɸ/ → [ap] ~ [apɸ] ~ [ap^h] 'house'
            /^{m}bumliɸ/ → [mbumlip] ~ [mbumlipɸ] ~ [mbumlip^h] 'middle finger, 3'

2.1.1.3.2 /s/

The phoneme /s/ is realised as [z] between two vowels and as [s] in all other environments. As per the rule in (2-19), however, when a word is articulated particularly slowly or carefully, an intervocalic /s/ may not be voiced. /s/ can occur in syllable initial or syllable final position.

(2-19) /s/   → [z] / V _ V
                  → [s] / elsewhere

The above allophones are illustrated in (2-20) below:

(2-20) V_V   /ɸəsel/ → [ɸəzel] 'old'
                /ⁿdəsən/ → [ndəzən] 'taste'
                /ŋgisol/ → [ŋgizol] 'plant variety'

        $_   /samin/ → [samin] 'wild pig'
                /ⁿdimsixan/ → [ndimsiɣan] 'small intestine'
                /amsəmaj/ → [amsəmaj] 'lightening'

        _$ /xas/ → [xas] 'white/light'
                /ⁿgisⁿgis/ → [ŋgisŋgis] 'search around for'
                /ŋgəxas/ → [ŋgəɣas] 'slippery, muddy'

2.1.1.3.3 /x/

The phoneme /x/ is realised as [ʝ] between [i] and any other vowel, as [ç] between [i]

or [j] and a syllable boundary, as [ɣ] between a two sonorants (where neither is [i]),

and as [x] in all other environments as shown in (2-21) below. In slow, careful speech

/x/ may be pronounced [x] in any environment. /x/ can occur in syllable initial or

syllable final position.

(2-21) /x/   → [ʝ]   / [i]_V
                 → [ç]   / $_[i],[j]
                 → [ç]   / [i]_$
                 → [ɣ]   / {V, C$_{[+sonorant]}$} _ {V, C$_{[+sonorant]}$}
                 → [x]   / elsewhere

The above allophones are illustrated in (2-22) below:

(2-22) [i]_V   /ixiɸti/ → [iʝipti] 'are doing, practising, playing'
                /tixe/ → [tiʝe] 'sick' (*tixe* 'be.sick(.PRS.SG)')

        [i]_$ /lix/ → [liç] 'skin (of yam)'
                /nix/ → [niç] 'who'
                /ŋgix/ → [ŋgiç] 'fruit variety with red seeds'

        $_[i],[j] /xim/ → [çim] 'skin, clothes'
                /xjos/ → [çjos] 'rub'
                /xil/ → [çil] 'sweep'

V_V   /məxət/ → [məɣət] 'up here' (*mə-xət* 'DEM.PRX-up')

/ŋgəxən/ → [ŋgəɣən] 'later'

/moxe/ → [moɣe] 'buy, sell' (*moxe* 'buy(PRS.SG)')

C[+sonorant]_V   /xolxol/ → [xolɣol] 'young'

/tomxan/ → [tomɣan] 'pandanus fruit'

V_C[+sonorant]   /ɸaxna/ → [ɸaɣna] 'hungry'

/ᵐbaxlan/ → [mbaɣlan] 'arrow tip'

/axoxja/ → [aɣoɣja] 'spider'

$_   /xanəɸ/ → [xanəp] 'person'

/xesuɸ/ → [xezup] 'angry'

/xəx/ → [xəx] 'dry'

_$ /ux/ → [ux] '3sf'

/sux/ → [sux] 'tobacco'

/mex/ → [mex] 'far away'

2.1.1.4 Labialised Velars

The Lawrences have posited on (Lawrence, M. n.d., 1969; Lawrence, H 1972) and off[4] (Lawrence, M 1972a, 1972b, 1987) a labialised velar series, distinct from the unlabialised velar phonemes. M. Lawrence interprets labialised velars as single phonemes for the following reasons:

(a) There are no initial non-suspect consonant clusters.
(b) Labialization occurs only with velar consonants. (Lawrence, M. 1969: 7)

In addition to this, there is evidence in the phonotactics of Oksapmin which supports the existence of a labialised velar series consisting of /ᵑgʷ/, /kʷ/, and /xʷ/. The phonemes /ᵑgʷ/, /kʷ/, and to a lesser extent /xʷ/, occur with another consonant preceding them in intervocalic clusters. If these were not single phonemes, they would be highly anomalous in that consonant clusters are restricted to a sequence of two consonants only for all other combinations (see §2.2.3). Positing a labialised velar series thus reduces the complexity of the phonotactic analysis of Oksapmin.

Additionally supporting the postulation of labialised velar consonants is the syllabification pattern of words containing a /ᵑgʷ/ intervocalically: /ᵑgʷ/ is realised as [ŋgw] between two vowels. If this were not a single consonant, but rather /ᵑg/

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[4] With a note of explanation along with the presentation of phonemes that "[t]he velar consonants may be labialized." (Lawrence, M. 1972a; 1972b; 1987)

followed by /w/, then the pronunciation [ŋw] would be expected. This is shown in the examples below where intervocalic /ᵑgʷ/ is realised as [ŋgw] in examples (2-23)a. and (2-24)a. On the other hand, the intervocalic cluster /ᵑg/ plus /w/ is shown in example (2-25), realised as [ŋw]. Note that the pronunciation [ŋw] is not possible for the phoneme /ᵑgʷ/ in these words, as shown in (2-23)b. and (2-24)b. See §2.4 for details on syllabification rules in Oksapmin.

(2-23) a.   *gologwe*
                /ᵑgoloᵑgʷe/
                [ŋgo.loŋ.gwe]
                '2s.REFL.POSS'

        b.   *[go.loŋ.we]

(2-24) a.   *pogwe*
                /poᵑgʷe/
                [poŋ.gwe]
                'help.PRS.SG'

        b.   *[poŋ.we]

(2-25) *naŋwət*
        /naᵑgwət/
        [naŋ.wət]
        'bird variety'

The environment in which /ᵑgʷ/, /kʷ/ and /xʷ/ occur is highly restricted: they may only occur syllable-initially. They cannot occur in a syllable initial consonant cluster (excluding intervocalic clusters where they can occur in sequence with other consonants).

Labialised velar phonemes have been reported form a number of Papuan languages, including Mian (Fedden 2007) and Tauya (MacDonald 1990).

2.1.1.4.1 /ᵑgʷ/
The phoneme /ᵑgʷ/ is realised as [ŋgw] in all environments as per the rule in (2-26) below.

(2-26) /ᵑgʷ/ → [ŋgw]

/ᵑgʷ/ may only occur at the start of a syllable as shown in (2-27) below.

(2-27) $_   /ᵑgʷe/ → [ŋgwe] 'egg, fruit'

/ᵑgʷel/ → [ŋgwel] 'throat'

/əwᵑgʷe/ → [əwŋgwe] 'heavy rain'

/totᵑgʷas/ → [totŋgwas] 'step.on.PNCT'

V_V   /poᵑgʷe/ → [ɸoŋgwe] 'help.PRS.SG'

/ᵑgoloᵑgʷe/ → [ŋgoloŋgwe] '2s.REFL.POSS'

2.1.1.4.2 /kʷ/

The phoneme /kʷ/ is realised as [kw] in all environments as shown in (2-28) below.

(2-28) /kʷ/ → [kw]

/kʷ/ is of marginal acceptability intervocalically and I only know of it occurring in one word, *akwel* /akʷel/, which also has a variant *awkwel* /awkʷel/. /kʷ/ does not occur syllable finally. /kʷ/ is demonstrated in (2-29) below.

(2-29) $_   /kʷal/ → [kwal] 'door'
/kʷe/ → [kwe] 'stone'
/kʷet/ → [kwetʰ] 'sugar cane'
/dpəlkʷel/ 'turn over'

V_V   /akʷel/ → [akwel] 'wait and look' (*akwel* 'wait.look.PRS.SG')

2.1.1.4.3 /xʷ/

The phoneme /xʷ/ is realised as [xw] in all environments as per the rule in (2-30) below.[5]

(2-30) /xʷ/ → [xw]

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[5] The status of /xw/ as a phoneme is less sure than /kʷ/ and /ᵑgʷ/. Firstly /xʷ/ is only found in a consonant cluster with /l/ preceding and not in clusters with any other consonants (see §2.2.3). Secondly any instance of /xʷ/ (except those which are part of an intervocalic cluster with /l/) may be broken up through epenthesis as shown in a. below. This occurs in a parallel fashion to consonants which occur in a cluster with phonemic /w/, as shown in b. for /tw/. This process does not occur with /kʷ/ or /ᵑgʷ/.
a.   /xʷatəm/ → [xə̆watəm] ~ [xwatəm] 'penis gourd'
b.   /twət/ → [tə̆wətʰ] 'upper arm, 9'

/xʷ/ may only occur at the start of a syllable as shown in (2-31) below.

(2-31) $_   /xʷatəm/ → [xwatəm] 'penis gourd'
                 /xʷal/ → [xwal] 'straight'
                 /xʷel/ → [xwel] 'shell.nuts.PRS.SG'
                 /alxʷal/ → [alxwal] 'uncover'
                 /olxʷa/ → [olxwa] 'leaf type'

2.1.1.5 Nasals

There are two nasal phonemes in Lower Oksapmin: /m/ and /n/.[6]

2.1.1.5.1 /m/

The phoneme /m/ is realised as [m] in all environments, as shown in the rule in (2-32) below. /m/ occurs in both syllable initial or syllable final position.

(2-32) /m/ → [m]

The phoneme /m/ is illustrated occurring in different environments in (2-33) below.

(2-33) $_   /manɸi/ → [manɸi] 'back of neck'
                 /mon/ → [mon] 'brother'
                 /mimi/ → [mimi] 'day before yesterday'

        V_V   /kəmaxla/ → [kəmaɣla] 'sorry, pitiful'
                 /kumi/ → [kumi] 'bride price'
                 /məmen/ → [məmen] 'ready'

        _$ /lum/ → [lum] 'nose'
                 /nimxe/ → [nimɣe] 'forehead'

Note that in syllable final position the contrast between /m/ and /ᵐb/ is neutralised and they are both realised as [m], see §2.1.1.1.

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[6] M. Lawrence (1993) additionally distinguishes the phoneme /ŋ/ for Upper Oksapmin. As discussed in §2.1.1.1 above, /ŋ/ is not, however, a phoneme in Lower Oksapmin, rather [ŋ] is an allophone of /ⁿg/: [ŋ] only occurs in syllable final position and is in complementary distribution with [ŋg]. M. Lawrence (1993) lists the following words in his dictionary which begin with /ŋ/ (original orthography given in parentheses): /ŋak/ (*ngäk*) 'whoop, squeal', /ŋəŋarpat/ (*ngangärpät*) 'scream', /ŋəŋerpat/ (*ngangerpät*) 'whine', /ŋərəra/ (*ngararä*) 'angrily', /ŋe/ (*nge*) 'rotted root of tree', /ŋuk/ (*nguk*) 'grunt (of pig)', /ŋururu/ (*ngururu*) 'grunt'. In Lower Oksapmin, the Upper Oksapmin word *ŋuk* (nguk) 'grunt' from Upper Oksapmin is realised as [nuk] and the other words have not been attested: Lower Oksapmin appears to have lost word initial /ŋ/ altogether. I can confirm the presence of words beginning with [ŋ] in certain dialects of Oksapmin, however, because I recorded one word from a speaker of the Man dialect of Oksapmin which had a syllable initial [ŋ]: *ŋinŋina* 'spotted (of fur)'. Lower Oksapmin speakers questioned did not know this word.

2.1.1.5.2 /n/

In a parallel fashion to /m/, /n/ is realised as [n] in all environments as shown in (2-34) below. /n/ occurs in both syllable initial and syllable final position.

(2-34) /n/ → [n]

The phoneme /n/ is illustrated in its various environments in (2-35) below.

(2-35) \$_   /nox/ → [nox] '1s'
                 /nuxut/ → [nuɣut] '1d'
                 /nat/ → [natʰ] 'ear, 12'

        V_V   /ina/ → [ina] 'skin'
                /əniŋg/ → [əniŋ] 'fish'
                /sena/ → [sena] 'small banana variety'

        _\$ /ⁿgin/ → [ŋgin] 'now'
                 /jan/ → [jan] 'payment, compensation'
                 /min/ → [min] 'thigh'

Note that in syllable final position the contrast between /n/ and /ⁿd/ is neutralised and they are both realised as [n], see §2.1.1.1.

2.1.1.6 Lateral /l/

There is one lateral in Oksapmin: /l/. The phoneme /l/ is realised as [l] in all environments, as shown in the rule in (2-36) below. The phoneme /l/ occurs in syllable initial position, as the second consonant in a consonant cluster and in syllable final position. When /l/ occurs in a cluster, a short epenthetic schwa vowel is usually inserted (see §2.2.2 for argumentation that this is indeed a cluster).

(2-36) /l/ → [l]

The phoneme /l/ is illustrated occurring in different environments in (2-37) below.

(2-37) \$_   /laɸti/ → [lapti] 'are singing' (*la-pti* 'sing.dance-IPFV.PL(.PRS)')
                 /lat/ → [lat] 'tree'
                 /lex/ → [lex] 'long ago'

$C_V   /ᵐblak/ → [mblak] 'writing'
       /ᵐblel/ → [mblel] 'child'
       /ᵐblum/ → [mblum] 'bird variety'

V_V   /ale/ → [ale] 'rack above fire in kitchen used to dry wood on'
       /ⁿdile/ → [ndile] '1p.POSS'
       /kolom/ → [kolom] 'arrow type'

_$ /ol/ → [ol] 'dead'
       /el/ → [el] 'bad'
       /kal/ → [kal] 'bridge'

In the Upper Oksapmin dialect, as described by the Lawrences, a phoneme /ɾ/, an alveolar tap, takes the place of the phoneme /l/. In the majority of cases where the lexical item is cognate, there is a simple one to one correspondence between /l/ in Lower Oksapmin and /ɾ/ in Upper Oksapmin. This is shown in (2-38) and (2-39) below from a text recorded from a speaker of Upper Oksapmin in various environments: syllable initially (*ritipro/litiplox, xsri/xsli*), syllable finally (*buxer/boxol, xtor/xtol*), and in a cluster (*ritipro/litiplox*). The Lower Oksapmin equivalents with /l/ are given in the second line of text.

(2-38) *buxer*   *ox*   *ma*   *su-m*   *di-p*   *oxe*
        boxo**l**
        eagle   3sm   REL   kill-SEQ   eat.PFV-PER.FP.SG   3sm.POSS

        meg   *ox*   ***ri-ti-pro***
                       li-ti-p**l**ox
        speech   3sm   say-PFV-TODF.SG
        'This is the story of how Eagle killed a brother and sister.' ("Eagle" by Bitel Palmal)

(2-39) *xtor=ox*   *xem*   *x-s=**ri***
        xto**l**   x-s=**l**i
        see(.PRS.SG)=SBRD   blood   be-PNCT=REP
        '(It is said that) (she) saw that it was blood!' ("Eagle" told by Bitel Palmal)

Sometimes, however, there is no simple one-to-one correspondence. In a some cases, metathesis has taken place and /l/V in Lower Oksapmin is equivalent to V/ɾ/ in Upper Oksapmin; or V/l/ in Lower Oksapmin is equivalent to /ɾ/V in Upper Oksapmin. Examples are given in Table 2-3 below. (Upper Oksapmin words are from M. Lawrence (1993) with original orthography given in brackets. Sound files are given for some Lower Oksapmin forms only.)

Upper Oksapmin	Lower Oksapmin	Meaning
/axaɾ/ (*ähär*)	/axla/	'slowly'
/ərɸin/ (*arpin*)	/liɸin/	'truly'
/ərɸuɸ/ (*arpup*)	/ləɸip/	'sweat'
/xəɸurɸat/ (*hapurpät*)	/xəɸluɸat/	'die.IPFV.SG(.PRS)'
/ɾuɸat/ (*rupät*)	/ulɸat/	'go.up.IPFV.SG.PRS'
/ɾaɸat/ (*räpät*)	/alɸat/	'lean.against.IPFV.SG.PRS'
/ɾomd/ (*roman*)	/almd/	'grandparent and grandchild'
/ɾomdeɾ/ (*romder*)	/almdil/	'grandparent and grandchild'

Table 2-3.   Words showing regular alternation between /ɾ/ and /l/

In a number of other cases, a vowel preceding /l/ in Lower Oksapmin is not present in Upper Oksapmin preceding /ɾ/. Examples are given in Table 2-4 below.

Upper Oksapmin	Lower Oksapmin	Meaning
/ɾa/ (*rä*)	/ala/	'grandparent.2POSS'
/ɾaniɾ/ (*ränir*)	/alanil/	'grandparents.2POSS'
/ɾoɸ/ (*rop*)	/əloɸ/	'grandparent.1/3POSS'
/ɾoɸiɾ/ (*ropir*)	/əloɸil/	'grandparents'
/ɾi/ (*ri*)	/ale/	'shelf above fireplace'

Table 2-4.   Words showing regular alternation between /Vɾ/ and /l/

2.1.1.7 Semivowels

The semi-vowels /w/ and /j/ are realised in a similar fashion to their vocalic counterparts /u/ and /i/ respectively but occur in the onset or coda of the syllable. This accords with the typical definition of a semivowel where a "semivowel is a kind of approximant consisting of a nonsyllabic vowel occurring at the beginning or end of a syllable." (Ladefoged 1982: 209) The semivowels cannot co-occur preceding their corresponding vowels (see §2.2 for details).

2.1.1.7.1 /j/

The phoneme /j/ is a palatal approximant. /j/ occurs in syllable initial position, as the second consonant in a consonant cluster and in syllable final position following /a/.[7] /j/ is always realised as [j] as shown in the rule in (2-40) below.

(2-40) /j/ → [j]

The phoneme /j/ is illustrated occurring in its various environments in (2-41) below.

(2-41) $_   /jan/ → [jan] 'payment'
                /je/ → [je] 'mountain'
                /kinjal/ → [kinjal] 'soot'
                /ɸawja/ → [ɸawja] 'throat'

        V_V   /ⁿdeja/ → [ndeja] 'just ate (pl)' (*d-ja* 'eat-PRS.PL')
                /xja/ → [xəja] 'just did (pl)' (*x-ja* 'DO-PRS.PL')
                /xəjoɸ/ → [xəjop] 'moon'

        $C_V   /ᵐbjol/ → [mbjol] 'bush knife'
                /ŋgjan/ → [ŋgjan] 'quarter moon'
                /ljən/ → [ljən] 'cloud'
                /ⁿdjoɸ/ → [ndjopɸ] 'oil (from ground)'

        _$ /amsəmaj/ → [amsəmaj] 'lightening'
                /lumnaj/ → [lumnaj] 'pig's snout'

Evidence for an analysis of /j/ as a consonant, as opposed to a vowel, is that it is counted as a consonant for the purposes of syllabification (§2.4).

2.1.1.7.2 /w/

The phoneme /w/ is a bilabial approximant. /w/ can occur in syllable initial position and in syllable final position. /w/ can only occur following /a/, /ə/ or /e/ in syllable final position. /w/ is always realised as [w] as shown in the rule in (2-42) below.

(2-42) /w/ → [w]

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[7] Although one ideophone *xoj* 'make a traditional singing sound' has an [oj] sequence.

/w/ is illustrated occurring in different environments in (2-43) below:

(2-43) $_   /wem/ → [wem] 'tail'
                /wəm/ → [wəm] 'liver'
                /atwax/ → [atwax] 'lips'
                /alwaɸ/ → [alwap] 'same sex sibling'

        V_V   /awam/ → [awam] 'taboo'
                /awa/ → [awa] 'wind'
                /juwam/ → [juwam] 'bat variety'

        _$ /əwte/ → [əwte] 'sky'
                /saw/ → [saw] 'have sex with'
                /xaw/ → [xaw] 'smell'
                /new/ → [new] 'kite/falcon'

2.1.2 Consonant Minimal Pairs

Nasals versus Prenasalised Voiced Stops

While they contrast in syllable initial position (2-44) and intervocalically (2-45), there is no contrast between prenasalised voiced stops and nasals in syllable final position.

(2-44) $_   n : ^{n}d   /net/ → [net] 'hold'
                          /^{n}det/ → [ndet] 'did' (*de-t* 'MAKE-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)')

        n : ^{n}d   /naɸ/ → [nap] 'younger sibling'
                    /^{n}daɸ/ → [ndap] 'long and thin'

        m : ^{m}b   /mət/ → [mət] 'did'(*ml-t* 'MAKE-SIM')
                    /^{m}bət/ → [mbət] 'hair'

        m : ^{m}b   /man/ → [man] 'name of Oksapmin subgroup'
                    /^{m}ban/ → [mban] 'bundle'

(2-45) V_V   n : ^{n}d   /xa^{n}dəɸ/ → [xandəp] 'wrist, 6'
                          /xanəɸ/ → [xanəp] 'person'

        m : ^{m}b   /ə^{m}bul/ → [əmbul] 'took' (*əbul* 'take(.PRS.SG)')
                    /əmul/ → [əmul] 'floor'

Prenasalised Voiced Stops versus Voiceless Stops

As prenasalised stops are realised as nasals in syllable final position, the contrast between prenasalised voiced stops and voiceless stops is only shown in syllable initial (2-46) and intervocalic position (2-47). There is no intervocalic minimal pair for /^{ŋ}g^w/ and /k^w/. These observations are demonstrated in the examples below.

(2-46) $_   ⁿd : t   /ⁿdaɸ/ → [ndap] 'long'
                           /taɸ/ → [tap] 'pig'

                ⁿd : t   /ⁿden/ → [nden] 'food'
                           /ten/ → [ten] 'female in-laws (2)'

                ŋg : k   /ŋga/ → [ŋga] 'tooth'
                           /ka/ → [ka] 'place'

                ŋg : k   /ŋgoⁿg/ → [ŋgoŋ] 'whistle'
                           /koⁿg/ → [koŋ] 'arrive' (*kol-ŋ* 'arrive-PNCT')

                ŋgʷ : kʷ   /ŋgʷe/ → [ŋgwe] 'egg'
                           /kʷe/ → [kwe] 'stone'

                ŋgʷ : kʷ   /ŋgʷel/ → [ŋgwel] 'throat'
                           /kʷel/ → [kwel] 'cut down (of tree)'

(2-47) V_V   ⁿd : t   /aⁿden/ → [anden] 'do for someone' (*a-de-n* 'BEN-MAKE-NOMLS')
                           /aten/ → [aten] 'handle (of bag)'

                ŋg : k   /iⁿga/ → [iŋga] 'insect'
                           /ika/ → [ika] 'here' (*i=ka* 'DEM.DST=place')

Voiceless Stops versus Fricatives

The voiceless stops /t/, /k/ and /kʷ/ contrast in all environments (syllable initially (2-48), intervocalically (2-49), syllable finally (2-50)) with the corresponding fricatives at the same places of articulation, /s/, /x/ and /xʷ/ respectively. There is no intervocalic or syllable final minimal pair for /kʷ/ and /xʷ/.

(2-48) $_   t : s   /tax/ → [tax] 'centipede'
                           /sax/ → [sax] 'same'

                k : x   /ka/ → [ka] 'place'
                           /xa/ → [xa] 'bush'

                kʷ : xʷ   /kʷal/ → [kwal] 'door'
                           /xʷal/ → [xwal] 'straight'

(2-49) V_V   t : s   /ɸtel/ → [ɸətel] 'was' (*pt-l* 'stay-IPFV.PER.TODP')
                           /ɸəsel/ → [ɸəzel] 'old'

                k : x   /ⁿdəkal/ → [ndəkal] 'dry yellow earth'
                           /ⁿdəxal/ → [ndəxal] 'ground oven'

(2-50)   _$ k : x   /ɸok/ → [ɸok] 'enough, all'

                              /ɸox/ → [ɸox] 'set off'

               t : s   /lit/ 'say and…' (*li-t* 'SAY-SIM')

                              /lis/ 'grass skirt'

Semi-Vowels

The two semi-vowels contrast in all environments (syllable initially (2-51), intervocalically (2-52), syllable finally (2-53)). The only vowel both /w/ and /j/ follow is /a/; this does not amount to very many words in which they contrast in syllable final position and there are no true minimal pairs (a subminimal pair is shown below).

(2-51) $_   w : j   /wəm/ → [wəm] 'liver'
                              /jəm/ → [jəm] 'cry' (*jəm* 'cry.PRS.SG')

               w : j   /wan/ → [wan] 'different'
                              /jan/ → [jan] 'payment'

(2-52)   V_V   w : j   /awa/ → [awa] 'wind'
                              /aja/ → [aja] 'nearly'

(2-53)   _$ w : j   /kətaw/ → [kətaw] 'fish variety'
                              /kəɸtaj/ → [kəptaj] 'bird variety'

2.1.3 Vowels

There are six vowel phonemes as shown in Table 2-5[8]. There is no phonemic contrast in length, although vowels are realised slightly longer and tenser in an open syllable than in a closed syllable.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Table 2-5.   Vowels

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[8] The Lawrences posit the following vowels in Upper Oksapmin: /i/, /e/, /a/, /ə/, /əi/, /o/, /u/, /ʊ/ (Lawrence, M. 1969; 1972a; 1972b; 1987; Lawrence, H 1972).

Vowel Phoneme	Allophones
/i/	[i]
/e/	[e]
/a/	[a]
/ə/	[ə]
/u/	[u]
/o/	[o]

Table 2-6.   Vowel phonemes and their phonetic realisations

The following chart shows the first and second formants for the six vowel phonemes (179 tokens in total) taken from a single speaker, a 20-year-old female. See e.g. Ladefoged (2001) for information about vowel formants. The values for each formant are derived from visually identifying the target for each formant from a greyscale spectrogram in Praat (© Boersma and Weenink) and then using the formant value automatically generated by Praat. See e.g. Cox (2006) for more discussion of a similar methodology.
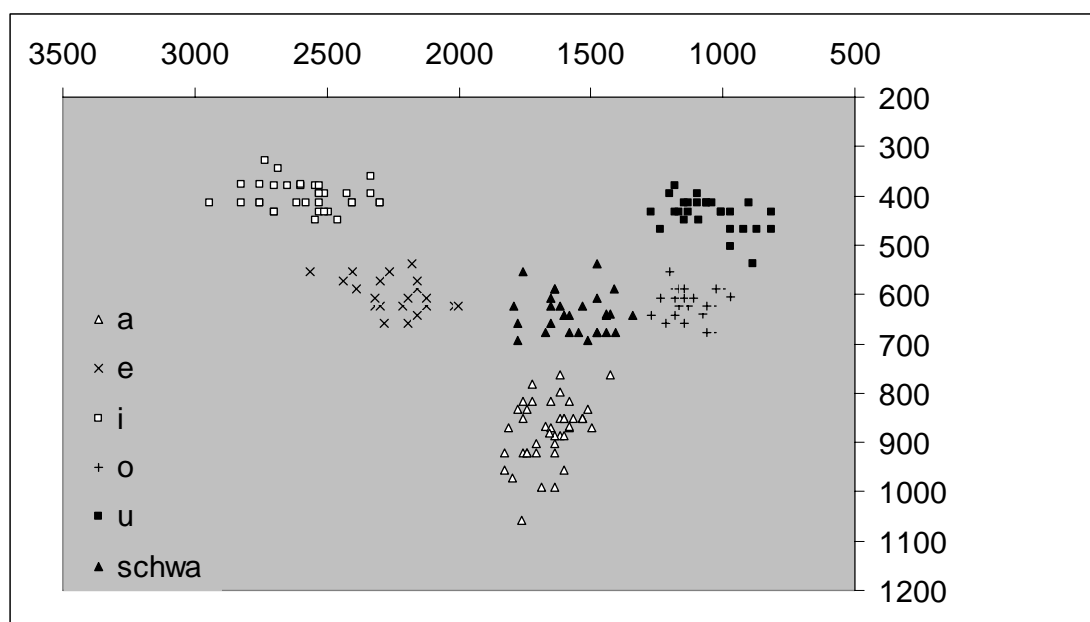
Figure 2-3.   First and second vowel formant values of 179 vowel tokens
                 Token from dictionary words and bird names as spoken by Kila Dasyal, a 20
                 year old female from Kusanap.
                 All values in Hertz.

The numbers of tokens, means and standard deviations corresponding to the data points in Figure 2-3 are shown in Table 2-7 below.

	n	F1		F2	
		Mean (Hz)	S.d. (Hz)	Mean (Hz)	S.d. (Hz)
i	35	402	28	2577	157
e	21	601	36	2243	136
a	43	876	62	1657	96
ə	29	638	40	1567	124
o	24	622	32	1125	78
u	27	437	33	1051	198

Table 2-7.   Vowel formant mean and standard deviation
First and second vowel formants from vowel tokens from Figure 2-3.
Figures are rounded to the nearest whole number.

The vowels also had different lengths. The vowels /a/, /e/ and /o/ were found to be consistently longer than the vowels /u/, /ə/ and /i/ (see also Lawrence, M. n.d.: 3). The average lengths of vowel tokens from Figure 2-3 above are shown in Table 2-8 below. Note that the standard deviation for the length of tokens of /ə/ is much higher than for the other vowels. This is possibly due to the fact that some /ə/ vowels are phonemic and some are not.

	Length (seconds)	S.d. (seconds)
i	.09	.04
e	.13	.04
a	.14	.04
ə	.08	.08
o	.12	.02
u	.09	.04

Table 2-8.   Mean vowel lengths
From 179 vowel tokens from dictionary words and bird names as spoken by Kila Dasyal.

The above length differences raise the possibility of analysing the Oksapmin vowel system as consisting of three vowels /i/, /a/, /u/ and a length distinction where the short counterparts are realised as [e], [ə] and [o] respectively. This analysis is particularly appealing for the phonetic [ə] and [a] vowels as these probably historically originate from a single vowel (see below on /ə/, as well as Loughnane and Fedden In prep.). This analysis is not as appealing for the other vowels, at least from a historical perspective, as there is evidence that the vowel /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/ were all present as distinct phonemes in proto Ok-Oksapmin (Loughnane and Fedden in prep.) and there is no other evidence, for example alternation between, say, [i] and [e] depending on syllabification, which would warrant positing a length distinction. This does not, however, discount the possibility that a length system is in development synchronically.

2.1.3.1 /i/

/i/ is a high, front, unrounded vowel. /i/ can occur in nucleus position with an onset, a coda, or both. /i/ is always realised as [i] as shown in the rule in (2-54) below.

(2-54) /i/   →   *[i]*

The phoneme /i/ is shown in various environments in (2-55) below.

(2-55) $_C   /it/ → [it] 'again'
                /iⁿga/ → [iŋga] 'insect'
                /ilxuɸ/ → [ilxup] 'lung'

        C_C   /tit/ → [tit] 'one'
                /xim/ → [çim] 'skin'
                /lis/ → [lis] 'grass skirt'

        C_$ /manɸi/ → [manɸi] 'back of neck'
                /ki/ → [ki] 'enough'
                /li/ → [li] *li* 'SAY(.PRS.SG)'

2.1.3.2 /e/

/e/ is a mid, front, unrounded vowel. /e/ can occur in nucleus position with an onset, a coda, or both. /e/ is always realised as [e] as shown in the rule in (2-56) below.

(2-56) /e/ → [e]

The phoneme /e/ is shown in various environments in (2-57) below.

(2-57) $_C   /et/ → [et] 'penis'
                /em/ → [em] 'mother'
                /el/ → [el] 'bad'

        C_$ /noxe/ → [noɣe] '1s.POSS'
                /ɸe/ → [ɸe] 'end'
                /ⁿde/ → [de] 'eat(.PRS.SG)'

        C_C   /ᵐbes/ → [mbes] 'hand'
                /net/ → [net] 'hold'
                /sen/ → [sen] 'strongly'

M. Lawrence (1980) notes that there is a glide *ei* /əi/ in Upper Oksapmin which is not present in most of the other varieties of Oksapmin. The glide /əi/ in Upper Oksapmin is consistently equivalent to /e/ in Lower Oksapmin. For example (with M. Lawrence's orthography in brackets), *aptəi* (*äptei*) 'village' in Upper Oksapmin is equivalent to *apte* 'village' in Oksapmin. Other pairs of this type are shown in Table 2-9 below.

Upper Oksapmin	Lower Oksapmin	Meaning
dəipat (deipät)	depat	MAKE.IPFV.SG.PRS
atoxəitem (ätoheitem)	atxutem	armpit
abəi (ambei)	abe	cliff
təi (tei)	te	place
dəkməirpat (dakmeirpät)	dəkmel-	jump.over.IPFV.SG(.PRS)/ jump.over.PRS.SG
dəsəi (dasei)	dəse	despise
dəimər (deimar)	deməl	edible plant variety
əimət (eimat)	emət	forever
əirap (eiräp)	elap	abdominal cavity
əit (eit)	et	penis
gəim (geim)	gem	bird arrow
gəipsup (geipsup)	gepsup	diarrhoea
guməi (gumei)	gume	edible plant variety
xəisup (heisup)	xesup	angry

Table 2-9. Words showing alternation between /əi/ and /e/

There is evidence that a glide /ei/ was present in Proto-Ok-Oksapmin, see Loughnane and Fedden (in prep.).

2.1.3.3 /a/

The phoneme /a/ is a low, central, unrounded vowel. /a/ occurs in nucleus position with an onset, a coda, or both, and is always realised as [a] as per the rule in (2-58) below.

(2-58) /a/ → [a]

The vowel /a/ is shown in its various environments in (2-59) below.

(2-59) $_C   /axla/ → [aɣla] 'slowly'
              /ax/ → [ax] 'axe'
              /aɸ/ → [ap] 'house'

        C_C   /ᵐbaɸ/ → [mbap] 'small'
              /xan/ → [xan] 'man'
              /lat/ → [lat] 'wood, tree'

        C_$ /xa/ → [xa] 'bush'
              /ɸa/ → [ɸa] 'taro'
              /ⁿga/ → [ŋga] 'tooth'

2.1.3.4 /o/

The phoneme /o/ is a mid, back, rounded vowel. /o/ can occur in nucleus position with an onset, a coda, or both. /o/ is always realised as [o] as shown in the rule in (2-60) below.

(2-60)   /o/ → [o]

The phoneme /o/ is shown in various environments in (2-61) below.

(2-61) $_C   /ox/ → [ox] '3sm'
                 /otol/ → [otol] 'knife'
                 /ol/ → [ol] 'dead'

         C_C   /ɸok/ → [ɸok] 'all'
                 /wot/ → [wot] 'two'
                 /tom/ → [tom] 'water'

         C_$ /ⁿgo/ → [ŋgo] '2s'
                 /lo/ → [lo] 'enter(.PRS.SG)'

2.1.3.5 /u/

The phoneme /u/ is a high, back, rounded vowel. The vowel /u/ occurs in nucleus position with an onset, a coda, or both, and is always realised as [u] as shown in the rule in (2-62) below.

(2-62)   /u/ → [u]

The phoneme /u/ is shown in various environments in (2-63) below.

(2-63) $_C   /ulax/ → [ulax] 'cassowary bone knife'
                 /ux/ → [ux] '3sf'
                 /um/ → [um] 'cross cousin (first person possessor)'

         C_C   /kakⁿdup/ → [kakndup] 'close to'
                 /kut/ → [kut] 'future, tomorrow'
                 /bux/ → [mbux] 'lower leg'

         C_$ /ku/ → [ku] 'woman'
                 /lu/ → [lu] 'garden'
                 /su/ → [su] 'kill(.PRS.SG)'

A number of words, such as those listed in (2-64), have variants which replace /u/ with /wi/, /wə/, or labialisation of the preceding velar consonant plus /i/. Alternation between /u/ and /wi/ is also found in a number of Ok languages, e.g. Mian (Fedden 2007).

(2-64)   /un/ ~ /win/ 'name'
         /u/ ~ /wi/ 'yell out'
         /ᵑgu/ ~ /ᵑgʷi/ 'give'
         /ku/ ~ /kʷi/ 'night' (Lawrence, M. 1993)
         /kut/ ~ /kʷit/ 'tomorrow' (Lawrence, M. 1993)
         /ud/ ~ /wəd/ 'go down'
         /ul/ ~ /wəl/ 'go up'

2.1.3.6 /ə/

The phoneme /ə/ is a mid, central, unrounded vowel. /ə/ can occur in nucleus position with or without an onset but must have a coda. /ə/ is also often shorter than other vowels. /ə/ is always realised as [ə] as shown in the rule in (2-65) below.

(2-65)   /ə/ → [ə]

The vowel /ə/ is shown in various environments in (2-66) below.

(2-66)   C_C   /kən/ → [kən] 'cooked'
                 /ᵐbət/ → [mbət] 'hair'
                 /kət/ → [kət] 'short'

         $_C   /əplin/ → [əplin] 'come.IMP'
                 /ən/ → [ən] 'arrow'
                 /əw/ → [əw] 'sky'

Some schwa vowels are not phonemically present but are inserted during word formation, see §2.4 for details.

The phonemic vowel /ə/ and its epenthetic counterpart are more restricted phonotactically than the other vowels and cannot occur word finally as a nucleus without a coda. This is shown, for example, by verbs which paradigmatically would be expected to have a schwa vowel as a nucleus without a coda. In these cells a different vowel is used. (See Chapter 8 for more on verb formation.)

(2-67)   *d-pat*   versus   *de*
         [dəβat]   [de]
                                            *[də]
         eat.IPFV.SG(.PRS)   eat(.PRS.SG)

(2-68)   *təlpə-pat*   versus   *təlpo*
         [təlɸəβat]   [təlɸo]
                                            *[təlɸə]
         start-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   start(.PRS.SG)

In a number of Papuan languages, /ə/ or /ɨ/ are inserted according to regular morphophonological processes and are not phonemes (see e.g. Foley 1986: 50; Pawley 1966). In Oksapmin, some schwa vowels are phonemic, whereas others are inserted due to morphophonological processes. During syllabification, a schwa vowel is inserted to break up an illicit consonant cluster. These schwa vowels are not underlyingly present. This is shown in the examples below where a schwa vowel is inserted after the causative suffix in *p-di* 'fed him/her/it/them (this morning)' (2-69) but not in *n-p-di-l* 'fed me/us/you (yesterday)' (2-70) because of syllabification rules during word formation which do not allow certain consonant clusters. See (§2.4) for more information on this topic.

(2-69) *jəxe   nox   it   tom   mox   p-di*
                                                            [ɸəndi]
         then   1s   again   water   ANPH   CAUS-eat.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
         'So, I gave her more water.' ("Today" by Julie James)

(2-70) *nuxul   ma   n-p-di-l   jox*
                             [nəpndil]
         1pEX   REL   1/2.O-CAUS-eat.PFV-PER.YESTP   TOP
         'When they fed us, …' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

In other cases in Oksapmin, the schwa vowel is underlyingly present and can never be deleted. In these cases it clearly contrasts with other vowels. This is shown in the minimal pairs in examples (2-71), (2-72), (2-73) and (2-74) below.

(2-71) *a.   am jox*   *versus*   *b.*   *əm jox*
                 'skin DEF'   'knowledge DEF'

(2-72) *a.   aw*   *versus*   *b.*   *əw*
                 'grandparent.1POSS'   'sky'

(2-73) *a.   bax*   *versus*   *b.*   *bəx*
                 'grass variety'   'grove'

(2-74) *a.   dax*   *versus*   *b.*   *dəx*
                 'weather'   'down'

There is some paradigmatic evidence that /a/ and /ə/ were originally one phoneme in that there is alternation between the two in related terms in some lexical kin noun paradigms: *aw* 'my/our grandparent' versus *əla* 'your grandparent', and *mam* 'my/our uncle' versus *əmnən* 'your uncle'.

See §2.2.4 and §2.4 for more discussion of schwa insertion in Oksapmin.

2.1.4 Vowel Minimal Pairs:

The following sets in (2-75) show contrast between vowels in syllables with both an onset and a coda. All six vowels contrast in this position.

(2-75) u : i : a   /put/ → [ɸut] 'small protruding part, tip'
                         /pit/ → [ɸit] 'long thin strip'
                         /pat/ → [ɸat] 'stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)'

        i : e : a : ə : o   /tim/ → [tim] 'sleep.PRS.SG'
                             /tem/ → [tem] 'hole'
                             /tam/ → [tam] 'ashes'
                             /təm/ → [təm] 'bone'
                             /tom/ → [tom] 'water'

        e : a : ə : o : u   /ket/ → [ket] 'pandanus'
                             /kat/ → [kat] 'shoulder'
                             /kət/ → [kət] 'short'
                             /kot/ → [kot] 'bush/outside'
                             /kut/ → [kut] 'future, tomorrow'

        a : ə : u   /ᵐbap/ → [mbap] 'small'
                         /ᵐbəp/ → [mbəp] 'so'
                         /ᵐbup/ → [mbup] 'start'

        i : e : ə : u   /ⁿdil/ → [ndil] 'we (plural inclusive)'
                         /ⁿdel/ → [ndel] 'MAKE.IPFV.PER.TODP'
                         /ⁿdəl/ → [ndəl] 'take(.PRS.SG)'
                         /ⁿdul/ → [ndul] 'play(.PRS.SG)'

        i : e : ə   /kin/ → [kin] 'eye'
                         /ken/ → [ken] 'female'
                         /kən/ → [kən] 'cooked'

        e : a : ə : u   /xen/ → [xen] 'DO.NOMLS'
                         /xan/ → [xan] 'man'
                         /xən/ → [xən] 'over there'
                         /xun/ → [xun] 'go.PFV.NOMLS'

        i : e : a : o : u   /xil/ → [xil] 'sweep'
                             /xel/ → [xel] 'break'
                             /xal/ → [xal] 'heat'
                             /xol/ → [xol] 'break bones with teeth'
                             /xul/ → [xul] 'crazy'

The following sets in (2-76) show contrast between vowels in syllables with an onset but no coda. All vowels except schwa contrast in this position.

(2-76) i : a : o : u   /ka/ → [ka] 'place'
                            /ku/ → [ku] 'woman'
                            /ki/ → [ki] 'enough'
                            /ko/ → [ko] 'cut'

        i : e : a : u   /si/ → [si] 'scar'
                            /se/ → [se] 'modal particle'
                            /sa/ → [sa] 'evaluate'
                            /su/ → [su] 'kill.PRS.SG'

        i : a : o : u   /li/ → [li] 'say'
                            /la/ → [la] 'sing and dance'
                            /lo/ → [lo] 'enter'
                            /lu/ → [lu] 'garden'

        i : e : a   /mi/ → [mi] 'lift up.PRS.SG'
                            /me/ → [me] 'vein, artery'
                            /ma/ → [ma] 'REL'[9]

The following sets in (2-77) show contrast between vowels in syllables with a coda but no onset. All six vowels contrast in this position.

(2-77) e : a : ə : u   /em/ → [em] 'mother.1POSS'
                            /am/ → [am] 'skin'
                            /əm/ → [əm] 'knowledge'
                            /um/ → [um] 'cross cousin (first person possessed)', 'Om River'

        i : e : a   /it/ → [it] 'again'
                            /et/ → [et] 'penis'
                            /at/ → [at] 'father (first person possessed)'

        e : o : u   /el/ → [el] 'bad'
                            /ol/ → [ol] 'dead'
                            /ul/ → [ul] 'tail feather'

        i : e : a : o : u   /ix/ → [ix] 'do like that'
                            /ex/ → [ex] 'bark (of dog)'
                            /ax/ → [ax] 'axe'
                            /ox/ → [ox] 'third singular masculine'
                            /ux/ → [ux] 'third singular feminine'

2.1.5 Suprasegmentals

I have not found any evidence for the existence of any suprasegmentals associated with the syllable or word which are contrastive in Oksapmin[10]. Heavier syllables or syllables which contain a vowel which is inherently longer, particularly /a/, may

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[9] See Chapter 3, §3.4.6, and Chapter 7, §7.6, for details on *ma* 'REL'.
[10] This contrast with M. Lawrence's (implicit) analysis of Oksapmin as a pitch accent language:
"Words have one of two contrasting pitches: high initially, dropping to mid on the last syllable, then falling; or low initially rising to mid on the last syllable." (1993: 209)

sound stressed or prominent (see e.g. Cruttenden 1997) to the English speaker but I have found no language internal evidence to suggest that stress is a suprasegmental feature. Pitch and intensity are correlated and peak at each syllable nucleus. Pitch variation does, however, operate beyond the domain of the word in a delimiting function, see §2.7 for details.

2.2 Phonotactics

The permissible syllable types in Oksapmin are discussed in §2.2.1, then the witnessed clusters found in the onset and between vowels are described in §2.2.2 and §2.2.3 respectively. In §2.2.4, epenthetic schwa vowels and their implications for consonant clusters are discussed.

2.2.1 Syllable Types

The syllable types permitted in Oksapmin are shown in (2-78) below. No consonant clusters are allowed in the coda. Phonemically, any consonant can go in the coda. Phonetically, voiced stops are not permitted in the coda as the prenasalised voiced stops are realised as nasals in this environment, see §2.1.1.1 for details. Any consonant can go in the onset by itself. A small number of consonants can occur as the second consonant in a consonant cluster (see next section for details on clusters).

(2-78) V
         VC
         CV
         CVC
         CCV
         CCVC

The above syllable types are illustrated in the table below.

V	CV	CCV
/u/ [u] 'grease' /a/ [a] 'excreta'	/ɸa/ [ɸa] 'taro' /ᵐbe/ [mbe] 'nothing' /lu/ [lu] 'garden'	/ᵐbli/ [mbli] 'a lot' /ɸja/ [ɸja] 'big'
VC	CVC	CCVC
/aɸ/ [ap] 'house' /em/ [em] 'mother.1POSS' /it/ [it] 'again'	/ɸat/ [ɸat] 'stay, be' /ⁿdəm/ [ndəm] 'bottom of bag' /jax/ [jax] 'down'	/ᵐblel/ [mblel] 'child' /mjan/ [mjan] 'dog'

Table 2-10.   Examples of the various syllable types

For this analysis, I have treated phonemic consonants as single segments as they contrast with other single segment consonants, even though phonetically they resemble two (or in the case of /$^\eta g^w$/, three) segments.

Nasals may act as the nucleus of a syllable to a limited extent. This is possible only in the fast speech of some speakers. For example, the word *məmxan* /məmxan/ 'what's it' (< *mə=ma xan* 'DEM.PRX=REL thing') would normally be pronounced [məmɣan] in slow speech but may be pronounced [m̩ɣan] in fast speech.

2.2.2 Clusters in the Onset

Oksapmin disfavours consonant clusters. No consonant clusters are permitted syllable finally. A maximum of two consonants may cluster together in the onset of a syllable and the combinations of these are highly restricted. Clusters are allowed with the approximant phonemes /j/, /w/, and /l/, and to a limited extent with /x/ and /k/. The permissible syllable initial clusters according to my analysis are shown below[11].

C1 \ C2	/j/	/w/	/l/	/x/	/k/
/^{m}b/	✔	x	✔	x	x
/^{n}d/	✔	x	(✔)	x	x
/$^\eta$g/	✔	x	(✔)	(✔)	x
/$^\eta g^w$/	x	x	x	x	x
/t/	✔	(✔)	(✔)	(✔)	x
/k/	✔	x	✔	x	▨
/k^w/	x	x	x	x	x
/ɸ/	✔	x	(✔)	x	x
/s/	✔	(✔)	✔	(✔)	(✔)
/x/	✔	(✔)	(✔)	▨	x
/x^w/	x	x	x	x	x
/m/	✔	x	(✔)	(✔)	x
/n/	✔	x	x	x	x
/l/	✔	(✔)	▨	x	x
/w/	x	▨	x	x	x
/j/	▨	x	x	x	x

Table 2-11.   Permitted clusters
✔ Cluster, (✔) Marginal cluster, x Impossible cluster

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[11] This analysis differs from that of M. Lawrence (1969), who argues that there are no onset consonant clusters in Oksapmin. He analyzes clusters of C[w] as labialised velars and other phonetic consonant clusters (with [ɾ] and [x]) as being underlyingly CəC (e.g. /bəɾ/ → [bɾ]).

The ticks in brackets in the above table indicate clusters which are marginal in the sense that they are not realised for some speakers as clusters but have a schwa vowel between the two consonants. For other speakers, there is no schwa vowel or a very short schwa vowel. For these marginal clusters, more research is needed to determine whether the underlying form is CC or C/ə/C (or in some cases possibly C/i/C). The schwa or /i/ vowel sometimes present between consonants in marginal clusters is not represented in the orthography, nor are the variant phonetic representations with the optional vowel given anywhere but in this section.

C/j/

A consonant plus /j/ is the most widely attested consonant cluster in Oksapmin. Any consonant except /w/ and labialised velars can form a cluster with /j/ as the second consonant. For all clusters with /j/, a high front vowel is optionally inserted to break up the cluster; this varies across speakers: older speakers seem more likely to insert this epenthetic vowel; younger speakers, more likely to leave it out. This is possibly due to the influence of English and Tok Pisin, although further research is required to confirm the exact distribution of these epenthetic vowels and their origin.

Examples of C/j/ clusters are shown in (2-79) below.

(2-79) /ᵐbjol/ → [bjol] ~ [bĭjol] ~ [bijol] 'bush knife'
   /ⁿdjop/ → [djop] ~ [dĭjop] ~ [dijop] 'oil'
   /ᵑgjas/ → [ŋgjas] ~ [ŋgĭjas] ~ [ŋgijas] 'cover.PNCT'
   /tjas/ → [tjas] ~ [tĭjas] ~ [tijas] 'peak (of mountain)'
   /kjan/ → [kjan] ~ [kĭjan] ~ [kijan] 'what'
   /ɸja/ → [ɸja] ~ [ɸĭja] ~ [ɸija] 'big'
   /sjaɸ/ → [sjap] ~ [sĭjap] ~ [sijap] 'cassowary'
   /xjos/ → [çjos] ~ [çĭjos] ~ [çijos] 'rub.PNCT'
   /ljən/ → [ljən] ~ [lĭjən] ~ [lijən] 'cloud'
   /mjan/ → [mjan] ~ [mĭjan] ~ [mijan] 'dog'
   /njari/ → [njari] ~ [nĭjari] ~ [nijari] (woman's name)

C/w/

Clusters with /w/ plus one of /t/, /s/ or /l/, as in (2-80) below, are marginal and are usually pronounced with a schwa vowel (or in some cases /u/) interceding between the two consonants for most speakers.

(2-80) /twət/ → [twət] ~ [tə̆wət] ~ [təwət] ~ [tŭwət] ~ [tuwət] 'upper arm, 9'
   /lwa/ → [lwa] ~ [lə̆wa] ~ [ləwa] 'shoot'
   /swelin/ → [swelin] ~ [sə̆welin] ~ [səwelin] 'bird variety'

See also §2.1.1.4 for a discussion of labialised velars in Oksapmin.

C/l/

The phoneme /l/ forms clusters with /ᵐb/, /k/ and /s/. Examples are given for each cluster in (2-81)below.

(2-81) /ᵐblum/ → [mblum] 'bird variety'
   /kle/ → [kle] 'laugh'
   /slap/ → [slap] 'mud'

The clusters /ⁿdl/, /ᵑgl/, /tl/, /kl/, /ɸl/, /sl/, /xl/, and /ml/, as in (2-82), are marginal and are pronounced with a schwa vowel interceding between the two consonants for most speakers.

(2-82) /ⁿdlox/ → [ndlox] ~ [ndə̆lox] ~ [ndəlox] 'magnificent bird of paradise'

/ᵑgli/ → [ŋgli] ~ [ŋgə̆li] ~ [ŋgəli] 'kidney'

/tlax/ → [tlax] ~ [tə̆lax] ~ [təlax] 'tired, sore'

/ɸla/ → [ɸla] ~ [ɸə̆la] ~ [ɸəla] 'pull'

/xles/ → [xles] ~ [xə̆les] ~ [xəles] 'make noise'

/mle/ → [mle] ~ [mə̆le] ~ [məle] 'hold.PRS.SG'

C/x/

All the clusters with /x/ (/ᵑgx/, /tx/, /sx/, and /mx/), as in (2-83), are marginal and are pronounced with a schwa vowel interceding between the two consonants for most speakers.

(2-83) /ᵑgxas/ → [ŋgɣas] ~ [ŋgə̆ɣas] ~ [ŋgəɣas] 'slippery'

/txax/ → [txax] ~ [tə̆ɣax] ~ [təɣax] 'claw'

/sxa/ → [sxa] ~ [sə̆ɣa] ~ [səɣa] 'look after, get food for'

/mxap/ → [mɣap] ~ [mə̆ɣap] ~ [məɣap] 'banana'

C/k/

There is one marginal cluster with /k/, /sk/, as in (2-84), which is pronounced with a schwa vowel interceding between the two consonants for most speakers.

(2-84) /skəl/ → [skəl] ~ [sə̆kəl] ~ [səkəl] 'run.PRS.SG'

2.2.3 Intervocalic Clusters

Most possible combinations of two consonants can appear intervocalically within a single (morphological) word in Oksapmin. Intervocalic clusters with /j/ as the first consonant of the cluster appear to be illicit. Three consonants in a row are not permitted intervocalically even when the two-consonant cluster in the onset of the second syllable would be permitted at the start of a syllable word initially.

C1 \ C2	/ᵐb/	/ⁿd/	/ᵑg/	/ᵑgʷ/	/k/	/kʷ/	/t/	/l/	/ɸ/	/s/	/x/	/xʷ/	/m/	/n/	/w/	/j/
/t/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?		✓	✓	?	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
/k/	✓	✓	?	?			✓	✓	?	✓	?	?	✓	✓	?	✓
/p/	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
/s/	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓		✓	?	?	✓	✓	✓
/x/	✓	✓	?	?	?	?	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	?	✓
/m/, /ᵐb/		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?		✓	✓	✓
/n/, /ⁿd/	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✓		✓	✓
/ᵑg/	✓	✓			?	?	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓
/l/	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
/w/	?	?	?	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	?	✓	?		✓

Table 2-12.   Summary: Intervocalic clusters

A number of clusters which appear to be illicit within a single morpheme are permitted in a single phonological word which consists of more than one morphological word, e.g. /lt/ is permitted in *sl=te* [səlte] 'put(.PRS.SG)=ALREADY', although such clusters are not included in this section.

The permitted intervocalic clusters indicated in Table 2-12 above are exemplified in the tables below.

C1 \ C2	/ᵐb/	/ⁿd/
/t/	*bətbet* [mbətmbet] 'pain'	*xutdip* [xutndip] 'cook.PFV.PER.FP.SG'
/k/	*kakbəl* [kakmbəl] 'skull'	*kakdup* [kakndup] 'close to, nearby'
/p/	*bəpbəp* [mbəpmbəp] 'hurry'	*təpdal* [təpndal] 'run away.PRS.SG'
/s/	?	*kusdop* [kusndop] 'place name'
/x/	*toxbit* [toxmbit] 'fall and roll'	*daxdax* [ndaɣndax] 'bird variety'
/m/, /ᵐb/	-	*gamdil* [gamndil] 'husband&wife.PL'
/n/, /ⁿd/	*goxonbi* [goɣonmbi] 'rib'	-
/ᵑg/	*naŋbal* [naŋmbal] 'vine'	*siŋdin* [siŋndin] 'bird variety'
/l/	*təlbe* [təlmbe] 'jew's harp'	*pildon* [ɸilndon] 'man's name'^
/w/	?	?

Table 2-13.   Intervocalic clusters with /ᵐb/ and /ⁿd/
        ^ Disallowed during verb formation: /lapil+di+p/ 'give.3O+PFV+PER.FP.SG'→
        [lapdip], *[lapilndip]
        - not a cluster according to current analysis
        ? possible cluster according to current analysis but not attested

C₁ \ C₂	/ᵑg/	/ᵑgʷ/
/t/	*atgaxalal* [atŋgaɣalal] 'lie'	*totgwas* [totŋgwas] 'trample.PNCT'
/k/	?	?
/p/	*napgǝpenil* [napŋgǝpenil] 'SS.SIB.PL'	*gǝpgwe* [ŋgǝpŋgwe] 'good smell'
/s/	*gisgis* [ŋgisŋgis] 'search for'	*ulesgwe* [ulesŋgwe] 'appendix'
/x/	?	?
/m/, /ᵐb/	*tǝmgip* [tǝmŋgip] 'skeleton'	*tomgwis* [tomŋgwis] 'place name'
/n/, /ⁿd/	*mingǝte* [minŋgǝte] 'firefly'	*dengwel* [denŋgwel] 'eat.PFV.VIS.YESTP'
/ᵑg/	-	-
/l/	*golgap* [ŋgolŋgap] '2s.ALONE'	?
/w/	?	*ǝwgwe* [ǝwŋgwe] 'heavy rain'

Table 2-14.   Intervocalic clusters with /ᵑg/ and /ᵑgʷ/
- not a cluster according to current analysis
? possible cluster according to current analysis but not attested

C₁ \ C₂	/k/	/kʷ/
/t/	*bokatket* [mbokatket] 'fish variety'	?
/k/	-	-
/p/	*kǝpkǝp* [kǝpkǝp] 'quickly'	*satepkwin* [satepkwin] 'fish variety'
/s/	*ǝskap* [ǝskap] 'bird variety'	?
/x/	?	?
/m/, /ᵐb/	*amkal* [amkal] 'hold.down.PRS.SG'	*sumkwal* [sumkwal] 'bird variety'
/n/, /ⁿd/	*benkin* [mbenkin] 'taro variety'	*tǝnkwen* [tǝnkwen] 'bird variety'
/ᵑg/	?	?
/l/	*xǝlkǝk* [xǝlkǝk] 'collar bone hollow'	*dpǝlkwel* [dǝpǝlkwel] 'turn.over.PRS.SG'
/w/	?	*awkwel* [awkwel] 'wait.look.PRS.SG'

Table 2-15.   Intervocalic clusters with /k/ and /kʷ/
- not a cluster according to current analysis
? possible cluster according to current analysis but not attested

C₂ C₁	/t/	/l/
/t/	-	*pitle* [ɸitle] 'one'
/k/	*dektip* [ndektip] 'pick.PFV.PER.FP.SG'	*koklax* [koklax] 'forked'
/p/	*dəkəptel* [ndəkəptel] 'lift up.PRS.SG'	*əplet* [əplet] 'oesophagus'
/s/	*kiste* [kiste] 'true!'	*uslaw* [uslaw] 'bird variety'
/x/	*ixtaxit* [içtaçit] '3p.REFL'	*axla* [aɣla] 'slowly, quietly'
/m/, /ᵐb/	*təmtom* [təmtom] 'chest'	*bumlip* [mbumlip] '3, middle finger'
/n/, /ⁿd/	*inta* [inta] 'bird variety'	*tunlin* [tunlin] 'bird variety'
/ᵑg/	*səŋtem* [səŋtem] 'be cross'	*suŋlen* [suŋlen] 'bird variety'
/l/	*bultem* [mbultem] 'place name'^	-
/w/	*əwto* [əwto] 'dig.PRS.SG'	*əwloxon* [əwloxon] 'star'

Table 2-16. Intervocalic clusters with /t/ and /l/

^ Disallowed during verb formation: /sl+ti+p/ 'put+PFV+PER.FP.SG' → [sətip], *[səltip]

- not a cluster according to current analysis

C₂ C₁	/ɸ/	/s/
/t/	*kətpe* [kətɸe] 'some'	?^
/k/	?	*buksup* [mbuksup] 'rash'
/p/	-	*dupsin* [ndupsin] 'first wife'
/s/	*kaspəs* [kasɸəs] 'wing'	-
/x/	*axpal* [axɸal] 'poison, sorcery'	*təlaxsup* [təlaxsup] 'weariness'
/m/, /ᵐb/	*lumpol* [lumɸol] 'butterfly variety'	*dimsixan* [dimsiɣan] 'small intestine'
/n/, /ⁿd/	*manpi* [manɸi] 'back of neck'	*ənsan* [ənsan] 'bamboo variety'
/ᵑg/	?	*moŋsup* [moŋsup] 'ghost'
/l/	*dəlɸo* [ndəlɸo] 'begin.PRS.SG'	*elso* [elso] 'butterfly variety'
/w/	?	*awse* [awse] 'suffer!'

Table 2-17. Intervocalic clusters with /ɸ/ and /s/

^ Disallowed during verb formation: /pt+sux/ 'be+ HAB.PER.FP.SG' → [pətəsux], *[pətsux]

- not a cluster according to current analysis

? possible cluster according to current analysis but not attested

C₁ \ C₂	/x/	/xʷ/
/t/	*xətxət* [xətxət] 'little finger, 5'	?
/k/	?	?
/p/	*opxe* [opxe] 'thigh bone'	?
/s/	*kubəsxas* [kumbəsxas] 'taro variety'	?
/x/	-	-
/m/, /ᵐb/	*nimxe* [nimɣe] 'forehead'	?
/n/, /ⁿd/	*minxa* [minɣa] 'wait for.PRS.SG'	?
/ᵑg/	*swiŋxejax* [swiŋɣejax] 'bird variety'	?
/l/	*ilxup* [ilɣup] 'lung'	*olxwa* [olxwa] 'leaf type'
/w/	*awxe* [awɣe] 'castrate.PRS.SG'	?

Table 2-18.   Intervocalic clusters with /x/ and /xʷ/
- not a cluster according to current analysis
? possible cluster according to current analysis but not attested

C₁ \ C₂	/m/	/n/
/t/	*kətmuk* [kətmuk] 'cut'	*pitniŋ* [ɸitniŋ] 'bored'^
/k/	*dəkmel* [ndəkmel] 'jump.over.PRS.SG'	*sinəknək* [sinəknək] 'hiccup'
/p/	*dapmən* [ndapmən] 'tree variety'	*dapne* [ndapne] 'moss variety'
/s/	?	*kusneŋ* [kusneŋ] 'noise of bow snapping'
/x/	*xoxme* [xoɣme] 'back of knee'	*paxna* [paɣna] 'hunger'
/m/, /ᵐb/	-	*lumnaj* [lumnaj] 'snout (of pig)'
/n/, /ⁿd/	*kinmasan* [kinmasan] 'bird variety'	-
/ᵑg/	*nəgmd* [nəŋmən] 'SS.SIB'	*toŋno* [toŋno] 'sit.PRS.SG'
/l/	*polmek* [ɸolmek] 'flute'	*abalnəp* [ambalnəp] 'fern variety'
/w/	*nawmali* [nawmali] 'bird variety'	?

Table 2-19.   Intervocalic clusters with /m/ and /n/
^ Disallowed during verb formation: *pt-* + *-nipat* → [ɸətəniβat], *[ɸətniβat]
- not a cluster according to current analysis
? possible cluster according to current analysis but not attested

C₁ \ C₂	/w/	/j/
/t/	*atwax* [atwax] 'lips'	*latjat* [latjat] 'bird variety'
/k/	?	*dekja* [ndekja] 'pick.leaves.PRS.PL'
/p/	*apwaku* [apwaku] 'person's name'	*apjap* [apjap] 'dry season'
/s/	*buswa* [mbuswa] 'fish variety'	*msja* [məsja] 'wake.up.PRS.PL'
/x/	?	*axjol* [aɣjol] 'landslide'
/m/, /ᵐb/	*namwa* [namwa] 'shield'	*nimja* [nimja] 'fish variety'
/n/, /ⁿd/	*winwin* [winwin] 'bird variety'	*kinjal* [kinjal] 'soot'
/ᵑg/	*naŋwət* [naŋwət] 'bird variety'	*siŋjan* [siŋjan] 'bird variety'
/l/	*alwap* [alwap] 'SS.SIB.1/3POSS'	*balja* [mbalja] 'webbed feet'
/w/	-	*pawja* [ɸawja] 'throat'

Table 2-20. Intervocalic clusters with /l/, /w/ and /j/
- not a cluster according to current analysis
? possible cluster according to current analysis but not attested

2.2.4 Underlying Clusters

As mentioned in §2.1.3 above, many sequences of the form C[ə]C in Oksapmin have the underlying structure CC, where the schwa is not present underlyingly and has been inserted to break up an illicit consonant cluster. It is often difficult to tell whether some of these schwa vowels are phonemic or not as Oksapmin has both a phonemic schwa and an epenthetic schwa (§2.1.3 and §2.4).

It is possible to determine whether the schwa vowel is underlyingly present for some schwa vowels in verb roots due to the possibility of affixation which affects syllabification and epenthesis. For example, the verb root *sxa-* 'look after' may sometimes have a schwa vowel inserted between the consonants where the cluster would occur in the onset of a syllable. Where an affix is added such that the cluster occurs intervocalically, the schwa vowel is no longer required to break up the cluster as this is done by syllabification. This means that the underlying phonemic structure is CCV but this is phonetically realised as C[ə]CV. This is shown in the examples below for the verb roots *sxa-* 'look after', *mle-* 'hold', and *mda-* 'leave'.

(2-85) *a.*   sxa-   +   -pat   +   -Ø   →   *[sə.xa.βat]*
                 look.after   IPFV.SG   PRS
                 'look after (it)'

        versus

        b.   a-   +   sxa-   +   -pat   +   -Ø   →   *[as.xa.βat]*
                 BEN   look.after   IPFV.SG   PRS
                 'look after (it) for someone'

(2-86) *a.*   *mle-*   +   *-m*   →   *[mə.lem]*
            hold   SEQ
            'hold (it)'
     versus
     b.   *m-*   +   *mle-*   +   *-m*   →   *[məm.lem]*
            PRX.O   hold   SEQ
            'hold (it.ANPH)'

(2-87) *a.*   *n-*   +   *mda-*   +   *-Ø*   →   *[nəm.nda]*
            1/2.O   leave   PRS.SG
            'left me'
     versus
     b.   *mda-*   +   *-Ø*   →   *[mən.da]*
            leave   PRS.SG
            'left (it)'

The above demonstrates the presence of underlying phonemic consonant clusters in Oksapmin. For example, sequences of three or more consonants in a row are possible as in example (2-87)a. above where the underlying phonemes are /nm^{n}da/ for 'left me'.

This direct proof of the non-phonemic status of certain schwa vowels is only possible for word classes which may take affixation and allow such resyllabification, i.e. verbs, lexical kin nouns, dyadic kin terms and demonstratives.

2.3 Morphophonology

In this section, processes which take place during syllabification and word formation are described. The main morphophonological processes which occur in Oksapmin are /l/ deletion (§2.3.1) and schwa "strengthening" to /o/ (§2.3.2).

2.3.1 /l/-Deletion

When the phoneme /l/ is adjacent to an alveolar stop or an alveolar nasal across a morpheme boundary during word formation, /l/ is deleted.[12] This process is exemplified with the L-class verb roots *xtol-* 'see' and *dl-* 'take' in (2-88) and (2-89) below. Example (2-88)a. shows the verb root *xtol-* as it occurs normally. Example (2-88)b. shows how the final /l/ of the verb root is deleted before the perfective suffix of

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[12] Note that /l/ can occur before /t/ or /n/ within a single morpheme such as in *bultem* [mbultem] 'place name' and is only disallowed across morpheme boundaries.

the form /n/. Examples (2-89)a. and b. show the same process for *dl-* before the perfective suffix of the form /t/.

(2-88) *a.*   *xtol-Ø*
                  xtol- + -Ø
                  see-PRS.SG
                  'saw just now'
                  [xətol]

        b.   *xto-n-gop*
                  xtol- + -n + -p
                  see-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
                  '(it was seen that someone) saw a long time ago'
                  [xətonŋgop]

(2-89) *a.*   *dl-Ø*
                  dl- + -Ø
                  get-PRS.SG
                  'took just now'
                  [ndəl]

        b.   *d-t*
                  dl- + -ti + -p
                  get-PFV-PER.FP.SG
                  'took a long time ago'
                  [ndətip]

This process is further evidenced by the verb root *lapil-* 'give' which drops the /l/ when it combines with the prefix *n-* '1/2.O' as shown in (2-90).

(2-90) *a.*   *n-apil-Ø*
                  n- + lapil- + -Ø
                  1/2.O-give-PRS.SG
                  'give me/us'
                  [naβil]

        b.   *lapil-Ø*
                  lapil- + -Ø
                  give-PRS.SG
                  'give him/her/it/them'
                  [laβil]

Again, we see the same process with the dyadic kin term *təbil* 'two male or opposite-sex in-laws', which loses its final /l/ when the plural suffix *-nil* is added to become *təbinil*.

(2-91) *a.* *təbil*
OS.in.law
'two male or opposite-sex in-laws'
[təmbil]

b. *təbi-nil*
təbil- + -nil
OS.in.law-PL
'more than two male or opposite-sex in-laws'
[təmbinil]

The process of /l/-deletion takes place before syllabification. Proof for this is that [lt] and [ln] clusters cannot be broken up by schwa insertion. Deleted /l/ phonemes are not represented in the orthography.

2.3.2 Schwa "Strengthening" to /o/

During word formation, both phonemic and non-phonemic schwa vowels "strengthen" to /o/ where the schwa vowel would be at the end of the word (2-92) or preceding the suffixes *-l* 'IPFV.PER.TODP', *-n* 'IMP' or *-n* 'NOMLS' (2-93). Schwa vowels which have been strengthened to /o/ are represented in the orthography whereas epenthetic schwa vowels which remain schwa are not.

(2-92) *a.* *əlpə-pat-Ø*
əlpə- + -pat + -Ø
cook-IPFV.SG-PRS
[əlɸəβat]
'is cooking'

b. *əlpo-Ø*
əlpə- + -Ø
cook-PRS.SG
[əlɸo]
'cook'

(2-93) *a.* *s-pat-Ø*
s- + -pat + -Ø
go-IPFV.SG-PRS
[səβat]
'is going'

b. *so-l*
s- + -l
go-IPFV.PER.TODP
[sol]
'went'

This is not an allophonic process as some of the above strings where a schwa vowel strengthens to /o/ would be acceptable with a schwa vowel with other combinations of morphemes, e.g. *sl* [səl] 'put(.PRS.SG)'.

2.4 Syllabification and Schwa Insertion

Syllabification in Oksapmin takes place after affixes have been added to a word. Enclitics syllabify independently although proclitics and some coverbs may syllabify with the word to which they are attached. Although two-consonant clusters are allowed in the onset of a syllable (see §2.2.2), three consonants in a row are not allowed intervocalically even where the cluster in the onset of the second syllable would be permitted at the start of a syllable word initially. Syllabification takes place from right to left. Syllables of the form CVC are most preferred, then syllables of the type CV. Where there are more than two consonants in a row, a schwa vowel is inserted.

The syllabification process is exemplified below for various forms of the verb *tim-* 'sleep'. In example (2-94)a., the underlying form of the word is CVCCVC. When syllabification takes place from right to left, no vowels are inserted. In example (2-94)b., the underlying form of the word is CVCC. As CC is an illicit cluster in the coda, a schwa vowel is inserted when syllabification takes place. In example (2-94)c., the underlying form of the word is CVCCCV. When syllabification takes place first a syllable of the form CV is formed at the end of the word: CVCC.CV, then the preferred syllable type CVC is formed by adding a schwa vowel to get CV.CVC.CV. (If syllabification had taken place from left to right, the form would theoretically be CVC.CV.CV, i.e. *[timɸəla].)

(2-94) *a.*   *tim-*   +   *-pat*   +   *-Ø*   →   *[tim.ɸat]*
        sleep   IPFV.SG   PRS.SG
        'is sleeping'

        b.   *tim-*   +   *-n*   →   *[ti.mən]*
        sleep   SIM
        'sleeping and…'

        c.   *tim-*   +   *-pla*   →   *[ti.məp.la]*
        sleep   FF.SG
        'will sleep'

Syllabification is further illustrated with the complex predicate *wa=de- ~ wa=ml- ~ wa=x-* 'see'. In example (2-95)a., the underlying structure is CVCC so a schwa vowel is inserted to break up the CC cluster. In example (2-95)b., the /l/ of *ml-* 'MAKE' is deleted before syllabification (see §2.3.1). Then the underlying structure becomes CVCCVC. Syllabification can take place from right to left with no need to add additional vowels. In example (2-95)c., the underlying structure is CVCCCCV. First a syllable CV is created at the right edge of the word: CVCCC.CV. Then a schwa vowel is inserted to create a CVC syllable to the left of that to form: CVC.CVC.CV.

(2-95)　*a.*　　*wa*　　+　　*ml-*　　+　　*-Ø*　　→　　*[wa.məl]*
　　　　　　　see　　　　　MAKE　　　SEQ
　　　　　　　'see and…'

　　　　b.　　*wa*　　+　　*ml-*　　+　　*-ti*　　+　　*-l*　　→　　*[wam.til]*
　　　　　　　see　　　　　MAKE　　　PFV　　　PER.YESTP
　　　　　　　'saw'

　　　　c.　　*wa*　　+　　*n-*　　+　　*x-*　　+　　*-pli*
　　　　　　　see　　　　　1/2.O　　　DO　　　FF.PL
　　　　　　　→　　[wan.xəp.li]
　　　　　　　'will see me/us'

2.5 Vowel Harmony

The vowels /o/ and /u/ can spread left or right to any epenthetic schwa. All vowel harmony of this type is optional and not evident in the speech of all speakers nor in the speech of a single speaker all of the time. Examples are shown below.

(2-96)　*m-*　　+　　*-nuŋ*　　→ /mənu^{ŋ}g/ → [mənuŋ] ~ [munuŋ]
　　　　DEM.PRX　　　TO
　　　　'to here'

(2-97)　*gos-*　　+　　*x-*　　+　　*-m*　　→ /^{ŋ}gosxəm/ → [ŋgosxəm] ~ [ŋgosxom]
　　　　RECP　　　　DO　　　　SEQ
　　　　'do to each other and…'

(2-98)　*m-*　　+　　*pl-*　　+　　*-n*　　+　　*-go*　　+　　*-pa*
　　　　PRX.O　　　TELL　　　PFV　　　VIS　　　PER.FP.PL
　　　　'they told him/her/them'

　　　　→ /məɸən^{ŋ}gopa/ → [məβənŋgoβa] ~ [məβonŋgoβa] ~ [moβonŋgoβa]

2.6 Fricative Voicing

Fricative voicing occurs within the domain of the word as allophonic variation (see §2.1.1.3 for details) but it may also optionally occur beyond the domain of the word during fast speech. A fricative may optionally be voiced between any two voiced elements, within or across words as shown in the examples below.

(2-99) *amnəp   ol   bok*
       uncle.3POSS   dead   big.flat
       'Her uncle fell dead.'

       → [amnəβolmbok]
       ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(2-100) *məmxan   mox   ox*
       what's.it   ANPH   3sm
       What's it, this guy he…

       → [məmɣanmoɣox]
       ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

Two fricatives together with a vowel on either side are also optionally voiced during fast speech as in example (2-101). This may also occur across a word boundary as in example (2-102).

(2-101) *gos-x-m=a*
       RECP-MAKE-SEQ=LINK
       '…did that to each other and then…'

       → [ŋgozɣəma]
       ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(2-102) *jəxe   ti=bəs   x-s   li-n-gop*
       then   INDF=NEG   DO-PNCT   SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
       'Then it stopped all of a sudden.'

       → [jəɣetimbəzɣəzlinŋgop]
       ("Earthquake" by Kila Dasyal)

2.7 The Intonational Phrase

Within the domain of the word loudness and pitch are correlated in Oksapmin. Where there is a fall or rise in loudness, then roughly the same trend occurs in pitch. Within larger domains, e.g. the intonational phrase (Nespor and Vogel 1986), there is an overriding tendency for pitch to drift downwards towards the end of the relevant

meaningful groups of words while intensity (loudness) remains fairly constant. The intonational phrase may consist of anything from one word up to a whole sentence.

Where words are spoken in isolation, the pitch falls on the last syllable. This is shown in Figure 2-4 and Figure 2-5.
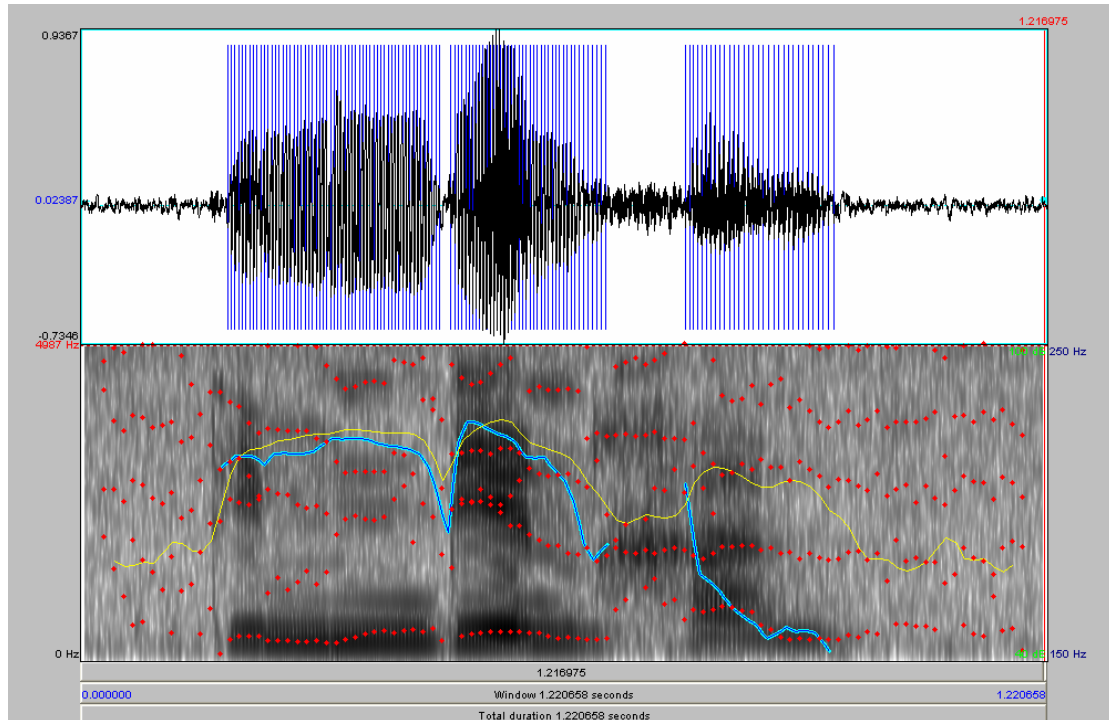
Figure 2-4.   Screenshot from Praat © of *timdinxan* 'bird variety'
                 Blue line is pitch with range 150-250Hz
                 Yellow line is intensity with range 40-100dB
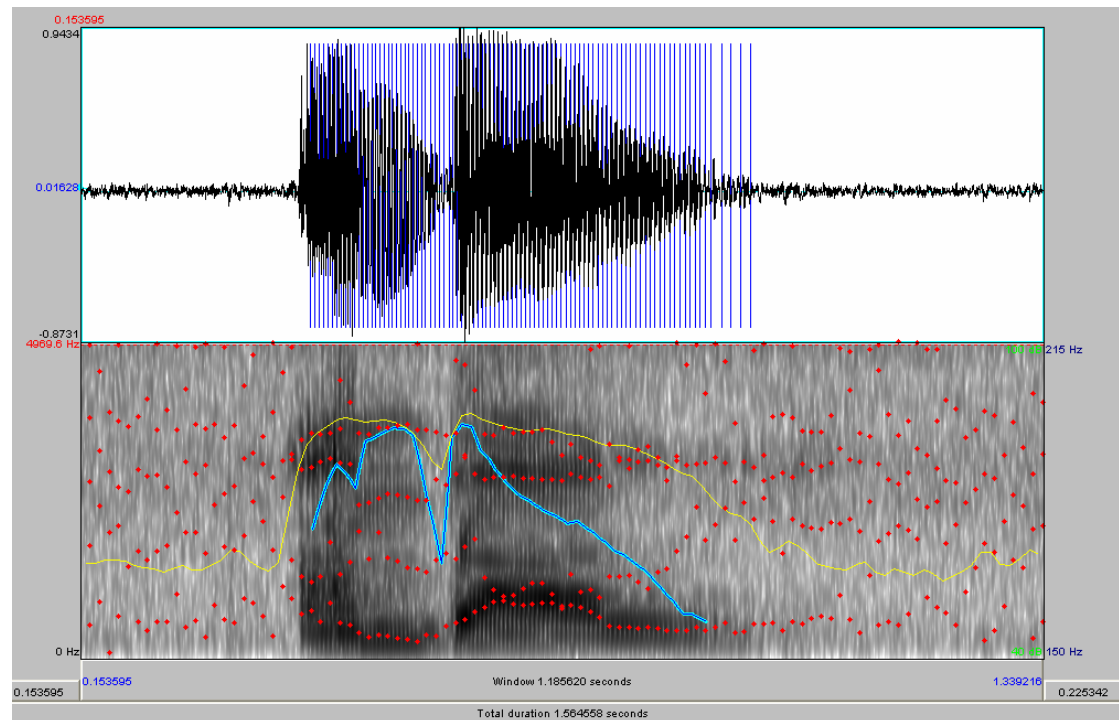
Figure 2-5.   Screenshot from Praat © of *abal* 'fern'
              Blue line is pitch with range 150-215Hz
              Yellow line is intensity with range 40-100dB

The same process is witnessed for larger units of speech, such as sentences, as in the example below. Although the pitch and intensity are correlated, there is a downwards drift in pitch first towards the end of the noun phrase *xan nəgmdil mox* 'five brothers' (marked by the red line) and then a slight regain in pitch which again drifts downwards towards the end of the sentence.
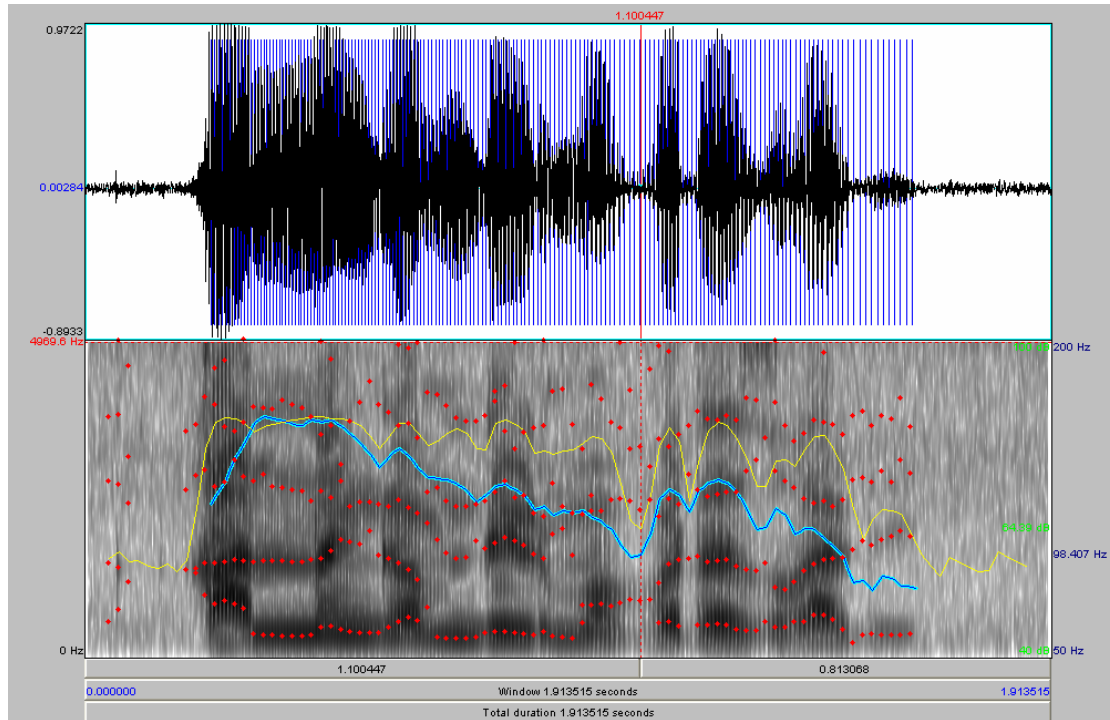
Figure 2-6.   Screenshot from Praat © of *xan nəgmdil mox ptsxeli*
'There were once five brothers.'
From the text 'Five brothers' spoken by Dasyal Gahan.
Blue line is pitch with range 50-200Hz
Yellow line is intensity with range 40-100dB

This is again shown in the following example: pitch and intensity are correlated but there is a downwards drift in pitch, first towards the end of the time expression *tit sut tit* (marked by the red line), then a slight rise and a downwards drift towards the end of the subordinate clause.
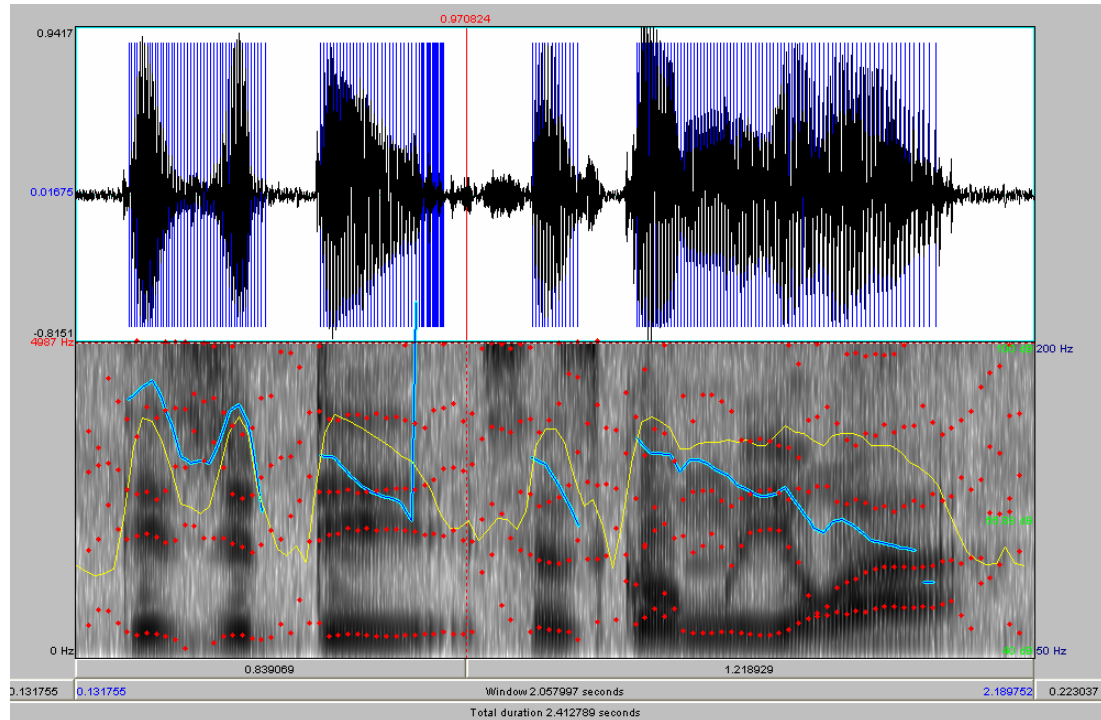
Figure 2-7.   Screenshot from Praat © of *tit sut tit ss koŋ lijoxa*
'Once, when they went and arrived, …'
From the text 'Five brothers' spoken by Dasyal Gahan.
Blue line is pitch with range 50-200Hz
Yellow line is intensity with range 40-100dB

This downward drift trend for pitch is shown in the following example of a screen shot of a content question. The same pattern has also been found to be the case for polar questions.
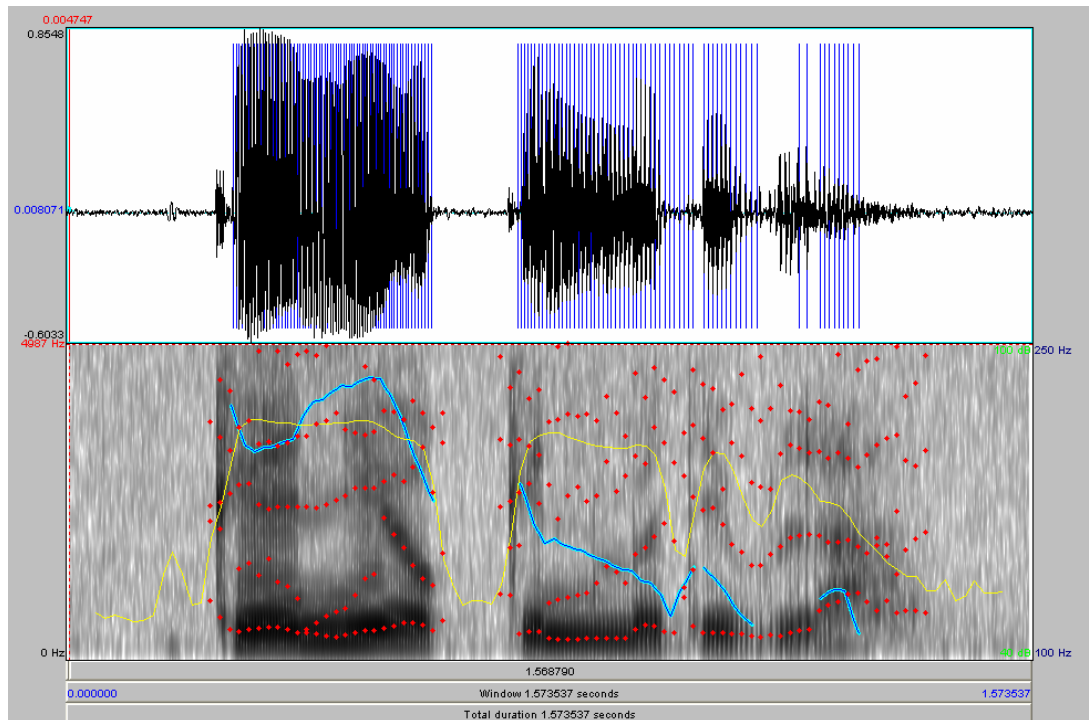
Figure 2-8.   Screenshot from Praat © of *ken jox kin mtipla*
'What will you do to the female (pig)?'
From the text 'Looking after pigs.' spoken by Joyce and Julie James
Blue line is pitch with range 100-250Hz.
Yellow line is intensity with range 40-100dB.

Unlike other clauses, medial verbs and coordinated clauses have level high or rising intonation. This is shown in the examples below. In Figure 2-9 below, the pitch of the noun phrase *sup ux* 'her mother' drifts downwards as expected whereas the pitch of the verb *əplisa* 'come and…' is sustained indicating that there is more of the sentence to come.
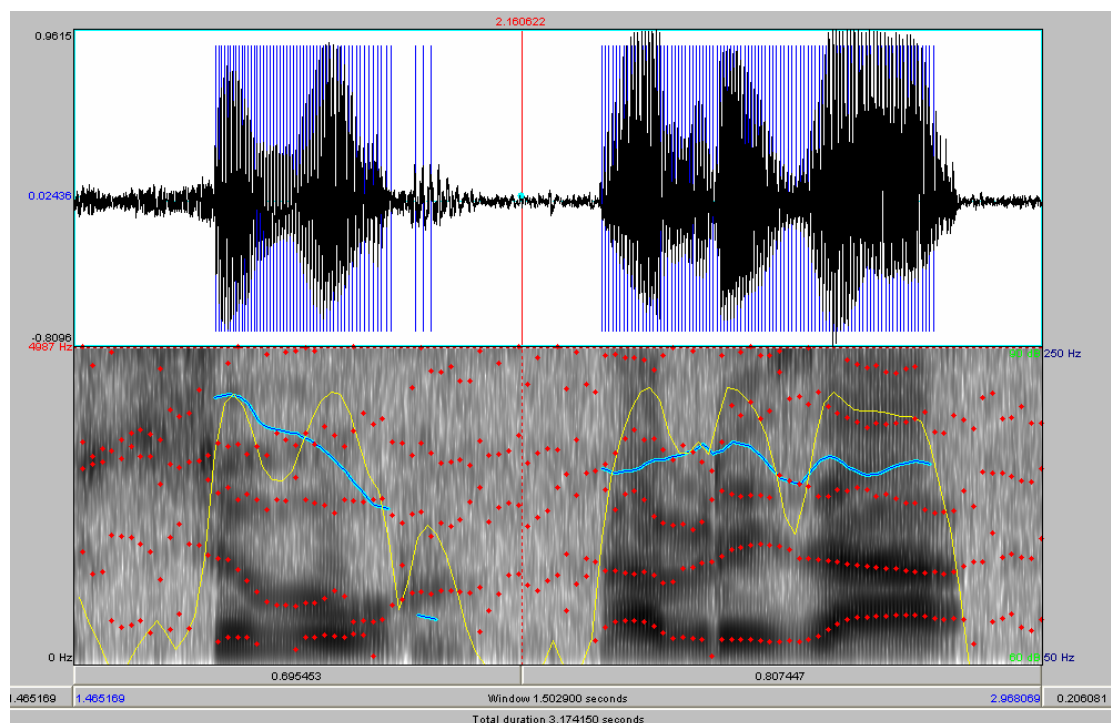
Figure 2-9.   Screenshot from Praat © of *(jəxe bəp i) sup ux əplisa*
              'The mother came and…'
              From the text 'Five brothers' spoken by Dasyal Gahan.
              Blue line is pitch with range 50-250Hz.
              Yellow line is intensity with range 60-90dB.

In Figure 2-10 the pitch at the end of *gəteŋ* 'cut' rises indicating that this sentence is conjoined to another (which is the consequence of the first).
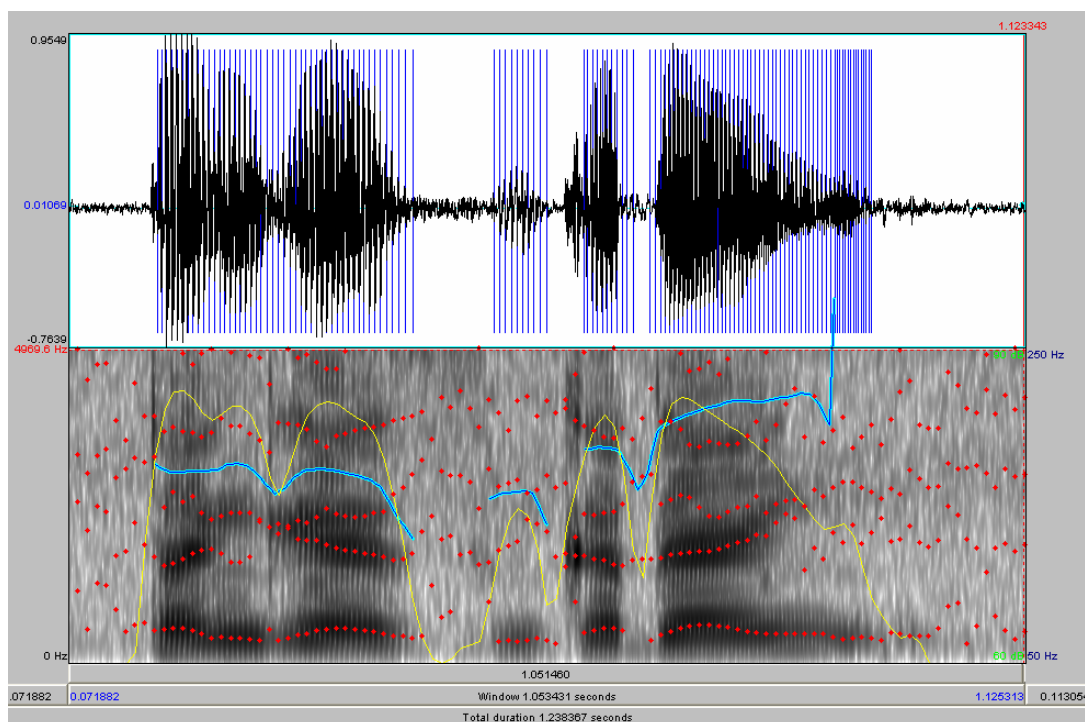
Figure 2-10.　　Screenshot from Praat © of *təges gəteŋ*
'(She) cut off his testicles and… (then he fell dead)'
From the text 'Five brothers' spoken by Dasyal Gahan.
Blue line is pitch with range 50-250Hz.
Yellow line is intensity with range 60-90dB.

The above analysis is consistent with that of M. Lawrence who notes that "[s]tatements and most questions end with a falling intonation of the last phrase of the sentence, with a fading of intensity" and that "[t]wo sentences may be joined together by a rising sustained intonation" (1993: 210).

2.8 A Note on the Orthography

The orthography used in this thesis is phonemic except for some schwa vowels and nasals which are represented phonetically by the orthography.

As explained above, for words which cannot take affixes it is not possible to tell whether a syllable final [n] or [m] is an allophone of prenasalised voiced stop or the nasal at the relevant point of articulation. For simplification, all syllable final [n] or [m] which cannot be directly proven to be of one phoneme or another will be written using the nasal symbol in the orthography. Likewise, all intervocalic homorganic nasal plus stop clusters (e.g. [nd]) will be written as the prenasalised

voiced stop only (e.g. *d*), even though it is possible that some of these sequences could have originated from a nasal plus prenasalised voiced stop clusters. Following the orthographic conventions for [m] and [n], all [ŋ] which do not show alternation between [ŋ] and [ŋg] are written as *ŋ*, even though these are all allophones of /$^{\eta}$g/.

Where a schwa vowel cannot be directly shown to be present due to vowel insertion rules by affixation or omission, it will be included in the orthography. Where a schwa vowel is absent underlyingly, it is not represented in the orthography, the reader should refer to §2.4 on vowel insertion rules for a pronunciation guide.

Local Oksapmin people's names are spelt according to their individual wishes and not according to the orthographic conventions presented here.

Chapter 3
Word Classes

In this chapter, the various word classes in Oksapmin are described along with the properties by which each class can be distinguished from the others. Although I will be describing the most salient characteristics of each word class, there is, in Oksapmin as in any other language, "a cline of grammatical phenomena from the totally general to the totally idiosyncratic" (Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004: 532) and there are grey edges which are discussed in the relevant sections throughout the thesis. The properties by which I distinguish the word classes in this section are primarily syntactic and morphological. I do not use semantics as a test for a given word class where possible because of its inadequacy as a test for word class membership (Evans 2000). (However, I do use semantics as a criterion for naming the word classes identified on morphosyntactic grounds.)

When a word class is described as being closed as opposed to open, this refers to whether that word class readily accepts new members. An open class of words readily accepts substantial numbers of new members whereas a closed class of words does not.

The word classes in Oksapmin are: verbs (§3.1), coverbs (§3.2), modal proclitics and particles (§3.3), pronouns (§3.4), dyadic kin terms (§3.5), demonstratives (§3.6), nouns (§3.7) (comprising proper nouns (§3.7.1), kin nouns (§(3-40)), and lexical nouns (§3.7.3)), postpositions (§3.8), phrasal enclitics (§3.9), interjections (§3.10), manner adverbs (§3.11), and conjunctions and complementizers (§3.12).

3.1 Verbs

Verbs are those words which obligatorily take verbal morphology as discussed in Chapter 8. For example, in (3-1) below, the verb *d-* 'eat' has tense and aspect suffixes as well as an object agreement prefix and a derivational prefix. These affixes may not occur on any other part of speech except for verbs and all verbs can take at least all of the verbal suffixes, if not the prefixes.

(3-1) *ixil*   *toxan=o*   *den=o*   *jox=a*
       3p   sweet.potato=CNJ   food=CNJ   DEF=LINK

       n-p-d-pti=xe=a
       1/2.O-CAUS-eat-**IPFV.PL(.PRS)**=SBRD=LINK
       'Because they feed me sweet potato and other food, …' ("Raising pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

A further property of verbs is that they occur in predicate position in a clause (Chapter 10, §10.3.4). This feature, however, is a feature of predicates in general as nouns can occur in predicate position as well. One could posit that only verbs can act as the head of a verb phrase but this definition is not informative because we already have to know what a verb is by the above test to identify a verb phrase since, as mentioned, other word classes can act as predicates which can license objects.

The class of verb can be further subdivided according to the various subcategorisation frames of each verb which are discussed in Chapter 10, §10.1.2.

Four verbs, *x-* 'DO', *de- ~ ml-* 'MAKE', *li-* 'SAY', and *pl-* 'TELL' function as light verbs.[1] These conform to the test for verbs given above but have the additional property of combining with coverbs to form complex predicates (see Chapter 9).

The word class of verbs is medium to large in size[2] but appears to be closed. There is no evidence of any verbs that have recently entered the lexicon, foreign words cannot take verbal morphology,[3] and there are no processes to derive verbs from any other part of speech.

3.2 Coverbs

Coverbs commonly occur with light verbs and carry the semantic weight in a complex predicate (see Chapter 9 for details). Formally, coverbs are those words which immediately precede a light verb, and which are not cross-referenced on the verb, i.e. are not objects. Also unlike objects, coverbs may be preceded by the pre-verbal predicate particle *na=* 'NEG'. The coverb *bopol* 'like, happy' is shown in the example below preceded by the clitic *nə= ~ na=* 'NEG' with the light verb *x-* 'DO'. Many, but not all, coverbs are derived from other word classes. Many coverbs which occur

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[1] Light verbs are glossed with majuscule letters to differentiate them from their homophonous regular verb counterparts.
[2] Of my current Toolbox lexicon of approximately 1750 entries, roughly 180 are verbs.
[3] Foreign verbs are, however, easily incorporated into the language as coverbs (§3.2).

with *x-* 'DO' and *de-* ~ *ml-* 'MAKE' are derived from nouns. For example, *bopol* 'like, happy' is derived from the noun *bopol* 'heart'.

(3-2) *i=xi-pti*   *jox*   *nox*   *na=**bopol***
       like.that=DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   TOP   1s   NEG=**happy**

       x-pat=mul=o
       DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CERT=QUOT
       '"When (you) do these things, I don't feel happy at all."' ("Bible stories" by Dulum Aleap)

The light verb can be easily segmented from the coverb by adding prefixing verbal morphology to the light verb. This is shown in the example below where the verbal prefix *m-* 'PRX.O' occurs prefixed to the light verb *de-* 'MAKE' following the coverb *i=* 'like that'. Verbal prefixes may, as a rule, not precede coverbs.

(3-3) ***i**=m-de-t-pol=xən=a*
       like.that=PRX.O-MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD=LINK
       'When they did that, …' ("Cassowary" told by Max Elit)

Coverbs can be subdivided into four groups according to the way in which they combine with light verbs: ideophonic coverbs, transitive coverbs, denominal coverbs, and deadjectival coverbs.

Coverbs form an open word class. This is demonstrated by the fact that foreign words are regularly incorporated into the language as coverbs. When foreign words, such as 'boil', are used as coverbs with the transitive light verb *de-* ~ *ml* 'MAKE', they take the Tok Pisin transitive verbal suffix *-im* (3-4). When foreign words are used as coverbs with other light verbs, they take no overt morphology.

(3-4) *nox*   *nel*   *meŋ=si*   *a*   *ms-s=a*   *toxan*
       1s   bird   speech=WITH   HES   wake-SEQ=LINK   sweet.potato

       boil-im   *m-t=a*
       boil(Eng)-TR(TP)   MAKE-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK
       'I got up in the morning (Lit. with the birds) and boiled sweet potato.' ("Today" by Palis)

3.3 Pre-Verbal-Complex Particles

These precede the verbal complex (verb plus optional coverb; see Chapter 9), with which they are syntactically closely associated. Pre-verbal-complex particles have a modal meaning and can be identified as those words which occur immediately before

coverbs or verbs, which are not part of noun phrases or complement clauses, and which are prosodically weak.[4]

There are four pre-verbal-complex particles in Oksapmin: *se(=)* 'INFR', *xa=* 'HORT', *nə=* 'NEG', and *gi=* 'THUS'. Pre-verbal-complex particles have semantic scope over the entire clause in which they occur. Some of these attach phonologically to the following word and some do not. The pre-verbal-complex particle *nə=* 'NEG' is shown in the example below preceding a coverb.

(3-5) *gul tux **na**=wa m-de-l=d=a*
   2p smoke **NEG**=see PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ=EMPH
   '"Didn't you see the smoke?"' ("Dogs" told by Dasyal Gahan)

3.4 Pronouns

Pronouns are those words which frequently follow nouns and/or demonstratives in a noun phrase and which may take the object marker *=nuŋ* 'O' (see Chapter 6, §6.2.3).[5] The word class of pronouns is a small closed set.

Pronouns in Oksapmin can be used in the sense typically understood for pronouns: they constitute a one-word noun phrase. The third person plural pronoun is shown in example (3-6) below.

(3-6) ***ixil*** *je*   *nuŋ* *wəli-sxe=l=a*
   3p mountain TO go.up-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
   '(It is said that) **they** went up the mountain.' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

Pronouns distinguish three persons in Oksapmin: first, second and third. First person dual and plural pronouns also distinguish between inclusive and exclusive, which is uncommon amongst Papuan languages (Foley 2000: 376). Singular, dual and plural are distinguished for each person. There is also an ignorative pronoun *nix* 'who' and a relative pronoun *ma*. All pronouns (except *nix* 'who' and *ma* 'REL') have a number of different inflectional forms which have different functions: regular, reflexive, alone, possessive, and reflexive possessive. The set of pronouns in Oksapmin is shown in Table 3-1 below.

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[4] Although *se(=) ~ sa(=)* 'INFR' may occur as its own phonological word in some circumstances.
[5] Although the pronoun *nix* 'who' is defective in that it cannot follow nouns to form a noun phrase.

	Regular	Reflexive	Alone	Possessive	Reflexive Possessive
1s	*nox*	*nonxol*	*nonxap*	*noxe*	*nonxe*
1dEX	*nuxut*	*nuxtanut*	*nuxtalxe*	*nuxte*	*nuxtanuxte*
1pEX	*nuxul*	*nuxlanul*	*nuxlalxe*	*nuxule*	*nuxlanuxle*
1dIN	*dit*	*ditadit*	*ditalxe*	*dite*	*ditadite*
1pIN	*dil*	*diladil*	*dilalxe*	*dile*	*diladile*
2s	*go*	*golgol*	*golgap*	*gwe*	*gologwe*
2d	*gut*	*gutagut*	*gutalxe*	*gute*	*gutagute*
2p	*gul*	*gulagul*	*gulalxe*	*gule*	*gulagule*
3sm	*ox*	*olxol*	*olxap*	*oxe*	*olxe*
3sf	*ux*	*ulxol*	*ulxap*	*uxe*	*ulxe*
3d	*ixit*	*ixtait ~ ixtanit ~ ixtaxit*	*ixtalxe*	*ixte*	*ixtaite ~ ixtanite ~ ixtaxite*
3p	*ixil*	*ixlail ~ ixlanil ~ ixlaxil*	*ixlalxe*	*ixle*	*ixlaile ~ ixlanile ~ ixlaxile*
who	*nix*			*nixe*	
REL	*ma*				

Table 3-1.   Pronouns forms in Oksapmin

As mentioned above, there is an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular: inclusive forms include the second person, whereas exclusive forms exclude the second person. The first person dual inclusive (regular) pronoun is shown in example (3-7) below meaning 'you and I'. The first person dual exclusive (regular) pronoun is shown in example (3-8) below meaning 'we two and not you'.

(3-7) *blel* *mox=o* *made-m* **dit**=*xe* *əu*
child ANPH=QUOT leave-SEQ **1dIN**=FOC dance

la-pti *noŋ* *mo-xot* *a-xtol*
sing.and.dance-IPFV.PL(.PRS) TO DEM.PRX-up BEN-see(.SEQ)

s-pli=xejox *gos-xo-t-pa=li*
go-FF.PL=BECAUSE RECP-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
'"(We) will leave the child (with our parents) so that **you and I** can go and watch the singing and dancing as well", they said to each other.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(3-8) *taul=o* *li-m* **nuxut** *gəl* *ml* *di-pa*
cook(.PRS.SG)=QUOT say-SEQ **1dEX** cut MAKE(.SEQ) eat.PFV-PER.FP.PL
'(We two) said "it's cooked", and then **we two (and not you)** cut (it) up and ate (it).'
("Killing a possum" by Kila Dasyal)

In addition to their use in the traditionally understood sense as in (3-6), pronouns can also occur to the right edge of a noun phrase as 'pronominal articles' (see e.g. Himmelmann 2001). This is shown in the example below, where *alwapil ixil* constitutes a single noun phrase, and the pronoun *ixil* 'they' follows the noun *alwapil* 'sisters'. See Chapter 7, §7.2, for more information on this function of pronouns.

(3-9) *alwap-il* **ixil** *m-p-ti-pa*
SS.SIB.1/3-PL **3p** PRX.O-TELL-PFV-PER.FP.PL
'The sisters told (her).' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

Pronouns most commonly occur in noun phrases which refer to higher animates. The presence of object marking is strongly correlated with the presence of a pronoun in an object noun phrase (see Chapter 7, §7.2.1, for details). Example (3-10) below shows an object marked pronoun.

(3-10) *patrik* ***ox=nuŋ***   *jə-xət*   *nuŋ*   *riŋ*[6]
       PN   **3sm=O**   DEM.DST-up   TO   ring(Eng)

       x-ti-n=o   *pl*
       DO-PFV-IMP=QUOT   TELL(.SEQ)
       '(We) told Patrick to ring up there (to Tabubil) and …' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

3.4.1 Reflexive

Reflexive pronouns in Oksapmin have a number of uses: reflexive, reciprocal, contrastive, and intensifying.

In its reflexive use, the reflexive pronoun often combines with the middle verbal prefix *t-* 'MID' to indicate a reflexive action as shown in example (3-11) below.

(3-11) *kutkutxe=nəp a*   ***nonxol***   *gəx*   *t-xe-l*
       morning=VERY HES   **1s.REFL**   wash   MID-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP
       'Early in the morning, um, I washed myself.' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

A further use of the reflexive pronoun is in reciprocal constructions, where it is used for reciprocal actions either by itself or in combination with the reciprocal prefix. In the examples below, the reflexive pronoun is used in conjunction with the reciprocal prefix *gos-*[7] to indicate a reciprocal action.

(3-12) *xətlip* *ku*   *muk*   *mə=ixil*   ***ixlaxil***   *ku*   *muk*
       five   woman group   DEM.PRX=3p   **3p.REFL**   woman group

       gus-su-pti
       RECP-hit-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'This group of five women are hitting each other.' (MPI Reciprocals 5, Henna Kashat)

Monovalent verbs (which cannot take the reciprocal prefix) can nonetheless occur with the reflexive pronoun to imply a reciprocal or collective action as in the following example.

---

[6] Note that *riŋ* 'ring(Eng)' does not take the Tok Pisin transitive suffix *-im* as it is formally intransitive and what is in English as object is a goal/location in Oksapmin.
[7] Note that the reciprocal prefix has the variant *gus-* in this example due to vowel harmony processes. See Chapter 2, §2.5, for details.

(3-13) *xan*   *ot*   **itaxit**   *meŋ*   *li-pti*
       man   two   **3d.REFL**   speech   SAY-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'The two men are talking together/with each other/amongst themselves.' (MPI Reciprocals 1, Henna Kashat)

The reflexive pronoun also has a contrastive function: it can be used to emphasise the fact that it is a certain participant who was involved in an action as opposed to another. This use is shown in the examples below.

(3-14) *ti*   *bap*   *xanəp*   *təpa-m*   *lapli-pla*   *a*   *tit*   *bap*
       INDF   small   person   raise-SEQ   give-FF.SG   HES   INDF   small

       nonxol   *pəpe-di-pla*
       1s.REFL   look.after-PFV-FF.SG
       '(I'm waiting for my pig to give birth and then) I'll give some of the piglets away to other people and I'll look after one myself.' ("Looking after my pig" by Kila Dasyal)

(3-15) *jəxe*   *lipin=nəp*   **ulxul**   *ma*   *xil*   *a-de-l*
       then   true=VERY   **3sf.REFL**   ?   clean   BEN-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP

       məda-m=a
       finish-SEQ=LINK
       'After she herself had cleaned him, …' (i.e. as opposed to anyone else because she was the one who had supposedly made him dirty.) ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

The reflexive pronouns in Oksapmin can also be used as intensifier pronouns and are used in all the contexts identified by König and Siemund (2000: 46):

> "The use of an intensifier in combination with an NP α referring to a referent *x* is possible iff *α* contrasts with some NP *β* referring to an individual *y* and:
>   a.   *x* has a higher position than *y* in a hierarchy, or
>   b.   *x* is more significant than *y* in a specific situation, or
>   c.   *x* is defined in terms of *y*, or
>   d.   *x* is the center of perspective."

Example (3-16) below shows a situation where *x* is defined in terms of *y*: one can only be an elder sister in opposition to younger sisters (condition b.).

(3-16) *jəxe*   *lex*   *lipin=nəp*   *nonop*   **ulxul**
       then   long.ago   true=VERY   eZ.1/3POSS   **3sf.REFL**

       ma   *sux-di-p*
       ?   get-PFV-PER.FP.SG
       'Then, true, the eldest sister herself was the one who married him.' (i.e. as opposed to her younger sisters who also wanted to marry the same man.) ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

The third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun *olxol* is also used as a conjunction with a meaning similar to 'but' or 'even though that is the case' (see Chapter 12, §12.3.3, for details).

Historically, the singular reflexive forms are based on the old emphatic forms plus the suffix *-xol*, of which the meaning is unknown, and the plural forms are based on the old emphatic forms plus the normal forms (see Loughnane and Fedden in prep. for details).

3.4.2 'Alone'

In Oksapmin, the 'alone' pronoun is used when you want to refer to the set of referents in question and that set alone, where it was expected that additional participants would have also participated in that same role in the action. For example in example (3-17) below, it is not normal that people would stay at home by themselves – usually others would accompany them. In example (3-18) below, the reported speaker is expressing dismay at the fact that the man went hunting by himself instead of with other men, and thus got into trouble with a ghost. A dual example is shown in example (3-19) below.

(3-17) *s-pat=xe*   *ap*   *ka*   *xən*   *pt-t=a*
        go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD house place across stay-IPFV.PER.YESTP=LINK

        nonxap   *pt-n=a*
        1s.ALONE   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
        'After I went home, I stayed by myself and then…' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

(3-18) *mox*   ***olxap***   *xan=xejox*   *ox*   *abəpte*
        ANPH   **3sm.ALONE**   man=BECAUSE 3sm   beat

        m-de=o
        PRX.O-MAKE(.PRS.SG)=QUOT
        '"He was by himself and that's why (the ghost) beat him."' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(3-19) ***italxe***   *imd*   *pt-sxe=li=o*
        3d.ALONE   mother&child stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
        '(It is said that) the mother and her child lived by themselves.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Historically, the singular 'alone' forms are presumably based on old emphatic forms plus the suffix *-xap*, the meaning of which is unknown, and the plural forms are

based on old emphatic forms plus *=xe*, which is possibly related to the focus marker (see Loughnane and Fedden In prep. for details).

3.4.3 Possessive

Possessive pronouns function to indicate the person and number of a possessor. These occur most commonly at the left edge of the possessed noun phrase (see Chapter 7, §7.3, for more the syntax of possession). The possessive pronoun *nuxule* 'our' is shown modifying the noun phrase *dik mox* 'this time' in (3-20) below.

(3-20)   *gin*   *[**nuxule**   dik   mox]   pat*
         now   **1pEX.POSS**   time   ANPH   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)
         'Now is our time.' ("Bride Price" told by Kila Dasyal)

Like other pronouns in Oksapmin, a possessive pronoun often occurs at the right edge of a noun phrase in a pronominal-article function, in this case at the right edge of the possessor noun phrase. This is shown in the example below where the possessor noun phrase *xanip jəx got oxe* 'the good Lord's' is embedded inside the possessed noun phrase *meg* 'speech'.

(3-21)   *[[xanip jəx   got   **oxe**]NP   meg]NP   amla-m*
         person good   God   **3sm.POSS**   speech   hear-SEQ
         '(We) listen to the good Lord's word and…' ("Church" told by Kila Dasyal)

Also like other pronouns, a possessive pronoun may act as a one-word noun phrase as shown in example (3-22) below for *ixle* 'theirs'.

(3-22)   *toŋno-pat   ti   grup-s   **ixle***
         sit.down-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   another.PL   group(Eng)-PL(Eng)   **3p.POSS**

         li-n-gwel=a
         say-PFV-VIS.YESTP=EMPH
         'After we sat down, other groups sang theirs (i.e. their songs).' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

The possessive forms are probably historically derived from the normal pronouns plus the possessive postpositional clitic *=xe* 'POSS'. They are not, however, synchronically analysable as such.

3.4.4 Reflexive Possessive

Syntactically, the reflexive possessive pronouns behave in an identical fashion to the regular possessive pronouns described in §3.4.3 above. In König and Gast's (2006:

225) terms, reflexive possessive pronouns are attributive (possessive) intensifiers. Semantically, they have an additional reflexive meaning, often translated in English by the possessive pronoun plus 'own' or 'very own'. In example (3-23) below, the reflexive possessive pronoun *nonxe* 'my own' occurs twice, each time it is at the left edge of the noun phrase which it possesses, *je xəlep mədex* 'underneath the mountain across here' and *ita ox* 'my father'.

(3-23) **nonxe**   *je*   *xəlep*   *mə-de=x*
        1s.REFL.POSS   mountain   underneath   DEM.PRX-across=3sm

        nonxe   *ita*   *ox*   *xəjop*   *s-pat-n=a*
        1s.REFL.POSS   father.1POSS   3sm   moon   go-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK

        masalai   *ixit*   *gos-si-t-pa*   *meŋ*   *jox*
        ghost(TP)   3d   RECP-kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL speech   DEF
        'This story is about how, at the bottom of my very own mountain here, my very own father went hunting and fought with a ghost.' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

Like the regular possessive pronoun, the reflexive possessive pronoun may also act as a one-word noun phrase, as shown in example (3-24) below for *gologwe* 'your own'.

(3-24) *jəxe*   **gologwe**   *sa-ti-n*   *jox*   *golgol*
        then   **2s.REFL.POSS**   judge-PFV-NOMLS   TOP   2s.REFL
        'So, you yourself are the one to judge **your own (worth)**.' ("Jesus is the doorway to heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

Again, like the regular possessive pronoun, the reflexive possessive pronoun may occur in pronominal-article function at the right edge of the possessor noun phrase, which is embedded inside the possessed noun phrase. This is shown in the example below where *em ulxe* 'my mother's own' is embedded inside the noun phrase *nənip* 'elder brother'.

(3-25) *[[em*   **ulxe]**ₙₚ   *nənip*   *pənxan*   *ox]*ₙₚ*=nəŋ*
        mother   **3sf.REFL.POSS** eB.1/3POSS   PN   3sm=O
        'My mother's elder brother, Pənxan.' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

The reflexive possessive pronoun is used in reflexive constructions where somebody does something to something which they own themselves (3-26).

(3-26) *go*   *[[***golugwe***]*ₙₚ   *ina*   *jox]*ₙₚ *gexəs*   *pl-pat*
        2s   **2s.REFL.POSS**   skin   DEF   pinch   TELL-IPFV.SG(PRS)
        'You pinch yourself.' (Lit. 'You pinched your own skin.') (Elicited FNB 1.44)

Similarly, the reflexive possessive pronoun is also used in reciprocal constructions where the participants do something to each others' belongings reciprocally (as shown for the "belonging" *mun* 'thigh(s)' in the example below).

(3-27)   *xan*   *ot*   *ixit*   ***itaite***   *mun*   *ot*   *jox*
        man   two   3d   **3d.REFL.POSS** thigh   two   DEF

        puŋ   *puŋ*   *pli-pti*
        hit   hit   TELL-IPFV.PL(PRS)
        'The two men are hitting each other on the thigh.' (Lit. 'The two men are hitting their own two thighs.') (MPI Reciprocals 54, Julie James)

The possessive reflexive pronoun is shown in a typical context for an intensifier in the example below: where one focussed noun phrase is defined in contrast to another. In the example below, "our own house" contrasts with "the house there".

(3-28)   *robin*   *ux=nuŋ*   *i=ka*   *ap*   *jox*   *m-mda-pti*
        PN   3sf=O   DEM.DST=place house DEF   PRX.O-leave-IPFV.PL(.PRS)

        pildon *nuxut* *wajo-l=a*   ***nuxtanute***   *ap*   *nuŋ*
        PN   1dEX   go.down-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK **1dEX.REFL.POSS**   house TO
        'We left Robyn at the house there and Pildon and I went down to our own house.' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

The reflexive possessive pronoun forms are synchronically an irregular paradigm, although the forms are probably historically based on the forms of the reflexive pronoun plus the possessive clitic *=xe*.

3.4.5 *nix* 'who'

Like the other pronouns, *nix* 'who' can act as a one-word noun phrase, and has an irregular possessive form *nixe* 'whose'. Unlike other pronouns, however, *nix* may not occur at the right edge of a noun phrase in a pronominal-article function, presumably because it doesn't have an identifying function. The interrogative *nix* 'who' is shown in example (3-29) below.

(3-29)   *ep=o*   *ket*   *mox*   ***nix***   *m-p-ko-m*
        sorry=QUOT   pandanus   ANPH   **who**   PRX.O-CAUS-pull-SEQ

        us=o
        go.PRS.SG=QUOT
        '"Gosh! Who has harvested this pandanus nut and gone?"' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

The irregular possessive form of *nix, nixe* 'whose', is shown in the example below.

(3-30) *go*   ***nixe***   *kol=a*   *n-p-n-gop*
         2s   **who.POSS**   daughter=EMPH   1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
         '"Whose daughter are you?", he said to me.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

The interrogative *nix* 'who' is shown occurring with the object clitic *=ja* in the example below.

(3-31) *a*   *go*   ***nix=ja*** *aŋ*   *de-pat=o*
         HES   2s   **who=O** find   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT

         m-pl=w=a
         PRX.O-tell(.SEQ)=RESP=EMPH
         '"Who are you searching for?", someone said to him.' ("Rich girl" by Geno Dipin)

The interrogative *nix* 'who' is shown in an equative verbless sentence in example (3-32) below.

(3-32) *em=o*   *ku*   *m-ia=x*   ***nix=o***   *toxan*
         gosh!=QUOT   woman DEM.PRX-below=3sm **who**=QUOT   sweet.potato

         uŋ=si=o   *li-nuŋ*
         string.bag=WITH=QUOT say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
         '"Hey! Who is the woman down there? With the bag of sweet potato.", she said.'
         ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

Questions with *nix* 'who' have the same word order as statements. *nix* may occur in the same range of syntactic positions as any other noun phrase.

3.4.6 *ma* 'REL'

The pronoun *ma* 'REL' functions to mark a non-restrictive relative phrase, i.e. a modifier NP which is co-referential with the larger NP. The pronoun *ma* 'REL' is in contrastive distribution with other pronouns, as shown in (3-33) and (3-34) below, where it occurs following the clitic demonstratives *i=* 'DEM.DST' and *mɜ=* 'DEM.PRX' at the right edge of the NP as a pronominal article.

(3-33) *[[nonxe*   *kip*   *i=ma]ₙₚ*   *s-pat*   *jox]ₙₚ=mil=o*
         1s.REFL.POSS   road   DEM.DST=REL   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   DEF=CERT=EMPH
         'my own road which I really did go (along)' ("Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

(3-34) *[[mə=ma]*_{NP}   *ul*   *mox]*_{NP}
       DEM.PRX=REL   feather ANPH
       'these feathers' ("Xolom" by Paaiz Wengsin)

In addition to its function, *ma* 'REL' differs from other pronouns in that it cannot occur as a single word NP. For more evidence that *ma* 'REL' is a pronoun, and for the full range of constructions in which it occurs, see Chapter 7, §7.6.

3.5 Dyadic Kin Terms

Dyadic kin terms refer to two or more people in a certain kin relationship with each other. An example of a dyadic kin term is given in example (3-35) below.

(3-35) *sup*   **gamd**   *ixit*   *i=te*   *pti-n*
      mother.3POSS   **husband&wife**   3d   DEM.DST=place stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS

      pti-n
      stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS
      'While his mother and her husband were staying there, …' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

Dyadic kin terms share some properties of both pronouns and nouns (as discussed in detail in Chapter 7, §7.8). Similar to pronouns they have both a dual form and a plural form although they differ from pronouns in that they have no singular form. Dyadic kin terms are also like pronouns in that they may occur in an inclusory construction indicating the larger referent set. Dyadic kin terms, like nouns, can head a noun phrase and are frequently followed by demonstratives and pronouns. Like kin nouns, dyadic kin terms take plural marking. Dyadic kin terms are, however, distinguished from both pronouns and nouns as they may occur following a pronoun in a special construction type.

The inability of dyadic kin terms to take a possessor phrase is shown in the example below.

(3-36) **noxe*   **təmd**
      1s.POSS   **father&child**
      'My father and son.' (Elicited.)

Dyadic kin terms denote two or more people who are in a particular kin relationship. There is a closed set of dyadic kin terms in Oksapmin as shown in Table 3-2 below.

Dual	Plural	Meaning
almd	*almdil*	grandparent and grandchild
gamd	*gamdil*	husband and wife
imd ~ umd	*imdil ~ umdil*	mother or mother's sister and child
nəgmd	*nəgmdil*	same sex siblings or parallel cousins
tamn	*tamnil*	uncle and niece or nephew
ten	*tenil*	female in-laws
tokon	*toknil*	aunty and niece or nephew
tumn	*tumnil*	cross cousins
təbe	*təbenil*	opposite sex siblings or parallel cousins
təbil	*təbinil*	male or opposite sex in-laws
təmd	*təmdil*	father or father's brother and child

Table 3-2.   Dyadic kin terms

The dual term in each pair in Table 3-2 above denotes two people in the stated relationship, and the plural term denotes three or more people in the stated relationship. In each case the plural is formed by adding *-nil* for terms ending in a vowel or a vowel plus /l/ (for terms ending in *-l,* the *l* is deleted) or *-il* for all other terms. The plural marker on dyadic kin terms is probably historically derived from the third person plural pronoun *ixil*. Most of the dual forms (and the derived plural forms) end in *-d* /^{n}d/ or *-n* /n/ which may have historically been a dyad marker although synchronically this is not the case. Note that the form of the plural suffix for dyadic kin terms /il/ is the same as the plural form for kin nouns.

Many of the dyadic kin terms are semantically symmetrical in that they can be defined by the definition (for duals): "two who call each other X" (see Evans 2003; 2006 for a discussion of this phenomenon in other languages) as shown in Table 3-3 below. It is worth noting that many of the dyadic kin terms appear to be based on the kin term plus a prefix *t-* /t/ (and as noted above, a suffix *-d* or *-n*), e.g. *tumn* 'cross cousins' appears to be based on the corresponding kin term, *um* 'cross.cousin.1POSS'. Given the reciprocal nature of dyadic kin terms, it is possible that this was originally a reciprocal suffix, cognate with what is now the middle maker, *t-* 'MID'.

Dyadic kin term	A calls B X / B calls A Y	Meaning X (/ Y)
almd	*aw / aw*	grandparent, grandchild*
gamd	*imap / inəp*	husband / wife
imd ~ umd	*em / blel*	mother / child
nəgmd	*alwap / alwap*	same sex siblings*
tamn	*mam / mam*	uncle, niece or nephew of man*
ten	*sinəp / sinəp*	female in-law*
tokon	*konip / konip*	aunty, niece or nephew of woman*
tumn	*um / um*	cross cousin*
təbe	*mon / kol*	brother / sister
təbil	*bal / bal, sinəp*	male in law / male in-law*, female in-law
təmd	*ita / blel*	father / child

Table 3-3. Dyadic kin terms and corresponding address terms
*Semantically symmetric terms
See Chapter 5, §5.1, for more precise meanings of the kin nouns

Dyadic kin terms are not widespread in Papua New Guinea and have only been reported for a handful of highlands languages (Evans 2006), including the Angan language Menya (Whitehead 2004), and the Ok languages. They are also present in Oksapmin and are a salient feature of the Ok-Oksapmin language family and at least some forms from the daughter languages can be traced back to proto Ok-Oksapmin (see Loughnane and Fedden in prep.). Dyadic kin terms have been reported as occurring in the Ok languages Mian (Fedden 2007), Tifal (Healey and Steinkraus 1972), and Telefol (Healey and Healey 1977).

3.6 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are easily identifiable by their syntactic position in the noun phrase: they commonly follow a noun and precede a pronominal article. Only one demonstratives can occur in this position per noun phrase. Demonstratives also act as independent noun phrases. There are two main types of demonstratives: clitic demonstratives, and free demonstratives, both discussed at length in Chapter 4.

The word class of demonstratives is a small closed set. An example of a demonstrative is shown in (3-37) below. The demonstrative *mə-lo=* 'up here' follows the noun phrase *abe gax nənəŋ* 'towards (the) mountain top' and precedes the pronominal article *ox* '3sm' (which has the reduced form /x/ here).

(3-37) *abe*   *gax*   *nənəŋ* **mə-lo=x**
       mountain   top   TO   **DEM.PRX-up**=3sm
       'Up here to the mountain.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

3.7 Nouns

Nouns are those words which head noun phrases, which in turn commonly function as arguments of predicates. Within the noun phrase, nouns are often preceded by possessors and certain demonstratives, modified by other nouns or relative clauses, and followed by a demonstrative or pronominal article. The (lexical) noun *blel* 'child' is shown in the example below with the pronominal article *ox* '3sm' and the possessor *noxe* '1s.POSS' preceding it.

(3-38) *noxe*   **blel**   *ox*   *sik*   *ku=təp*
         1s.POSS **child** 3sm   sick(Eng)   woman=ASSC

         mda-l=xejox
         finish-IPFV.PER.TODP=BECAUSE
         'Because I left my child with a sick woman, …' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

Within the class of nouns, a number of subclasses can be distinguished: proper nouns (§3.7.1), kin nouns (§(3-40)), and lexical nouns (§3.7.3). See Chapter 5 for more on these subclasses of nouns.

3.7.1 Proper Nouns

Like other nouns, proper noun head a noun phrase. Unlike other nouns, proper nouns may not take any modifiers apart from a following demonstrative or pronominal article. Proper nouns are typically person (3-39) and place (3-40) names as shown in the examples below.

(3-39) *[alejap ox]*$_{NP}$ *noxe*   *ita*   *ox*
         PN   3sm   1s.POSS father.1/2POSS   3sm
         'Alejap is my father.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

(3-40) *[tabubil]*$_{NP}$ *nuŋ*   *wokabaut*   *s-pel=o*   *li-m=a*
         PN   TO   walkabout(Eng)   go-IF.PL=QUOT SAY-SEQ=LINK

         xu-pa
         go.PFV-PER.FP.PL
         'We decided to go walkabout to Tabubil and then we went.' (Lit We said "Let's go walkabout to Tabubil" and then we went.) ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

3.7.2 Kin Nouns

Kin nouns also head a noun phrase but refer to kin. Kin nouns differ from other nouns in that they can take morphology – they inflect for the number of the referent and the

person of the possessor. An example of the plural kin noun *əmupil* 'his/her/their cross cousins' and the singular kin noun *em* 'my/our mother' is shown below.

(3-41) **em**=*xe*   **əmup-il**   *jox*
   mother.1POSS=POSS **cross.cousin.3POSS-PL** DEF
   'My mother's cousins.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

3.7.3 Lexical Nouns

Lexical nouns are the most frequently occurring type of noun. Unlike kin nouns, lexical nouns do not take morphology, and, unlike proper nouns, they may take noun and relative clause modifiers (as in (3-42) below) and may be possessed (as in (3-38) above). In (3-42) below the lexical noun *xan* 'man' is being modified by the lexical noun *ot* 'two' and the relative clause *xan tətpət pətel* '(they) were holding hands'.

(3-42) *xan* *tətpət* *pte-l*   ***xan*** *ot* *mox*
   hand hold.hands stay-IPFV.PER.TODP **man** two ANPH

   əpi-n-gopa=li
   come-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
   'The men who were holding hands together came.' ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

   Lexical nouns constitute a large, open word class. This is demonstrated by the fact that foreign nouns are readily incorporated into the language. A foreign noun *moni* 'money' is shown in example (3-43) below. The lexical noun *mani ~ moni* is commonly used despite the existence of the indigenous equivalent *jan* 'payment'.

(3-43) *a* *ixite*   *kjan* *xan* *un* ***moni***   *a*
   HES 3d.POSS what thing name **money(Eng)** HES

   a-t   *pat*   *jox=o*
   BEN-put.SIM stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS) TOP=EMPH
   'The, what's it called, money that was put aside for them.' ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

   Within the subclasses of lexical nouns, further subgroupings may be distinguished, namely classifier lexical nouns and location lexical nouns (see Chapter 5, §5.2, for details).

3.8 Postpositions

Postpositions are those words which follow noun phrases to indicate the function of the noun phrase in relation to the clause, another noun phrase or the discourse. Example (3-44) below shows the postposition *mədəp ~ dəpət* 'from'.

(3-44) *jəxe   jə-xən   **mədəp** ku   tit   it   əpli-n-gwel*
          then   DEM.DST-across**FROM** woman INDF   again   come-PFV-VIS.YESTP
          'Then, (I saw that) another woman was coming from over that way.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

        Postpositions form a small closed set and are in complementary distribution with one another (although a subset may co-occur, see Chapter 6).

3.9 Phrasal Enclitics

Phrasal enclitics are a small closed class of words which occur most commonly at the end of a sentence. They are phonologically attached to a verb, although they may occur on smaller units within sentences and on any part of speech. One of the more commonly occurring phrasal enclitics is the reported marker *=li* 'REP' (3-45). Phrasal enclitics are dealt with in detail in Chapter 11.

(3-45) *məpət ox   ax   jox   a-əb-tu-pa=**li**=a*
          PN   3sm   axe   DEF   BEN-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=**REP**=EMPH
          'As for Məpət, it is said that they took his axe from him.' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

        The semantic scope of the clitic is the phrase or clause to which it is attached at the right edge. There are four major semantic categories of phrasal clitics: mood clitics, degree clitics, speech style, and clause combining clitics. The epistemic phrasal clitic *=kin* (*=kən*) 'probable' is shown in example (3-46) below attached to a pronoun where only the noun phrase *go* 'you' is under the semantic scope of *=kin*, i.e. the act of killing is known and definite, it is only the subject which is probable and not certain ('[probably you] killed (him) via sorcery'). In example (3-47), *=kin* occurs at the right edge of the sentence and therefore the semantic scope of *=kin* is the whole sentence ('it is probable that [your uncles will come]').

(3-46) *go=**kin**   təmam n-a-n-pat=o   li-m=a*
          2s=**PROB**   sorcery 1/2.O-BEN-eat-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   say-SEQ=LINK
          '"It's probably you who did sorcery to me" (he) said and…' ("Jelixtam clan origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

(3-47) *ti*   *amnən-il*   *əpli-si-pja=**kən**=o*
          some   uncle.2POSS-PL come-PFV-FF.PL=**PROB**=QUOT
          '"Some of your uncles will probably come."' ("Five brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

3.10 Interjections

Interjections are words which can function as single-word sentences. They also commonly occur in discourse marker position in the clause. Most interjections co-occur with a speech style clitic (see Chapter 11, §11.3), such as *=o* 'EMPH' shown in the example below with the interjection *wes* 'thank you'.

(3-48) *a.*   *gin*   *jox*   *pok=o*
               now   TOP   all=EMPH
               'Now, that's all.'

        b.   ***wes**=o*
               thank.you=EMPH
               'Thank you!'
               ("Today" by Palis)

    Interjections are a small closed class. The interjections found in my corpus thus far are shown in Table 3-4 below.

Interjection	Meaning
ej	gosh
wes	thank you
ep	sorry
em	darn
axaja	oh no
bəs	no
ox	no
mal	yes
mi	yes
jo	yes
kiste	true

Table 3-4.   Interjections

3.11 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs are a difficult word class to define in Oksapmin as they can occur in a number of positions in the clause and do not have any morphology. Manner adverbs may be roughly defined as those words which do not fulfil any of the morphosyntactic tests for the other word classes and which semantically modify the entire clause.

    An example with the manner adverb *axla* 'slowly, quietly' is shown in example (3-49) below.

(3-49) *it*   *nox*   ***axla***   *toxan*   *kət=li*   *mle-s*
      again   1s   **quietly** sweet.potato   short=CNTRS   hold-PNCT
      'When I was quietly holding the piece of sweet potato, …' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

Although the class of manner adverbs is small, it is open as demonstrated by the fact that foreign manner adverbs may be incorporated into the language, such as the Tok Pisin manner adverb *siksti* 'quickly' (3-50).

(3-50) *nox*   ***siksti***   *wili=xe*   *kom*   *di=de-t*
      1s   **quickly(TP)**   PN=POSS   back   follow=MAKE-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
      '…I ran quickly after Willy.' ("Today" by Julie James)

3.12 Conjunctions and Complementizers

Conjunctions and complementizers attach to the right edge of a clause and function to link one clause syntactically to another clause (either in a subordinate or coordinate relationship). The class of conjunctions and complementizers constitutes a small closed set. For more discussion on conjunctions and complementizers, see Chapter 12. The conjunction *da* 'or' in example (3-51) indicates that the first clause is in a coordinate relationship with the second. The complementizer *jox* 'TOP' in example (3-52) indicates that the first clause is in a subordinate relationship to the second.

(3-51) *go*   *jox*   *a*   *i=ma*   *sick*   *jox*   *lexox*
      2s   TOP   HES   DEM.DST=REL   sick(Eng)   DEF   long.ago

      olxol   *i=x-sux=d=o*   ***da***   *i=ma*
      3sm.REFL   like.this=DO-HAB.PER.FP.SG=QUOT   **or**   DEM.DST=REL

      taim   *pok*   *jox*   *təlpə-ti-l=o*
      time(Eng)   all   DEF   appear-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT
      '"As for (your) sickness, did it start long ago **or** did it just start now?"' ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

(3-52) *nox*   *əpli-s*   *gumət*   *dəx*   *j=ox*   *ko-ŋ*
      1s   come-SEQ   PN   down   DEM.DST=3sm   arrive-PNCT

      li   ***jox***   *tit*   *xan*   *tit*   *mə-de=x*
      SAY(.PRS.SG)   **TOP**   another   thing   INDF   DEM.PRX-across=3sm

      xəles   *xəles*   *li-pat-gop*
      noise   noise   SAY-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG
      '**When** I got down to Gumat, (I heard) something making noise.' ("Mumut" by Kila Dasyal)

Chapter 4
Demonstratives

The word class of demonstratives can be divided into two distinct subclasses: clitic demonstratives and free demonstratives. Free demonstratives are phonologically independent words and are used for discourse-deictic, tracking and recognitional purposes (see Himmelmann 1996). The free demonstrative *max* 'RECG' is shown in the noun phrase *sup max ux* (4-1) below.

(4-1)   *sup*   ***max***   *ux*
            mother.3POSS   **RECG**   3sf
            'you know, the mother'

Clitic demonstratives differ from free demonstratives in that they are not phonologically independent words and must attach to a following pronominal article, postposition, relative pronoun, or noun. They also differ in function from free demonstratives: clitic demonstratives are used primarily for situational purposes (see Himmelmann 1996). The clitic demonstrative *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' is shown in example (4-2) below, phonologically attached to the following pronominal article in the noun phrase *mjan ot məixit*.

(4-2)   *mjan*   *ot*   ***mə=ixit***   *əpli-n-gopa=li*
            dog   two   **DEM.PRX=**3d   come-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
            '(It is said that) (he saw that) these two dogs came.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

Both free and clitic demonstratives typically occur following the noun (and its optional modifiers) and preceding the pronominal article in a noun phrase, as in (4-1) and (4-2) above. In this position, both free and clitic demonstratives are in contrastive distribution: only one can occur in this position per noun phrase. Free demonstratives may also occur in reduced noun phrases consisting of only a demonstrative, or a demonstrative and a pronominal article; clitic demonstratives cannot form a noun phrase by themselves but must combine with a pronominal article, noun or relative pronoun. To a limited extent, clitic demonstratives may occur preceding a noun, in addition to the regular demonstrative position following the noun. See Chapter 7, §7.4, for more on the syntax of demonstratives and noun phrases.

The demonstratives in Oksapmin are 'true' demonstratives in the sense described by Himmelmann (1996: 210) because they: (a) form a paradigm with elements which locate the entity referred to on a distance scale; and (b) may not be used in larger-situation use or associative-anaphoric use.[1]

4.1 Clitic Demonstratives

Within the subclass of clitic demonstratives a further distinction can be made: spatial versus interrogative. There are two spatial clitic demonstratives: proximal (*mə=* 'DEM.PRX') and distal (*i=* 'DEM.DST'). The interrogative clitic *de=* 'WHICH', although differing in function from the other clitic demonstratives, patterns with them syntactically and phonologically and is thus considered a clitic demonstrative for the purposes of this thesis. Both the spatial and interrogative clitic demonstratives can occur phonologically attached to pronominal articles as shown in (4-3) and (4-4) below, in regular demonstrative position.

(4-3) *[jelix   tam   bap   **mə=ixil]**₍NP₎   tap   su-pti*
      PN   fireplace   many   **DEM.PRX=3p**   pig   kill-IPFV.PL(.PRS)

      alwap   ox=nuŋ   u   a-ø-t-pa=li
      SS.SIB.1/3POSS 3sm=TO   call.out BEN-SAY(INTR)-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
      'The Jelixtam, they killed a pig and called out to their brother (to come).' ("Jelixtam Clan Origin Myth" by Dasyal Gahan)

(4-4) *wili   ox   ma   hai   skul   ixle   mox*
      PN   3sm   REL   high(Eng)   school(Eng) 3p.POSS ANPH

      *tʃopa   mox   [**de=ixil**]   apli-n-gwel=o*
      helicopter(Eng) ANPH   **WHICH=3p**   come-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT

      li-m   dəxat   x-m   xe-l
      say-SEQ   question   DO-SEQ   be-IPFV.PER.TODP

      jəxe   nox   gi=p-ti-l=o
      then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT
      '(I heard that) Willy asked me "(did you see) which ones came in the chopper for the high school?" Then yesterday I told him thus:…' ("Today" by Julie James)

Both the interrogative and spatial clitic demonstratives can additionally occur in prenominal position: phonologically attached to a following noun. This can only

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[1] Although the free demonstrative *jox* 'DEF' is very closely related to the topic marker *jox* 'TOP' which is used for larger-situation and associative-anaphoric use. See Chapter 6, §6.4.2, for more on the topic marker.

occur with a limited set of monosyllabic nouns, which are primarily time and location nouns. The interrogative *de=* 'WHICH' is shown in (4-5) below in contrastive distribution with the proximal and distal clitic demonstratives, *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' and *i=* 'DEM.DST' respectively, preceding the noun *təx* 'place' (in consecutive lines from a single text).

(4-5)   a.   *s-pti=xe*   *lowan*   *xa*   *dəx*   *mə-xən*
             go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD   tree.variety   bush   down   DEM.PRX-across

             de=təx   *əlpə-t*   *di-pel=o*   *li-m*   *aŋ*
             WHICH=place   cook-SIM   eat-IF.PL=QUOT   say-SEQ find

             t-xe-l   *aŋ*   *t-xe-l=a*
             MID-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP   find   MID-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK
             'We went down to the bush and looked and looked for a place where we could cook and eat and...' (Lit. we looked and looked saying "at which place will we cook and eat?") (Kila Dasyal "Yesterday")

        b.   ***mə=təx=w=a***   *gos-x-pti=xe*
             DEM.PRX=place=RESP=LINK   RECP-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD

             i=təx   *əlpə-t*   *di-l*   *a*
             DEM.DST=place   cook-PNCT   eat.PFV-PER.YESTP   HES
             '...we decided on a place and ate there.' (Lit. when we said "this place", we cooked an ate at that place.) (Kila Dasyal "Yesterday")

Unlike the spatial clitic demonstratives, *de=* 'WHICH' cannot occur following a noun in the noun phrase (4-6)b, but must occur in a relative phrase with *ma* 'REL' (see Chapter 7, §7.6, for details) to modify a noun (4-6)a. While clitic demonstratives can follow a noun in the noun phrase (4-7)b, they also commonly occur in the relative construction (4-7)a., again in contrastive distribution with the interrogative clitic demonstrative.

(4-6)   a.   ***de=ma***   *nel*   *jox*
             WHICH=REL   bird   DEF
             'which bird' (Savonna Frank and Hirai "Bird Conversation")

        b.   **nel*   ***de=x***
             bird   **WHICH=3sm**
             intended meaning: 'which bird'

(4-7) *a.* **mə=ma**   *ku=si*   *xan=si*   *mox*
            DEM.PRX=REL woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   ANPH
            'these people' (Dulum Aleap "Relatives")

       b. *ku=si*   *xan=si*   **mə=ixil**
            woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   **DEM.PRX=3p**
            'these people' (Henna Kashat MPI Reciprocals 42)

Spatial clitic demonstratives are discussed further in §4.1.1 below, and the interrogative clitic demonstrative in §4.1.2. See Chapter 7, §7.4, for more on the syntax of clitic demonstratives.

4.1.1 Spatial Clitic Demonstratives

There are two spatial clitic demonstratives: a proximal demonstrative, *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' (4-8)a.; and a distal demonstrative, *i=* 'DEM.DST' (4-8)b., which has the allomorph *jə=* below. These are contrasted in the examples below from a text where the speaker is talking about how she went to live in a different village to her husband, who stayed in the village where she now resides and where she was telling the story.

(4-8) *a.* *ox*   **mə=təx**   *pa*   *se*   *gno-m*
            3sm   **DEM.PRX=place** taro   INFR   grow-SEQ

            pt-sux=li
            be-HAB.PER.FP=REP
            'I guess he must have stayed **here** growing taro.'

            […]

       b. *nuxtalxe*   **jə-xət**   *pte-l*   *pte-l*
            1dEX.ALONE   **DEM.DST-up**   be-IPFV.PER.TODP   be-IPFV.PER.TODP
            'We stayed and stayed by ourselves up **there** and...'

Spatial demonstrative clitics are primarily used for situational use (Himmelmann 1996) (or exophoric use, see Diessel 1999: 6): establishing the location of a referent in relation to a given deictic centre. In the above examples, the deictic centre is the location of the speaker when telling the story. In a reported narrative, the deictic centre may be the reported speaker, as in the example below where the deictic centre is the location of the main characters, the cassowaries. This is not surprising as evidentiality is also calculated with respect to the reported speaker in reported narratives, see Chapter 11, §11.1.8.

(4-9) **mə-xət=ma**   *lat*   *lat*   **mə-xət**   *ox*   *gonop=si*
     DEM.PRX-up=REL   tree   tree   **DEM.PRX-up**   3sm   all=WITH

xe-t   *s-n-gop=li*
break-SIM   go-PFV-VIS.FP=REP
'It is said that they went along breaking all the trees up near them (Lit. 'up here').'

The distance clitics optionally inflect for elevation, as in example (4-8)c. above, where the distal demonstrative clitic is inflected for the elevation 'up'. This is discussed further in 4.1.1.1 below.

Each of the spatial clitic demonstratives has a number of allomorphs. The proximal demonstrative clitic occurs as /mə/, or for some speakers /mi/, before consonants as shown in example (4-10) below. It occurs as /m/ before all vowels (4-11), except before the third person dual and plural pronouns, *ixit* '3d' and *ixil* '3p' respectively, where it takes the form /mə/ as in (4-12) below.

(4-10) **mə-xəm=ox**
     DEM.PRX-down=3sm
     'down there'

(4-11) **m=ox**
     DEM.PRX =3sm
     'this'

(4-12) **mə=ixil**
     DEM.PRX=3p
     'these (people)'

The distal demonstrative clitic occurs as /j/ before a vowel (4-13), /jə/ before /x/ (4-14), and /i/ elsewhere (4-15) as shown in the examples below.

(4-13) **j=ox**
     DEM.DST =3sm
     'that'

(4-14) **jə-xəm=ox**
     DEM.DST-down=3sm
     'down there'

(4-15) **i=te**
     DEM.DST=place
     'that place there'

There are a number of situations in which it is not clear as to whether the distal clitic is present or not due to an overlap in a number of phonological forms. First,

although the distal clitic should theoretically be able to attach directly to the third person dual and plural pronouns (*ixit* '3d' and *ixil* '3p'), as the proximal clitic does, these forms begin with /i/ so it is not evident whether *i=* has been added or not unless elevation inflection is present on the demonstrative.

(4-16)   *a.*   *?i=ixil*
               DEM.DST=3p

      b.   *i-de=ixil*
               DEM.DST-across=3p
               'those ones across there'

Second, when the distal clitic occurs before the third person singular pronouns as in (4-13) above, the resulting form is homophonous with, and overlaps in function with the definite discourse demonstrative *jox* 'DEF' (§4.2.4) and the topic marker *jox* 'TOP' (Chapter 6, §6.4.2). The three interpretations of the form *jox* are shown in (4-17) below. This ambiguity of form is most likely due to a shared historical origin.

(4-17)   *tap jox*

      a.   *tap*   *j=ox*
               pig   DEM.DST=3sm
               'that pig there'

      b.   *tap*   *jox*
               pig   DEF
               'the pig'

      c.   *tap*   *jox*
               pig   TOP
               'as for the pig'

4.1.1.1 Elevation Inflection

The distal clitic demonstratives *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' and *i=* 'DEM.DST' optionally inflect for elevation: where the referent is located in relation to the speaker on the vertical plane. There are four values for elevation clitics: above the speaker, below the speaker, across a river or valley from the speaker, and at the same level as the speaker. The elevation suffix *-de* 'across' is shown with the proximal demonstrative clitic *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' in example (4-18) below.

(4-18) *ku=si*   *xan=si*   ***mə-de**=ixit*   *[...]*   *kom*
       woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   DEM.PRX-**across**=3d   back

ot=wi   *gos-a-sl-ja=xe*
two=ONLY   RECP-BEN-put-PRS.PL=VIS
'The man and woman across here are putting their backs to each other.' (Spoken after just having seen a video of two people sitting with their backs together. (MPI Reciprocals 12, Julie James)

There are two distinct sets of elevation suffixes, shown in Table 4-1 below.

Set 1		Set 2	
-lo	up	*-xət*	up
-ia ~ -ja	down	*-xəm*	down, inside
-so	level	*-xən*	level, across
-de	across (e.g. river)		

Table 4-1.   Set 1 and 2 elevation suffixes

Set 1 is derived from verbs, whereas set 2 is not. There are a number of morphosyntactic differences between the two sets, described in §4.1.1.1.1 and §4.1.1.1.2 below. Only set 1 can be used with referents which are human. H. Lawrence (1972) identifies set 1 as "specific" and set 2 as "general" but does not discuss what this distinction entails.

A number of other Papuan languages also have demonstratives which specify for elevation. These include: Usan (Reesink: 1987: 77); Tauya (MacDonald 1990); and Hua (Haiman 1980). Diessel (1999: 42) reports that demonstratives specified for elevation also occur in languages in the Himalayan area (e.g. Lahu, Khasi, Byansi), in Australia (e.g. Dyirbal, Ngiyambaa) and in the Caucasus (e.g. Lezgian).

4.1.1.1.1 Set 1 elevation suffixes

Just like uninflected spatial clitic demonstratives (i.e. bare *mə=* and *i=*), spatial clitic demonstratives inflected with set 1 elevation suffixes are not independent phonological words: they must be followed by a pronominal article, noun, relative pronoun or postposition, with which they form a single phonological word. Example (4-19) below shows a spatial clitic demonstrative inflected with the set 1 elevation suffix *-de*,[2] all of which forms a clitic (*məde=*) which attaches phonologically to the pronominal article *ox* '3sm' (which has been phonologically reduced here to /x/).

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[2] The suffix *-de* is used for referents across some kind of divide from the speaker, like a valley or river, and, interestingly, is also used for things on TV or in a book.

(4-19) *kak*   *əwam* *ka*   *mə-**de**=x*   *gem=si*   *puŋ*
        head   taboo   place   DEM.PRX-**across**=3sm   arrow=WITH   fight

       xəpu-s
       die-PNCT
       'We hit it on the soft spot of its head across here and it dies.' (Spoken while pointing to a picture of a cassowary in a book.) ("Cassowary" by Paiiz Wengsin)

Set 1 elevation suffixes may be used for plural and/or human referents (c.f. set 2 elevation suffixes which are not). This is shown in example (4-20) below where the proximal spatial clitic demonstrative *mi=* 'DEM.PRX' has the elevation suffix *-de=* 'across' and modifies a dual noun phrase with a human referent. The resulting clitic *mide=* attaches phonologically to the pronominal article *ixit* 'they two'.

(4-20) *k=ot*   *mi-**de**=ixit*
        woman=two   DEM.PRX-**across**=3d
        'those two women across there'

Like spatial demonstrative clitics which are uninflected for elevation, clitics which are inflected with set 1 elevation suffixes can attach to a limited extent directly to a noun. As described above this is usually a lexical noun denoting location or time, which does not have any modifiers and which is monosyllabic. This is shown in example (4-21) below, where the distal spatial demonstrative clitic inflected for 'level', *iso=*, attaches directly to the nouns *kat* and *ka.*.

(4-21) *jæxe*   *nox*   *gi=p-ti-l=o*   *mi=o*
        then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT   okay=QUOT

       *i-**so**=kat*   *s-s=a*   *i-**so**=ka*
       DEM.DST-**level**=place   go-SEQ=LINK   DEM.DST-**level**=place

       noŋ   *xəm*   *lapli-n=o*   *nox*   *p-ti-l*
       TO   down   give-IMP=QUOT   1s   tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
       'I said "Ok, go to that place across there and give it to her."' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The Set 1 elevation suffixes appear to be etymologically related to verbs of motion as shown in Table 4-2 below.[3]

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[3] M. Lawrence (1970b: 22) gives the additional forms *maroh* 'inside here' and *aroh* 'inside there' which implies a fifth set 1 elevation suffix (in addition to four others given here in the distal series: *andeh* 'across there', *aruuh* 'above there', *asoh* 'along there', *waaah* 'below there'). At least in Lower Oksapmin, *-lo* means 'up', e.g. *ale san=nəŋ i-lo=x* (rack top=ALL DEM.DST-up=3sm) 'Up on top of the wood drying rack up above the fireplace.'. I have not come across an elevation suffix *-lo* meaning 'inside' in my research. (There is, however, a verb *lo-* in Lower Oksapmin meaning 'enter or exit', from which such a suffix would be derived.)

Verb of motion	Meaning	Elevation suffix	Meaning
wəl- ~ ul-	'go up'	*-lo*	up
wa- (~ ja-[4])	'go down'	*-ja*	down
s- (~ so-)	'go straight/level'	*-so*	level
de-	'cross e.g. river'	*-de*	across

Table 4-2.   Set 1 elevation suffixes and related verbs of motion

4.1.1.1.2 Set 2 elevation suffixes

As for set 1 suffixes, spatial clitic demonstratives inflected with set 2 suffixes occur in standard demonstrative position phonologically attached to the following pronominal article. The following example shows the distance clitic *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' with a set 2 elevation suffix followed by the pronominal article *ox* '3sm'.

(4-22) *bik   rot   ka   mə-**xəm**=ox   xanəp*
         big   road   place   DEM.PRX-**down**=3sm   person

         pti-gwel=a
         stay.IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP=EMPH
         'There are people down at the big road area.' (Elicited FNB 7.125)

Unlike set 1 elevation suffixes, I do not have any examples of set 2 elevation suffixes occurring with any plural referents or with human referents.

Also unlike set 1 elevation suffixes, set 2 elevation suffixes often occur in a noun phrase with no pronominal article. This is shown in the example below where *mə-xət* 'DEM.PRX-up' is a part of the complete noun phrase *wot xan ot ixte stil ka məxət* 'up here where they had put the two men's (jaw bones)'.

(4-23) *jəxe   bəp   ol   pat-n=a   it   ga   mox   bəp*
         then   so   dead   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   again   jaw   ANPH   so

         a   wot   xan   ot   ixte   s-ti-l   ka
         HES   two   man   two   3d.POSS   put-PFV-PER.YESTP   place

         *mə-**xət**   a   s-t-pa=li*
         DEM.PRX-**up**   HES   put-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
         'When (he) was dead, again they stacked (his) jaw bone up where they had put the jaw bones of the other two men.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

A spatial clitic demonstrative inflected with a set 2 elevation suffix can constitute an entire noun phrase. In the example below, the spatial clitic demonstrative

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[4] This allomorph occurs with the causative prefix, e.g. *wa-plox* (go.down-NF.SG) 'I will go down' versus *p-ja-plox* (CAUS-go.down-NF.SG) 'I will take down'.

mə= 'DEM.PRX' is inflected with *-xən* 'across' with to form the noun phrase *məxən* 'across here'. This is not possible with set 1 elevation suffixes.

(4-24) *xtol*   *jox*   **mə-xən**   *xəlot*   *xəlot*
      see(.PRS.SG)   TOP   DEM.PRX-**across**   chew   chew

      li-t   *əpli-pat-gop=li*   *in*
      SAY-SIM   come-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP   so
      '…he saw that (the pig) chewing and coming (from) over nearby. So…' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

The Set 2 elevation suffix *-xəm* means 'inside' as well as 'down'. It is commonly used, for example, for things in bags (4-25).

(4-25) *toxan*   *apjam*   *kən*   *gwe*   *tit*   *uŋ*
      sweet.potato   sweet.potato.variety   cooked   small   INDF   string.bag

      jə-xəm   *pat-gop*
      DEM.DST-**inside**   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG
      'There was a cooked *apjam* sweet potato in my string bag.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

The Set 2 elevation suffixes have homophonous nominal counterparts. In the following example the noun *xət* 'up', homophonous with the set 2 elevation suffix *-xət* 'up', occurs modifying another noun, *ka* 'place', without a demonstrative clitic.

(4-26) *ul-is=a*   **xət**   **ka**
      go.up-SEQ=LINK   **up**   **place**
      'He went up to up there.' (Legend text, Savonna Frank) ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

4.1.2 Interrogative Clitic Demonstrative

As described above, the interrogative clitic demonstrative *de=* 'which'[5] occurs in contrastive distribution with the spatial clitic demonstratives (see examples (4-3) to (4-7) above). The clitic *de=* is shown in examples (4-27) and (4-28) below preceding the pronominal articles *ixil* '3p' and the reduced form of *ox* '3sm', /x/, respectively.

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[5] My analysis of *de=* contrasts to that of M. Lawrence (1970b) in which he analyses *deh* as a noun which can occur as the nucleus of a noun phrase (Lawrence, M. 1970b: 7).

(4-27)   *wili*   *ox*   *ma*   *hai*   *skul*   *ixle*   *mox*
         PN   3sm   REL   high(Eng)   school(Eng)   3p.POSS ANPH

         ʧopa   *mox*   *[de=ixil]*ₙₚ   *apli-n-gwel=o*
         helicopter(Eng) ANPH   **WHICH**=3p   come-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT

         li-m   *dæxat*   *x-m*   *xe-l*
         say-SEQ   question   DO-SEQ   be-IPFV.PER.TODP

         jəxe   *nox*   *gi=p-ti-l=o*
         then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT
         '(I heard that) Willy asked me "(did you see) which ones came in the chopper for the high school?" Then yesterday I told him thus:…' ("Today" by Julie James, repeated from (4-4) above)

(4-28)   *ixit*   *we*   *go*   *[de=x]*ₙₚ   *s-pat*   *gos-x-m*
         3d   Q   2s   **WHICH**=3sm   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   RECP-MAKE-SEQ
         'They asked each other "Where are you going?" and…' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

The clitic *de=* 'WHICH' is shown preceding the postposition *dəpət* 'FROM' in the example below.

(4-29)   *jəxe*   *gi=n-p-n-gop=o*   *gul*   *de=dəpət*
         then   THUS=1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=QUOT   2p   **WHICH**=FROM

         əpli-ja=o   *n-p-n-gop*
         come-PRS.PL=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
         'Then, she asked us where we had come from.' (Lit. 'She told us thus: "Where did you come from?", she told us.') ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

Like the spatial clitic demonstratives, *de=* can occur to a limited extent immediately preceding some nouns. This occurs under the same conditions as for spatial clitic demonstratives as described above: the noun is monosyllabic and does not have any modifiers. The noun to which *de=* attaches is usually a location (4-30) or time (4-31) noun (as is the case with the spatial clitic demonstratives).

(4-30) **de=tax**   *əlp-t*   *di-pel=o*   *li-m*
         WHICH=place   cook-SIM   eat.PFV-IF.PL=QUOT   say-SEQ

         aŋ   *t-xe-l*   *aŋ*   *t-xe-l*
         find   MID-MAKE-PER.TODP find   MID-MAKE-PER.TODP
         '…we said "Where shall we cook and eat?", and looked and looked (for a place)…' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

(4-31) *jæxe*   *nox*   *gi=p-ti-l=o*   *taim*   *ap*   *xæx*
        then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT   time   up   be.PRS.SG

        mox   ***de**=sut*   *s-pja=o*   *nox*   *p-ti-l*
        ANPH   **WHICH**=time   go-TODF.PL=QUOT   1s   tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'So I said as follows: "Time's up now. When are (we) going?" I said.' ("Yesterday"
        by Julie James)

Unlike the other demonstratives, *de=* cannot be preceded by a noun as shown in the ungrammatical example below.

(4-32) **xan*   ***de**=x*
        man   **WHICH**=3sm
        'Which man?' (Elicited.)

As with the spatial clitic demonstratives, the interrogative clitic demonstrative *de=* can form a relative phrase with *ma* 'REL' (see Chapter 7, §7.6) to modify a noun phrase. This is the standard way in Oksapmin to ask the question 'which X?'.

(4-33) *gin*   *go*   ***de**=ma*   *nel*   *jox=wi*   *den*   *x-pat*
        now   2s   **WHICH**=REL   bird   DEF=ONLY   food   DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'So which birds do you like to eat?'("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and
        Hirai)

4.2 Free Demonstratives

There are four free demonstratives in Oksapmin: *max* 'RECG'; *mox* 'ANPH'; *jox* 'DEF' and *tit* 'INDF'. Like the clitic demonstratives described above, free demonstratives occur in typical demonstrative position: following a noun (and its optional modifiers) and preceding a pronominal article, as is shown below for *mox* 'ANPH' (4-34).

(4-34) *xan*   ***mox**   *ox*
        man   **ANPH**   3sm
        'this man'

Unlike the clitic demonstratives (with the exception of those inflected with set 2 suffixes), free demonstratives may stand alone as a one-word noun phrase (4-35), and cannot occur in a relative phrase with *ma* 'REL' (4-36).

(4-35) *mox*
        ANPH
        'this (one)'

(4-36) **mox*   *ma*   *xan*   *mox*   *ox*
        ANPH   REL   man   ANPH   3sm
        intended meaning: 'this man'

In terms of function, free demonstratives have primarily discourse or endophoric (Diessel 1999: 6) uses. The two main parameters which determine the distribution of free demonstratives are the following:

    a.   whether the referent has been previously mentioned or not; and

    b.   whether the speaker expects that the addressee is familiar with the referent or not

The uses of the four free demonstratives are shown in Table 4-3 below. The demonstrative *tit* 'INDF' is generally used to introduce a referent not previously mentioned, which the speaker assumes is unfamiliar to the addressee; *mox* 'ANPH' is used for subsequent mentions of the unfamiliar referent. The demonstrative *max* 'RECG' is used for the first mention of a referent which the speaker assumes to be familiar to the addressee; *jox* 'DEF' is generally used for subsequent mentions of the familiar referent.

	First mention	Subsequent mention
Unfamiliar to addressee	*tit* 'INDF'	*mox* 'ANPH'
Familiar to addressee	*max* 'RECG'	*jox* 'DEF'

Table 4-3.   Endophoric demonstrative use in Oksapmin

The parameters given in Table 4-3 above give only a rough guide to which demonstrative will be selected by the speaker in a given discourse context: these choices are not rigid. Sometimes, no free demonstrative is used even at the first mention of a referent. The demonstrative clitics *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' and *i=* 'DEM.DST' are sometimes used interchangeably with *mox* 'ANPH' and *jox* 'DEF' respectively. Further research is required in this area of the grammar to provide more detail on the exact uses of each demonstrative.

The demonstratives *tit* 'INDF' and *mox* 'ANPH' are demonstrated in the stretch of text shown below. The first overt noun phrases referring to the main character of the story, the man (4-37)a., and the other characters, the two dogs (4-37)b., uses *tit* 'INDF'. The next overt noun phrase referring to these characters uses *mox* 'ANPH' (4-37)c. (and the related *m=* 'DEM.PRX' (4-38)).

(4-37) *a.* | *a* | *xan* | **tit** | *mitixan ap* | | *mədəp um* | *dəx* | *nuŋ*

HES | man | **INDF** | PN | village | FROM | PN | down | TO

a | *tap* | *su-m* | *waj-xi-p=li*
HES | pig | hit-SEQ | go.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
'(It is said that) a man from Mitixan village went down to kill pigs near the Strickland river.'

b. *wa-pat-n=a*   *je*   *tit*   *uli-s=a*
go.down-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   mountain   INDF   go.up-SEQ=LINK

xəm | *nuŋ* | *x-t* | *wa* | *jox* | *mjan* | *ot*
down | TO | go-SIM | go.down(.PRS.SG) | TOP | dog | two

tit   *wa-pti-gopa=li*
INDF   go.down-IPFV.PL-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'He went down and then went up a mountain and then was going down again when he saw two dogs coming down.'

c. *wa-pti*   **mox**   *ox*   *amla*   *jox*   *meg-t*
go.down-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   **ANPH**   3sm   hear(.PRS.SG)   TOP   speak-SIM

wa-pti-gopa=li
go.down-IPFV.PL-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'When the (man) who was going down listened, he heard (the dogs) coming down and talking.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

[…]

(4-38) *i=x-ti-pol=xənox*   *mjan*   *ot*   **mə=ixit**   *ma*
do.that=DO-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   dog   two   **DEM.PRX**=3d   REL

amla   *jox*   *a*   *gi=gos-x-t*
hear(.PRS.SG)   TOP   HES   THUS=RECP-MAKE-SIM

wa-pti-gopa=li   *be*
go.down-IPFV.PL-VIS.FP.PL=REP   so
'After that happened, these two dogs, who he had heard, were saying the following as they were going down: "So…"' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

4.2.1 *tit* 'Indefinite'

The demonstrative *tit* 'INDF' is used for indefinite referents: those which have not been previously mentioned and are presumed by the speaker to be unfamiliar to the hearer. The demonstrative *tit* 'INDF' is in complementary distribution with the other demonstratives described in this chapter. Like other demonstratives it follows the

noun and precedes the pronominal article, as shown (4-39) below in the noun phrase *xan tit ox* 'a man'.

(4-39) *xan* **tit** *ox* *niŋ* *tup* *ml*
man **INDF** 3sm small.mammal trap MAKE(.SEQ)

mde-xi-p=li=a
come.across-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=LINK
'They say that a man came across (from the other side of Tekin river) to make a trap and hunt small mammals.' ("Legend" told by Savonna Frank)

Like the other free demonstratives, *tit* 'INDF' can act by itself as a noun phrase as in (4-40) below.

(4-40) **tit** *jox=o* *sjap* *ox=o* *sjap=o*
INDF TOP=QUOT PN 3sm=QUOT PN=QUOT

sisimin *ixil=o*
PN 3p=QUOT
'"One of them is Sjap. Sjap from Sisimin."' ("Today" told by Julie James)

The demonstrative *tit,* like the other free demonstratives, may also occur in a noun phrase without a pronominal article where one would generally be expected (see Chapter 7, §7.2.1). In fact, *tit* 'INDF' is the most likely of all the free demonstratives to occur without a pronominal article. This is shown in the example below for the noun phrase *ku tit* 'a woman' which does not have a pronominal article as is usually the case for specific human referents.

(4-41) *ku* **tit** *n-əbul* *əpli-pat-gop*
woman **INDF** 1/2.O-get(.SEQ) come-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG
'A woman was coming to get us.' ("Tabubil" told by Kila Dasyal)

Like all other demonstratives, *tit* 'INDF' is unspecified for number and can be used with both singular and plural referents. The demonstrative *tit* is shown with a plural referent below. In example (4-42) below, *tit* is used with a noun phrase with a referent set of two which has plural subject agreement marking on the verb. In example (4-43) below *tit* occurs with a noun with a referent set of five. A further example is shown in (4-44).

(4-42) *mjan* *ot* **tit** *wa-pti-gopa=li*
dog two **INDF** go.down-IPFV.**PL**-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'Two dogs were coming down.' ("Dogs" told by Dasyal Gahan)

(4-43) *xan*   *nəgmd-il*   ***tit**=a*   *xətxət=xe*   *xan*   *nəgmd-il*
  man SS.SIB-PL **INDF**=EMPH little.finger=POSS man SS.SIB-PL

  pt-sxe=li=a   *jəxe*
  stay-HAB.PER.FP.**PL**=REP=LINK then
  'There once lived some brothers. Five brothers. Then…' ("Five Brothers" by Max
  Elit)

(4-44) *aspa*[6]   *xan* ***tit*** *pti*
  PN   man **INDF** stay.IPFV.**PL**.PRS
  'Some Hewa people are there.' ("River Butul" told by Dulum Aleap)

The demonstrative *tit* also has the variant *ti* as shown in (4-45) and (4-46) below. The variant *ti* commonly occurs in the fixed expression *ti=bəs* 'none' as in (4-46), in which the more common form *tit* is not possible.

(4-45) *jəx* *mong* *te* ***ti***=a*
  good ground place **INDF**=LINK
  'A very good land.' ("Own Illness" told by Dulum Aleap)

(4-46) *lat* *lin=a* ***ti***=bəs* ***ti***=bəs*
  tree leaf=LINK **INDF**=NEG **INDF**=NEG
  'There was no leaves at all, none.' ("Own Illness" told by Dulum Aleap)

The demonstrative *tit* 'INDF' appears to originate from a now extinct numeral *tit* 'one', not surprising as the numeral 'one' is a common source for indefinite articles cross-linguistically (and in this case an indefinite demonstrative). Synchronically, *pitle ~ pitil* is used to denote the numeral 'one' (4-47) although the old use of *tit* is still evident in the base two counting system as shown in (4-48) below where *ot=a tit=a* 'two=CNJ one=CNJ' means 'three'. The numeral *tit* 'one' also developed into a lexical noun meaning 'another', shown modifying the noun *ku* 'woman' in (4-49) below.

(4-47) ***pitle*** *kən* *gwe* *mox* *d-m* *tim-di-p=mul=o=li*
  one cooked small ANPH eat-SEQ sleep-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=EMPH=REP
  'He ate this one small cooked (sweet potato) and went to sleep.' ("A Brother and
  Sister" told by Miriam Babyan)

(4-48) *ku* ***ot**=a* ***tit**=a* *s-pti-gwel=a*
  woman **two**=CNJ **one**=CNJ go-IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP=LINK
  '(I saw that) three women were going along.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

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[6] *Aspa* is the Oksapmin term for the Hewa people.

(4-49) **tit**   *ku*   *jox*   *mata*   *ux=mul=o=li=a*
        another   woman DEF   PN   3sf=CERT=EMPH=REP=LINK
        '(One of the female cousins was Magdalene.) (It is said that) another woman (cousin)
        was Martha.' ("A Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

4.2.2 *max* 'Recognitional'

The demonstrative *max* 'RECG', which occurs in complementary distribution to other demonstratives, has a recognitional function (see e.g. Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999; Enfield 2003). The demonstrative *max* is usually used when the referent has not been previously mentioned/activated in the current discourse but is presumed to be familiar to both the speaker and the addressee. In the following example, two young men are speaking about hunting birds. They are presumably both familiar with a large number of bird varieties including *əxəsan*.

(4-50) *gin*   *mən=a*   **əxəsan**   **max=xe**   *go*   *den*
        now   brother=LINK   **bird.variety** **RECG=FOC**   2s   food

        x-pat=d=a
        DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH
        'Now, brother, you know that *əxəsan*, do you like eating (it) as well?'
        ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

The demonstrative *max* is a dedicated 'recognitional demonstrative' as discussed by Himmelmann (1996: 230); Himmelmann defines these as where "the intended referent is to be identified via specific, shared knowledge rather than through the situational clues or reference to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse" (1996: 230). Himmelmann notes that a dedicated recognitional pronoun exists in several Australian languages (1996: 231), e.g. Nyangumarta (Nyungic, Pama-Nyungan; Sharp 2004: 266-8) and Yankunytjatjara (Pama-Nyngan; Goddard 1983). Goddard describes the function of the demonstrative *panya* 'ANAPH' in Yankunytjatjara as follows:

> "*Panya* ANAPH (roughly "you know the one") calls the listener's attention to the fact that he or she is already familiar with a referent. It is not usually used about things which are fully topical – i.e. already being talked about, but rather to re-introduce something into the conversation. […] *panya* ANAPH does not presuppose an explicit mention in previous discourse, but simply that the addressee be able to call to mind the intended referent, whether through linguistic or extra-linguistic context." Goddard (1983: 106).

In the following example, *max* is used to refer to the story that the speaker told earlier in the morning. This text had not been previously mentioned in the current story but all the addressees had been present when he told the previous story.

(4-51) | *gin* | *i* | *ml-s=a* | | *jæxe* | *tumbuna* | *paxna* | *sup* |
now | HES | come.up-SEQ=LINK | | then | ancestor(TP) | hunger | illness

| *stori* | *max* | *pl=a* | | *gin=a* |
story(Eng) | **RECG** | tell(.PRS.SG)=LINK | | now=LINK

'Now, I came up and told that story about famine in the old days. Now…' ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

The text to which the following example belongs was collected just after New Year's Day which everybody in the community had known about and the churches had held special events for.

(4-52) | *niu* | *jia* | *max* | *bəten* | *x-t-pel=o* |
new(Eng) | year(Eng) | **RECG** | pray(TP) | DO-PFV-IF.PL=QUOT

| *li-m* | *xe-ja* |
say-SEQ | be-PRS.PL

'They wanted to pray for, you know, that New Year.' ("Today" by Palis)

Like other demonstratives in Oksapmin, the recognitional demonstrative *max* follows the noun and precedes pronominal articles, as in the noun phrases *dəsjal inəp=xe sup max ux* 'Dəsjal's wife's mother' (4-53) and *ku gamd max ixit* 'the woman and her husband' (4-54) below.

(4-53) | *dəsjal=xe* | *balip* | *max=xe* | *xəplu-pat-n* |
PN=POSS | female.in.law.3POSS | **RECG**=FOC | die-IPFV.PL-NOMLS

| *dəsjal* | *inəp=xe* | *sup* | *max* | *ux=xe* | *xəplu-pat-n* |
PN | wife=POSS | mother.3POSS | **RECG** | 3sf=FOC | die-IPFV.SG-NOMLS

'When Dasyal's mother in law was dying, when Dasyal's wife's mother was dying, …' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

(4-54) | *ku* | *gamd* | *max* | *ixit* | *be* | *pti* |
woman | husband&wife | **RECG** | 3d | just | stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)

'That husband and wife aren't doing anything.' (Elicited FNB 7.40)

When *max* 'RECG' is used with human referents, the pronominal article may be omitted where it would otherwise be obligatory (see Chapter 7, §7.2.1). This is shown in the examples below where *katis max* 'you know, Katis' (4-56) would, if *max* were

not present, require a pronominal article as in (4-55), as shown by the ungrammaticality (4-57).

(4-55) *epo   katis   max   plola*
        sorry   PN   RECG   pull

        m-p-n-gop=o   tom   ox=o
        PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=EMPH   water   3sm=EMPH
        'Sorry to say, it pulled that Katis along. The water (did).' ("Near Drowning" by Dulum Aleap)

(4-56) *epo   katis   ux=nuŋ   plola*
        sorry   PN   3sf=O   pull

        m-p-n-gop=o   tom   ox=o
        PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=EMPH   water   3sm=EMPH
        'Sorry to say, it pulled Katis along. The water (did).' (Elicited.)

(4-57) **/?epo   katis   plola*
        sorry   PN   pull

        m-p-n-gop=o   tom   ox=o
        PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=EMPH   water   3sm=EMPH
        'Sorry to say, it pulled Katis along. The water (did).' (Elicited.)

The form *max* has a second, grammatically distinct function marking adverbial subordinate clauses (see Chapter 12, §12.2.2).

4.2.3 *mox* 'Anaphoric'

The anaphoric demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH' is used when the referent has been previously mentioned in the text but was not previously familiar to the addressee. In example (4-58)a., the referent *niŋ* 'small mammal' is introduced by the verb *x-* 'be' (Chapter 9, §9.1.2.5). In the following sentence from the same text (example (4-58)b.), the same small mammal is marked with the free demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH'.

(4-58) *a.   jɘxe   nox   amkas pl   xtol   jox*
              so   1s   hold   TELL(.SEQ)   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP

              niŋ   *x-n-gop*
              small.mammal   be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
              'So, I grabbed it and saw that it was a small mammal.'

b.   **niŋ**   **mox**   *nox*   *dəpekl*
      small.mammal ANPH   1s   strangle(.SEQ)

su-pat=xe
kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)SBRD
'After I strangled and killed this small mammal, then…' ("Small Mammal"
by Kila Dasyal)

When the demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH' occurs with the singular feminine
pronoun *ux*, it has the variant *mux* for some speakers, as in (4-59) below.

(4-59) *jəxe*   *nonop*   **mux**   **ux**
       so   eZ.1/3POSS   **ANPH** **3sf**

gi=m-pli-n-gop=li=o
THUS=PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP=QUOT
'Then, the elder sister spoke thus: …' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

In example (4-60)a. below, the first mention from a text of *xan* 'man' uses the
free demonstrative *tit* 'INDF'. The second overt noun phase from the same text
referring to the same referent in example (4-60)b. below uses the free demonstrative
mox 'ANPH'.

(4-60) *a.*   *xan*   **tit**   *ox*   *niŋ*   *tup*   *ml*
          man   **INDF** 3sm   small.mammal trap   MAKE(.SEQ)

mde-xi-p=li=a   *mde-s=a*
come.across-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=EMPH come.across-SEQ=LINK
'(They say that) a man came across (the river) to hunt small mammals. He
came across and then…' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

[…]

b.   *jəxe*   *xan*   **mox**   *lo-xi-p=li*   *ap*
      then   man   **ANPH** enter-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP   house

jə-xəm
DEM.DST-inside
'(They say that) this man went inside. In the house.' ("Legend" by Savonna
Frank)

The same use of free demonstratives (first mention of a referent with *tit ~ ti*,
second mention with *mox*) is shown in the first two sentences from another text
below. The referent is introduced with the free demonstrative *ti* 'INDF' in example (4-
61)a. below. In the second sentence from the text (example (4-61)b.) the second
mention of the referent is marked with the free demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH'.

(4-61) *a.* | *gin* | *blel* | *təmd* | ***ti*** | *blel* | *təmən* | *ti=a* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| now | child | father&child | **INDF** | child | father&child | INDF=LINK |

niŋ *dalxə-m* *xu-pa=li=a*
small.mammal hunt-SEQ go.PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=LINK
'Now then, it is said that a father and child, a father and child went for possum hunting.'

b. | *blel* | *təmd* | ***mox*** | *niŋ* | *dalxə-m* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| child | father&child | **ANPH** | small.mammal | hunt-SEQ |

s-pti=xe *niŋ* *gon* *tit*
go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD small.mammal all INDF

su-t-pa=li=a
kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=LINK
'The father and child went for a possum hunting and killed a possum.'
(Ghost Kidnapping, Baku) ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

The free demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH' occurs in complementary distribution with the other demonstratives: it follows the noun and its modifiers and precedes the pronominal article, as in the noun prase *xan gwe mox ox* 'this small man' in (4-62) below.

(4-62) *xan* *gwe* ***mox*** *ox* *gi=m-p-n-gop=li=a*
man small **ANPH** 3sm THUS=PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP=LINK
'This small man said as follows: …' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

As with the other free demonstratives, the presence of *mox* means that the pronominal article is optional where it would usually be compulsory, as in the noun phrase *blel təmd mox* 'the child and his father' in example (4-61)b. above.

The free demonstrative *mox* is most likely derived historically from the proximal spatial clitic demonstrative *m=* 'DEM.PRX' plus the third person singular masculine pronominal article *ox* '3sm'. Synchronically, however, *mox* acts as a free demonstrative and can co-occur with pronominal article as shown in examples (4-62) above and (4-63) below.

(4-63) *ku* *gamd* ***mox*** ***ixit*** *be* *pti*
woman husband&wife **ANPH** **3d** just stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
'The husband and wife aren't doing anything.' (Elicited FNB 7.40)

The homophony of *mox* 'ANPH' with *m=ox* 'DEM.PRX=3sm' and the fact that the presence of *mox* 'ANPH' allows the omission of a pronoun where it would usually be present means that there are situations where the form *mox* is ambiguous between

the two analyses. In most cases such as in example (4-63) above, *mox* can only be the free demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH' because there is a following pronominal article which excludes the analysis *m=ox* 'DEM.PRX=3sm'. An example where *mox* has an ambiguous interpretation is shown below. It is exactly this kind of situation which would have allowed the historical reanalysis of *mox*.

(4-64)   *blel mox*

    a.   *blel*   *m=ox*
        child   DEM.PRX=3sm
        'The child here.'

    b.   *blel*   *mox*
        child   ANPH
        'This child (who we have already spoken of).'

Like the other free demonstratives, *mox* 'ANPH' can act by itself as a noun phrase (4-65).

(4-65) *in*   **mox**   *kin*   *x-ti-plux*   *da*
       so   **ANPH**   how   DO-PFV-TODF.SG   think

       x-t   *pat-n=mil=a*
       DO-SIM   stay-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=CERT=LINK
       'So, I wondered what **this one** would do.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

4.2.4 *jox* 'Definite'

The most commonly occurring of the free demonstratives is *jox* 'DEF', used to mark definite referents. The demonstrative *jox* occurs in complementary distribution with the other demonstratives, and is shown in demonstrative position following a noun and preceding a pronominal article in the noun phrases *tap jox ox* 'the pig' (4-66) and *nap jox ux* 'the younger sister' (4-67) below.

(4-66) *jæxe*   *toxan=xe*   *tap*   ***jox***   *ox*   *lum*   *ml*
       so   sweet.potato=FOC   pig   **DEF**   3sm   a.lot   MAKE(.SEQ)

       d-pat=xejox
       eat-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=BECAUSE
       'So because the pig eats a lot of sweet potato, …' ("Looking after my pig" by Kila Dasyal)

(4-67) *nap*   ***jox***   *ux=xe*   *de=tæx*   *la-ti-p=o*
       ySIB   **DEF**   3sf=FOC   WHICH=place   sing.dance-PFV-PER.FP.SG=QUOT
       '"Where did the younger sister dance?"' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

When the demonstrative *jox* 'DEF' occurs with the singular feminine pronominal article *ux*, it has the variant *jux* for some speakers, as in the noun phrase *xwel kunuŋ bap jux ux* 'the small Xwel clan girl' (4-68) below.

(4-68) | *xwel* | *ku=xe* | *ap* | *xwel* | *kunuŋ* | *bap* | ***jux*** | *ux=ja* | *dəxat* |
|--------|---------|------|--------|---------|-------|-------|---------|---------|
| PN | woman=POSS | house | PN | girl | small | **DEF** | 3sf=O | question |

xəx	*jəxe*	*ux*
DO.PRS.SG	then	3sf

'… at the Xwel clan woman's house (I) asked for the small Xwel clan girl. Then she…' ("Today" by Julie James)

The definite demonstrative *jox* 'DEF' most commonly occurs, however, without a pronominal article following, as in the noun phrase *salpolxe itəp jox* 'Salpol's father' in the example below. Like *tit* 'INDF', I do not have any examples in my texts of *jox* with a plural pronominal article following.

(4-69) | *umitjan* | *ox* | *salpol=xe* | *itəp* | ***jox=a*** |
|---------|------|-------------|--------|-------------|
| PN | 3sm | PN=POSS | father | **DEF**=EMPH |

'Umitjan is Salpol's father.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

The demonstrative *jox* 'DEF' is usually used for referents after they have been established in the discourse by *tit, mox* or *max*. For example, the first mention of *ap* 'house' in the example from the text 'Waterfall' occurs with the indefinite marker *tit* in example (4-70) below. The second mention of the house occurs with the definite marker *jox*. The demonstrative *mox* (§4.2.3) might also have been used in this situation.

(4-70) *a.* | *ap* | ***tit*** | *x-t* | | *x-n-gop=li* |
|------|--------|-------|---|-------------|
| house | **INDF** | DO-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG) | | be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP |

ej	*x-ti-p*	*x-n-gop=li*	*je*
gosh!	DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG	be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP	mountain

put	*te*	*put*	*te=nəp*	*m=ox*
top	place	top	place=VERY	DEM.PRX=3sm

'There was a house which had just been built, sorry, which had been build long ago. Right at the very top of that mountain.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

[…]

b. | *ux* | *ap* | ***jox*** | *loj-xi-p=li* |
|------|------|-------|---------------|
| 3sf | house | **DEF** | enter-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP |

'She went into the house.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The demonstrative *jox* 'DEF' is also used with referents which have not been previously mentioned but which are definite and do not need to be activated or reactivated in the listener's mind, e.g. everyday items and ideas which everyone is familiar with. This includes things such as time expressions and locations, as in (4-71) below.

(4-71) *nox   gin   oloxən   jox   s-plox=a*
      1s   now   afternoon   **DEF**   go-TODF.SG=LINK
      'I will go in the afternoon today.' ("Future" spoken by Kila Dasyal)

Like the other free demonstratives, *jox* 'DEF' can act by itself as a noun phrase (4-72).

(4-72) *jox   pok=o   jox   apuŋ=xe   meŋ   jox   wes=o*
      DEF   all=EMPH   **DEF**   yesterday=POSS speech DEF   thank.you=EMPH
      'That's all. That's (my) yesterday story. Thank you.' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

Chapter 5
Nouns

As defined in Chapter 3, nouns are those words which typically head a noun phrase (see Chapter 7). There are three subclasses of nouns: proper nouns (§5.3), kin nouns (§5.1), and lexical nouns (§5.2). Nouns in Oksapmin, with the exception of kin nouns, rarely take morphology, and, when they do, this is restricted to a small set of suffixes, discussed in §5.4.

5.1 Kin Nouns

Kin nouns are referring words for relatives of different types (see also Chapter 1, §1.2.2, for more discussion). Morphologically, lexical kin terms are distinguished from other nouns in that they are inflected for number. The singular kin noun *kol* 'daughter' is shown in (5-1) below. The kin noun *kol* 'daughter' has the plural form *kolxel* 'daughters'.

(5-1) *jox*   *lapil=xe*   **kol**   *jox*
      DEF   PN=POSS   **daughter**   DEF
      'That (is) Lapil's daughter.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

A subset of kin nouns obligatorily inflect according to the person of the possessor (the 'anchor' as per Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001), not of the referent. This is demonstrated in example (5-2) below with the singular kin term *balip* 'm.in-law.3POSS', whose possessor is overtly expressed by the postpositional phrase *dəsjal=xe* 'Dasyal's'.

(5-2) *dəsjal=xe*   **balip**   *max=xe*   *xəplu-pati-n*
      PN=POSS   **M.in.law.3POSS**   RECG=FOC   die-IPFV.PL-NOMLS
      'When Dasyal's (mother-)in-law was dying…' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

In the example below, the kin noun *mamxel* 'our uncles' is marked for a first person possessor which means that the referent set is possessed by the speaker. The kin noun *mamxel* is also in the plural, and, as such, refers to more than one uncle.

(5-3) **mam-xel**   *ixil*   *n-ap-di-l=xejox=a*
      uncle.1POSS-PL   3p   1/2.O-give-PFV-PER.YESTP=BECAUSE=LINK
      'Because our uncles gave (land) to us, …' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

Kin nouns which inflect for number only are shown in Table 5-1 below. The plural forms for kin nouns which inflect for number only are derived from the singular forms through the addition of a suffix, usually *-xel*.

Meaning	Singular	Plural
aunty, woman's niece or nephew Any ego's: FZ Female ego's: BS, BD	*ənan*	*ənan-xel*
father Any ego's: F, FB, MZH	*kwat*	*kwat-xenil*
son, brother of woman Any ego's: S Male ego's: BS, FBSS, MZSS Female ego's: B, MZS, FBS, ZS, FBDS, MZDS	*mon*	*mon-xel*
daughter, sister of man Any ego's: D Male ego's: Z, MZD, FBD, BD, FBSD, MZSD Female ego's: ZD, FBDD, MZDS	*kol*	*kol-xel*
younger same sex sibling Male ego's: yB, yMZS, yFBS Female ego's: yZ, yMZD, yFBD	*nap*	*nap-gəpenil*
brother of woman Female ego's: B, FBS, MZS	*unuŋ*	*unuŋ-xel*
sister of man Male ego's: Z, FBD, MZD	*kunuŋ*	*kunuŋ-xel*
any blood relative	*taptem*	*taptem-xel*

Table 5-1.   Lexical kin terms which inflected for number only

The different inflectional forms for kin nouns which inflect for both number of the referent and person of the possessor are shown in Table 5-2 below. The second and third person possessed forms are often based on the first person possessed form plus a suffix *-n* for second person and *-p* for third person. The plural forms for kin nouns which inflect for person of the possessor are derived from the singular forms through the addition of a suffix, usually *-il*. A sample relationship is given for each kin noun, followed by a full list (where practicable) of the relationships included in the meaning.

	Singular			Plural		
Sample relationship(s) Full range of meanings	1POSS	2POSS	3POSS	1POSS	2POSS	3POSS
mother, mother's sister Any ego's: M, MZ, FBW	*em ~ jem*	*sia*	*sup*	*em-xel ~* *em-xenil*	*sia-nil*	*sup-il*
father, father's brother Any ego's: F, FB, MZH	*at ~ ita*	*ita*	*itəp*	*ita-nil*	*ita-nil*	*itəp-il*
grandparent, grandchild Any ego's: FF, MM, MF, FM, SS, DD, SD, DS, FFB, FFZ, FMB, FMZ, MMB, MMZ, MFB, MFZ	*aw ~* *xanaw (m) ~* *awku (f)*	*əla*	*əlop ~* *ələp*	*aw-xel ~* *aw-xenil*	*əla-nil*	*əlop-il ~* *ələp-il*
uncle, man's niece or nephew Any ego's: MB Male ego's: ZS, ZD, FZDS, FZDD, FZSS, FZSD, MBDS, MBDD, MBSS, MBSD	*mam*	*əmnən*	*əmnəp*	*mam-xel*	*əmnən-il*	*əmnəp-il*
aunty, woman's niece or nephew Any ego's: FZ Female ego's: BS, BD	*konip*	*konin*	*konip*	*konip-il*	*konin-il*	*konip-il*
elder sister of woman Female ego's: eZ, eMZD, eFBD	*nonop*	*nonon*	*nonop*	*nonop-il*	*nonon-il*	*nonop-il*
elder brother of man Male ego's: eB, eMZS, eFBS	*nənip*	*nənin*	*nənip*	*nənip-il*	*nənin-il*	*nənip-il*
male in-law Any ego's: ZH, MZH, FZH Male ego's: WB	*bal*	*blin*	*blip*	*bal-xel*	*blin-il*	*blip-il*
female in-law Any ego's: BW, MBW, FBW Female ego's: HZ	*sinəp*	*sinən*	*sinəp*	*sinəp-il*	*sinən-il*	*sinəp-il*
cross cousin Any ego's: FZS, FZD, MBS, MBD	*um*	*amun*	*amup*	*um-xel*	*amun-il*	*amup-il*
same sex sibling Male ego's: B, FBS, MZS Female ego's: Z, FBD, MZD	*alwap*	*alwan*	*alwap*	*alwap-il*	*alwan-il*	*alwap-il*
husband Female ego's: H	*imap*	*iman*	*imap*	*imap-il*	*iman-il*	*imap-il*
wife Male ego's: W	*inəp*	*inən*	*inəp*	*inəp-il*	*inən-il*	*inəp-il*

Table 5-2.　　Lexical kin terms which inflect for both person and number
(Note: person is of the possessor, number is of the referent.)

Unlike lexical nouns, kin terms occur very infrequently with modifiers within a noun phrase, although this is possible as shown in the elicited example below where *alwap* 'sister' is modified by *dok* 'tall'.

(5-4)	*noxe*	***alwap***	*dok*	*mux*	*ux*
	1s.POSS	**SS.SIB.1/3POSS**	tall	ANPH	3sm

'My tall sister.' (Elicited.)

Kin terms also differ from lexical nouns in that when possessing a kin term, the possessive suffix is optional when the kin noun is already inflected for the person

of the possessor (5-5). This is not possible when the head of the noun phrase is a lexical noun (5-6). That a second type of possessive construction is acceptable only with kin nouns is not surprising in a cross-linguistic context: Dryer (2007: 185-90) notes that a number of languages have different possessive constructions for alienable as opposed to inalienable nouns. The b. and c. examples below show the other possessive constructions: a possessive clitic (see Chapter 6, §6.3.2), and a possessive pronominal article (Chapter 3, §3.4) respectively.

(5-5) *a.* *epa* *sup*
  PN mother.3POSS
  'Epa's mother.'

  b. *epa=xe* *sup*
  PN=POSS mother.3POSS
  'Epa's mother.'

  c. *epa* *uxe* *sup*
  PN 3sf.POSS mother.3POSS
  'Epa's mother.'

(5-6) *a.* **epa* *tap*
  PN pig
  'Epa's pig.'

  b. *epa=xe* *tap*
  PN=POSS pig
  'Epa's pig.'

  c. *epa* *uxe* *tap*
  PN 3sf.POSS pig
  'Epa's pig.'

5.2 Lexical Nouns

Lexical nouns are those nouns which typically act as the head of a noun phrase, and commonly take other lexical nouns and/or relative clauses as modifiers (unlike kin nouns and proper nouns). Example (5-7) shows the lexical noun *pitle* 'one' modifying the lexical noun *blel* 'child'. Example (5-8) shows the noun *but* 'flat place' modified by a relative clause.

(5-7) *noxe ita ox pitil **blel** pok pat-n=a*
  1s.POSS father.1POSS 3sm one **child** only stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
  'When my father had only one child, …' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

(5-8) *ixlaile*   *əwtə-l*   ***but***   *mə-xəm*
            3p.REFL.POSS   dig-IPFV.PER.TODP   **flat.place**   DEM.PRX-down
            'their own place which they have dug down near them' ("River Butul" by Dulum
            Aleap)

At first glance, it is tempting to posit a class of adjectives as there is a group of words which have adjectival meanings and commonly modify lexical nouns as example (5-9) below shows for *wan* 'different'.

(5-9) *kol*   *ux*   *mda-m=a*   *xu*
            sister   3sf   finish-SEQ=LINK   go.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)

            x-n-gop=li   ***wan***   *te*   *nuŋ*
            be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP   **different**   place   TO
            'The sister had left (the house) and gone. To a different place.' ("Brother and sister"
            by Miriam)

Such adjective-like words, however, can always also act as the head noun as shown for *wan* 'different' in (5-10) below. See §5.2.4 for more such examples.

(5-10) *jəxe*   *nox*   *it*   ***wan***   *a-dl*   *lo-s=a*
            then   1s   again   **different**   BEN-take(.SEQ)   enter-SEQ=LINK
            'So, I went in and got different one for her and...' ("Today" by Julie James)

Tok Pisin and English adjectives can be imported as noun modifiers, as shown in the examples below for *pəpəlpela* 'purple' and *niupela* 'new' which have the Tok Pisin adjective suffix *-pela*.

(5-11) *ku*   *tit*   ***pəpəl-pela***   *uŋ*   *tit*   *suxu-n*
            woman INDF   **purple(Eng)-ADJ(TP)**   string.bag   INDF   carry.on.head-SIM

            o=m-t   *x-n-gwel*   *mex*   *jə-xəm*
            finish=MAKE-SIM   be-PFV-VIS.YESTP   far   DEM.DST-down
            'I saw a lady carrying a purple bag. Far below (us).' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(5-12) *jəxe*   *nox*   *it*   *wan*   *a-dl*   *lo-s=a*   *it*   *plastik*
            then   1s   again   another BEN-take(.SEQ)   enter-SEQ=LINK again   plastic(Eng)

            bruk   *x-ti-n*   *mox*   *it*   ***niu-pela***
            broken(TP)   DO-PFV-NOMLS   ANPH again   **new(Eng)-ADJ(TP)**

            tem   *nuŋ*   *mox*   *de-s*   *p-l-pat=xe*
            inside TO   ANPH   MAKE-PNCT   TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
            'So, I went in and got another one for her and after I put the broken plastic bag inside
            the new one again, …' ("Today" by Julie James)

Even these foreign adjectives, however, can act as the head noun of a noun phrase as shown for tripela 'three' in the consecutive lines from a single text given in (5-13) below.

(5-13) *a.* *jæxe* *pa* *mox* *nox=ja* *tri-pela*
        then taro ANPH 1s=O three(TP)-ADJ(TP)

        n-apli-n-gwel
        1/2.O-give-PFV-VIS.YESTP
        Then, she gave me three taros.

    b. *tri-pela* *n-apli-pat-ø=xe*
        three(TP)-ADJ(TP) 1/2.O-give-IPFV.SG-PRS=SBRD
        When she gave me three (taros), … ("Yesterday" told by Julie James)

There is, however, evidence for three subclasses of lexical nouns: classifier lexical nouns, location lexical nouns and quantifiers. Evidence for these subclasses is given in §5.2.1, §5.2.2 and §5.2.3 below respectively.

5.2.1 Classifier Lexical Nouns

Classifier lexical nouns, in addition to the general properties described for nouns above, have the additional properties of only being able to occur at the right edge of the noun phrase before any demonstratives, and of referring to size and shape characteristics of the referent. They fit the description of 'noun classifiers' (Aikhenvald 2000). The words classed as classifier lexical nouns according to the current analysis are shown in Table 5-3 below. More research is, however, needed into the classifier lexical nouns to determine the exact restrictions on their usage and their status as noun classifiers.

Classifier lexical noun	Meaning
ban	'bundle'
bap	'small (one)'
bli	'huge (one)'
bok	'big and flat (one)'
dap	'long (one)'
dok	'skinny (one)'
dus	'innards'
(e)lel	'some'
gon	'whole (one)'
gwe	'small round (one)'
kət	'short (one)'
kən	'cooked (one)'
ke	'big (one)'
muk	'group'
ol	'dead (body)'
paliman	'huge (one)'
pəsel	'old (one)'
san	'container'
tən	'side'
uŋ	'a lot, a bag of'
wet	'tied package'
xəpən	'raw (one)'
xolxol	'of marriable age (woman)'

Table 5-3.　　Classifier lexical nouns

Example (5-14) below shows the classifier lexical nouns *gwe* 'small' and *bok* 'big and flat'.

(5-14)　*jæxe*　　*blel*　　**gwe**　　*mox=a*　　　　*ã*　　*ã*　　*ã*　　*ã*　　　*li-t*
　　　　then　　child　　**small**　ANPH=LINK　　　[sound of child crying out]　　say-SIM

　　　　dejo-l　　　　　　　　　　　　*dejo-l*
　　　　go.across-IPFV.PER.TODP　　　　go.across-IPFV.PER.TODP

　　　　dejo-l　　　　　　　　　　　　*dejo-l*　　　　　　　　　　*mda-m=a*
　　　　go.across-IPFV.PER.TODP　　　　go.across-IPFV.PER.TODP　　finish-SEQ=LINK

　　　　walon　　　　　*kədap*　　　　*kədap*　　　　**bok**　　*xən*
　　　　tree.variety　　tree.variety　　tree.variety　　**big.flat**　across
　　　　'Then the small child cried "a-a-a-a" as it flew across to (where the father was) at the big flat *walon kədap* tree.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

Like regular lexical nouns, classifier lexical noun commonly occur alone as the head of a noun phrase, as in the noun phrase *igwe jox* 'the little one' (5-15), where *gwe* 'small' is the head noun.

(5-15) *i=gwe*   *jox*   *i=te*   *ol*   *pat-gop=li*
        DEM.DST=**small**   DEF   DEM.DST=place dead   stay-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'The little one stayed dead there.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

Classifier lexical nouns give information about the state, shape or size of the referent and occur to the right of the noun phrase. Unlike other lexical noun modifiers, they cannot occur to the left of the noun phrase. Classifier lexical nouns are commonly used when identifying referents or referring to their physical manifestation in the real world. This is demonstrated in the example below where *tən* 'side' and *bok* 'big and flat' which are used help the addressee identify the referents and indicate typical attributes of pictures and walls respectively.

(5-16) *piksa*   ***tən***   *p-opli-s=a*   *wɔːl*   ***bok***
        picture **side**   CAUS-come-SEQ=LINK   wall   **big.flat**

        i-de=x   *sli-s*   *pl=xe*
        DEM.DST-across=3sm   put-PNCT   TELL(.PRS.SG)=VIS
        '(She/he) brought the picture and put it on the wall across there.' (MPI Put 5, Julie James)

When describing the physical body of a human or animal, a post-nominal modifier is usually used, such as *gon* 'whole', as in examples (5-17) and (5-18) below.

(5-17) *ej*   *xtol*   *jox*   *blel*   ***gon***   *mox*
        gosh!   see.PRS.SG   SBRD   child   **whole**   ANPH

        xəpu-t=a
        die-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=EMPH
        'That child died.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(5-18) *ulxol*   *ku*   ***gon***   *x-s*
        3sf.REFL   woman   **whole**   be-PNCT
        'She herself became a woman again.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

The classifier lexical noun *bok* 'big and flat' in contrast is usually used for dead adult humans as in (5-19) below. The classifier lexical noun *bok* is also commonly used for tree trunks.

(5-19) *amnəp*   *ol*   ***bok***
        uncle.1/3POSS   dead   **big.flat**
        'Her uncle died.' (Lit. '(Her) uncle was a big, flat dead body.') ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

The following sentences with *lat* 'wood/tree' show how classifiers are used to indicate different manifestations of a certain entity.

(5-20) *ox*   *lat*   **san**   *noŋ*   *mə-xən*   *x-s*
         3sm   tree   **container** TO   DEM.PRX-across   go-PNCT

   juwam   *gon*   *x-ti-n*   *təmde-ŋ*
   bat.variety   small.round   be-PFV-NOMLS   hang-PNCT

   li-ti-p   *xoxom* *ox*
   SAY-PFV-PER.FP.SG   PN   3sm
   'He went and hung down from a **tree** like a bat. Xoxom (did).' ("Xoxom clan origin"
   by Təpsut)

(5-21) *gin*   *lat*   **wet**   *dl*   *wa-plox=xe=a*
         now   tree   **tied.package**   take(.SEQ)   go.down-TODF.SG=SBRD=LINK

   m-pli-n-gop=li
   PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
   '"Now, I'll go down and get the **bundle of wood**", she told them.' ("Waterfall" by
   Julie James)

(5-22) *ku=si*   *xan=si*   *makit*   *ap*   *noŋ*   *ma*
         woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   market(Eng)   house   TO   REL

   estrip   *ka*   *noŋ*   *mi-lo=x*   *lat*   **gwe**
   airstrip(Eng)   place   TO   DEM.PRX-up-3sm   tree   **small.round**

   m-sl=a
   PRX.O-put(.SEQ)=LINK
   '…people put **fruit** at the market which is up towards the airstrip and…' ("Today" by
   Kerina Mapul)

(5-23) *mde-pat=xe*   *lat*   **tən**   *tit*   *kat*
         come.across-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   tree   **side**   INDF   shoulder

   təm   *ka*   *mox*   *s-ti-l=a*
   bone   place   ANPH   put-PFV-PER.YESTP=LINK
   'After I came across, I put a **log of wood** on my shoulder.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina
   Mapul)

(5-24) *lat*   **bok**=wi   *wa-pat-n*   *wa-pat-n*
         tree   **big.flat**=ONLY go.down-IPFV.SG-NOMLS   go.down-IPFV.SG-NOMLS

   wa-pat-n=a   *kak*   *tæx*   *xəm*
   go.down-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   ground   place   down
   'He went all the way down the **tree trunk** to the ground.' ("Tiljot" by Dasyal Gahan)

Classifier lexical nouns in Oksapmin are optional in all circumstances,
including with numerals as shown in example (5-25) and (5-26) below, which do not
have classifier lexical nouns.

(5-25) *ku* **ot=a** **tit=a** *s-pti-gwel=a*
woman **two=CNJ** **one=CNJ** go-IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP=LINK
'After I went down to the road, I went down to Soxon cave and I saw that three women were coming along.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(5-26) **pitil** *lum* *pok=wi* *de-n=mul=o*
one room only=ONLY MAKE-IMP=CERT=QUOT
'"Make only one room!"' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap)

Sometimes it is not clear whether or not the classifier lexical noun is the head noun. For example, in (5-27) below, it is tempting to say, based on semantics (from an English perspective), that *blel* 'child' is the head noun and that the classifier lexical noun *gwe* 'small and round' is a modifier. However, examples (5-28) and (5-29) provide evidence that *gwe* is the head noun which is modified by the nouns preceding it, *nel* 'bird' and *lat* 'tree' respectively, as the meaning of *gwe* 'small round (one)' is modified in each case by the noun preceding it, and not vice versa.

(5-27) *blel* **gwe**
child **small.round**
'Small round child.' (Elicited.)

(5-28) *nel* **gwe**
bird **small.round**
'Bird's egg.' (Elicited.)

(5-29) *lat* **gwe**
tree **small.round**
'Fruit.' (Elicited.)

5.2.2 Location Lexical Nouns

In addition to the general properties for lexical nouns, and like classifier lexical nouns, location lexical nouns must occur at the right edge of the noun phrase preceding any demonstratives. Unlike classifier lexical nouns, location lexical nouns refer to the location of the referent. Location lexical nouns could alternatively be analysed as a subtype of classifier lexical nouns. Example (5-30) below shows the location lexical noun *xəlep* 'underneath' preceding the demonstrative *mə-de=* 'across here'.

(5-30) *togox* *je* **xəlep** *mə-de=x*
PN mountain **underneath** DEM.PRX-across=3sm
'Under Togox mountain across here.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

A number of location lexical nouns have adpositional meanings such as *ka* 'place' which is often translated by 'at' in English. Location lexical nouns, however, are not postpositions as they occur within the noun phrase as shown by the fact that they can be followed by demonstratives as in (5-31) below, where *ka* 'place' is followed by the demonstrative *mə-xəm* 'down here'. They can also act as the head of a noun phrase themselves as shown in the noun phrase *ika* 'that place' in example (5-32) below.

(5-31) *kədap* *kəkel* **ka** *mə-xəm* *toŋno-m* *wə=de-pat*
tree.v root **place** DEM.PRX-down sit.down-SEQ leave=MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
'After (he) sat down at the *kədap* roots, …' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

(5-32) *gət* *de-pti* *jəxe* *bəp* *nox* *it* *i=**ka***
cut MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS) so HES 1s again DEM.DST=**place**

pogwe-m=o
help-SEQ=EMPH
'…when (they) were cutting (grass), then I helped out there again and…'
("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

This is further shown for the location lexical noun *xəlep* 'underneath', which is shown as the head of a noun phrase preceded by a possessive pronoun (5-33), and following the lexical noun *je* 'mountain' in an adpositional function (5-34).

(5-33) *a* *jəxe* *mə=ma* *ku=si* *xan=si* *mox*
HES then DEM.PRX=REL woman=CNJ man=CNJ ANPH

oxe ***xəlep**=wi* *ma* *edo-l* *jox*
3sm.POSS **underneath**=ONLY REL stay.PFV-PER.YESTP DEF
'So, his descendents lived on.' (Lit 'So, these men and women stayed at his underneath.') ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

(5-34) *je* ***xəlep*** *mo-xot* *əw*
mountain **underneath** DEM.PRX-up dance

la-ti-pja *li-n-gopa=li*
sing.and.dance-PFV-TODF.PL say-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'(It is said that) they said that there would be a dance up under the mountain.'
("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The current location lexical nouns in my data are shown in Table 5-4 below.

Location lexical noun	Adpositional meaning	Other meaning (where different from adpositional meaning)
ben	'down between'	*ben* n. 'valley'
but	'flat place'	
ka	'at, place, area'	
kak	'on top'	*kak* n. 'head'
kakdup	'near'	
kat	'place, at'	
kom	'behind'	*kom* n. 'back of body'
kot	'outside'	*kot* n. 'jungle, forest'
kətdəx	'other side'	
kətən	'other side'	
mutux	'between, in the middle'	
nuŋ	'towards, to'	
pe	'end'	
pupux	'edge'	
pəs	'hill'	
te	'area'	
tem	'inside'	*tem* n. 'hole'
təx	'place'	
xəlep	'under'	

Table 5-4.   Location lexical nouns

5.2.2.1 *nuŋ* 'TO': Postposition or Location Noun?

The remainder of this section is devoted to a discussion of the location lexical noun *nuŋ*, which means 'to', 'destination' or 'towards' and occurs with high frequency in Oksapmin (see also the related object clitic *=nuŋ* 'O', discussed in Chapter 6, §6.2.3). The location lexical noun *nuŋ* 'TO' has the variants *nəŋ* and *noŋ*. Typically, a noun phrase with *nuŋ* 'TO' occurs with verbs of motion to indicate the destination or direction of the motion as in example (5-35) below. This includes light verbs which are used for motion with a non-specific origin (see Chapter 9, §9.1.2.6) as in example (5-36) below.

(5-35)   *[dapgoxan   ap   **nəŋ**]   əpli-pti=xe*
         PN   village **TO**   come-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD
         'When they came to Dapgoxan village, …' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

(5-36)   *[tap   ixlaixle   banis   pja   **nuŋ**   jə-xət]*
         pig   3p.REFL.POSS   fence   big   **TO**   DEM.DST-up

         de-s   p-ti-p
         CAUS.go-PNCT   TELL-PFV-PER.FP.SG
         'I put (him) in the pigs' big enclosure.' ("Looking After My Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

The location lexical noun *nuŋ* 'TO' may also indicate the destination or direction of an action with non-motion verbs as shown in the examples below.

(5-37) *[dulusalem* **nəŋ]** *da*   *x-pat=mil=o*
place.name   **TO**   thought   DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CERT=QUOT
'"I am thinking about Jerusalem."' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

(5-38) *[i=ka*   *kat*   **nəŋ]**   *[i=ka*   *kat*   **nəŋ]**   *nox*
DEM.DST=place place   **TO**   DEM.DST=place place   **TO**   1s

xtol   *jox*   *kip*   *ti=bəs*
see(.PRS.SG)   TOP   road   some=NEG
'When I looked in all directions, there was no road, nothing.' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

Although the semantics of *nuŋ* are not typically nominal, it has the same distribution as other nouns, in particular other location lexical nouns. Like other location lexical nouns, *nuŋ* often occur at the right edge of the noun phrase, before a demonstrative (5-39).

(5-39) *gin*   *nuxul*   *[em=xe*   *moŋ*   **nəŋ**   *mox]*
now   1pEX   mother.1POSS=POSS   ground **TO**   ANPH

əp-də-pa=xejox   *mə-xəm*   *pti*
come-PFV-PER.FP.PL=BECAUSE   DEM.PRX-down   stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)

mox=a
ANPH=EMPH
'Now, because we came to our mother's land, it's here that we live.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

The location lexical noun *nuŋ* 'TO' can head a noun phrase and take modifiers, as shown in the following example where the noun phrase *noxe pat nəŋ* 'to my where-I-am-staying' contains the relative clause *pat* '(where) I am staying'.

(5-40) *[noxe*   *pat*   *nəŋ]*   *[...]*   *ux*
1s.POSS   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)   TO   3sf

na=əpi-n-gop=a
NEG=come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=EMPH
'(We got cross with each other so) she didn't come to my house (Lit. my where I am staying) (any more)…' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap.)

The location lexical noun *nuŋ* 'TO' may head a noun phrase with a preceding demonstrative clitic as shown in example (5-41) and (5-42) below.

(5-41)   *gin*   *nuxul*   *[mə=**nəŋ**]*   *əp-də-pa=xejox*
       now   1pEX   DEM.PRX=**TO**   come-PFV-PER.FP.PL=BECAUSE

       em=xe   *moŋ*   *te*   *mox*
       mother=POSS ground place ANPH
       'Now, because we came to here. (To) Mother's land here.' ("Relatives" told by
       Dulum Aleap)

(5-42)   *lex*   *olxol*   *[mə=**nəŋ***   *m=ox]*
       long.ago   3sm.REFL   DEM.PRX=**TO**   DEM.PRX=3sm

       əp-di-p=te=xe=a
       come-PFV-PER.FP.SG=ALREADY=SBRD=LINK
       'So, he himself had already come here, so…' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

5.2.3 Quantifier Lexical Nouns

Quantifier lexical nouns are a further subgroup of lexical nouns. Within the noun phrase, they behave as normal lexical nouns. Unlike other lexical nouns, however, they may undergo quantifier floating and follow the noun phrase which they modify. This is shown in the examples below for *wanxe* 'a lot'. In example (5-43) below, *wanxe* occurs in the noun phrase *xənatda wanxe nəxəsxe tit* 'a lot of great arrows'. In example (5-44) below, it follows the noun phrase it modifies, namely *xolom ox* 'the *xolom* (bird)'. See Chapter 7, §7.5.3, for more examples of quantifier floating.

(5-43)   *xənat=d=a*   ***wanxe*** *nəxəsxe*   *tit*   *ma*   *dl*
       arrow=PQ=EMPH   **a.lot** great   INDF   REL   take(.SEQ)

       mda-m=a
       leave-SEQ=LINK
       'He finished taking lots of great arrows and …' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

(5-44)   *tomxan*   *jox*   *xolom*   *ox*   ***wanxe***
       pandanus   DEF   bird.variety   3sm   **a.lot**

       lo-pat-go-p=li=a
       enter-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP=EMPH
       'There were lots of birds of paradise going inside the pandanus tree foliage.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

Only four quantifier lexical nouns have been identified at this stage of research: *pok* 'only/alone', *kətpe* 'a few', *wanxe* 'a lot' and *gonsi* 'all'[1].

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[1] Further research is required to determine whether the quantifier *gonsi* 'all' has, in fact, lexicalised or whether it is still analysable as *gon=si* (whole=PROP) 'with whole'.

5.2.4 Oksapmin as a Flexible N/A Language

As implied by the above discussion of adjective-like lexical nouns acting as both head nouns and modifiers, Oksapmin does not make a distinction between nouns and adjectives: a single class of words, namely nouns, performs both functions. This is shown in the examples below where a 'semantic adjective'[2] such as *jæx* 'good' and a clear noun such as *maxap* 'banana' can both modify other nouns, as in (5-45)a. and (5-46)a., and act as the head of a noun phrase, as in (5-45)b. and (5-46)b.

(5-45) *a*   ***jæx***   *xan*   *jox*
            good   man   DEF
            'the good man/men' (Elicited.)

      b.   ***jæx***   *jox*
            good   DEF
            'the good one' (Elicited.)

(5-46) *a.*   ***maxap***   *lin*   *jox*
            banana   leaf   DEF
            'the banana leaf/leaves' (Elicited.)

      b.   ***maxap***   *jox*
            banana   DEF
            'the banana(s)' (Elicited.)

According to Hengevelds's (1992) classification, this would make Oksapmin a flexible N/A (Type 2) language. Hengeveld gives the following examples from Quechua to demonstrate a flexible N/A language, where *alkalde* 'mayor' and *hatun* 'big' can both act as objects or modifiers.

(5-47) *a.*   *Rikaška:*   *alkalde-ta*
            see.PAST.1.SG mayor-ACC
            'I saw the mayor.' (QUECHUA Hengevald 1992: 63)

      b.   *chay*   *alkalde runa*
            DEM   mayor man
            'that man who is mayor' (QUECHUA Hengevald 1992: 63)

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[2] Semantic adjective "is used as a label for words that are descriptive words that denote what some people call 'properties', such as size and colour, though in practice it is used for words with meanings corresponding to words traditionally called 'adjectives' in English, with meanings like 'big', 'red', good', 'long', and 'fast'." (Dryer 2007: 168)

(5-48) *a.*   *Rikaška:*   *hatun-ta*
                 see.PAST.1.SG big-ACC
                 'I saw the big one.' (QUECHUA Hengevald 1992: 63)

        b.   *chay*   *hatun*   *runa*
                 DEM   big   man
                 'that big man' (QUECHUA Hengevald 1992: 63)

This is further demonstrated for Oksapmin with the 'semantic adjective' *pja* 'big' below, where it is shown occurring both before the head noun in the noun phrase *pja nel jox* 'the big birds' (5-49); after the head noun in the noun phrase in the noun phrase *nel pja* 'big bird' (5-50); and acting as the head of a noun phrase in the noun phrase *pja ixil* 'the big ones' (5-51).

(5-49) *go*   *kətpe*   *jox*   *li-ti-n*   *x-ti-n=d=o*
        2s   some   DEF   say-PFV-NOMLS   be-PFV-IMP=PQ=EMPH

        pja   *nel*   *jox*
        big   bird   DEF
        'Could you say the names of some? The big birds.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(5-50) *mox*   *nel*   ***pja**=nəp*   *mə=ma*   *boxol*
        ANPH   bird   **big**=VERY   DEM.PRX=REL   eagle
        'This one is a very big bird. This eagle.' ("Birds 6" by Paiiz Wengsin)

(5-51) ***pja***   *ixil*   *əpli-s*
        big   3p   come-SEQ
        'The big ones come and…' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

This is likewise shown for *bap* 'small', which is shown both before (5-52) and after other nouns (5-53), and as a sole head noun (5-54) in the examples below.

(5-52) *i=xi-m=a*   *it*   *asup*   *ap=si*   *məmxan*
        like.that=DO-SEQ=LINK again   menstruation   house=PROP   what's.it

        tæx   *jox*   *doxe*   ***bap***   *gwe*   *tit*   *x-sxe=li*   *jojox*
        place   DEF   fence   **small** small   INDF   DO-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP   TOP
        'After that, they used to make a small fence around the menstruation hut. That is…' ("Menstruation House" by Julie James)

(5-53) *pt-m=a*   *jæe*   *oloxən*   *jox*   *nonxe*   *xəplu-pat*
        stay-SEQ=LINK then   afternoon   DEF   1s.REFL.POSS die-IPFV.SG-PRS

        bap   *tap*   *jox*   *toxan*   *a-sxu-m=o*
        small pig   DEF   sweet.potato   BEN-get-SEQ=EMPH

        a-p-lu-s=o   *x-m*   *pt-pla*
        BEN-CAUS-go.up-SEQ=EMPH   be-SEQ   stay-FF.SG
        'Then in the afternoon I'll get food and take it up to my bloody (Lit. dying) little pig.'
        ("Future" by Kila Dasyal)

(5-54) *tap*   *bap*   *sup*   *ux*   *sl*   *jox*   *sup*
        pig   small   mother.3POSS   3sf   put(.PRS.SG)   TOP   mother.3POSS

        ux=si   ***bap***   *ixil=si* *təp*   *ap*   *p-pti*
        3sf=CNJ   **small**   3p=CNJ same   house   CAUS-stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'When the mother gives birth to piglets, we look after the mother and the little ones in
        the same house.' ("Looking After Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

The following example shows the nouns *pja* 'big' and *bap* 'small' conjoined
in the noun phrase *pjasi bapsi mox* 'this big one and this small one'.

(5-55) *jæe*   *bəp*   *oxe*   *dup*   *sli-l*   *ka*
        then   so   3sm.POSS   bow   put-IPFV.PER.TODP   place

        mo-xom=ox   *kim*   *li-t*   *mda-n-gopa=li*
        DEM.PRX-down=3sm   quiet   SAY-SIM   finish-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP

        ***pja*=si**   ***bap*=si**   *mox*
        big=CNJ   **small**=CNJ   ANPH
        'They stayed quietly where he had put his bow. This big one and this small one.'
        ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

The same flexibility of ordering is likewise shown for the noun *kətpe* 'some',
which is shown in example (5-56) preceding the head noun, following the head noun
in example (5-57) and acting as the head of a noun phrase in example (5-58).

(5-56) *bəp*   ***kətpe***   *xanəp* *jox*   *oxe*   *meŋ*
        so   **some**   person DEF   3sm.POSS   speech

        jox   *it*   *li-pel=o*   *li-pti*
        DEF   again   say-IF.PL=QUOT   say-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'So, some people want to discuss the word (of God) again.' ("Church" by Kila
        Dasyal)

(5-57) ku=si   xan=si   **kətpe**   jox   məmxan   soŋ=a
       woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   **some**   DEF   what's.it   song(Eng)=LINK

       ga   pu-s-ja=o   i=xi-m=a   pt-pja
       song   CAUS-go-PRS.PL=QUOT   like.that=DO-SEQ=LINK   stay-TODF.PL
       'So, when we go to church, a number of people want to sing (lit. bring) songs.'
       ("Church" by Kila Dasyal)

(5-58) **kətpe**   ixil   bəten   x-m   s-s   məmxan
       some   3p   pray(TP)   DO-SEQ   go-SEQ   what's.it

       x-pti
       be-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'People pray and then go and what's it.' ("Church" by Kila Dasyal)

5.3 Proper Nouns

Like other nouns, proper nouns head a noun phrase and can occur with a demonstrative or pronominal article. Unlike other nouns, proper nouns do not usually occur with noun or relative clause modifiers, although they may occur with location lexical nouns. The main types of proper nouns are person names, place names and clan names. Person names regularly occur with a pronominal article to form a noun phrase, as in the noun phrase *anwep ox* 'Anwep' in (5-59) below.

(5-59) **anwep** ox   pok   pat-n
       PN   3sm   only   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS
       'When only Anwep was there, …' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

The clan name *kusan* is shown with a demonstrative to form the noun phrase *kusan mox* 'this Kusan clan person', in (5-60) below.

(5-60) jəxe   **kusan** mox=o   tit   ən   təxe
       then   **PN**   ANPH=EMPH   INDF   arrow   throw

       a-pl=a
       BEN-TELL(.SEQ)=LINK
       'Then, this Kusan clan (man) threw a spear at (the brother) and…' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

The place name *jəlix* is shown in the example below with the spatial demonstrative *i-de=* 'across there'.

(5-61) **jəlix**   i-de=x   pti-n=a
       PN   DEM.DST-across=3sm   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
       'When (they) stayed across there at Jəlix, …' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

The foreign proper name MAF (Mission Aviation Fellowship) occurs with the location lexical noun *tem* 'inside' in the example below to form the noun phrase *MAF tem* 'inside the MAF (plane)'.

(5-62)   *xan*   *tit*   *bəp*   ***MAF***   *tem*   *s-si-plox=o*
       man   INDF   so   **PN**   inside   go-PFV-TODF.SG=QUOT

       li-pat-n=a   *MAF*   *otoriti*   *pepa*
       say-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   PN   authority(Eng)   paper(Eng)

       lapli-l=a
       give-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK
       'Then, I gave a man an MAF (church concession) authority slip because he wanted to go inside the MAF (plane).' ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

5.4 Noun Suffixes

Oksapmin has a small number of derivational suffixes which attach to nouns. Most of these are no longer fully productive.

5.4.1 -jan 'Denizen'

The suffix *-jan* indicates someone who originates from a certain place. However, this suffix/clitic is of very limited use and is probably no longer productive.

(5-63)   *mə=ma*   *apte-**jan***   *ku*   *nuxule* *uŋ*   *x-pti*
       DEM.PRX=REL   village-**DENZ**   woman   1pEX   bag   DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)

       jox   *ipe*   *naŋ=si*   *uŋ*   *x-pti*
       TOP   tree.variety   rope=WITH   string.bag   DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'When we village woman here make string bags, we make (them) with *ipe* rope.' ("String bags" by Kila Dasyal)

(5-64)   *səbati-**jan***   *ixil*   *xtol*   *wa-x-pa=li*
       PN-**DENZ**   3p   see(.SEQ)   go.down-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
       'The people from Sabati went down to see (the frightening water).' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

5.4.2 -naj 'Excessive'

The suffix *-naj* 'excessive' is used to indicate someone who does something all the time. It is added to nouns as well as coverbs or verbs and the resulting word is a regular lexical noun. This suffix is used on a fixed set of lexemes and appears to no longer be productive.

(5-65) *iman-naj*
      urine-EXCS
      'Someone who urinates all the time.'

(5-66) *kəs-naj*
      scared-EXCS
      'A scaredy cat.'

(5-67) *tim-naj*
      sleep-EXCS
      'A sleepy head.'

5.4.3 -ku 'Someone Who Has or Does X'

There is limited evidence for a derivational suffix *-ku* which derives an adjectival lexical noun or noun denoting a person who has or does the meaning associated with the original word. In Oksapmin, the following were found: *əlwolku* 'vengeful' (<*əlwol* 'exchange'); *watəxku* 'brave' (< *watəx* 'skin'); *kəbiku* 'giant' (< *kəbi* 'hip'). The noun *əlwolku* 'vengeful' is shown in the following example.

(5-68) *pita*   *ox*   **əlwolku**   *xan*   *edo-l=li=a*
      PN   3sm   **vengeful**   man   stay.PFV-PER.YESTP=REP=LINK
      'Peter remained a vengeful man.' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap)

Upper Oksapmin has the word *kəsku*[3] 'someone who is always fearful' (Lawrence, M. 1993: 56) which derives from the noun *kəs* 'fear'.

Upper Oksapmin also has *watəxpe*[4] 'bold, courageous', which indicates that *watəxku* and *watəxpe* are parallel innovations using different derivational suffixes in Lower and Upper Oksapmin respectively. Both are probably from the noun *watəx* 'skin'. The suffix *-pe* is unattested in Lower Oksapmin.

5.4.4 -lan 'Xing Person'

The suffix *-lan* may be an old suffix which used to indicate an actor. It is only found in one word *dəpəxlan* 'thief', derived from the coverb *dəpəx* 'steal'. No other examples are known at the current time.

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[3] *kasku* in M. Lawrence's orthography.
[4] *watahpei* in M. Lawrence's orthography.

5.4.5 -al 'Father of'

There is a productive nominal suffix -al 'father of' which is used to indicate that the referent is the father of the person indicated by the proper noun to which it is attached, as shown in the examples below where the noun phrases *elital ox* and *deꞩidal ox* refer to the father's of Elit and David respectively.

(5-69) *jəxe   it   a   elit-al   ox   p-di-p=li*
    then   again   HES   PN-**father.of**   3sm   CAUS-eat.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
    'Then Elit's father fed him again.' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

(5-70) *a   tu   kina   tit   deꞩid-al   ox=d=o   tu   kina*
    HES   two   kina   INDF   PN-**father.of**   3sm=PQ=EMPH   two   kina

    tit   kəpi   n-p-ti-pol   bəp   jəxe
    INDF   give   1/2.O-TELL-PFV-IF.SG   so   then
    'When, who was it, David's father gave us two kina, then…' ("Stealing Pandanus" told by Dulum Aleap)

It is likely that -al has an etymology related to that of *əla* 'grandparent.2POSS' and *aləp* 'grandparent.3POSS' or possibly *at* 'father.1/2POSS'. Synchronically, there is no kin noun *al* in Oksapmin. This suffix is most likely derived from the reanalysis of the obsolete kin noun meaning 'father' (whatever form this may have had) as a suffix in possessive constructions.

5.4.6 -la '?'

I do not currently have a large amount of data for this suffix. It is a nominal suffix which is optional and only used by a minority of the speakers from whom I recorded texts. It occurs on both subjects and objects, and animates and inanimates. Further research into this suffix is needed.

(5-71) *toxan   kət-la   mox   nox   mle-n*
    sweet.potato   piece-**?**   ANPH   1s   hold-SIM

    pat-n=a
    stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
    'I was holding that piece of sweet potato and then…' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

(5-72) *lat   kəkəl-la   mox   gəte-ŋ   dəxlala*
    tree   root-**?**   ANPH   cut-PNCT   break
    'That tree root (was) cut and broken.' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

In one example, shown below, the item marked with *-la* '?' is the focussed item which corresponds to the question word in a question asked by someone listening to the story. It is possible that this suffix is a marker of focus. More research is needed to determine its exact function.

(5-73) *a.* | *kjan* | *xan* | *jox* | *kaŋ* | *gəteŋ* |
             what   thing   DEF   crash!   cut
             'What did he cut?'

    b.   *a*   *manpi-**la***   *gəte-ŋ=w=a*
             HES   neck**-?**   cut-PNCT=RESP=EMPH
             'Um, he cut the neck.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

Chapter 6
Postpositions

A postposition indicates the function of the noun phrase within a clause (e.g. object), or another noun phrase (e.g. possessor), or the discourse context (e.g. topic). An example of a postposition which indicates the function of a noun phrase in a clause is shown in (6-1) below, where the postposition *=nuŋ* indicates the object of the verb *su-* 'kill'.

(6-1) *nox* *gin* *niŋ* *ox=**nuŋ*** *su-plox=o*
      1s   now   small.mammal 3sm=**O**   kill-TODF.SG=QUOT
      '"I will kill the small mammal now."' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

      Syntactically, a postposition follows a noun phrase to form a postpositional phrase (see §6.1). Most commonly only one postposition can occur in a single postposition phrase as shown in (6-1) above, although the discourse-level postpositions *=xe* 'FOC', *jox* 'TOP', and *=li* 'CNTRS' can co-occur with the other postpositions, as in (6-2) below for *=xe* 'FOC'. When a discourse-level postposition co-occurs with another postposition, it always follows it.

(6-2) *a* *tap* *mox* *noxe* *xanəp* *ixil=**ja**=**xe*** *p-d-pol* *max*
      HES pig   ANPH 1s.POSS person 3p=**O**=**FOC**   CAUS-eat-IF.SG RECG

      p-ti-p
      tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG
      '"Now you take the child and I'll feed pig to my relatives", she said.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

      Oksapmin has the postpositions shown in Table 6-1 below. Some of these attach phonologically to the preceding word, some do not.

Postposition	Meaning	Functional level
mədəp ~ dəpət	From	Clause
=təp	Associative	Clause
=nuŋ	Object	Clause
=ja	Object	Clause
=si	With	Clause
=si	Proprietive	Noun phrase
=xe	Possessive	Noun phrase
=xe	Information focus	Discourse
jox ~ joxjox	Topic	Discourse
=li	Contrastive focus	Discourse

Table 6-1.   Postpositions in Oksapmin

6.1 Postposition Phrase Syntax

The postposition phrase (PP) in Oksapmin consists of a noun phrase followed by a postposition. The postposition *mædəp* 'from' is shown in example (6-3) below, joining with the noun phrase *nonxe ap ka* 'my own house area' to form a PP.

(6-3) *nonxe*   *ap*   *ka*   **mædəp**   *s-pat-n=a*
        1s.REFL.POSS   house   place   **FROM**   go-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
        'When I was going from my own house area, ...' ("Today" by Palis)

As mentioned above, Oksapmin has a closed set of postpositions which indicate the function of the noun phrase to which they are attached. In example (6-4) below the postposition *=xe* 'POSS' indicates that the noun phrase to which it is attached, namely *bos xan* 'boss', is functioning as a possessor within another noun phrase, namely *un jox* 'the name'.

(6-4) *bos*   *xan=xe*   *un*   *jox*   *nox*   *əm=bəs*
        boss   man=**POSS**   name   DEF   1s   knowledge=NEG
        'I don't know the boss's name.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

Typically only one postposition can occur per PP although the discourse-level postpositions may occur following other postpositions as shown in the example below for *=xe* 'FOC'. I analyse these as conjoined postpositions which jointly head the postposition phrase, which is also allowed in e.g. English: He emerged *from behind* the clouds.

(6-5) *oxe*   *dup*   *sl*   *te*   *mə-xət=ox=a*
        3sm.POSS   bow   put(.PRS.SG)   place   DEM.PRX-up=3sm=LINK

        mjan   *ot*   *ixit=noŋ=xe*   *wo=m-ti-p=li*
        dog   two   3d=**O**=**FOC**   leave=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
        'He left the dogs at the place where he had put his bow.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

6.2 Clause-Level Postpositions

6.2.1 *mədəp* 'From'

The postposition *mədəp* 'FROM' indicates the (usually spatial) origin of an action, and also has the synonymous variant *dəpət* 'FROM'. It is shown with a verb of motion in (6-6) below and with the coverb plus light verb pair *səŋ x-* 'speak' in (6-7) below.

(6-6) *juwan ku   gamd   ixit=a   dupan ap*
      PN   woman husband&wife 3d=EMPH   PN   village

      *mə-xəm   **dəpət**   əp-di-pa=li*
      DEM.PRX-down **FROM**   come-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
      'Juwan and her husband came from down at Dupan village.' ("Juwan" by Dalput)

(6-7) *a   nox   kip   xəlep   mox   **mədəp** səŋ   x-pat*
      HES   1s   road   underneath   ANPH   **FROM** story DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
      'I was speaking (to him) from the road underneath.' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

Like other postpositions, *mədəp* 'FROM' can follow nouns, demonstratives (6-9), pronouns (6-8) or pronominal articles, i.e. any type of grammatical noun phrase (see Chapter 7 for details).

(6-8) *ulxul   **mədəp** max   da   xəx*
      3sf.REFL   **FROM** RECG thought   DO.PRS.SG
      'She thought (that the shit had come) from herself.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(6-9) *i-ja=te   walom gən   ka   i=**mədəp***
      DEM.DST-below=place PN   hill   place   DEM.DST=**FROM**

      wa=de   jox
      see=MAKE(.PRS.SG)   TOP
      'When, from down at the hill at Walom, he looked down, ...' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

The postposition *mədəp* 'FROM' can also be used to a limited extent on noun phrases to mean 'after'. This is a metaphorical extension from a space to a time meaning. Example (6-10) shows the postposition *mədəp* 'FROM' used regularly as a postposition, but with a temporal implicature.

(6-10) *gin   i=ka   **mədəp**   tit   oxox=xe*
      now   DEM.DST=place **FROM**   another work=FOC

      pat=d=a   da   jox   pok
      stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH OR   TOP   all
      'Is there any work for you after that (Lit. from there) or is that all?' (Conversation text, Savon and Hirai) ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

The postposition *mədəp* 'FROM' can also act to a limited extent as a subordinator meaning 'after' (see Chapter 12, §12.2.5, for details).

6.2.2 =*təp* 'Associative'

The clitic =*təp* 'ASSC' is an associative marker and is used with noun phrases whose referents are of higher animacy. It marks a co-participant in an action which is not reflected in the number of the verbal morphology. The use of =*təp* 'ASSC' overlaps with the associative function of =*si* 'WITH'. The clitic =*təp* 'ASSC' differs from =*si* 'WITH', however, in that it has an implicature that both the subject and the referent marked with =*təp* are participating equally in the action. The clitic =*təp* 'ASSC' is demonstrated in examples (6-11), and (6-12) below.

(6-11)   *loxen*   *jox*   *nox*   *xanip*   *ixil=**təp***   *moxe-ti-pla*
          male   TOP   1s   person   3p=**ASSC**   buy.sell-PFV-FF.SG
          'As for the male (pig), I will sell it to (Lit. with) people.' ("Looking After Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

(6-12)   *jəxe*   *məmxan*   *mjan*   *ot*   *mox=a*   *ixil=**təp***
          then   what's.it   dog   two   ANPH=EMPH   3p=**ASSC**

          jə-xən   *pat-n=a*
          DEM.DST-across   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
          'So, what's it, (he) stayed across there with the two dogs and...' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan.)

The clitic =*təp* 'ASSC' typically occurs attached to pronouns or pronominal articles as in the examples above, as it is used with higher animates which usually take a pronominal article (see Chapter 7, §7.2.1), but may also attach to nouns as in example (6-13) below.

(6-13)   *nonxe*   *blel*   *kol=**təp**=a*   *a*   *nuxlanul*
          1s.REFL.POSS   child   daughter=**ASSC**=EMPH   HES   1pEX.REFL

          imd-il   *gule*   *toxan*   *əlpo-m=a*
          mother&child-PL   so   sweet.potato   cook-SEQ=LINK

          den   *d-m=a*   *ix=xi-m*   *o=ml=a*
          food   eat-SEQ=LINK   like.this=DO-SEQ   finish=DO(.SEQ)=LINK
          'With my own kids, after we had finished cooking sweet potato and eating together, then...' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

6.2.3 =*nuŋ* 'Object'

The clitic =*nuŋ* 'O' attaches to an object argument of a clause. The clitic =*nuŋ* 'O' usually only occurs following pronouns or pronominal articles, as opposed to demonstratives or nouns. It has the variants =*nəŋ*, =*nənəŋ*, =*nuŋ*, =*nunuŋ* and =*noŋ*, =*nonoŋ* among different speakers. The postposition =*nuŋ* may equally be used for the

patient of a monotransitive event as well as both the theme and recipient for a ditransitive event, known as "neutral alignment" (Haspelmath 2005). The example below shows the third person object of the complex predicate *utaŋ de-* 'carry someone on one's shoulders' with the object case marker *=nuŋ* 'O'.

(6-14) *nox*   *pildon*   *ox=**nuŋ***   *utaŋ*   *de-pat*
       1s   PN   3sm=**O**   carry.on.shoulders   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       'I carried Pildon on my shoulders and …' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat.)

An argument marked by *=nuŋ* 'O' is cross-referenced on the verb with an agreement marker when it is first or second person (*n-* '1/2.O') or third person proximal (*m-* 'PRX.O'). In example (6-15) below, the proximal object *olxe ma bap təpadip xan olxol* 'the man who had taken him in when he was small' is marked with the object clitic and is cross-referenced on the verb with the proximal object agreement prefix *m-* 'PRX.O'.

(6-15) *mə=ma*   *sjap*   *mox*   *ox*   *[…]*
       DEM.PRX=REL   cassowary   ANPH   3sm

       olxe   *ma*   *bap*   *təpa-di-p*   *xan*   *olxol=**noŋ***
       3sm.REFL.POSS   REL   small   lift.up-PFV-PER.FP.SG   man   3sm.REFL=**O**

       tiŋ=toŋ   *tiŋ=toŋ*   *m-p-n-gop=li*
       REDP=peck   REDP=peck   PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       'This cassowary repeatedly pecked the very man who had taken him in (lit. picked him up) when he was small.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit.)

In example (6-16) below, the overt first person object noun phrase *nonxol* 'I myself' is marked with *=nuŋ* 'O', and is cross-referenced on the verb with the first/second person object agreement prefix *n-* '1/2.O'.

(6-16) *te*   *pe*   *lin*   *pe*   *gul=xe*   *nonxol=**nuŋ***   *net*
       top   end   leaf   end   2p=FOC   1s.REFL=**O**   hold

       n-pli-ja=xən   *dəm*   *tum-pli=mul*   *li-ti-p*   *jox*
       1/2.O-tell-PRS.PL=IRR   food   bear-FF.PL=CERT   say-PFV-PER.FP.SG   DEF
       '"If you, the branches and leaves hold me strongly, you will bear fruits", as has been said (in the bible).' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

Example (6-17) below shows an object argument with the object case marker *=nuŋ* 'O', which has been licensed by the presence of the benefactive prefix on the verb.

(6-17) *tap*   *su-pti*   *alwap*   ***ox=nuŋ***
           pig   kill-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   SS.SIB.1/3POSS   3sm=**O**

           u   *a-Ø-t-pa=li*   *jəxe*
           call.out BEN-SAY-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP   then
           'They killed a pig and called out to their brother (to come). Then…' ("Jelix Clan
           Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

Less commonly, *nuŋ* 'O' may indicate an object of the action which is not cross-referenced in the verbal morphology: secondary objects (6-18) (see Chapter 10, §10.1.1.3), and objects in verbless clauses (6-19) (see Chapter 10, §10.2.3).

(6-18) *nox*   *go=**nuŋ***   *xənxan*   *xəx*
           1s   2s=**O**   confused   DO.PRS.SG
           'I don't know you.' (Elicited.)

(6-19) *nox*   *go=**nuŋ***   *am=bəs*
           1s   2s=**O**   knowledge=NEG
           'I don't know you.' (Elicited.)

The acceptability of two object marked noun phrases in one verb phrase is marginal and attempts to elicit such combinations were rejected (6-22), even where they are acceptable with a non-overt indirect noun phrase which is marked in the verbal morphology (6-20) and where both noun phrases are definitely acceptable with the object clitic ((6-20) and (6-21)). (Note that even though the event occurred a long time ago, the yesterday's past tense is used in these examples. The switch between yesterday's past and far past tenses is somewhat subjective, see Chapter 8.)

(6-20) *got*   *ox*   ***djisəs*** ***ox=nuŋ***   *n-ap-di-l*
           PN   3sm   **PN**   **3sm=O**   1/2.O-give-PFV-PER.YESTP
           'God gave Jesus to us.' (Elicited FNB 7.84)

(6-21) *got*   *ox*   ***nuxul=nuŋ***   *n-ap-di-l*
           PN   3sm   **1pEX=O**   1/2.O-give-PFV-PER.YESTP
           'God gave something to us.' (Elicited FNB 7.84)

(6-22) **got*   *ox*   ***djisəs*** ***ox=nuŋ***   ***nuxul=nuŋ***   *n-ap-di-l*
           PN   3sm   **PN**   **3sm=O**   **1pEX=O**   1/2.O-give-PFV-PER.YESTP
           'God gave Jesus to us.' (Elicited FNB 7.84)

Note that due to the fact that non-human referents are not usually followed by a pronominal article (see the section on the presence of pronominal articles in Chapter 7), they usually do not have object case marking, which usually only occurs with pronouns or pronominal articles. This is shown in example (6-23) below where the

object of the verb *minxa-* 'wait for' is non-human and does not have a pronominal article or object marking. Compare this with the human object with the same verb in example (6-24) below, which does have a pronoun and object marking.

(6-23) *gin*   *nox*   **tap**   **gwe**   **jox**   *minxa-t*   *pat=a*
       now   1s   **pig**   **small**   **DEF**   wait-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=LINK
       'I'm waiting for the pig …' ("Looking After My Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

(6-24) *ul-xi-l=a*   *jǝxe*   ***patrik***   ***ox=nuŋ***   *minxa-t*
       go.up-PFV-PER.YESTP=LINK   then   **PN**   **3sm=O**   wait-SIM

       pt-el   *patrik*   *ox*   *na-ǝpli-n-gwel*
       stay-IPFV.PER.TODP   PN   3sm   NEG-come-VIS.YESTP
       'We went up. Then, we waited for Patrick but Patrick didn't come.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

This results in a split object marking system as shown in Table 6-2 below, where only higher animate objects occur with *=nuŋ* 'O'.

	Higher animate	Lower animate
Subject	-	-
Object	+	-

Table 6-2.   Presence of *=nuŋ* 'O'

Note that my analysis of object marking is significantly different to that of M. Lawrence who analyses noun phrases marked with *=nuŋ* as indirect objects (Lawrence, M 1971a; Lawrence M 1970b) and objects without *=nuŋ* as direct objects as shown in the examples below (with glosses and orthography from original source retained). Following on from his analysis of *=nuŋ* as a marker of indirect objects, M. Lawrence analyses example (6-25) as transitive and example (6-26) as semi-transitive. M. Lawrence does note, however, that "-<u>nong</u> occurs far more frequently in noun phrases with an animate noun as its head than in noun phrases with an inanimate noun as its head" (Lawrence, M., 1970b: 27).

(6-25) ***saamin***   ***tit***   *sut*   *itiroh*
       wild-pig   **one(O)**   killed(M)   put(P$_t$)
       '…(he had put aside the pig that he had killed…'(UPPER OKSAPMIN Lawrence, M 1971a: 118)

(6-26) *andeh*   ***Dersup-nong***   *maa*   *Tandaitaar*   *ohwe*   *sutip-oh*
       across.there(L)   **Dersup-to(IO)**   Tandaitaar   his(S)   killed-her(P$_{st}$)
       'Tandaitaar killed Dersup across there.' (UPPER OKSAPMIN Lawrence, M 1971a: 119)

M. Lawrence's analysis does not explain why verbs such as *su-* 'kill' would have different levels of transitivity in parallel contexts, such as (6-25) and (6-26) above. In contrast, the analysis of object-marking presented in this chapter not only explains M. Lawrence's observation that *=nuŋ* occurs more frequently with animate nouns, but also explains the fact that objects of a single verb can be marked differently, as in (6-25) and (6-26) above, while allowing the verb to have a single verb frame and level of transitivity.

It is likely that the location lexical noun *nuŋ* 'TO' is the etymological origin of the object marker *=nuŋ* (see Chapter 5, §5.2.2.1, for a more detailed discussion of *nuŋ* 'TO').

6.2.4 *=ja* 'Object'

Like *=nuŋ* 'O', *=ja* 'O' functions to mark the noun phrase it follows as functioning as an object. In most situations, the use of *=ja* 'O' is interchangeable with the use of *=nuŋ* 'O'. This is the case for example (6-27) below, where *noxnuŋ* 'me' could be used in place of *noxja* 'me'.

(6-27) *jæxe   pa   mox   **nox=ja** tri-pela   n-apli-n-gwel*
      then   taro   ANPH   **1s=O**   three(Eng)-ADJ(TP)   1/2.O-give-PFV-VIS.YESTP
      'Then, she gave me three taros.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James.)

The object marker *=ja* 'O', however, occurs far less frequently in natural data than *=nuŋ* 'O'. Only two speakers whom I recorded (out of around twenty) used this marker. One speaker used it exclusively in place of *=nuŋ* 'O' and one speaker used both interchangeably. The only difference between *=nuŋ* 'O' and *=ja* 'O' is that *=ja* 'O' may occur with noun phrases which do not have a pronoun or pronominal article as in (6-28), (6-29) and (6-30) below, whereas *=nuŋ* 'O' cannot. In the examples below, *=ja* 'O' is phonologically attached to a lexical noun (6-28), a proper noun (6-29) and a kin term (6-30).

(6-28) *jæxe   nox   **bebi=ja**   napkin   tən   tit*
      then   1s   **baby(Eng)=O** napkin(Eng)   side   INDF

      lapil=a
      (3.O.)give(.PRS.SG)=LINK
      'I gave the baby a nappy.' ("Today" by Julie James)

(6-29)   *nox*   **djois=ja**   *gi=p-ti-l=o*   *nox*   *was*
            1s   **PN=O**   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT   1s   wash

            x-pti   *s-pel=o*   *p-ti-l*
            DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   go-IF.PL=QUOT   tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
            'I boiled some water and told Joyce that we'd go after we'd washed.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(6-30)   *jəxe*   *in*   *nox*   **em=ja**   *gi=p-t=o*
            then   so   1s   **mother.1POSS=O**   THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT
            'Then, I told my mother as follows: …' ("Today" by Julie James)

The functional equivalence of *=ja* 'O' and *=nuŋ* 'O' is further demonstrated in the pairs of examples below. In examples (6-31) and (6-32), *=ja* 'O' and *=nuŋ* 'O' both mark the (primary) object of *pl(i)-* 'tell'.

(6-31)   *ox=**ja**=wi*   *ap*   *s-s*   *xe-n=o*   *m-pli-pti-n=a*
            3sm=**O**=ONLY house   go-SEQ be-IMP=QUOT   PRX.O-tell-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
            '(They) always told him to take (the portions of pig) to (their friends') houses and…' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap.)

(6-32)   *ep=o*   *nox*   *blel=xe*   *gəpən*
            sorry=QUOT   1s   child=FOC   pregnant

            x-t=mul   *mon*   **ox=nuŋ**
            DO-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=CERT   brother **3sm=O**

            m-p-n-gop=li
            PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
            'In the morning she told her brother that she was pregnant.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan.

In examples (6-33) and (6-34) below, *=ja* 'O' and *=nuŋ* 'O' both mark the object of *wa=de-* 'see'.

(6-33)   *jəxe*   *nox*   *it*   *ux=**ja***   *ulaw*   *ml*
            then   1s   again   3sf=**O**   properly   MAKE(.SEQ)

            na=wa=m-ti-l
            NEG=see=MAKE-PFV-PER.YESTP
            'I didn't see her properly.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(6-34)   *go*   *koli*   *ox=**nuŋ**=xe*   *wa*   *de-l=d=o*
            2s   PN   3sm=**O**=FOC   see   MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ=EMPH
            'Did you see Koli?' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

It is possible that this marker is new and has been introduced into the language from the Tok Pisin demonstrative *ya* (/ja/), although further research is need to confirm this hypothesis.

6.2.5 *=si* 'With'

The postposition *=si* 'WITH' marks noun phrases which have an instrumental or associative function within a clause. Like other postpositions, *=si* 'WITH' occurs to the right of the noun phrase following a noun, demonstrative, pronoun or pronominal article.

In its instrumental use, *=si* 'WITH' marks the instrument in a clause. In example (6-35), *ipe naŋ* '*ipe* rope' is marked with *=si* 'WITH' to indicate that it is used as the material with which bags are made. In (6-36) below, *lat jox* 'the wood' also takes the marker *=si* 'WITH' to indicate that it is what is used to cook with.

(6-35) *jox*   *ipe*   *naŋ=**si***   *uŋ*   *x-pti*
       TOP   tree.variety   rope=**WITH**   string.bag   DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'We make string bags with *ipe* rope.' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

(6-36) *toxan=xən=xe*   *əlpə-m*   *de-ja*   *jox*
       sweet.potato=IRR=FOC cook-SEQ   eat-PRS.PL   TOP

       lat   *jox=**si**=wi*   *əlpə-m*   *d-pti=o*
       wood   DEF=**WITH**=ONLY   cook-SEQ   eat-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=EMPH
       'When we cook and eat sweet potato, we cook and eat it with wood.' ("Collecting Wood" by Kila Dasyal)

In example (6-37) below, *=si* 'WITH' occurs following the demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH' to indicate that the noun phrase *nonxe kak uŋ gon* 'my very own hat' is the instrument of the clause.

(6-37) *nonxe*   *kak*   *uŋ*   *gon*   *mox=**si***   *kin*
       1s.REFL.POSS   head   string.bag   whole   ANPH=**WITH**   eye

       mox   *t-dpəlkweli-l*
       ANPH   MID-turn.over-IPFV.PER.TODP
       'My eyes had been covered with my very own hat (Lit. 'head bag').' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap.)

I do not have any examples where *=si* in its instrumental function occurs following a pronoun or a pronominal article. This is due to the fact that humans are not prototypical instruments and it is usually only humans referents which take a pronominal article or a referred to with pronouns (see Chapter 7, §7.2.1).

In its associative (or comitative) use, =*si* 'WITH' marks a non-core argument which has some kind of salient relevance to the action and/or its arguments, for example the argument marked with =*si* may be in the same temporal or spatial setting as one or more of the core arguments. The noun phrase marked with =*si*, where semantically associated with a subject noun phrase, is not included in subject number marking on the verb. In (6-38) it is marks the noun phrase *blel ot* 'two children' as being the participants with whom the subject performed the action, but the verb has singular subject number marking.

(6-38) *in   nox   it   blel   ot=**si***
        so   1s   again   child   two=**WITH**

        waj-xi-p=mil=o
        go.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=EMPH
        'I went down with the two children again.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

In (6-39) =*si* 'WITH' marks the person with whom the subject should perform the action.

(6-39) *a   sja=**si**=wi   de-n=a*
        HES   mother=**WITH**=ONLY   eat-IMP=EMPH
        '"Eat with your mother!"' ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

In example (6-40) below =*si* 'WITH' marks the person with whom the object underwent the action in question: the person with whom he was left.

(6-40) *it   nonxe   təptem   ulxe   təpə-n*
        again   1s.REFL.POSS   blood.relative   3sf.REFL.POSS   injure-SIM

        pat=xejox   ux=si   mə=ka   məda-pat
        stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=BECAUSE   3sf=WITH   DEM.PRX=place leave-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'Because my own relative is injured (and thus housebound), I left (my child) with her here.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

The clitic =*si* 'WITH' is etymologically related to the clitics =*si* 'PROP' (§6.3.1) and =*si* 'CNJ' (see Chapter 7, §7.9.1).

6.3 Noun-Phrase-Level Postpositions

6.3.1 =*si* 'Proprietive'

The postpositional clitic =*si* 'PROP' marks noun phrases describing an abstract quality, physical quality or possession of another noun phrase. In (6-41) it marks *nel ul*

'birds' tail feathers' as being a possession of the noun phrase which it modifies, namely *xan* 'man'.

(6-41) *nel   ul=si   xan=a   ei   xan=d=o*
       bird   tail.feather=**PROP**   man=EMPH   gosh man=PQ=EMPH
       'A man with (a headdress of) feathers! Gosh! What a man!' (Lit. 'A bird-tail-feather-having man...') ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

A further example of this marker indicating a possession is shown below, where *ket sansi* 'having pandanus trees' indicates the possession of *kula* 'woman'.

(6-42) *nox=a   ket   san=si   ku-la*
       1s=EMPH   pandanus   tree=**PROP**   woman-?
       'I am a woman who owns pandanus tree.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap.)

Example (6-43) shows the nominal abstract quality *amam* 'happiness' marked with the clitic *=si* 'PROP' to indicate that this is a property of another noun, in this case *ap te* 'village'.

(6-43) *amam=si   ap   te=nəp=a*
       happiness=**PROP**   house   place=VERY=EMPH
       'A very happy village.' ("Heaven" by Dulum Aleap.)

The postpositions *=si* 'WITH' and *=si* 'PROP' are, without doubt, historically related, although synchronically have different functions: *=si* 'WITH' marks the function of a noun phrase within a clause, whereas *=si* 'PROP' marks a noun phrase which is modifying another noun phrase.

6.3.2 *=xe* 'Possessive'

The postposition *=xe* 'POSS' marks a possessor noun phrase. The clitic *=xe* 'POSS' is shown marking the noun phrase *samejanku* 'Samejanku' as the possessor of the noun phrase *sup jox* 'the mother'.

(6-44) *samejanku=xe sup   jox*
       PN=**POSS**   mother.3POSS   DEF
       'Samejanku's mother' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap.)

Possessed noun phrases may possess further noun phrases in a recursive fashion, as demonstrated by example (6-45) below.

(6-45) *em=xe   aləp=xe   moŋ   te   m=ox*
       mother.1POSS=**POSS**   grandparent=**POSS**   ground place   DEM.PRX=3sm
       'My mother's grandparent's land.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap.)

Like other postpositions, *=xe* 'POSS' attaches phonologically to the right of a noun phrase, following nouns, demonstratives, pronouns and pronominal articles. The following examples show the possessive clitic attached to the free demonstrative *tit* (6-46) and the demonstrative *moxon* (6-47) respectively.

(6-46) | *kom* | *ot* | *mox* | *mi=xi-s* | | *li-m* | | *tit=xe* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| back | two | ANPH | like.this=DO-PNCT | | SAY-SEQ | | INDF=**POSS** |

kom	*mə=noŋ=a*		*tit=xe*	*bos*	*i=nuŋ*	*x-t*
back	DEM.PRX=TO=CNJ		INDF=**POSS**	front	DEM.DST=TO	be-SIM

x-s
be-PNCT
'Because (their) two backs were like that, each of their backs were (Lit. each's back was) facing this way and each of their chests were (Lit. each's chest was) facing that way.' ("Xoxom Clan Origin" by Tapsut)

(6-47) | *ku* | *gon* | *mə-xən=xe* | *uŋ* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| woman | whole | DEM.PRX-across=**POSS** | bag |

'This woman across here's bag.' (Elicited.)

Body parts take the possessive suffix to indicate that they are acting as a numeral. In this use they are not distinguishable on grammatical grounds from any other possessive construction. In example (6-48) the possessive clitic *=xe* 'POSS' occurs on the body part noun *xadəp* 'wrist' modifying the noun phrase *dik* 'time' to mean 'six nights', or literally 'wrist's nights'. See Chapter 1, §1.2.5, for further discussion of body part numerals in Oksapmin.

(6-48) | *jəxe* | *xadəp=xe* | *dik* | *na=əpi-n-gop=li=o* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| then | wrist=**POSS** | time | NEG=come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP=EMPH |

'Then, he didn't come (home) for six nights.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit.)

The possessive suffix can also be used with abstract nouns in addition to humans and other concrete, tangible referents. For example, *=xe* 'POSS' can occur with temporal nouns, as shown in example (6-49) below for *apuŋ* 'yesterday'.

(6-49) | *jox* | *pok=o* | *jox* | *apuŋ=xe* | *meŋ* | *jox* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| DEF | all=EMPH | DEF | yesterday=**POSS** | speech | DEF |

wes=o
thank.you=EMPH
'That's all. That's yesterday's story (i.e. the story about yesterday). Thank you.' ("Yesterday" by Palis.)

6.4 Discourse-Level Postpositions

6.4.1 *=xe* '(Information) Focus'

The clitic *=xe* 'FOC' marks a noun phrase as information focussed. I use the term *information focus* (or presentational focus) as distinct from *identificational focus* (or contrastive focus) (see e.g. Kiss 1998 for a discussion of this distinction). The focus clitic *=xe* 'FOC' occurs on a noun phrase which occurs with any grammatical function in the sentence. The focus clitic *=xe* 'FOC' is commonly used to express: the meanings 'too' and 'as well', items in a list, greetings, verbless clause subjects, and general emphasis.

The focus marker *=xe* is often be best translated into English by 'too' or 'as well' with the addition of stress on the focussed noun phrase, as in example (6-50) below.

(6-50) *i=ma*   *təmle-pti*   *xan*   *jox*   *gras*   *naip*
        DEM.DST=REL   work-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   thing   DEF   grass(Eng)   knife(Eng)

        jox   *m-dli-pat*   *nox=xe*   *ul-xi-l*
        DEF   PRX.O-take-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   1s=**FOC**   go.up-PFV-PER.YESTP
        '(When everyone else was going up to cut grass,) I took the work tool, the grass knife, and *I* went up too.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat.)

This is likewise shown in example (6-51) below where the speaker first describes her mother putting her bag down and then adds that she also put down her own bag.

(6-51) *em*   *ux*   *uŋ*   *jox*   *dəpe-t*
        mother.1POSS   3sf   string.bag   DEF   take.off.bag-SIM

        sli-n-gwel=a   *noxe*   *uŋ*   *jox=xe*
        put-PFV-VIS.YESTP=LINK   1s.POSS   string.bag   DEF=**FOC**

        dəpe-t   *s-ti-l*
        take.off.bag-SIM   put-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'Then mum put (her) bag down (so) I put MY BAG down too.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

This is further demonstrated in example (6-52) below where the two different times at which the same action occurred, namely *apuŋ* 'yesterday' and *gin* 'today', are focus marked with *=xe* 'FOC'.

(6-52) *a*   *go*   *apuŋ=xe*   *ix=xi-t*   *olxol*
        HES   2s   yesterday=**FOC**   like.that=DO-SIM   3sm.REFL

        əpi-n-gwel=w=a   *gin=xe*   *ix=xi-t*
        come-PFV-VIS.YESTP=RESP=EMPH   now=**FOC**   like.that=DO-SIM

        olxol   *əpil=xe=w=a*   *p-ti-p=li*
        3sm.REFL   come(.PRS.SG)=VIS=RESP=EMPH   tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
        'YESTERDAY you came like this and TODAY you are coming like this too.'
        ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

Examples (6-53) and (6-54) below show the focus clitic *=xe* 'FOC' used when listing a number of noun phrases by repeating the clause and replacing the noun phrase each time.

(6-53) *blel=xe*   *wə=m-ti-pli=o*   *ku=xe*
        child=**FOC**   leave=MAKE-PFV-FF.PL=QUOT   woman=**FOC**

        wə=m-ti-pli=o   *xan*   *pəsel=xe*
        leave=MAKE-PFV-FF.PL=QUOT   man   old=**FOC**

        wə=m-ti-pli=o   *ku*   *pəsel=xe*
        leave=MAKE-PFV-FF.PL=QUOT   woman   old=**FOC**

        wə=m-ti-pli=o
        leave=MAKE-PFV-FF.PL=QUOT
        "'Don't leave behind the CHILDREN! Don't leave behind the WOMEN! Don't
        leave behind the OLD MEN! Don't leave behind the OLD WOMEN!"'
        ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

(6-54) *alox*   *apen=xe*   *lumsan=nəp*   *abal=xe*
        tree.variety   plant.v=**FOC** a.lot.of=very   fern=**FOC**

        lumsan=nəp   *gume=xe*   *lumsan=nəp*   *məmxan*   *kwe=o*
        a.lot.of=VERY   plant.v=**FOC** a.lot.of=VERY   what's.it   stone=CNJ

        lat=o   *mox=xe*   *lumsan=nəp*
        wood=CNJ   ANPH=**FOC**   a.lot.of=VERY
        '(There was) a lot of *ALOX APEN* leaves, lots of *ABAL* leaves, lots of *GUME* leaves,
        what's it, lots of STONES AND WOOD.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

Another use of *=xe* 'FOC' is in a set of formulaic greetings with a second person pronoun which mean 'goodbye'. This is shown in the following lines from a text in example (6-55) below.

(6-55) *a.* *jox*   *pok=w=a*   *gin=a*   *go=**xe**=o*
             TOP   all=RESP=EMPH   now=EMPH   2s**=FOC**=EMPH
             'That's all now. Bye. (Lit. You.)'

      b. *j=o*   *go=**xe**=o*
             okay=EMPH   2s**=FOC**=EMPH
             'Ok, bye.' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

The focus clitic *=xe* 'FOC' is also optionally used in verbless clauses as a disambiguating strategy marking the subject which is being predicated upon, as in example (6-56) below. See Chapter 10, §10.2, for more information on verbless clauses.

(6-56) *jox*   *pok=a*   *noxe*   *stori=**xe***
        DEF   all=EMPH   1s.POSS   story(Eng)**=FOC**
        'That's the end of my story.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The focus marker *=xe* 'FOC' is also used for general emphasis as shown in example (6-57) below.

(6-57) *tiljot=**xe***   *de-ja=mul=o*   *tiljot=**xe***
        PN**=FOC**   eat-PRS.PL=CERT=QUOT   PN**=FOC**

        de-ja=mul=o   *tiljot=**xe***   *de-ja=mul=o*
        eat-PRS.PL=CERT=QUOT   PN**=FOC**   eat-PRS.PL=CERT=QUOT

        li-t   *u=ti-p*
        say-SIM   call.out=(SAY.)PFV-PER.FP.SG
        '"They've done witchcraft on (Lit. eaten) TILJOT! They've done witchcraft on TILJOT! They've done witchcraft on TILJOT!", he called out.' ("Tiljot" by Dasyal Gahan)

The focus clitic *=xe* 'FOC' is also used to mark a possessive pronoun acting by itself as a full noun phrase (these more often occur as pronominal articles in a noun phrase headed by a noun). This is shown for the noun phrases *noxe* 'mine' and *gwe* 'yours' in (6-58) below.

(6-58) *it*   *noxe=xe*   *nonxol*   *sa-plox=li*   *gwe=xe*
        again   1s.POSS=FOC   1s.REFL   judge-TODF.SG=REP   2s.POSS=FOC

        golgol   *sa-n=li*
        2s.REFL   judge-IMP=REP
        'So, it is said (in the bible) that I myself will judge MINE and you yourself will judge YOURS.' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

The analysis of =*xe* 'FOC' as a focus marker contrasts with M. Lawrence's (1993: 47) analysis of the cognate Upper Oksapmin morpheme -*xe* (-*he*) as a topic marker.

The focus clitic =*xe* 'FOC' and the possessive clitic =*xe* 'POSS' are probably etymologically related. In most situations, however, the focus clitic =*xe* 'FOC' may be distinguished syntactically from =*xe* 'POSS' as =*xe* 'FOC' occurs on noun phrases which are not embedded inside other noun phrases as is the case with noun phrases marked with =*xe* 'POSS'. That is, =*xe* 'FOC' is used to mark noun phrases which function as arguments and adjuncts within a clause, whereas =*xe* 'POSS' marks noun phrases which function to modify other noun phrases.

See also the discussion of the homophonous clitics =*xe* 'POSS' (§6.3.2) and =*xe* 'SBRD' (Chapter 12, §12.2.7).

6.4.2 *jox ~ jojox* 'Topic'

The postposition *jox* 'TOP' marks a topic,[1] which usually occurs in first position in the clause (see Chapter 10, §10.3.2). A topic is shown in example (6-59) below.

(6-59) | *noxe* | *meg* | *jox* | **jox** | *apuŋ* | | *ma* | *nonxe* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1s.POSS | speech | DEF | **TOP** | yesterday | | REL | 1s.REFL.POSS |

apte	*xu-l*		*meg*	*jox*	*li-ti-plox=o*
village	go.PFV-PER.YESTP		speech	DEF	say-PFV-TODF.SG=EMPH

'As for my story, I will tell about how I went home yesterday.' (Lit 'As for my story, I will tell the yesterday(-in)-which-I-went-to-my-village story.') ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

I take the definition of *topic* to be the thing which is being predicated upon in a sentence, the given information (see e.g. Givón 1983) as opposed to the *comment*, which is the predication on the topic or the new information. An entity is the topic of a sentence if "the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to" that entity (Gundel 1988: 210), where "both speaker and addressee have previous knowledge of or familiarity with" that entity (Gundel 1988: 212) and where it "is of a form that allows the addressee to uniquely identify" the referent (Gundel 1988: 214).

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[1] M. Lawrence (1972a) analyses fronted topics as 'marked themes'.

A topic-marked noun phrase need not be an argument of the clause to which it belongs as in (6-60) below. These types of topics are known as 'hanging topics' (Maslova and Bernini 2006).

(6-60)   *tap*   *mox*   **_jojox=a_**   *itaxit*   *imd*   *gi=li-sxe*
         pig   ANPH   **TOP**=EMPH   3d.REFLmother&child   THUS=say-HAB.PER.FP.PL

         elap   *jox*   *nuxtanut*   *imd*   *lus*   *pli-pli=mul*
         grease   DEF   1dEX.REFL   mother&child   suck   SAY-FF.PL=CERT

         li-sxe
         say-HAB.PER.FP.PL
         'As for the pig, the mother and child used to say thus: "we two ourselves who are mother and child will suck up the greasy bit", they used to say.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin.)

The topic marker *jox* 'TOP' has presumably recently grammaticalised from the definite marker *jox* 'DEF' as these have the same form. This is not surprising as an important property of topics in most languages is definiteness, as per Gundel's topic-identifiability condition (1988: 214). Although *jox* 'TOP' developed from *jox* 'DEF', it is now distinct. The topic maker *jox* 'TOP' can be distinguished from *jox* 'DEF' as *jox* 'TOP' can co-occur with free demonstratives as shown in the examples below, whereas *jox* 'DEF' is itself a free demonstrative and two free demonstratives cannot co-occur. In example (6-61), *jox* 'TOP' occurs following the free demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH', in example (6-62) following the free demonstrative *max* 'RECG', and in example (6-63) following the free demonstrative *jox* 'DEF'.

(6-61)   *in*   *den*   **_mox_**   **_jox_**   *paxna*   *x-m=xən=xe*
         so   food   **ANPH**   **TOP**   hunger   DO-SEQ=IRR=SBRD

         xanəp   *gon*   *tap-ti-pja=o*
         person   all   die-PFV-TODF.PL=EMPH
         'So, as for food, if there is a famine, all the people will die.' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap.)

(6-62)   *kusdop* *noŋ*   **_max_**   **_jox_**   *wa-s=a*
         PN   TO   **RECG**   **TOP**   go.down-SEQ=LINK
         'What's it, (they) went down to, you know, Kusdop.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

(6-63) *jəxe*   *ləŋ*   ***jox***   ***jox***   *kətpe*   *jəx*
        then   garden   **DEF**   **TOP**   some   good

        xanəp   *nuxul=xən=xe*   *wot*   *xanəp=xən=xe*
        person   1pEX=IRR=FOC   two   person=IRR=FOC

        təmle-pti   *kətpe*   *pitle*   *xanəp*   *təmle-pti*
        work-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   some   one   person   work-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'So, as for the garden, some good people, we might work in pairs and some work by
        themselves.' ("Garden" by Kila Dasyal)

Where *jox* occurs with a noun phrase in first position which has no demonstrative, *jox* is ambiguous between *jox* 'DEF' and *jox* 'TOP', as in the examples below. Elsewhere in the thesis, I will gloss the form *jox* in such examples *jox* 'DEF'.

(6-64) *jəxe*   *kukumi*   ***jox***   *nuxul*   *kəpkəp=xən=xe*
        then   bride.price   **DEF/TOP**   1pEX   quickly=IRR=SBRD

        na=moxe-pja
        NEG=buy-TODF.PL
        'So, as for the bride price, we don't pay it quickly.' ("Bride Price" by Kila Dasyal.)

(6-65) *kəpen*   *sl-ja*   *taim*   ***jox***   *ox*
        new   put-PRS.PL   time(Eng)   **DEF/TOP**   3sm

        tumku-n-gop
        be.malnourished-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
        'When he had just been born (Lit. as for the just-been-born-time), he became
        malnourished.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap.)

There are also a number of examples in my textual data where a double *jox* follows a demonstrative, as in the examples below. The form *jojox* appears to be a variant of *jox* 'TOP'. Examples such as (6-63) above are then ambiguous between an analysis with a topic marker only or a demonstrative plus topic marker.

(6-66) *elap*   ***mox***   ***jojox***   *gəte-ŋ*   *pli-pti*
        grease   **ANPH**   **TOP**   cut-PNCT   TELL-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'After they cut the really greasy part of the pig, …' ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat"
        by Geno Dipin)

(6-67) *blel*   ***mox***   ***jojox***   *o=m-de-m*
        child   **ANPH**   **TOP**   leave=PRX.O-MAKE-SEQ
        'As for the child, leave (it) and…' ("Waterfall" by Julie James.)

The example below shows *jox* following a pronominal article. This is evidence that *jox* occurs to the right of a noun phrase to form a PP.

(6-68) | *a* | *blel* | *ti=bəs* | *xan* | *ixil* | ***jox*** | *a* | *məmxan* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HES | child | INDF=NEG | man | 3p | **TOP** | HES | what's.it |

x-sxe=li
DO-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
'As for men without children, (it is said that) they use to what's it.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

In a small number of examples, such as those shown below, a topic-marked noun phrase appears in a position other than first position. In the example below, the topic-marked noun phrase, namely *pinat san uŋ mox* 'this lot of peanut seeds' is in middle position in the clause.

(6-69) | *nox* | *plastik* | *em* | *ux* | *plastik* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1s | plastic.bag(Eng) | mother.1POSS | 3sf | plastic.bag(Eng) |

tit	*po-pli-n=o*	*nox*	*pinat*	*san*	*uŋ*	*mox*	***jox***
INDF	CAUS-come-IMP=QUOT	1s	peanut(Eng)	seed	a.lot	ANPH	**TOP**

plastik	*tem*	*nuŋ*	*m-t-pol=o*	*xa*	*xæx*
plastic.bag(Eng)	inside	TO	MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT	HORT	dry

x-t	*idi-n=o*	*n-pli-nuŋ*
DO-SIM	stay.PFV-IMP=QUOT	1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG

'"Bring the plastic (bag) here! I want to put the peanut seeds inside so that they can dry out." (I saw that) Mum told me.' ("Today" by Julie James)

Topic appears to be an important grammatical concept in a number of other Papuan languages, including Hua (Haiman 1980), Usan (Reesink 1987), Waskia (Ross and Paol 1978), Siroi (Wells 1978), Tauya (MacDonald 1990), Amele (Roberts 1987) and I'saka (Donohue and San Roque 2004) among others.

6.4.3 *=li* 'Contrastive Focus'

The postposition *=li* 'CNTRS' marks a noun phrase as having contrastive or identificational focus, which "represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds" (Kiss 1998). In example (6-70), the speaker's daughter has died, but she is telling her son to go down to school.

(6-70) *gin*   *xəpul=xejox*   *go=**li***   *skul*   *xəm*
        now   die(.PRS.SG)=BECAUSE 2s=**CNTRS**   school(Eng)   down

      waj-on=mul
      go.down-IMP=CERT
      '"Because she's just died, *you* must go down to school."' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

This analysis is consistent with M. Lawrence's (1993: 84) observation on the cognate clitic *=ri* in Upper Oksapmin, which is an "emphasis marker meaning 'this is what is being talked about in the context, not something else you are thinking about'".

The contrastive focus marker *=li* 'CNTRS' is used far less commonly than the information focus marker *=xe* 'FOC'. The contrastive function of *=li* 'CNTRS' is shown in the examples below. In example (6-71) the speaker is talking about a situation where she disagrees with the actions of her husband and she stays quiet about it.

(6-71) *i=təx*   *i=xi-t*   *s-s*   *xe-n=o*
        DEM.DST=place like.that=DO-SIM   go-SEQ be-IMP=QUOT

      li-m   *nox=**li***   *kim*   *li-ti-p*
      say-SEQ   1s=**CNTRS**   quiet   SAY-PFV-PER.FP.SG
      '"You go on like that there!", I said and *I* kept quiet.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

This is further shown in example (6-72), which is about a group of dissatisfied constituents chasing after a hiding politician.

(6-72) *pt-t*   *jæxe*   *pat-n=a*   *ixil=**li***
        stay-IPFV.PER.YESTP   then   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   3p=**CNTRS**

      ml-xi-pa=li   *ml-pti-n=a*   *ap*   *ka*
      come.up-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP   come.up-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK house   place

      mox
      ANPH
      'Then, (it is said that) when (he) stayed (hiding), *they* came up. When the came up to this house, …' ("High School Dispute" by Kila Dasyal)

In conversation, *=li* 'CNTRS' is additionally used when talking about something in view of both the speaker and hearer, which the speaker wishes to draw attention to, as in example (6-73) below.

(6-73) *jəx=nəp*   *jox=**li***
        good=VERY   DEF=**CNTRS**
        'That's really good *that one*.' (E.g. said of the speaker admiring the string bag the addressee is making at the time of speech.) (Observation.)

Chapter 7
Noun Phrase Syntax

In this chapter, noun phrase (NP) structure is discussed. First, an overview of the order of elements in basic NPs is presented in §7.1. Each of these elements is then discussed in detail: pronominal articles (§7.2), possessors (§7.3), demonstratives (§7.4; prenominal demonstratives in §7.4.2), nouns and their modifiers (§7.5) and non-restrictive relative phrases (§7.6). This is followed by discussions of minor NP types: the inclusory construction (§7.7), and dyadic kin term constructions (§7.8). Conjunction within NPs is then explored in §7.9. Finally, a theoretical excursus is presented in §7.10 in which the generative model is used to explain some of the complexities in the structure of the noun phrase.

7.1 Basic Noun Phrase Syntax

The basic order of elements in the noun phrase in Oksapmin is shown in Table 7-1 below.

Possessor / Clitic Demonstrative/ Interrogative/ Non-Restrictive Relative Phrase	Modifier(s)	Head Noun	Modifier(s)	Free or Clitic Demonstrative	Pronominal Article

Table 7-1.   Basic NP word order

Of course, it is very rare for all of these slots to be filled at once, simpler noun phrases are found with much higher frequency. A commonly occurring type of NP consists of a noun, a demonstrative and a pronominal article as in (7-1) below, where the noun *xan* 'man' is followed by the demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH', which is in turn followed by the pronominal article *ox* '3sm'.

(7-1)   *xan*   *mox*   *ox*
        man   ANPH   3sm
        Noun   Demonstrative Pronominal Article
        'this man'

Other commonly occurring types of NP are: a noun plus a demonstrative (7-2), and a noun plus a pronominal article (7-3).

(7-2) *tap*   *tit*
       pig   INDF
       Noun   Demonstrative
       'a pig'

(7-3) *kila*   *ux*
       PN   3sf
       Noun   Pronominal Article
       'Kila'

An NP minimally consists of a noun (7-4), a demonstrative (7-5), or a pronoun
(7-6) as shown in the examples below.

(7-4) *tap*
       pig
       Noun
       'pig(s)'

(7-5) *max*
       RECG
       Demonstrative
       'you know the one'

(7-6) *gut*
       2d
       Pronoun
       'you two'

Modifiers which are nouns, such as *kəmax* 'rich' and *pja* 'big', may both
precede and follow the head noun (7-7); see §7.5 for details. (Although recall from
Chapter 5 that there are some restrictions on the types of modifier nouns that can
precede or follow the head noun.)

(7-7) *kəmax*   *kol*   *pja*
       rich   daughter   big
       Modifier   Noun   Modifier
       'big rich daughter' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin.)

More than one modifier noun may occur in either modifier slot (although see
§7.5 for restrictions), as shown in (7-8) below where both *gwe* 'small and round' and
bap 'small' follow the head noun.

(7-8) *toxan*   *uŋ*   *gwe*   *bap*   *jox*
       sweet.potato   bag   small.round   small   DEF
       Modifier   Noun   Modifier   Modifier   Demonstrative
       'the small, round bag of sweet potato' ("Near Drowning" by Dulum Aleap.)

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Restrictive relative clause modifiers (§7.5.4) occur in the pre-head modifier slot. This is shown for the relative clause *atəmlepat* 'he works for him' which is modifying the head noun *xan* 'man' in (7-9) below.

(7-9)　*olxe*　　　　　*a-təmle-pat*　　　　　　　*xan*
　　　　3sm.REFL.POSS　BEN-work-IPFV.SG(.PRS)　　　man
　　　　Possessor　　**Modifier (Relative Clause)**　**Noun**
　　　　'his own boss' (Lit. 'His own he-works-for-him man.') ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap.)

Postpositional phrases with *=si* 'PROP' (see §7.5.2) occur as pre-nominal modifiers within an NP, as shown for the PP *sinsi* 'sinful', which is modifying the head noun *xan* 'man' in (7-10) below.

(7-10)　*sin=si*　　　　　　　　*xan*
　　　　sin(Eng)=PROP　　　　　man
　　　　Modifier (=*si*-Marked PP)　**Noun**
　　　　'a sinful man' (Lit. sin-having man) ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap.)

Possessors occur at the left edge of the NP (7-11). Depending on how possession is marked, a possessor may be a grammatical NP or PP. Only one possessor may occur in a given NP. Possessors are in contrastive distribution with demonstratives, interrogatives and non-restrictive relative phrases. See §7.3 for more on possessors.

(7-11)　*noxe*　　　　　*em*　　　　　*ux*
　　　　1s　　　　　　　mother.1POSS　3sf
　　　　Possessor　　**Noun**　　　　**Pronominal Article**
　　　　'my mother'

Like possessors, clitic demonstratives (7-12) and interrogatives (7-13) may occur at the left edge of the NP, and only one may be present per NP. There are strong restrictions on the ability of demonstrative and interrogative clitics to directly modify a noun in this position, see §7.4.2. The construction for demonstrative and interrogative clitics at the left edge of the NP is discussed in §7.6.

(7-12)　*i=*　　　　　　　*te*　　　*j=*　　　　　*ox*
　　　　DEM.DST　　　　　place　DEM.DST=　　3sm
　　　　Demonstrative Noun　**Demonstrative Pronominal Article**
　　　　'that place'

(7-13) *de=*   *sut*
       WHICH=   time
       Interrogative   Noun
       'when'

7.2 Pronominal Articles

As in a number of other languages (see e.g. Himmelmann 2001), all pronouns in Oksapmin except *nix* 'who' and *nixe* 'whose' (see Chapter 3, §3.4.5) can function as pronominal articles. Pronouns occur at the right edge of an NP, acting as pronominal articles to indicate specificity, as in (7-14)a., or they can function as pronouns in the traditionally understood sense as in (7-14)b. There are two pieces of evidence that suggest that these are pronominal articles and not just pronouns in apposition with a noun phrase: grammaticalization with higher-animate referents (§7.2.1), and use in the inclusory construction (§7.7).

(7-14) *a*   *xan*   *ox*
       man   3sm
       Noun   Pronominal Article
       'the man'

      b.   *ox*
       3sm
       'he'
       Pronoun

The pronominal article occurs after the head noun and all other elements in the NP, as shown in (7-15)a. below. No other modifiers can follow a pronoun within an NP as shown in (7-15)b.–d. below.

(7-15) *a.*   *xan*   *gwe*   *mox*   *ox*
       man   small.round   ANPH   3sm
       Noun   Modifier   Demonstrative Pronominal Article
       'this small man'

      b.   **xan*   *gwe*   *ox*   *mox*
       man   small.round   3sm   ANPH

      c.   **xan*   *ox*   *gwe*   *mox*
       man   3sm   small.round   ANPH
       'this small man'

      d.   **ox*   *xan*   *gwe*   *mox*
       3sm   man   small.round   ANPH

Dryer (1989: 93) provides a neat way of thinking about the fact that pronouns can at once serve as pronouns in the traditionally understood sense, as well as

functioning as articles: "articles and pronouns belong to a single category, which we can arbitrarily call articles, the difference being that articles like *the* are transitive articles, while [English] pronouns are just intransitive articles". Example (7-16) below shows the pronoun *rá* 'he' acting as a transitive article with the noun *ahili* 'angel' in Jicaltepec Mixtec, a language where pronouns can act as both transitive and intransitive articles.

(7-16) *číką́* *čaʔa* *ña* *saʔma* *čįʔį* ***rá*** ***ahili***
    thing-that give she clothes   to **he** **angel**
    'That's why she gave the clothes to the angel.' (JICALTEPEC MIXTEC Dryer 1989: 93)

Just like Jicaltepec Mixtec, pronouns in Oksapmin can act as "transitive articles", i.e. as pronominal articles (7-17); or as "intransitive articles", i.e. as pronouns in the traditionally understood sense (7-18).[1]

(7-17) *in* *[nap* *mox* ***ux]*** *gi=p-ti-p=li*
   so ySIB ANPH **3sf** THUS=tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP

   sup=si   *itəp*   *ixit=ja=o*
   mother.3POSS=CNJ father.3POSS 3d=O=QUOT
   'So, (it is said that) **this younger sister** told them as follows, her parents:'
   ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(7-18) *in* *[**ux**]* *ap* *jox* *idi-p=li*
   so **3sf** house DEF be.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
   'So, **she** stayed in the house.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

7.2.1 Presence of Pronominal Article

Pronominal articles do not occur with all nouns, but have grammaticalised and are obligatory with certain types of referents and/or in certain contexts. Roughly speaking, pronominal articles usually occur with human referents, and usually do not occur with non-human referents. In example (7-19), the object of *wa=ml-*[2] 'see',

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[1] Although the ability of pronouns in Oksapmin to act as articles may seem exotic, it can be argued on theoretical grounds that this is also the case in languages like English in which pronouns do not usually act as transitive articles (i.e. determiners). For example, Abney (1987) argues that there are enough similarities between pronouns and determiners in English to warrant an analysis of pronouns as a type of determiner. For example, pronouns can appear (albeit to a limited extent) in determiner position in a DP, e.g. {we/those} linguists (Abney 1987: 180). Abney provides a number of additional arguments for the status of pronouns as determiners: the inability of pronouns to occur with determiners; the inflection of pronouns and determiners alike for features such as person, number, gender and case, even when these are not specified on the (head) noun; and the fact that pronouns are clearly functional elements, which have a small closed class and a purely grammatical function.

[2] The light verb *ml-* 'MAKE' has the additional suppletive root form *de-* 'MAKE' with no change in meaning, see Chapter 9, §9.1.2, for details.

namely *koli ox* 'Koli', is a specific human and has the pronominal article *ox* '3sm'; whereas the object in example (7-20), namely *nel jox* 'the bird', is an animal and has no pronominal article, but does have the demonstrative *jox* 'DEF'. Note that the object marker *=nuŋ* is only present where a pronominal article is present.

(7-19)   *go*   **koli**   **ox***=nuŋ=xe*   *wa=de-l=d=o*
           2s   **PN**   **3sm**=O=FOC   see=MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ=EMPH
           'Did you see **Koli**?' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(7-20)   *nox*   **nel**   **jox**   *wa=m-ti-plox*
           1s   **bird**   **DEF**   see=MAKE-PFV-TODF.SG
           'I'll see **the bird**.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

Similarly, the object of *o=de-* ~ *o=ml-* 'leave' in example (7-21) below is a specific human and has a pronominal article; whereas the inanimate object in example (7-22) has none. Again the object marker *=nuŋ* is only present where a pronominal article is present.

(7-21)   **robin**   **ux***=nuŋ*   *bəp*   *ulxe*   *ap*   *jox*
           PN   **3sf**=O   so   3sf.REFL.POSS   house   DEF

           o=m-de-pti
           leave=PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
           'After that, we left **Robyn** at the house.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

(7-22)   **noxe**   **uŋ**   **jox**   *i=ka*
           1s.POSS   **string.bag**   **DEF**   DEM.DST=place

           o=n-m-a-de-m   *so-l*   *x-n-gwel*
           leave=1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-MAKE-SEQ   go-IPFV.PER.TODP   be-PFV-VIS.YESTP

           em   *ux*
           mother.1POSS   3sf
           '(She) had left **my bag** there for me and gone. My mother (had).' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

In addition to filling a different syntactic slot to demonstratives (see §7.10.1), pronominal articles also function differently in regards to object marking. For example, it would be ungrammatical to mark the NP from (7-22) above with the object marker *=nuŋ*, as shown in example (7-23) below. See Chapter 6, §§6.2.3–4, for more on object marking.

(7-23) *noxe*   **uŋ**   **jox**=*nuŋ*   *i=ka*
        1s.POSS   **string.bag**   **DEF**=O   DEM.DST=place

o=n-m-a-de-m
leave=1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-MAKE-SEQ
'(She) had left my bag there for me and…' (Elicited.)

The distribution of pronominal articles alongside nouns in an NP is, however, more complicated than whether the referent is human or not. More precisely, pronominal articles occur in NPs that refer to:

-      specific humans
-      entire clans
-      entire species of an animal
-      specific animals, including mythical animals with human-like characteristics
-      specific instances of a force of nature
-      some locations

Pronominal articles do not generally occur in NPs that refer to:

-      babies
-      generic humans
-      generic animals
-      inanimates
-      some locations

Pronominal articles occur with proper nouns referring to specific humans, as well as lexical kin terms and other lexical nouns referring to specific human beings. The third person singular masculine pronominal article *ox* '3sm' is shown with the kin term *ita* 'father.1POSS' in (7-24) below.

(7-24) *ap*   *ka*   *m-de=x*   *niŋ*   *jox*
        house   place   DEM.PRX-across=3sm   small.mammal   DEF

ita   **ox**=*nuŋ*   *piŋ-ti-p*
father.1POSS   **3sm**=O   show-PFV-PER.FP.SG
'Across at the house, I showed the small mammal to my father.' ("Small mammal" by Kila Dasyal.)

A clan as a whole may be referred to using the third singular masculine pronominal article as in (7-25) below, where *ox* '3sm' follows the clan name *dapul* 'Dapul (clan)' and the verb takes singular subject agreement. This is a metaphorical meaning extension which uses the mythical founding member of the clan to represent the whole clan.

(7-25) *agəp=a*   *dapul*   ***ox***   *moŋ-lə*   *ox*   *isip*
           vaginal.mucus³=EMPH   PN   **3sm**   ground-?   3sm   big

           d-t   *x-n-gop=li*
           take-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)   be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
           'Bloody hell, (the) Dapul (clan) had taken a lot of land.' ("Xoxom Clan Origin" by Tapsut.)

In a parallel fashion to clans, when the actions or properties of a species or variety of animal as a whole are discussed, the verb takes singular agreement and the third person singular masculine pronominal article is used (7-26).

(7-26) *niŋ*   ***ox***   *xanəp*   *d-pat*
           small.mammal   **3sm**   person   eat-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
           'Small mammals bite people.' (Lit. Small mammal (sg) eats people.) ("Rats" by Kila Dasyal.)

A pronominal article may also be used when a specific animal is referred to as opposed to any other. This is shown in example (7-27) below where the speaker is referring to one rat in particular, which she was trying to kill.

(7-27) *it*   *niŋ*   ***ox***   *əpli-s*
           again   small.mammal   **3sm**   come-SEQ
           'The rat came and then…' ("Rats" by Kila Dasyal.)

Likewise, a pronominal article is used when animals are given human qualities in a story. Example (7-28) below is from a story where two dogs interact with each other and with the human main character of the story just as humans would interact, e.g. they collect leaves and stones and help the main character build a fire.

(7-28) *oxe*   *dup*   *sl*   *te*   *mə-xət*   *ox=a*
           3sm.POSS   bow   put(.PRS.SG)   place   DEM.PRX-up   3sm=EMPH

           mjan   *ot*   ***ixit**=noŋ=xe*   *wo=m-ti-p=li*
           dog   two   **3d**=O=FOC   leave=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
           'He left the two dogs at the place up there where he had put his bow.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

An example of a force of nature which takes a pronominal article is shown in (7-29) below.

(7-29) *bipi*   ***ox***   *ti=bəs*   *x-t-pol=xən*   *tim-di-pa*
           earthquake   **3sm**   INDF=NEG   DO-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   sleep-PFV-PER.FP.PL
           'After the earthquake stopped, we slept.' ("Earthquake" by Kila Dasyal)

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³ In this example *agəp* 'vaginal mucus' is used as an interjection.

The third singular masculine pronominal article *ox* '3sm' is also used with some location phrases as shown in (7-30) below. The pronominal article *ox* '3sm' occurs with locations which have a demonstrative clitic which is inflected for elevation (see Chapter 4, §4.1.1.1). As these are not full phonological words, they cannot occur without a pronominal article. The pronominal article *ox* '3sm' is shortened to =*x* in this situation.

(7-30)   *kaw*   *wəte*   *tən*   *jox*   *dli-pti=xe*   *bek*   *ka*   *noŋ*
         stick   tongs   side   DEF   take-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD   post   place   TO

         mi-de=x   *mix*   *ml*   *konoŋ*   *konoŋ*   *konoŋ*
         DEM.PRX-across=3sm   like.this MAKE(.SEQ)   knock!   knock!   knock!

         pli-sxe=li
         TELL-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
         '(It is said that) they used to get their tongs and bang across on the fireplace posts like this.' ("Women's house" by Julie James)

Babies and small children are seen as being of low animacy and not capable of a high level of cognition and are described as *da ti=bəs* (thought INDF=NEG) 'no consciousness'. Consistent with this evaluation, the lexical noun *blel* 'child/baby' most commonly occurs without a pronominal article. This is shown in example (7-31) below where the object of the verb *o=de-* 'leave' does not have a pronominal article where the referent is a small child; it is modified by the anaphoric demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH'[4] instead.

(7-31)   *dit*   **blel**   **mox**   *o=m-de-m*   *s-ja=xən*
         1dIN   **child**   **ANPH**   leave=PRX.O-MAKE-SEQ   go-PRS.PL=IRR

         ixil   *ix=n-x-ti-pli=xən=o*
         3p   angry=1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-FF.PL=IRR=QUOT
         '"If we were to leave this child behind and go, they would be angry with us."'
         ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

A pronominal article is not compulsory with a lexical noun that refers to a non-specific human. This is shown in example (7-32) below where the object *xan* 'man' does not refer to a specific man but is a part of the conventionalized combination *xan dl-* 'marry (for a woman)'.

(7-32)   *nox*   *lexox*   **xan**   *d-ti-p*   *jox*
         1s   long.ago   **man**   take-PFV-PER.FP.SG   TOP
         'My marrying long ago was…' ("Self" by Kila Dasyal)

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[4] Note that *mox* 'ANPH' is a demonstrative and occurs in a different syntactic position to pronouns, see §7.4.

An example of a generic animal without a pronominal article is shown in example (7-33) below.

(7-33) *xan*   *tit*   *mitixan*   *ap*   *mədəp* *um*   *dəx*   *nuŋ*
        man   INDF   PN   village FROM PN   down   TO

        tap   *su-m*   *waj-xi-p=li=o*
        pig   kill-SEQ   go.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=EMPH
        'A man from Mitixan village went down to kill pigs near the Strickland river.'
        ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

Inanimates also generally occur without a pronominal article as in (7-34) below. (Note that *max* 'RECG', like *mox* 'ANPH' in example (7-31) above, is a demonstrative and not a pronominal article; see §7.4 and Chapter 4, §4.2.2.)

(7-34) **kwe**   **max**   *təxe*   *m-pli-n-gop=li*
        stone **RECG** throw   PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'He threw that stone (axe) at him.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

Locative NPs which are not marked with a clitic demonstrative usually do not take a pronominal article as in example (7-35) below.

(7-35) **ap**   **te**   *əpli-pat*   *o=ml=a*
        house **place** come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   finish=MAKE(.SEQ)=LINK
        'After I had come to (my) village, ...' ("Today" by Palis)

An NP which contains a discourse (free) demonstrative (see Chapter 4, §4.2) may often omit the pronominal article where it would otherwise be necessary. This is shown in (7-36) below where reference to a specific adult human would normally require the use of a pronominal article which in this case may be omitted due to the presence of the free demonstrative *max* 'RECG'.

(7-36) *axlu*   *ku*   *dap*   **max**   *odo-n=o*
        white   woman long   **RECG**   come.down-IMP=QUOT

        n-pl=xe
        1/2.O-tell(.PRS.SG)=VIS
        '(I saw that) that tall white woman told me "come down!"' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

7.3 Possessors

Possessors occur at the left edge of the NP they modify; no other element of the NP can precede a possessor. A possessor consists of an NP with a possessive or reflexive

possessive pronoun, or a PP with the postpositional possessive clitic =*xe* 'POSS'.[5] A possessive pronoun, *uxe* 'her', is shown modifying the NP *iŋ tit* 'a bag' in (7-37) below. Example (7-38) shows a possessor with a reflexive possessive pronoun, *tap ixlaixle* 'the pigs' own'. The possessive clitic =*xe* 'POSS' indicates a possessor in (7-39) below.

(7-37) [***uxe***]_{NP}   *iŋ*   *tit*
       3sf.POSS   string.bag   INDF
       'a bag of hers' ("Yesterday" by Julie James.)

(7-38) [*tap*   ***ixlaixle***]_{NP}   *banis*   *pja*   *nuŋ*   *jə-xət*
       pig   **3p.REFL.POSS** fence(TP)   big   TO   DEM.DST-up
       'to the pigs' own big fenced (enclosure) up there' ("Looking After My Pig" by Kila Dasyal.)

(7-39) [*em=**xe***]_{PP}   *sup*   *ux=a*
       mother.1POSS**=POSS**   mother 3POSS   3sf=EMPH
       'my mother's mother' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

A possessive or reflexive possessive pronoun can also occur as an NP in its own right, without having to possess another NP. When a possessive or reflexive possessive pronoun occurs as a one-word NP, it is often focus marked. This is shown in example (7-40) below where the possessive pronouns *noxe* 'mine' and *gwe* 'yours' are acting as full NPs and are not modifying any other NP.

(7-40) *it*   ***noxe***   *nonxol*   *sa-plox=li*   ***gwe**=xe*
       again   **1s.POSS**   1s.REFL   judge-TODF.SG=REP   **2s.POSS**=FOC

       golgol   *sa-plox=li*
       2s.REFL   judge-TODF.SG=REP
       'So (it is said that) I myself will judge mine. (It is said that) you yourself will judge *yours*.' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

An unmarked proper noun may also function to a limited extent as a possessor. This is only the case with lexical kin nouns which are inflected for the person of the possessor, as in example (7-41) below where the proper noun *pilsida* 'Pilsida' is modifying the head noun *sup* 'her mother' which is inflected for a third person

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[5] The synchronic situation of either a syntactic PP or a syntactic NP being able to indicate possession is an artefact of recent historical change. As all the possessive and reflexive possessive pronouns end in /e/, it is probable that these are derived from the possessive and reflexive possessive pronouns respectively, plus the possessive clitic =*xe* which has since fused with the pronoun. This scenario has lead to the current situation where the two syntactically different possessor phrase types both occur in the same syntactic slot.

possessor.[6] Note that a possessor with a pronoun or *=xe* may also be used with lexical kin nouns. See Chapter 5, §5.1, for more on unmarked proper nouns as possessors of lexical kin nouns.

(7-41) *a*　　**pilsida**　　*sup*　　*ux*　　*katis*　*ux*
　　　　HES　　**PN**　　　mother.3POSS　3sf　　PN　　3sf
　　　　'Pilsida's mother is Katis.' ("Near Drowning" by Dulum Aleap.)

As noted in Chapter 1, §1.2.5, the possessive construction is used to indicate numbers with body part numerals as in examples (7-42) and (7-43) below. The body part is the grammatical possessor of the NP it modifies.

(7-42) *xan*　　*nəgmd-il*　　*tit=a*　　　*xətxət=**xe***　　　　*xan*　　*nəgmd-il*
　　　　man　　SS.SIB-PL　　INDF=EMPH　little.finger=**POSS**　　man　　SS.SIB-PL

　　　　pt-sxe=li=a　　　　　　　　*jəxe*
　　　　be-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP=LINK　then
　　　　'There once lived some brothers, five brothers (lit. little finger's brothers). So, …'
　　　　("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

(7-43) *jəxe*　　*kat=**xe***　　　*dik*　　*na=əpi-n-gop=li*
　　　　then　　shoulder=**POSS**　time　　NEG=come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
　　　　'Then, he didn't come for ten nights (lit. shoulder's nights).' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Possessors can embed recursively in the noun phrase, just as possessors in English can. Both possessors may be overtly marked as such, as in example (7-44) below where *detneŋxe* 'Detneŋ's' and *supxe* 'mother's' both take the possessive clitic *=xe* 'POSS'. Alternatively, if the first possessed noun is a kin noun, then the first possessor may not be overtly marked as such, as in (7-45) below where *jajku* is not overtly marked for possession.

(7-44) *detneŋ=xe*　　*sup=xe*　　　*a*　　*mon*　*jox*
　　　　PN=POSS　　　mother=POSS　HES　brother　DEF
　　　　'Detneŋ's mother's brother' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

(7-45) *əpli-pat-n*　　　　*jajku*　*sup=xe*　　　　*ap*　　*kat*
　　　　come-IPFV.SG-NOMLS　PN　　mother.3POSS=POSS　house　place
　　　　'(I) came to Jaiku's mother's house area.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

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[6] Syntactically unmarked possessors do not function like the other possessor discussed in this section, but are modifier nouns (§7.5.1), tightly associated with the following noun.

7.4 Demonstratives

Both free and clitic demonstratives occur post-nominally (§7.4.1). Clitic demonstratives also occur, albeit to a limited extent, pre-nominally (§7.4.2).

7.4.1 Post-Nominal Demonstratives

The default position for demonstratives (free and clitic) is following a noun and its modifiers, before a pronominal article, as shown in (7-46)a. below where the free demonstrative *mux* 'ANPH' occurs following the noun *inəp* 'his wife' and the pronominal article *ux* '3sf'. Note that any other ordering is ungrammatical, as shown in (7-46)b.–c.

(7-46) *a.*   *inəp*   ***mux***   *ux*
                  wife.3POSS   **ANPH**   3sf
                  'this wife of his'

      b.   ****mux***   *inəp*   *ux*
                  ANPH   wife.3POSS   3sf

      c.   ****inəp***   *ux*   ***mux***
                  wife.3POSS   3sf   **ANPH**

Recall that there are two types of demonstratives (see Chapter 4), namely free and clitic demonstratives. These may both appear following a noun and preceding a pronominal article as shown in examples (7-47)a. and (7-48)a. respectively. Free demonstratives may also occur without a pronominal article following, as in example (7-47)b. below, whereas clitic demonstratives cannot as shown in (7-48)b. as these are not phonologically independent words. (In each case the NP is indicated with square brackets.)

(7-47) *a.*   *[sjap*   ***mox***   *ox]*_{NP} *li*   *mi=xix*
                  cassowary   **ANPH**   3sm   first   like.this=DO.PRS.SG

            x-n-gop=li   *[xanəp* ***mox*** *ox]*_{NP} *kom*
                  be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP   person **ANPH**   3sm   behind
                  'The cassowary led the way with the man (following) behind.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

      b.   *[sjap*   ***mox]***_{NP}
                  cassowary   **ANPH**
                  'this cassowary' (Elicited.)

(7-48) *a.*   *[mjan   ot   mə=ixit]*_{NP}   *əpli-n-gopa=li*
         dog   two   DEM.PRX=3d   come-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
         '…(it is said that he saw that) these two dogs came.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal
         Gahan)

        b.   **mjan   ot   mə=*
                 dog   two   **DEM.PRX=**
                 'her mother and father' (Elicited.)

Clitic demonstratives can, however, occur without a pronominal article if a
postposition is present, as in example (7-49) below.

(7-49) *walom gən   ka   **i**=mədəp   wa=de   jox*
         PN   hill   place   **DEM.DST**=FROM   see=MAKE(.PRS.SG)   SBRD
         'When (he) looked (down) from the hill at Walom, …' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

See Chapter 4 for more on the different types of demonstratives.

7.4.2 Pre-Nominal Demonstratives

The clitic demonstratives and the clitic interrogative can occur at the left edge of an
NP with a limited subset of nouns, primarily location and classifier lexical nouns. The
clitic demonstrative *i=* 'DEM.DST' (7-50) is shown modifying the nouns *gwe* 'small
round one' and *te* 'place' respectively. The clitic interrogative *de=* 'WHICH' is shown
modifying the NP *sut* 'time' in example (7-51).[7]

(7-50) *[**i**=gwe   jox]*_{NP} *[**i**=te]*_{NP}   *ol*
         DEM.DST=small.round   DEF   **DEM.DST**=place   dead

        pat-gop=li
        stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'That small one stayed dead in that place.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(7-51) *jəxe   nox   gi=p-ti-l=o*   *taim   ap   xəx*
         then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT   time   up   be.PRS.SG

        *mox   [**de**=sut]*_{NP} *s-pja=o*   *nox   p-ti-l*
        ANPH   **WHICH**=time   go-TODF.PL=QUOT   1s   tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'So I said as follows: "Time's up now. When are (we) going?" I said.' ("Yesterday"
        by Julie James)

A demonstrative may not occur to the left edge of the NP where modifiers are
present in the noun phrase. This is shown in example (7-52) below where the clitic

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[7] It is possible that at least some of these NPs consisting of a pre-nominal demonstrative plus a noun
have been lexicalized. Further research is required.

demonstrative *i=* 'DEM.DST' cannot occur when the modifier *jɔx* 'good' is present. Instead the preceding demonstrative must occur in a separate NP with *ma* 'REL' (see §7.6).

(7-52) **i=jɔx*   *gwe*   *jox*
        DEM.DST=good small.round   DEF
        'that good small one' (Elicited.)

      As noted above, a clitic demonstrative or interrogative cannot directly modify most nouns as shown in (7-53)a. below. Instead an alternate construction with *ma* 'REL' (see §7.6) must be used as in (7-53)b. below.

(7-53) *a.*   **i=tap*   *jox*
             DEM.DST=pig   DEF
             'that pig'

       b.   *i=ma*   *tap*   *jox*
             DEM.DST=REL pig   DEF
             'that pig'

7.5 Nouns and their Modifiers

Nouns take a number of different types of modifiers in the pre- and post-head modifying slots: other nouns (§7.5.1), *=si*-marked postpositional phrases (§7.5.2), quantifiers (§7.5.3), and restrictive relative clauses (§7.5.4).

7.5.1 Modifier nouns

Many modifier nouns can both precede and following the head noun they modify (§7.5.1.1). Certain types of nouns, however, may only precede (§7.5.1.2) or follow (§7.5.1.3) the head noun.

7.5.1.1 Pre- or Post-Head Modifier Nouns

Modifier nouns both precede and follow the head noun as shown in the examples below for *paljeŋ* 'huge', which precedes the head noun *san* 'body' in (7-54) and follows the head noun *xan* 'man' in (7-55).

(7-54) **paljeŋ** *jɐx*   *san=wi*   *ml-s*   *wɔ=de-n-gop=li*
        huge   good   body=ONLY   come.in-SEQ   finish=MAKE-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'A huge, good body (i.e. person) finished coming in.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit.)

(7-55) *xan*   *jæx*   **paljeŋ**   *nəxəsxe*   *ol*   *i=te*
man   good   **huge**   great   fall.down   DEM.DST=place

p-s-n-gop=li
CAUS-go-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'(They say that) the good, huge, great man was (shot) down dead in that place.'
("Cassowary" by Max Elit.)

Flexible syntax for modifiers with an adjectival function is familiar from a number of languages that allow such modifiers to both precede and follow the head noun, sometimes with a difference in meaning, sometimes not, see e.g. Rijkhoff (2002: 129). Examples like those from French given in (7-56)–(7-58) below (from Trussell 2005: 134) illustrate cases where adjectival modifiers occur either before or after the head noun. In these French examples, Trussell notes that the *i.* examples have a non-restrictive meaning, whereas the *ii.* examples have a restrictive meaning.[8]

(7-56) *i.*   *Ce plat pays*
             'This country, which is flat'

      ii.   *Ce pays plat*
             'This flat country'

(7-57) *i.*   *Ma verte prairie*
             'My meadow, which is green'

      ii.   *Ma prairie verte*
             'My green meadow'

(7-58) *i.*   *La catholique Irlande*
             'Ireland, which is catholic'

      ii.   *L'Irlande catholique*
             'The catholic (part of) Ireland'

Similarly, there are meaning differences between pre- and post-head modifier nouns in Oksapmin. M. Lawrence (1993: 234) argues that:

> "Modifiers before the head noun tend to point more to an inherent quality of the head noun. Modifiers after the head noun tend to point to outward characteristics. Thus *yah hän oh* (good man he) means a person who is morally good or kind. *hän yah oh* (man good he) means a person who is good looking or grown up."

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[8] Although the placement of adjectives in French in general is more complex than this and there is much debate about the exact factors at play, see e.g. Laenzlinger (2005), Trussell (2005), Cinque (1994).

According to my data, a pre-head modifier noun often appears to have a restrictive meaning, and a post-head modifier a non-restrictive meaning. The modifier noun *pja* 'big' is shown in pre-head position in (7-59) and has a restrictive functions; it singles out one container of many. In example (7-60), however, the modifier noun *pja* 'big' is in post-head position and has a non-restrictive meaning, each time it is mentioned; the fact that the pool is big is not helping the hearer identify the pool in question, it is simply a descriptive feature of the pool.

(7-59)   *ana*   *go*   *tom*   *san*   *jox=o*   **pja**   *san*
         PN   2s   water   container   DEF=QUOT   **big**   container

         tem   *nuŋ*   *ml*   *ipip*   *m-ti-n=mul=o*
         inside   TO   MAKE(.SEQ)   pour   MAKE-PFV-IMP=CERT=QUOT
         '"Anna, go and pour the water from the container into the big water container!"'
         ("Today" by Julie James)

(7-60)   *tom*   *xulu*   **pja**   *tit*   *pt-nipat=o*
         water   pond   **big**   INDF   stay-HAB.VIS.FP.SG=EMPH

         tom   *xulu*   **pja**   *mox*
         water   pond   **big**   ANPH
         'There was a big pool of water. This big pool of water.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

The restrictive meaning of a modifier noun preceding the head noun is further shown in example (7-61) below, where *jax* 'good' singles out one place where the speaker went as opposed to other places. A non-restrictive modifier noun follows the head noun in (7-62) below, where the identity of the referent has already been established and *jax* 'good' simply gives extra information about the man in question.

(7-61)   **jax**   *moŋ*   *te*   *tit=a*   *lat*   *lin=a*
         good   ground   place   INDF=EMPH   tree   leaf=EMPH

         ti=bəs   *ti=bəs*
         INDF=NEG   INDF=NEG
         '(I went to) a very good land. There was no leaves at all, nothing (Lit. not any).'
         ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

(7-62)   *ox=xe*   *mi=x-ti-n*   *xanəp*   **jax**
         3sm=FOC   like.this=DO-PFV-NOMLS   person   **good**
         'He is like this. A good person.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap.)

Also like French (e.g. *mon ancien professeur* 'my old (former) teacher' versus *mon professeur ancien* 'my old (aged) teacher'), some modifier nouns in Oksapmin have different meanings when they occur in pre-head versus post-head position. For

example, when the modifier noun *wanxe* precedes the noun (7-63), it means 'great', whereas when it follows the noun (7-64), it means 'a large quantity'.

(7-63) **wanxe**   *xan*
       a.lot   man
       'a really great man' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin.)

(7-64) *tom*   **wanxe**
       water   **a.lot**
       'a lot of water' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul.)

Modifier nouns derived from foreign words can both precede and follow the head noun. The Tok Pisin lexical noun modifier *las* 'last' is shown preceding the head noun in example (7-65) below and the Tok Pisin modifier *tupela* 'two' is shown following the head noun in example (7-66) below. Again, the pre-head noun appears to have a restrictive function, the post-head noun a non-restrictive function.

(7-65) **las**   *xan*   *mox*   *ox*   *xu-p=li*
       last   man   ANPH   3sm   go.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
       'The last man went.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(7-66) *jəxe*   *pransis*   *ox*   *kakaruk*   **tu-pela**
       so   PN   3sm   chicken(TP)   **two(Eng)-ADJ(TP)**

       n-a-sli-l=xejox
       1/2.O-BEN-put-IPFV.PER.TODP=BECAUSE
       'So, because Francis gave me (Lit. put for me) two chickens, …' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

Likewise, nominalised verbs can occur in both pre- and post-head modifier position as shown in example (7-67) and (7-68) below, unlike relative clauses which may only precede the head noun (see §7.5.4).

(7-67) *it*   *plastik*   **bruk**   **x-ti-n**   *mox*   *it*
       again   plastic(Eng)   **broken(TP)**   **DO-PFV-NOM**   ANPH   again

       niu-pela   *tem=nuŋ*   *mox*   *de-s*
       new(TP)-ADJ(TP)   inside=TO   ANPH   DO(TR)-PNCT

       pl-pat=xe
       TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
       '…after I put the broken plastic bag inside the new one again, …' ("Today" by Julie James)

(7-68) **ku=x-ti-n**   *gamxun*   *mox*   *kəm*   *sli-l*
       night=be-PFV-NOMLS   cuscus.variety   ANPH   feast   put-IPFV.PER.TODP
       '(We) put the black *gamxun* cuscus in the ground oven.' ("Men's House" by Dalput)

7.5.1.2 Post-Head Modifier Nouns

Two sub-types of modifier nouns, namely classifier lexical nouns and location lexical nouns, may only follow the head noun and may not precede it.[9] As shown in the examples below, classifier lexical nouns (see Chapter 5, §5.2.1) occur after the head noun (7-69)a. and before any location nouns, if present, and differ from other modifier nouns in that they cannot precede the head noun (7-69)b.

(7-69) *a.*   *ku*   ***bli***   *tit*   *pat*
               woman **huge**   INDF   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)
               'There is a huge woman.' (Elicited)

         b.   ****bli***   *ku*
               huge   woman
               'A huge woman.' (Elicited)

Similarly, location lexical nouns (see Chapter 5, §5.2.2) always follow the head noun (7-70)a. and cannot precede it as shown in examples (7-70)b. and (7-70)c. below for the location nouns *mutux* 'middle' and *noŋ* 'TO'.

(7-70) *a.*   *kot*   ***mutux noŋ***   *s-pat=xe*
               bush   **middle TO**   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
               'After he went into the bush, …' ("Waterfall" by Julie James.)

         b.   ****noŋ***   *kot*
               TO   bush
               'To the bush.' (Elicited)

         c.   ****mutux***   *kot*
               middle   bush
               'Amidst the bush.' (Elicited)

7.5.1.3 Pre-Head Modifier Nouns

Some modifiers can, when they have a certain function, only occur immediately before the head noun. These include terms which restrict the reference of taxonomic terms and other nouns with a general meaning. The function of *maxap* 'banana' and *kulal* 'Kulal' in example (7-71)a. and (7-72)a. below is to restrict the reference of the general terms *lin* 'leaf' and *eŋ* 'river'. It is ungrammatical for these modifiers to follow the head noun as shown in examples (7-71)b. and (7-72)b. below.[10]

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[9] It is equally possible that the location lexical nouns and classifier lexical nouns are the head nouns in this case, being modified by other lexical nouns to the left; see Chapter 5, §§5.2.1–2.

[10] It is also possible that NPs of this type are actually compound nouns. Further research is required on this point.

(7-71) a. **maxap**   lin
            banana   leaf
            'banana leaves' (Elicited.)

        b. *lin   **maxap**
            leaf   **banana**(Elicited.)

(7-72) a. **kulal**   eŋ
            PN   river
            'Kulal River' (Elicited.)

        b. *eŋ   **kulal**
            river   **PN**   (Elicited.)

This is likewise shown in the example below for *xəjop kip* 'hunting track', where the referent set for *kip* 'track' has been reduced by *xəjop* 'moon' to hunting tracks only and not other tracks.

(7-73) a. m=ox   gwe   **xəjop**   **kip**=d=a
            DEM.PRX=3sm   2s.POSS **moon**   **road**=PQ=EMPH
            'Is this your hunting (Lit. moon) track?' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan.)

        b. *kip   xəjop
            road   moon

Likewise in the following example, *tap ake* 'pig stomach', *tap* 'pig' is reducing the referent set *ake* 'stomach' to only pig's stomachs and not other stomachs.

(7-74) a. **tap**   **ake**   mox
            pig   **stomach**   ANPH
            'this pig's stomach' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap.)

        b. *ake   tap
            stomach   pig

Similarly, modifier nouns which are acting as the possessor of kin nouns may only precede the head noun they modify as in (7-75)a. below, and cannot follow it as in (7-75)b.

(7-75) a. **gew**   itəp   mox
            PN   father.1/3POSS   ANPH
            'Gew's father' ("Stealing Pandanus" told by Dulum Aleap.)

        b. *itəp   **gew**
            father.1/3POSS   **PN**

7.5.2 =*si*-Marked PPs

Postpositional phrases with =*si* 'PROP' (see Chapter 6, §6.3.1) precede the head noun. This is shown for the postpositional phrase *misin apsi* 'with a mission house' which modifies *kat* 'place' in example (7-76) below, and for *ga bət tən=si* 'with a beard' in (7-77).

(7-76) *i-so=ma*   ***misin***   ***ap=si***   *kat*
        DEM.DEX-across=REL **mission(Eng)** **house=PROP**   place

        dəx   *i-so=x*
        down   DEM.DST-across=3sm
        'over there down behind the place with the mission house' ("Tiljot" by Dasyal Gahan.)

(7-77) *nexemja*   *ox*   *xan=d=a*   *paljeŋ* ***ga***   ***bət***   ***tən=si***
        PN   3sm   man=PQ=EMPH giant   **jaw**   **hair**   **side=PROP**

        xan=xejox
        man=BECAUSE
        'What a man Jeremiah was! Because (he was a) giant, bearded man.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

7.5.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers, which may be either adjectival lexical nouns or postpositional phrases with =*si* 'PROP', may occur either inside the NP preceding the head noun, or following the NP. The quantifier *wanxesi* 'a lot' is shown following the NP which it modifies, namely *niŋ ox* 'the rat' in example (7-78) below.

(7-78) *a*   *[niŋ*   *ox]*_{NP} ***wanxe=si***   *ap*   *jə-xat*
        HES   small.mammal 3sm   **a.lot=PROP**   house   DEM.DST-up

        pat
        stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)
         'Lots of rats are up at the house.' ("Rats" by Kila Dasyal)

The quantifier *gonsi* 'all' (Lit. 'with whole') is shown in the examples below. In example (7-79) below, it occurs inside the NP in the pre-head modifier position. In example (7-80) below, *gonsi* 'all' occurs following the NP which it modifies, namely *iŋ mox* 'these bags'.

(7-79) ***gon=si***   *kəkel* *pja*   *mox*   *xəla*   *de-s*
        whole=PROP   root   big   ANPH   pull.out MAKE-PNCT
        'All the big roots were pulled out (of the ground).' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit.)

(7-80) *gin   gut   kja   xan   li-m   iŋ   mox*
       now   2d   what   thing   say-SEQ string.bag   ANPH

gon=si   *pu-s-pti=o*   *pl*
whole=PROP   CAUS-go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT   tell(.PRS.SG)
'"Why are you two taking all your bags?", I told them.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The same is shown for the quantifier *pok* 'only'[11] in the examples below. In example (7-81) below, it occurs inside the NP in the post-head modifier position, before the demonstrative *tit* 'INDF'. In example (7-82) below, it occurs following the NP which it modifies, namely *anwep ox* 'Anwep'.

(7-81) *gæxən   pa   jox   wan-pela   kən   gwe   **pok**   tit*
       later   taro   DEF   one-ADJ   cooked small   **only**   INDF

[...]   a-t   x-n-gop=li
           BEN(.put)-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)   be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'Then, as for taro, she had only put one small taro aside for him.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan.)

(7-82) *anwep   ox   **pok**   pat-n*
       PN   3sm   **only**   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS
       'When only Anwep was there, …' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

7.5.4 Restrictive Relative Clauses

Restrictive relative clauses precede the noun they modify and are regular full finite clauses that do not take any special relative clause marking. This is shown for example (7-83) below where the relative clause *ixpat* '(he) is doing this' modifies the noun *xan* 'man'.

(7-83) *i=x-pat   xan   ox*
       like.that=DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   man   3sm
       'the man who is doing this' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap.)

Relative clauses can be clearly shown to be syntactically inside the noun phrase, as they can be preceded by a possessor. (Possessors are syntactically within the NP; see §7.10.2.) This is shown in example (7-84) below where the possessor *nuxlanule* 'our very own' precedes the relative clause *əm nplipat* '(he) tells us knowledge', which is modifying the head noun *xan* 'man'. In this example, the head noun is also the subject of the relative clause.

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[11] *pok* may also mean 'all' as in the common expression *jox pok* 'that's all'.

(7-84) *nuxlanule*   *əm*   *n-pli-pat*   *xan*   *jox*
   1pEX.REFL.POSS   knowledge   1/2.O-tell-IPFV.SG(.PRS) man   DEF
   'our very own teacher' (Lit. 'Our very own he-tells-us-knowledge man.') ("School"
   by Kila Dasyal.)

It is ungrammatical for an overt NP in the relative clause to be coreferent to the head noun. In example (7-85)a. below, the head noun *tap* 'pig' is also the object of the relative clause which precedes it, namely *supti* '(they) are killing it'. Example (7-85)b. shows that it is ungrammatical for an overt object NP coreferent with the head noun, such as *oxnuŋ* 'him/it (object)', to occur in the relative clause, indicated by square brackets.

(7-85) *a.*   *su-pti*   *tap*   *mox*   *jox*
    kill-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   pig   ANPH   TOP
    'the pig that (they) are killing' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin.)

   b.   **[ox=nuŋ*   *su-pti]*   *tap*   *mox*   *jox*
    3sm=O   kill-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   pig   ANPH   TOP
    Intended meaning: 'The pig that (they) are killing.' (Elicited.)

The full range of grammatical relations can be relativised upon: subject (7-84), first object (7-86), second object (7-87), benefactive object (7-88), causative object (7-89), possessor (7-90). (Note that examples (7-86) and (7-89) are headless as I do not have natural examples of headed relative clauses for NPs in these roles. Headless relative clauses are discussed further below.)

(7-86) *mə=ma*   *kwin=o*   *pli-pti*   *max*
   DEM.PRX=REL[12] queen(Eng)=QUOT   tell-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   RECG
   'you know this one they call "Queen"' ("Juwan" by Dalput.)

(7-87) *em*   *ux*   *n-pl*   *endo-l*   *səŋ*
   mother 3sf   1/2.O-tell(.SEQ) stay.PFV-PER.YESTP   story
   'the story which my mother used to tell to me' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap.)

(7-88) *olxe*   *a-təmle-pat*   *xan*
   3sm.REFL.POSS   BEN-work-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   man
   'his very own man for whom he works' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap.)

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[12] There are actually two types of relative constructions in this example: a restrictive relative clause and a non-restrictive relative phrase with *ma* 'REL' (§7.6). The relative phrase of interest here is the headless restrictive clause *kwin=o pli-pti max* 'you know (who) they call "Queen"'.

(7-89) *mə=ma*   *p-pat*   *mox*
      DEM.PRX=REL   CAUS-stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)   ANPH
      'this which I am looking after' (Lit. 'this which I'm causing to stay') ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap.)

(7-90) *gutip*   *ləla-ti-p*   *xan=a*
      penis   hang.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG   man=EMPH
      'the man whose penis hangs down' ("Xoxom Clan Origin" by Tapsut.)

Location (7-91), instrument (7-92) and time phrases (7-93) can also be relativised upon as shown in the examples below. In example (7-93) the NP containing a relative clause is indicated with square brackets.

(7-91) *kal*   *m-ti-p*   *ka*   *mox*
      bridge   MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG   place   ANPH
      'this place where (he) had built a bridge.' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap.)

(7-92) *nuxule*   *non*   *gət*   *de-pti*   *atol*
      1pEX.POSS   breast   cut   MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   knife
      'our knife with which we cut (human beings') breasts' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

(7-93) *[nonxe*   *[əpli-pol=o*   *li]*   *dik*   *jox]*_{NP} *əpli-pla*
      1s.REFL.POSS   come-IF.SG=QUOT   say(.PRS.SG)   time   DEF   come-FF.SG
      'I will come when I want to come.' (Lit. I will come at my very own time when I say "I will come") ("Future" by Kila Dasyal.)

It is ungrammatical to relativise upon topics, discourse markers and manner adverbs.

Zero headed (headless) relative clauses occur quite commonly as shown in the examples below. NPs which contain headless relative clauses, namely *nonip oxe xup mox* 'where the older brother had gone' and *əlop pat* 'where his grandfather is', are shown in examples (7-94) and (7-95) respectively, indicated with square brackets. (Note that the tense in the relative clause in each case is worked out relative to the tense of the main clause.)

(7-94) *jəxe*   *[nonip*   *oxe*   *xu-p*   *mox]*
      then   eB.1/3POSS   3sm.POSS   go.PFV-PER.FP.SG   ANPH

      xu-pa
      go.PFV-PER.FP.PL
      'The he went where his older brother had gone.' ("Five brothers" by Pesen)

(7-95) *a*   *ox=a*   *[əlop*   *pat]*
      HES   3sm=EMPH   grandparent.3POSS   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)

      it   *əp-di-p*
      again   come-PFV-PER.FP.SG
      'He came back again to where his grandfather was.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

According to the analysis given in §7.10.3, relative clauses can only occur inside an NP, modifying a noun. Headless relative clauses, such as the examples given here, only fit into this analysis if a zero head noun is assumed or if the relative clause is analysed as itself filling the head noun slot.

There appear to be no restrictions, in terms of grammatical relations, on the function which an NP with a relative clause can perform. NPs with a relative clause can occur in all syntactic positions (except as a manner adverbial or discourse marker), including location (as in (7-94) and (7-95) above), time (as in (7-93) above), and topic. Example (7-96) shows a topic, indicated with the topic marker *jox* 'TOP' which contains a relative clause, namely *blel itip* '(she) gave birth to the child'.

(7-96) *blel*   *i-ti-p*   *ku*   *mox*   *ux*   *jox*
      child   put-PFV-PER.FP.SG   woman   ANPH   3sf   TOP

      maria=mul=o=li
      PN=CERT=EMPH=REP
      '(It is said that) this woman who had given birth to the child really was Maria.'
      ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan.)

A verbless clause may also act as a relative clause. This is shown for example (7-97) below, where the relative verbless clause *ku ti=bəs* (woman INDF=NEG) 'no woman' is modifying the noun *xan* 'man'.

(7-97) *lapil*   *ox*   *ku*   *ti=bəs*   *xan*   *pat-gwel=a*
      PN   3sm   woman   INDF=NEG   man   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP=LINK

      jæe
      then
      '(I saw that) Lapil stayed as a man with no wife. So…' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

7.6 Non-Restrictive Relative Phrases

A number of NP types trigger a non-restrictive relative construction with the relative pronoun *ma* 'REL'. Note that a distinction is made here between relative clauses and relative phrases: *ma* 'REL' marks an NP which modifies another NP, not a clause. This is exemplified in (7-98) below, where the NP marked with *ma* 'REL' (*nonxe kut ma*

'my own future') modifies the coreferent NP (*ixipla jox* 'when I will do something').
Note that each NP has the basic NP structure described above (although the NP *ixipla jox* is a zero-headed restrictive relative clause plus a demonstrative).

(7-98)   *[[nonxe   kut   **ma**]*NP *i=xi-pla   jox]*NP
         1s.REFL.POSS   future   **REL**   like.that=DO-FF.SG   DEF
         'my own future, when I will do something' ("Future" by Kila Dasyal)

This construction is a used for NPs containing a spatial (§7.6.1) or interrogative (§7.6.2) demonstrative clitic preceding the head noun; a possessive pronoun preceding a restrictive relative clause (§7.6.3); or an NP preceding a coreferent relative clauses (§7.6.4).

Evidence that *ma* 'REL' is a relative marker comes from its use with the demonstrative clitics (described in Chapter 4, §4.1), *i=* 'DEM.DST', *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' and *de=* 'WHICH'. The demonstrative clitic *de=* 'WHICH', for example, cannot modify a head noun directly but must occur in a relative phrase marked with *ma* 'REL'.[13] This is shown in (7-99) below, where it is grammatical for the interrogative clitic *de=* 'WHICH' (see Chapter 4, §4.1.2) to modify *nel* 'bird' when it occurs with *ma* 'REL' as in (7-99)a., but ungrammatical preceding the noun without *ma* 'REL' as in (7-99)b, or following the noun as in (7-99)c.[14]

(7-99)   *a.*   *[[de=**ma**]*NP   *nel*   *jox]*NP
           WHICH=**REL**   bird   DEF
           'Which bird?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai.)

       b.   **[de=nel   jox]*NP
           WHICH=bird   DEF   (Elicited.)

       c.   **[nel   de=x]*NP
           bird   WHICH=3sm   (Elicited.)

This is reminiscent of relativisation in other languages: Dryer (2007) notes that, in certain languages, various modifiers of NPs, e.g. demonstratives, ordinal numerals and adjectives, cannot modify a noun directly but must occur in a relative phrase. This is shown in (7-100) below for Sahidic Coptic, where the demonstrative *m̄mau* cannot modify the head noun directly but must occur in a relative phrase.

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[13] The term 'relative phrase' is used here as relative phrases with *ma* 'REL' delimit the reference of an NP and are semantically dependent on the following NP. This is akin to relative clauses in the traditional sense of the word, namely "a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP" (Andrews 2007: 206), except that the subordinated units in question are NPs, not clauses.
[14] A small number of nouns may, exceptionally, occur with the interrogative clitic or with spatial demonstrative clitics without *ma* 'REL'. See §7.4.2 for details.

(7-100) *p=rōme*   *[et*   *m̄mau]*
        DEF=man   REL   that
        'that man' (literally 'the man that is that') (Dryer 2007: 163)

Evidence that *ma* 'REL' is a pronoun, as opposed to a postposition or some other part of speech, is that it appears to be in pronominal article position at the right edge of the NP: *ma* 'REL' consistently follows demonstratives in the NP, in contrastive distribution with other pronominal articles.

There is likewise strong evidence that *ma* 'REL' does not belong syntactically to the following material. If it did, it would lead to an odd syntactic parsing of tokens like (7-99)a.: [*de*=[*ma nel*] *jox*]_{NP}, with the semantic head noun contained in the relative phrase. Such a parsing goes against the cross-linguistic evidence, presented above, which supports the presence of the demonstrative in the relative phrase, but not the noun. In addition, if there is an intonational break in an NP with *ma* 'REL', the break occurs after *ma* 'REL', not before it.

As noted above, the relative phrase marked with *ma* 'REL' is dependent on the following NP, and thus cannot usually occur by itself as shown by (7-101)a. below and must usually be followed by an NP consisting of a noun and its modifiers as in (7-99)a. above or a demonstrative as in (7-101)b. below.

(7-101) *a.*   **/?[de=**ma**]*_{NP}
                WHICH=**REL**   (Elicited.)

        b.   *[[de=**ma**]*_{NP}   *jox]*_{NP}
                WHICH=**REL**   DEF
                'Which one?'   (Elicited.)

Relative phrases with *ma* 'REL' can, however, occur alone, albeit in very limited circumstances. This is the case where the referent is demonstrated by some non-linguistic means, e.g. pointing at it. Example (7-102) was uttered when the speaker was pointing to a picture of a bird in a book while talking about its feathers. Examples of this kind further demonstrate that *ma* 'REL' syntactically belongs to the material preceding it, and not to the following material.

(7-102) *[[mə=**ma**]*_{NP}*=xe]*_{PP}   *bət*   *jox*   *jox*
        DEM.PRX=**REL**=POSS   hair   DEF   TOP
        'As for this (one)'s feathers, …' ("Kumkumba" by Paiiz Wengsin)

Relative phrases with *ma* 'REL' are in contrastive distribution with possessors (§7.3) and demonstratives (§7.4.2) preceding the head noun in the larger NP. This is

shown in (7-103) below where it is not possible for *noxe* 'my' to co-occur with *dema* 'which'.

(7-103) **de=**ma** noxe nel jox*
   WHICH=**REL** 1s.POSS bird DEF
   Intended meaning: 'Which bird of mine?' (Elicited.)

  An NP with a relative phrase acts as a single unit to which, for example, a possessive suffix can attach, as shown in (7-104) below.

(7-104) *[[i=ma]*_{NP}   *xan]*_{NP}*=xe win jox tiljot ox*
   DEM.DST=REL   man=POSS name DEF PN 3sm
   'That man's name (was) Tiljot.'
   #'That name of the man was Tiljot' ("Tiljot" by Dasyal Gahan)

7.6.1 With the Proximal and Distal Demonstrative Clitics

The most common use of *ma* 'REL' is with a proximal (7-105) or distal (7-106) demonstrative clitic, allowing it to precede the NP which it modifies (although recall that demonstratives more commonly follow the head noun in an NP, see §7.4).[15] (Note that the demonstratives *i=* and *m=* are clitics which cannot stand alone phonologically and as such attach phonologically to *ma.*)

(7-105) *[[mə=**ma**]*_{NP} *moŋ sup mox]*_{NP}
   DEM.PRX=**REL** ground spirit ANPH
   'This ghost…' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(7-106) *[[i=**ma**]*_{NP} *xal=si tom jox]*_{NP}
   DEM.DST=**REL** heat=PROP water DEF(/DEM.DST=3sm)
   'That hot water.' (Elicited)

  The larger NP may contain a noun as in the examples above, or it may consist solely of a free demonstrative, such as *jox* 'DEF' in (7-107) below.

(7-107) *gin [[i=**ma**]*_{NP} *jox]*_{NP}   *wə=m-ti-l=a*
   now DEM.DST=**REL** DEF   lose=MAKE-PFV-PER.YESTP=EMPH
   'Now (they) have forgotten about that thing.' ("High School Dispute" by Kila Dasyal)

  NPs with *ma* 'REL' can embed recursively, as shown in (7-108) below, where the two subordinate NPs marked with *ma* 'REL' have the same referent as *mox* 'this'.

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[15] The proximal and distal demonstratives can occur to a limited extent at the left edge of an NP without *ma* as in the example below. See §7.4.2 for details.
mə=but   *m=ox*
DEM.PRX=flat.place   DEM.PRX=3sm
'This flat place.'

(7-108) *[[[mə=**ma**]*_{NP} *nel* *bət* *mə=**ma**]*_{NP} *mox]*_{NP}
DEM.PRX=**REL** bird hair DEM.PRX=**REL** ANPH

dli-pti
take-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
'We get this, these bird's feathers.' (Lit. We get this, which is these bird feathers, which is this.) ("Birds 4" by Paiiz Wengsin.)

Where a demonstrative clitic occurs in a relative phrase in a larger NP with a post-nominal demonstrative, the two demonstratives must agree semantically: proximal can only co-occur with proximal, distal with distal, etc. The demonstrative *tit* 'INDF' may not occur in an NP containing a non-restrictive relative phrase. The demonstrative *max* 'RECG' can occur with either the proximal demonstrative clitic (as in example (7-109) below) or the distal demonstrative clitic (as in example (7-110) below). The proximal and distal demonstratives may not co-occur.

(7-109) *[[**mə**=ma]*_{NP} *bəli* *je* *xəlep* ***max*** *ox]*_{NP}
DEM.PRX=REL PN mountain underneath **RECG** 3sm
'under, you know, Bəli mountain here' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasayal Gahan)

(7-110) *s-sxe=li* *[[**i**=ma]*_{NP} *asup* ***max**]*_{NP}
go-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP **DEM.DST**=REL menstruation **RECG**

ti=bəs *xe-ja* *jox*
INDF=NEG DO-PRS.PL TOP
'…they used to go. When those, you know, periods were finished, ...' ("Women's house" by Julie James)

Where elevation suffixes (see Chapter 4, §4.1.1.1) occur on demonstrative clitics in a relative phrase as well as in a the larger NP, they must be identical as in (7-111), (7-112) and (7-113) below.

(7-111) *məmxan* *[[i-**so**=ma]*_{NP} *a* *misin* *ap=si*
what's.it DEM.DST-**across**=REL HES mission house=PROP

kət *dəx* *i-**so**=x]*_{NP}
place down DEM.DST-**across**=3sm
'what's it across there, across there down behind the mission house' ("Tiljot" by Dasyal Gahan)

(7-112) *[[mi-**de**=ma]*~NP~   *ku=o*   *xan=o*   *tə̂de-t*
        DEM.PRX-**across**=REL   woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   stand.up-SIM

       pti   *mi-**de**=ixil]*~NP~   *tit=ja*   *we*
       be.IPFV.PL(.PRS)   DEM.PRX-**across**=3p   INDF=O   shake.hand

       a-l=a   *tit=ja* *tit=ja* *x-pti=xe*
       BEN-SAY(.PRS.SG)=LINK   INDF=O INDF=O DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=VIS
       'The men and women who are standing there shake each other's hands in turn.' (MPI
       Reciprocals 13, Julie James)

(7-113) *[[mə-**xət**=ma]*~NP~   *lat*   *mə-**xət**=ox]*~NP~
       DEM.PRX-**up**=REL   tree   DEM.PRX-**up**=3sm
       'The trees up there.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit.)

7.6.2 With the Interrogative Demonstrative Clitic

The interrogative demonstrative clitic *de=* 'WHICH' must usually sit in a relative phrase with *ma* 'REL' to modify a lexical noun, as in (7-114) below.[16] (Like the demonstrative clitics, *de=* cannot stand alone phonologically so it attaches phonologically to *ma* 'REL'.)

(7-114) *[[de=**ma**]*~NP~   *nel*   *jox]*~NP~
       WHICH=**REL**   bird   DEF
       'Which bird?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai.)

(7-115) *[[de=**ma**]*~NP~   *jox]*~NP~*=wi*   *den*   *x-pat*
       WHICH=**REL**   DEF=ONLY   hungry DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       'Which (ones) do you like to eat?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and
       Hirai.)

7.6.3 Possessor Preceding a Relative Clause

Possessor expressions usually occur at the left edge of the possessed NP without *ma* 'REL' as in (7-116) (see §7.3). When the NP contains a zero-headed relative clause (7-117) or a headed relative clause (7-118), however, the possessor expression often forms a relative phrase with *ma* 'REL'. This is shown in (7-117) below, where the possessor *noxe* 'my' occurs with *ma* 'REL' in a relative phrase to modify the NP *ləŋ təmlem spat jox* 'the working in the garden' which contains a headless relative clause.

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[16] Note that *de=* can also occur inside an NP without *ma* 'REL', e.g. *de=ixil* (WHICH=3p) 'who?'. See §7.4.2 for details.

(7-116) *noxe   tap*
　　　　1s.POSS pig
　　　　'My pig.'

(7-117) *[[noxe **ma**]*_{NP} *ləŋ   təmle-m   s-pat   jox]*_{NP} *jox*
　　　　1s.POSS **REL**   garden work-SEQ   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   DEF   TOP
　　　　'My going to work in the garden is…' ("Garden" by Kila Dasyal)

(7-118) *[[oxe   **ma**]*_{NP} *bap   təpa-di-p   xan   ox]*_{NP}
　　　　3sm.POSS   **REL**   small   lift.up-PFV-PER.FP.SG   man   3sm
　　　　'His adoptive father.' (Lit. 'His he-picked-him-up-small man') ("Cassowary" by Max
　　　　Elit.)

Note that there is an apparent contradiction in the analysis at this point: this structure requires a possessive pronoun and a pronominal article (*ma* 'REL') to form an NP, but the structure presented at the start of this chapter implies that there must be a head noun present for a possessor to modify. In fact, this is not the case: a possessor can occur modifying only a pronoun. Possessors can likewise modify a demonstrative (this is, in fact, much more common), as in (7-119) below, where *gwe jox* 'your (thing)' forms a unit. The reason this is allowed becomes clearer in §7.10.

(7-119) *jox   [gwe   jox]*_{NP} *jox*
　　　　DEF   2s.POSS   DEF   TOP
　　　　 'That's your (thing).' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

It is grammatical to omit *ma* after a possessor which occurs before a restrictive relative clause as in (7-120) below. It is, however, ungrammatical to relativise a possessor where there is no clause in the larger NP, as shown in (7-121) below.

(7-120) *[axja   olxe   [mlo-l]*_{REL.CLAUSE} *   bok*
　　　　pandanus.variety   3sm.REFL.POSS come.up-IPFV.PER.TODP   skin

　　　　*mə-xəm]*_{NP}
　　　　DEM.PRX-down
　　　　'the *axja* pandanus tree's own trunk down there where he had just climbed up'
　　　　("Tiljot" by Dasyal Gahan)

(7-121) **noxe **ma**   tap*
　　　　1s.POSS **REL**   pig
　　　　Intended meaning: 'My pig.' (Elicited.)

7.6.4 Other Co-Referent NPs Preceding a Relative Clause

In addition to possessive pronouns, discussed above, other types of NP modifiers can occur in a relative phrase with *ma* 'REL' when they modify an NP headed by a clause

or containing a restrictive relative clause. In example (7-122) below, the semantic head *golgol* 'you yourself' is marked with *ma* 'REL', and is followed by the NP consisting of a zero-headed restrictive relative clause plus a demonstrative, namely *psnuŋ max* 'you know the one who took her'.[17]

(7-122) *[[golgol*   ***ma]***_{NP} *p-s-nuŋ*   *max]*_{NP …}
        2s.REFL   **REL**   CAUS-go-PFV.VIS.TODP.SG   RECG
        [Parents tell the girl who lost her sister whom she had taken to a dance:]
        'You yourself, the one who took her, (…should be the one to go and find her.)'
        ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

This may appear somewhat strange to native English speakers: what would be the head noun in English, is subordinated in a relative phrase in Oksapmin; and what would be the subordinate relative clause in English, heads the noun phrase in Oksapmin. Functionally, however, it makes no difference which is subordinate as this construction in Oksapmin is only used where the relative phrase is non-restrictive. That is, the subordinate NP and the larger NP are co-referential, so it makes no semantic difference which one is syntactically subordinate to the other.

In (7-123) below, the semantic head *sik xanəp ot jəxəm* 'two sick people down there' occurs in a relative phrase with *ma* 'REL', and is subordinate to the larger NP *pti ixit* 'those two who are staying (there)', which has the same reference as the relative phrase.

(7-123) *[[sik*   *xanəp* *ot*   *jə-xəm*   ***ma]***_{NP} *pti*
        sick   person two   DEM.DST-down **REL**   stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)

        *ixit]*_{NP}*=noŋ*   *nox*   *melasin*   *lapil*
        3d=O   1s   medicine(Eng) (3.O.)give(.PRS.SG)
        'I gave medicine to the two sick people down there, who were staying (down there).'
        ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

More familiar examples with *mə=* 'DEM.PRX' are shown in (7-124) and (7-125) below (repeated from (7-86) above). In each case, the relative phase is coreferent with the larger NP, which contains a zero-headed relative clause.

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[17] Note that this example is contrary to the current analysis because *golgol ma* is an NP consisting of two pronoun; two pronouns should not, according to the current analysis, be able to form an NP. It fits, however, if we assume that *golgol* is, exceptionally, in head noun position in this case. Examples with a pronoun acting as a head noun can be found in other languages too, e.g. in English examples like 'the me that you fell in love with', where 'me', a pronoun, is in head noun position and is modified by a determiner ('the') and a relative clause ('that you fell in love with').

(7-124) *[[mə=**ma**]*_{NP}   *pat*   *m=ox]*_{NP}
      DEM.PRX=**REL** stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)   DEM.PRX=3sm
      'This (place), here where I am (now).' ("First Day of School" by Savonna Frank.)

(7-125) *[[mə=**ma**]*_{NP}   *kwin=o*   *pli-pti*   *max]*_{NP}
      DEM.PRX=**REL** queen(Eng)=QUOT   tell-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   RECG
      'you know this one they call "Queen".' ("Juwan" by Dalput)

7.7 Inclusory Construction

A subtype of NP is the inclusory construction (see e.g. Singer 2001). In Oksapmin this is the primary way to (semantically) conjoin a noun with a pronoun. The noun which forms a part of the set is followed by a pronoun which refers to the whole set. This is shown in (7-126) below for the inclusory construction *em nuxut* 'my mother and I', where the noun *em* 'my mother' is a subset of the pronoun *nuxut* 'we two'.

(7-126) *nox*   *tit*   *sut*   *tit*   *[**em*   ***nuxut**]*_{NP}   *bokeŋ*
      1s   INDF   time   INDF   **mother.1POSS 1d**   PN

      but   *nuŋ*   *xu-pa*
      flat.place   TO   go.PFV-PER.FP.PL
      'Once, my mother and I went to the clearing at Bokeŋ.' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

Syntactically, these are normal NPs, as described in §7.1 above, where the noun forms an NP with a pronominal article. For example, in (7-127) below *tinaplin* 'Tinaplin' is the head noun and combines with the pronominal article *nuxut* 'we two' to form the NP *tinaplin nuxut* 'Tinaplin and me'.

(7-127) *xəm*   ***tinaplin***   ***nuxut**=ja=xe*
      down   **PN**   **1dEX**=O=FOC

      n-p-d-n-gwel=a   *kwalxan*   *ox=a*
      1/2.O-CAUS-eat-PFV-VIS.YESTP=LINK   PN   3sm=EMPH
      'Down there, he fed Tinaplin and me, Kwalxan (did).' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

Dyadic kin terms can also be used in an inclusory-type construction, explained further in §7.8 below.

7.8 Dyadic Kin Term Syntax

In this section, the syntax of NPs containing dyadic kin terms (introduced in Chapter 3) is described. Recall that dyadic kin terms refer to two or more people in a given relationship, e.g. the dyadic kin term *imdil* refers to a mother and her children (7-128).

(7-128) **imd-il**   ol   jox   de=nuŋ
        mother&child-PL   dead.body   DEF   WHICH=TO

   m-t-pa=li=o
   MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
   'Where did the mother and her children put the body?' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal
   Gahan)

Dyadic kin terms have some syntactic properties in common with nouns, and generally follow basic noun phrase syntax, as presented above, although there are a number of restrictions on their occurrence that do not apply to nouns. In addition, dyadic kin terms occur in an inclusory construction in a fashion differing from nouns.

Like nouns, dyadic kin terms commonly head an NP. In the NP *gamd mox* 'this husband and wife' in (7-129) below, the dyadic term *gamd* 'husband and wife' is followed by the discourse demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH', as per normal NP syntax.

(7-129) *[gamd   mox]*~NP~   *əpli-pti-n=a*
        husband&wife ANPH   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
        'When this husband and wife came, …' ("Juwan" by Dalput)

As mentioned above, dyadic kin terms occur in an inclusory-type construction. Similar to the inclusory constructions described in §7.7 above, these follow regular NP syntax, but the NP modifier of the dyadic kin term refers to a subset of the dyadic kin term's referent set. In (7-130) below, for example, the modifier *juwan ku* 'Juwan' is a subset of *gamd* 'husband and wife', the head of the NP.

(7-130) *[juwan   ku   gamd   ixit]*~NP~
        PN   woman husband&wife   3d
        'Juwan and her husband…' ("Juwan" by Dalput)

This construction is likewise shown below with a discourse demonstrative (7-131), and both a discourse demonstrative and a pronoun (7-132), according to the regular rules governing NP syntax. In each case *ku* 'woman' is modifying the dyadic kin term, which is the NP head.

(7-131) *[ku   təbe   tit]*~NP~   *pt-sxe*   *gæxən*
        woman brother&sister   INDF   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL   then

   pti-n=a
   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
   'There was (once) a woman and her brother. Then while they were staying, …'
   ("Eagle" by Bitel Palmal)

(7-132) *[ku   gamd   max   ixit]*_{NP} *be   pti*
      woman husband&wife RECG   3d   nothing stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
      'That woman and her husband are doing nothing.' (Elicited)

This construction permits the absence of a pronominal article, despite the fact that a pronominal article is usually necessary with specific human referents (see §7.2.1 above). In (7-133) below, the proper noun *lodes* 'Lodes' occurs with the dyadic kin term *gamdil* 'husband and wives' without a pronominal article.

(7-133) *[lodes **gamd-il**]*_{NP}   *kip   wa-pti   kat*
      PN   **husband&wife-PL**   road   go.down-IPFV.PL(.PRS) place
      'The place where Lodes and his wives go down…' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

Note that, unlike nouns, the dyadic kin term itself can generally not take a direct possessor. If one wishes to refer to the semantic possessor of a dyadic kin term, then a lexical kin term (inflected for possession) is used in an inclusory construction with the dyadic kin term. This is shown in (7-134)a. below where lexical kin term *sup* 'his mother' is used to refer to 'his mother and father'. The ungrammaticality of possessors preceding the dyadic kin term *gamd* 'husband and wife' in this context is shown in (7-134)b. below, where the possessive pronouns *oxe* 'his', *ixile* 'their', and the PP *kilaxe* 'Kila's' are all ungrammatical.

(7-134) *a.*   **sup**   *gamd*   *ixit*   *i=te*   *pti-n*
           mother.3POSS husband&wife 3d   DEM.DST=place stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS

           pti-n
           stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS
           '**His** mother and her husband (i.e. his mother and father) stayed and stayed there and…' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

      b.   **oxe/*ixile/*kila=xe*   *gamd*
           3sm.POSS/3p.POSS/PN=POSS   husband&wife

Nor can dyadic kin terms themselves usually be modified. In an inclusory construction with a dyadic kin noun, however, the lexical noun which refers to a subset of the dyadic kin noun may take a modifier. This is shown in example (7-135) below where *sxa* 'orphan'[18] modifies *blel* 'child' but not *təmd* 'father and child'..

(7-135) *sxa   blel   **təmd**   mox*
      orphan child   **father&child** ANPH
      'This orphaned child and his father…' ("River Butul" by Baku)

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[18] The modifier *sxa* here is derived from the verb *sxa-* 'look after, get food for' but has a conventionalized meaning of 'orphan' when used as a modifier as in this example.

Although I have said above that dyadic kin terms can generally not be modified directly, I did have one example in my corpus where a dyadic kin term was modified by a possessor and a relative clause. In this example, shown in (7-136) below, the possessor *nuxule* 'our' and the relative clause *nminxetpa* 'they conceived us' are modifying the dyadic kin term *gamd* 'husband and wife', which is the head noun.

(7-136) *[nuxule   n-minxe-t-pa   gamd   jox]*_{NP}
    1pEX.POSS   1/2.O-conceive-PFV-PER.FP.PL   husband&wife   DEF

    məmxan   putul=si   wəsa   ixit=a
    what's.it   PN=CNJ   PN   3d=LINK
    'Our couple who begot us are, what's it, Putul and Wəsa.' ("Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

It is also possible in restricted circumstances for a dyadic kin term to act as a modifier in an NP, just as nouns do. All such examples in my corpus occur with the noun *ap* 'house' as in examples (7-137) and (7-138) below.

(7-137) *[ixte   **təmd**   ap]*_{NP}*=li*
    3d.POSS   **father&child**   house=REP
    'the father and child's house' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

(7-138) *a   p-s-s   məda-m   [itaite   **imd***
    HES   CAUS-go-SEQ   finish-SEQ   3d.EMPH.POSS   **mother&child**

    *ap   jə-xən]*_{NP}   *sxa-sxe=li=o*
    house   DEM.DST-across   look.after-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
    'She took it home and looked after it in her and her son's house.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

7.8.1 Apposition with Dyadic Kin Terms

Unlike nouns, dyadic kin terms cannot occur with a pronominal article when there is no NP modifier or demonstrative present; instead, the dyadic kin term follows the pronoun in an appositional construction, i.e. two co-referential NPs in apposition. This is shown in example (7-139)a. below where the dyadic kin term *umd* 'mother and child' follows the pronoun *nuxut* 'we two'. The reverse order has at best marginal acceptability as shown in example (7-139)b.: I found no such examples in naturally occurring speech but such combinations were not rejected upon questioning of speakers.

(7-139) *a.*   *[nuxut]*_{NP}   *[**umd**]*_{NP}   *i=kət*   *nəŋ*   *x-t-pa*
          1dEX   **mother&child**   DEM.DST=place   TO   go-PFV-PER.FP.PL
          'We two, the mother and child, went to that place.' ("Near Death of Child" by
          Dulum Aleap)

     b.   *?/*umd*   *nuxut*
          mother&child   1dEX

This appositional construction is used in a formulaic greeting, where the pronoun and dyadic kin term are followed by the information focus marker *=xe*, the contrastive focus marker *=li* (which is optional) and the emphatic marker *=o*, as shown in (7-140) below. See also Chapter 11, §11.3.1, for more on this construction.

(7-140) *jox*   *jæx=w=o*   *gut=xe=li=o*   **gul**
          DEF   good=RESP=QUOT   2d=FOC=CNTRS=QUOT   **2p**

     təmd-il   ***imd-il=xe=o***   *gul=xe=o*
     father&child-PL   **mother&child-PL=FOC=QUOT**   2p=FOC=QUOT

     pli-pti   *nuxut*   *it*   *əpli-ja*
     tell-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   1dEX   again   come-PRS.PL
     '"That's fine. Goodbye you two. Goodbye to you, mother, father and children.
     Goodbye", we told them and then came again.' ("Today" by Kerina)

This construction is also used where the first NP exhausts the referent set, i.e. is not in an inclusory construction, as in (7-141), where the dyadic kin term *nəgmdil* 'same sex siblings' follows the coreferent NP. Note that dyadic kin terms, unlike nouns and like pronouns, can take the object marker *=nuŋ* (see Chapter 6, §6.2.3).

(7-141) *[maria=o*   *mata=o*   *madala=o*   *ixil]*_{NP}   *[**nəgmd-il**]*_{NP}*=nuŋ*
          PN=CNJ   PN=CNJ   PN=CNJ   3p   **SS.SIB-PL**=O

     m-lapli-n-gop=li
     PRX.O-give-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
     '(It is said that) (he) gave (it) to Maria, Martha and (Mary) Magdalene, the same sex
     siblings.' ("Brother and sister" by Miriam Bapyan)

7.9 Conjunction within the NP

There are three nominal conjunctions, each of which is discussed below: *=si* 'CNJ' (§7.9.1), and *=a* 'CNJ' and *=o* 'CNJ'(§7.9.2). The primary difference between these conjunctions is that *=si* 'CNJ' is restricted to the conjunction of two nouns only, whereas *=a* 'CNJ' and *=o* 'CNJ' are used for lists of items and conjoin nouns or any larger units within NPs (see §7.10 for more on these).

7.9.1 =si 'CNJ' Conjunction

The clitic =si 'CNJ' is used as a nominal conjunction meaning 'and' or 'together with'. There are two different constructions involving the nominal conjunction =si depending on whether the conjoined nouns are person names or lexical kin terms or not, as noted by M. Lawrence (1970b: 16). These two different constructions are discussed in §7.9.1.1 and §7.9.1.2 below.

See also Chapter 6 for a discussion of the homophonous NP clitics =si 'WITH' (§6.2.5) and =si 'PROP' (§6.3.1) to which =si 'CNJ' is undoubtedly historically related. Evidence that =si 'CNJ' is synchronically distinct in function from =si 'PROP' and =si 'WITH' is that it marks the conjunction of two head nouns; =si 'PROP', in contrast, marks a modifier within a noun phrase and =si 'WITH' marks an instrument in a clause.

7.9.1.1 =si with Lexical Nouns

The clitic =si 'CNJ' occurs on both nouns that are to be conjoined when these are lexical nouns. This conjoining strategy is used for lexical nouns and place names. It is used to conjoin two and only two nouns.

(7-142) *jəxe* *noxe* *ap* *pat* *j=ox*
so 1s.POSS house stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS) DEM.DST=3sm

[səbati=si *buxegan=si]*$_{NP}$ *mutux* *ox* *pat*
PN=**CNJ** PN=**CNJ** between 3sm stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)
'So, my village is between Səbati and Buxegan.' ("Self" by Kila Dasyal)

(7-143) *jəxe* *[mə=ma* *ku=si* *xan=si* *mox]*$_{NP}$
so DEM.DST=REL woman=**CNJ** man=**CNJ** ANPH

oxe *xəlep=wi* *ma* *endo-l* *jox*
3sm.POSS underneath=ONLY REL stay.PFV-PER.YESTP DEF
'So, these men and women were those who stayed under him (=his descendants).'
("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

7.9.1.2 =si with Person and Clan Names and Lexical Kin Nouns

When lexical kin nouns or proper nouns are conjoined, the clitic =si 'CNJ' occurs on the first noun only. Again, two and only two nouns may be joined in this fashion[19]. Example (7-144) shows two lexical kin nouns conjoined with =si 'CNJ'. Note that the

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[19] This analysis contrasts with that of M. Lawrence who claims that any number of nouns may be conjoined with =si (Lawrence, M 1970b: 16).

pronominal article belongs to the unit resulting from this conjunction, i.e. both the nouns together.

(7-144) *[em=**si***   *at*   *ixit]*_{NP}*=noŋ*   *was*
      mother.1POSS=**CNJ**   father   3d=O   wash

      n-x-ti-n=o   *p-ti-pa*
      1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-IMP=QUOT   tell-PFV-PER.FP.PL
      'I told my mum and dad to wash me.' ("First Day at School" by Savonna Frank)

Person names and clan names are likewise conjoined with a single instance of *=si* 'CNJ' as in (7-145) and (7-146) below (repeated from (7-136) above).

(7-145) *nuxule*   *n-minxe-t-pa*   *gamd*   *jox*
      1pEX.POSS   1/2.O-conceive-PFV-PER.FP.PL   husband&wife   DEF

      məmxan   *[putul=**si***   *wəsa*   *ixit]*_{NP}*=a*
      what's.it   PN=**CNJ**   PN   3d=EMPH
      'Our couple who begot us are, what's it, Putul and Wəsa.' ("Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

(7-146) *nuxul*   *[gos=**si***   *kusan*   *nuxut]*_{NP}   *i-ja=te*
      1pEX   clan.name=**CNJ** PN   1dEX   DEM.DST-below=place

      olxol   *t-dəlpə-m=a*
      3sm.EMPH   MID-begin-SEQ=LINK
      'We, we two who are the Gos and Kusan clans came to be at that place down there and…' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

Nouns conjoined with *=si* may share a single possessor as in examples (7-147) below.

(7-147) *[noxe*   *em=si*   *ita*   *ixit]*_{NP} *pti*
      1s.POSS   mother.1POSS=CNJ   father.1POSS   3d   stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
      'When my father and mother were (there), …' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

7.9.2 *=a* 'CNJ*'*, *=o* 'CNJ*'* and *Zero* Conjunction

The conjunction *=a* 'CNJ' may be used to conjoin units within an NP. Examples (7-148) below shows the conjunction *=a* 'CNJ' functioning to conjoin the nouns *wem* 'tail', *adaw* 'spine' and *tən* 'side'.

(7-148) *be*   *[wem=**a***   *adaw=**a***   *tən=**a**]*_{NP}   *lumsan*
       just   tail=**CNJ**   spine=**CNJ**   side=**CNJ**   a.lot

       m-de-t-pol=xən=a
       PRX.O-MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD=LINK
       'Anyway, when the tail, spine and side (of the pig) were really heavy, …' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

As shown in (7-149) below, conjoined nouns can share a single demonstrative, in this case *jox* 'DEF'.

(7-149) *[rais=**a***   *pis=**a***   *biskit=**a***   *jox]*_{NP} *sal-im*
       rice(Eng)=**CNJ** fish(Eng)=**CNJ** biscuit(Eng)=**CNJ**   DEF   sell(Eng)-TR(TP)

       de-pat-gwel
       MAKE-IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP
       '(I saw that he) was selling that rice, fish and biscuits.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The conjunction =*o* 'CNJ' functions in an almost identical manner to =*a* 'CNJ', although =*o* 'CNJ' is far less commonly used than =*a* 'CNJ'. Similarly to example (7-149) above with =*a* 'CNJ', the conjunction =*o* 'CNJ' is shown in (7-150) and (7-151) below conjoining nouns. In both examples the conjoined nouns share a demonstrative, which happens to be *jox* 'DEF' in each case.

(7-150) *[xalwak=**o***   *inta=**o***   *xəmot=**o***
       bird.variety=**CNJ**   bird.variety=**CNJ**   bird.variety=**CNJ**

       *əxəsan=**o***   *jox]*_{NP}   *su-pat*
       bird.variety=**CNJ**   DEF   kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       'I kill *xalwak*, *inta*, *xəmot* and *əxəsan* bird varieties.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(7-151) *[moŋ=**o***   *lat*   *lin=**o***   *jox]*_{NP}*=si*   *gja*   *m-t*
       ground=**CNJ**   tree   leaf=**CNJ**   DEF=WITH   cover   MAKE-SIM
       '… they cover (the nest) with dirt and leaves and…' ("Birds 9" by Paiiz Wengsin)

In example (7-152) below, =*o* 'CNJ' is shown conjoining three proper nouns, *kolman*, *detineŋ* and *jamlot*, which all share a single pronoun, *ixil* '3p'.

(7-152) *detineŋ* *nəgmd-il*   *ixit*   *i=ma*   *pti*   *jox*
       PN   SS.SIB-PL   3d   DEM.DST=REL stay-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   TOP

       *[kolman=**o***   *detineŋ=**o***   *jamlot=**o***   *ixil]*_{NP}
       PN=**CNJ**   PN=**CNJ**   PN=**CNJ**   3p
       'Now Detineŋ and his brothers who are living are Kolman, Detineŋ and Jamlot.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

This kind of conjunction within the NP may also occur with no overt marker. This is shown in example (7-153) below.

(7-153) *[blel   ku   pəsel   xan   pəsel   be   blel   lel   gon   gwe]*_{NP}
       child   woman old   man   old   HES   child   some   all   small

       p-lo-xi-pa
       CAUS-enter-PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'They took all children, women, old people and babies inside.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Note in example (7-153) above, and likewise in example (7-154) below, each noun being conjoined may take its own modifier. In example (7-154) below, *ku* 'woman' and *xan* 'man' each have a modifier, which happens to be *pəsel* in both cases, and all of this then shares a single demonstrative, *mox* 'ANPH'. Evidence that, despite its complicated structure, example (7-154) below is a single NP is that it consists of a single intonational unit.

(7-154) *[ku   pəsel   xan   pəsel=a   mox]*_{NP} *gon=si*
       woman old   man   old=CNJ   ANPH   whole=PROP

       lo-pti-n   *lo-pti-n*   *lo-pti-n*
       enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS
       'When these old women and old men all kept coming in, …' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

An even more complicated example is shown in example (7-155) below, where each conjoined noun has its own demonstrative and optional modifier, and these then all share a pronominal article, i.e. *blel imdil tit* 'a mother and her children', *ku pəsel tit* 'an old woman' and *ku tit* 'a(nother) woman' are all conjoined and all share the pronoun *ixlail* 'they themselves'.[20]

(7-155) *[blel   imd-il   tit=a   ku   pəsel   tit=a*
       child   mother.child-PL   INDF=CNJ   woman old   INDF=CNJ

       *a   ku   tit=a   ixlail]*_{NP} *əpli-n-gwel   jəxe*
       HES   woman INDF=CNJ   3p.REFL   come-PFV-VIS.YESTP   then
       'A mother and her kids and an old woman and another woman themselves came. Then…' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

In another complicated instance of conjunction, each noun may have its own possessor. This is the case in (7-156) below, where each conjoined noun has its own

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[20] The intonational evidence for this NP is inconclusive as the speaker hesitates several times and there are a couple of fairly lengthy pauses within the NP.

possessor but both noun phrases share a single demonstrative, namely *jox* 'DEF'. Again, these share a single intonation contour.

(7-156) *[sasot=xe*   *blel=a*   *dalom=xe*   *blel=o*   *jox]*_{NP}
      PN=POSS   child=CNJ   PN=POSS   child=CNJ   DEF
     'Sasot's children and Dalom's children' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

Conjoined nouns may also share a single possessor as in example (7-157) below, where the conjoined nouns *lumo* 'beaks' and *təxaxo* 'claws' both share the possessor *ixile* 'their'.

(7-157) *boxol*   *mox=xe*   *aw-xel*   *[ixile* *lum=o*
    eagle/hawk   ANPH=FOC   grandparent.1POSS-PL   3p.POSS beak=CNJ

    təxax=o   *mox]*_{NP} *ma*   *dl*   *mda-m=a*   *meg*
    claw=CNJ   ANPH   REL   take(.SEQ)   finish-SEQ=LINK   speak

    pl   *mdam=a*   *i=xi-pti*
    SAY(.SEQ)   finish-SEQ=LINK   like.that=DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
    'As for the eagle, our elders take their beaks and claws and then speak and do that thing (i.e. work magic).' ("Birds 8" by Paiiz Wengsin)

7.10 Non-Flat Structure of NPs

A number of the properties of noun phrases described above, including the complicated NPs involving conjunction just discussed, imply a non-flat structure of referring phrases. In the remainder of this chapter, I will review the evidence for the non-flat phrasal structure posited in Table 7-2 below.[21]

Determiner Phrase Rule:	**DP**	→	**(DemP) D**
Demonstrative Phrase Rule:	**DemP**	→	**(NP) Dem**
Noun Phrase Specifier Rules:	**NP**	→	**(DemP) N'**
	NP	→	**(DP) N'**
	NP	→	**(PP) N'**
Noun Phrase Adjunct Modifier Rules:	**N'**	→	**(NP) N'**
	N'	→	**N' (NP)**
Noun Phrase Compliment Modifier Rules:	**N'**	→	**(NP) N**
	N'	→	**(PP) N**
	N'	→	**(IP) N**

Table 7-2.   Noun Phrase Syntax Rules

The levels proposed in Table 7-2 above are represented in syntactic tree in Figure 7-1 below. Note that all non-heads are optional, so that each phrase type can consist of its head alone.

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[21] I'm using the terms specifier, complement and adjunct in their commonly understood senses in X-bar theory, see e.g. Carnie 2002.
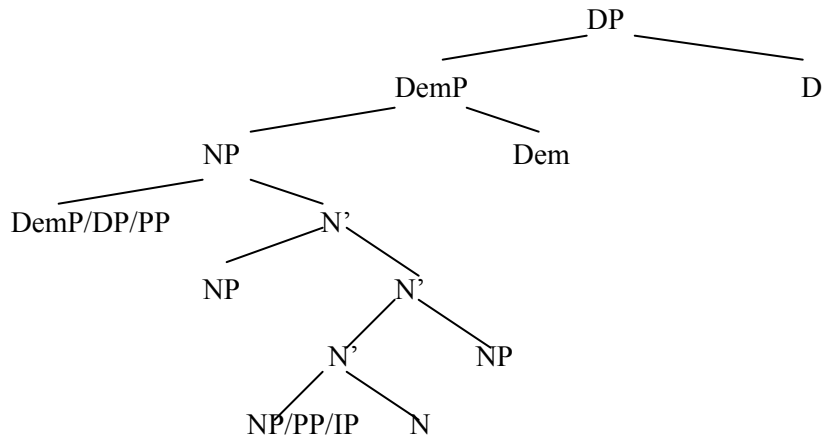
Figure 7-1.   DP syntax tree

The correspondences between the elements of basic word order in the NP as presented earlier in Table 7-1 and the elements of the non-flat structure presented in this section are shown in Table 7-3 below. The order of elements remains the same: specifier (DemP, DP or PP), which can be a prenominal possessor, demonstrative, interrogative or non-restrictive relative phrase; adjuncts (NP) and complements (NP, PP or IP), which are the modifiers as described above (nouns, =*si*-marked PPs, quantifiers, restrictive relative clauses); the head noun; further adjuncts (NP); demonstrative (Dem); and determiner (D), which is a pronominal article.

Specifier (DemP/DP/PP)	Adjunct (NP)	Compliment NP/PP/IP	Head N	Adjunct NP	Demonstrative Dem	Determiner D
Possessor/ Demonstrative/ Interrogative/ Non-Restrictive Relative Phrase	Modifier	Modifier	Head Noun	Modifier	Demonstrative	Pronominal Article

Table 7-3.   Elements which Fill the Syntactic Categories

The rest of this chapter describes the evidence for the non-flat structure of referring phrases given above.

7.10.1   NP, DemP and DP

The three phrases proposed above, NP, DemP and DP, mean that a typical referring phrase, such as that shown in example (7-158) below, has the structure shown in Figure 7-2 below.

(7-158) *blel*   *mox*   *ox*
       child   ANPH   3sm
       N   **Dem**   **D**
       Noun **Demonstrative Pronominal Article**
       'this child'
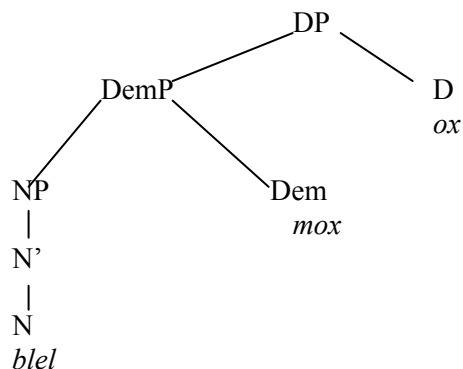
Figure 7-2.   Revised syntax tree: *blel mox ox* 'this child'

There are a number of facts regarding the structure of referring phrases which provide evidence for this non-flat structure:[22]

1. Nouns, demonstratives and pronouns can each stand alone as a referring phrase
2. NPs can be conjoined within a DemP, and share a single Dem (demonstrative)
3. DemPs can be conjoined within a DP, and share a single D (pronominal article)

The first point above is a purely theoretical argument for NPs, DemPs and DPs: if we assume that demonstratives and pronominal articles are all part of the noun phrase, then a grammatical referring expression like *mox ox* 'this one' in (7-159) below, consisting of a demonstrative and a pronominal article, must be assumed to have a zero head noun, as shown in Figure 7-3. If, however, we assume a non-flat structure, then there is no need to posit any zero heads, as shown in Figure 7-4 below.

(7-159) *mox*   *ox*
       ANPH   3sm
       Dem   **D**
       Demonstrative Pronominal Article
       'this one'
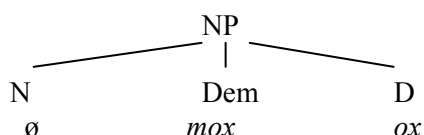
Figure 7-3.   A flat representation of (7-159) above

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[22] Replacement of a single word for a phrase (as in 1.) and conjunction (as in 2. and 3.) constitute basic (but fundamental) tests for constituency in generative grammar, see e.g. Carnie 2002.
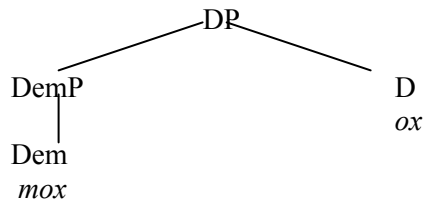
Figure 7-4.   A non-flat representation of (7-159) above

If we assume the non-flat structure posited above (along with a simple conjunction rule, X → X (X)*), then this explains the structure of examples such as (7-160) below (repeated from (7-154) above), where conjoined nouns can each have their own modifiers. In (7-160) below, the head nouns *ku* 'woman' and *xan* 'man' are each followed by their own modifier, in both cases *pəsel* 'old'. This is evidence that the nouns and their modifier are each acting as a syntactic unit.[23]

(7-160) *[ku   pəsel   xan   pəsel=a   mox]   gon=si*
       woman old   man   old=CNJ   ANPH   whole=PROP

       lo-pti-n   *lo-pti-n*   *lo-pti-n*
       enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS
       'When these old women and old men all kept coming in, …' ("Cassowary" told by Max Elit)

A syntax tree representation of example (7-160) is shown in Figure 7-5 below, where the NPs share a single demonstrative.
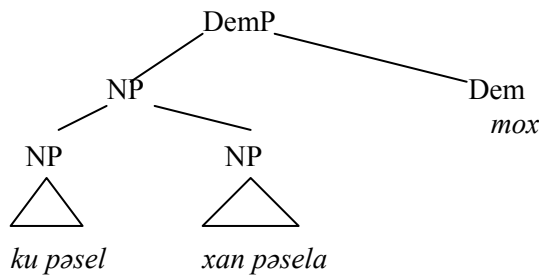
Figure 7-5.   Syntax tree *ku pəsel xan pəsela mox* 'these old women and old men'

Similarly, this non-flat structure allows us to easily capture what is going on in complicated examples like (7-161) below (repeated from (7-155) above), where each unit consisting of a noun, its modifiers and a demonstrative is combined, and these all share a pronominal article, i.e. *blel imdil tit* 'a mother and her children' forms a DemP which is conjoined with the other DemPs, *ku pəsel tit* 'an old woman' and *ku tit*

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[23] At this point in the argument, it could be put forward that these are simply N' units within the noun phrase. Evidence against this analysis is the internal complexity of NPs as described in §7.10.2 and §7.10.3 below.

'a(nother) woman', which then all share the pronominal article *ixlail* 'they themselves'.

(7-161) *[blel   imd-il   tit=a   ku   pəsel   tit=a*
       child   mother&child-PL   INDF=CNJ   woman old   INDF=CNJ

       ku   tit=a   ixlail]   əpli-n-gwel   jəxe
       woman INDF=CNJ   3p.REFL   come-PFV-VIS.YESTP   then
       'A mother and her kids and an old woman and another woman themselves came. Then…' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

The structure of example (7-161) is shown with a syntax tree in Figure 7-6 below. The demonstrative phrases share a single pronominal article in determiner position.
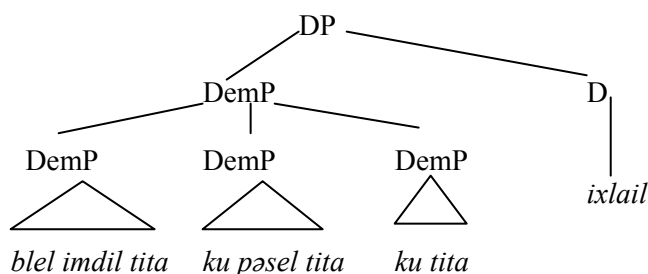
Figure 7-6.   Syntax tree *blel imdil tita ku pəsel tita ku tita ixlail* 'a mother and her kids and an old woman and another woman themselves'

If we do not posit the non-flat structure described above, then it is very difficult to account for examples such as (7-160) and (7-161). All three levels of phrases posited above (DP, DemP and NP) are necessary to capture the different constituents (shown to be present via coordination) which occur within each of them.

7.10.2   Within the NP: Specifier and N'

There is evidence for further structure within the NP: specifier (DemP, DP or PP) and N'. A specifier can be a prenominal possessor, demonstrative, interrogative or non-restrictive relative phrase. This means that the underlying structure of an NP such as (7-162) is that shown in Figure 7-7 below.

(7-162) *noxe   tap*
       my   pig
       Possessor   Noun
       'my pig'
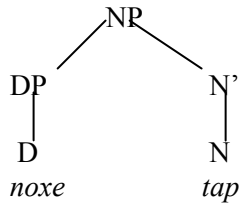
Figure 7-7.   Syntax tree: *noxe tap* 'my pig'

There are several pieces of evidence that these prenominal possessors, demonstratives and interrogatives are specifiers:

1. Only one can occur per NP
2. Recursion of possession
3. Conjunction of NPs, each of which has a possessor

Specifiers (prenominal possessors, demonstrative, interrogatives and non-restrictive relative phrases) are very different to the other modifiers in the NP. There can only ever be one specifier per NP but there can be multiple modifiers. A specifier can only occur at the very left edge of the NP, whereas multiple modifiers can occur, with various orderings possible. See §7.3 (possessors), §7.4.2 (prenominal demonstratives, including interrogatives) and §7.6 (non-restrictive relative phrases) for the restrictions on the function and occurrence of specifiers.

Recursion of possessors provides evidence that the specifier and the noun it possesses form an NP. This is shown in example (7-163) below (repeated from (7-44) above) where *detneŋxe* 'Detneŋ's' modifies *supxe* 'mother's', which in turn modifies *mon* 'brother'. If the possessor and the noun it possesses (e.g. *detneŋ=xe sup*) did not form a phrasal unit, then it would be difficult to conceive of how this could act as a unit to modify another noun phrase.

(7-163) *[[[detneŋ=xe   sup]ₙₚ=xe   a   mon]ₙₚ jox]ₐₑₘₚ*
         PN=POSS   mother=POSS   HES   brother DEF
         'Detneŋ's mother's brother' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)
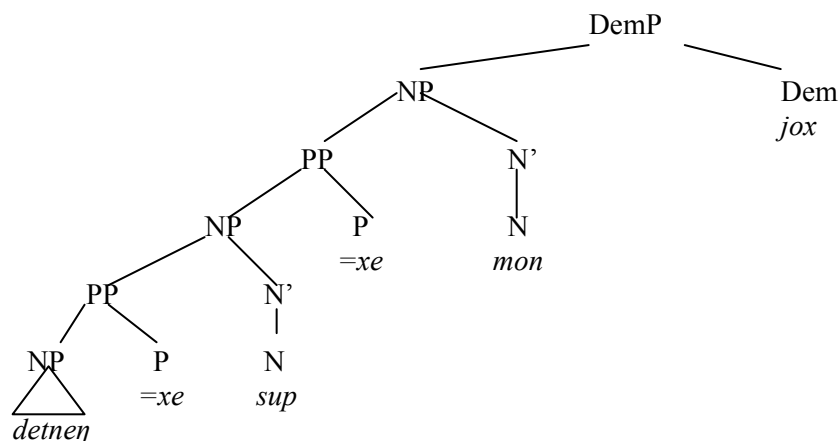
Figure 7-8.   Syntax tree: *detneŋxe supxe mon jox* 'Detneŋ's mother's brother'

Further evidence that specifiers are part of the NP and not the DemP or DP is that conjoined nouns can each have a possessor, but still share a demonstrative, as in (7-156) below (repeated from (7-156) above).

(7-164) *[[[sasot=xe   blel=a]_{NP}   [dalom=xe   blel=o]_{NP}]_{NP}   jox]_{DemP}*
        PN=POSS   child=CNJ   PN=POSS   child=CNJ   DEF
         'Sasot's children and Dalom's children' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

7.10.3   Within N': Complements and Adjuncts

Within the N', there is evidence that some modifiers have a closer relationship to the head noun than others. For examples like (7-165) below, a structure such as that in Figure 7-9 below is posited, where the modifier *toxan* 'sweet potato' has a closer relationship to the head noun *kaw* 'stick' than does the modifier *jǝx* 'good'.

(7-165) *toxan*   *kaw*   *jǝx*   *tit*
        sweet.potato   stick   good   INDF
        Modifier   **Head Noun**   **Modifier**   **Demonstrative**
        'a good stick for (digging) sweet potato' (Elicited.)
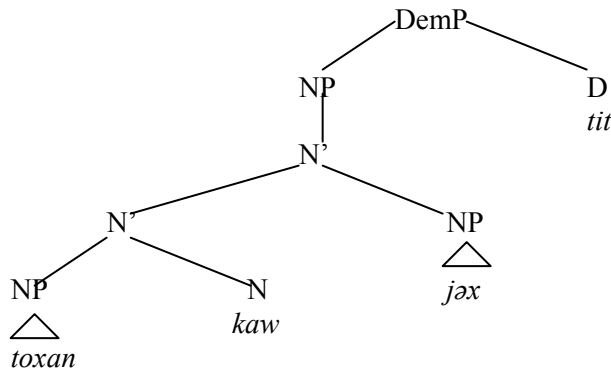
Figure 7-9.   Syntax tree: *toxan kaw jəx tit* 'a good stick for (digging) sweet potato'

Evidence for the above structure is that some modifiers can either precede or follow the head noun, whereas others can only precede it. The different relationships of the modifiers *toxan* 'sweet potato' and *jəx* 'good' in regards to the head noun *kaw* 'stick' is demonstrated in the examples below. The lexical noun *jəx* 'good' can occur either before or after the noun (7-166), whereas the lexical noun *toxan* 'sweet potato' can only occur before the noun (7-167)a. and attempts to place it after the head noun are ungrammatical (7-167)b.

(7-166) *a.*   *jəx   kaw*
                 good   stick
                 'good stick' (Elicited.)

        b.   *kaw   jəx*
                 stick   good
                 'good stick' (Elicited.)

(7-167) *a.*   *toxan   kaw*
                 sweet.potato   stick
                 'stick for (digging) sweet potato'

        b.   **kaw   toxan*
                 stick   sweet.potato
                 intended meaning: 'stick for (digging) sweet potato' (Elicited.)

In addition, it is possible to place some modifiers closer to the noun than others: complements must occur directly to the left of the head noun, with nothing interposing. This is shown below, where the modifier *jəx* 'good' can precede the modifier *toxan* 'sweet potato' as in (7-168)a., but cannot follow it as in (7-168)b. below.

(7-168) *a.*   *jəx   toxan   kaw   tit*
              good   sweet.potato   stick   INDF
              'a good stick for (digging) sweet potato' (Elicited.)

   b.   **toxan   jəx   kaw   tit*
              sweet.potato   good   stick   INDF
              intended meaning: 'a good stick for (digging) sweet potato' (Elicited.)

The same phenomenon occurs with restrictive relative clauses: they must precede the head noun, as shown in (7-169) below. They are thus also considered complements.

(7-169) *a.*   *tim-pti   ap*
              sleep-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   house

   b.   **ap   tim-pti*
              house   sleep-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
              'the house where (we) sleep' (Elicited.)

Chapter 8
Verbs

Like a number of other Papuan languages, Oksapmin has a fundamental distinction between medial verbs and final verbs, depending on their position in a larger discourse unit of linked clauses. Medial verbs are minimally inflected and dependent on a final verb; final verbs are fully inflected and independent. In Oksapmin, final verbs are fully inflected for aspect, number, tense and evidentiality; medial verbs are inflected only with a medial verb suffix. In the examples below with *su-* 'hit/kill/fight', the medial verb *sum* is only inflected for sequentiality (8-1)a., whereas the final verb *sutip* is inflected for perfective aspect, singular number of the subject, far-past tense, and personal-factual evidentiality (8-1)b. Final and medial verb suffixes are discussed in detail in §8.2 and §8.3 respectively.

(8-1) *a.* *su-**m***
kill-**SEQ**
'Kill (something/someone) and…'

  b. *su-**ti-p***
kill-**PFV-PER.FP.SG**
'(He/she/it) killed (something/someone).'

Both final and medial verbs, however, take the same set of prefixes, which indicate valency and object agreement. The following examples show the prefix *p-* 'CAUS' combining with medial (8-2) and final (8-3) forms of the verb *s-* 'go' respectively.

(8-2) ***p**-s-s=a*
CAUS-go-SEQ=LINK
'He took (her) and…' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(8-3) *go*   *iŋ*   *iŋ=si*   *mox*   *lumsan=nəp=o*
2s   string.bag   a.lot=WITH   ANPH   a.lot.of=VERY=QUOT

  ***p**-s-pat=o*
CAUS-go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT
'"You're really carrying a lot of bags."' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

There are also a number of suffixes which derive other word classes from verbs (§8.4).

8.1 Verb Prefixes

There are six verbal prefixes in Oksapmin: *n-* 'first or second person object', *m-* 'third person proximal object', *gos-* 'reciprocal', *p-* 'causative', *a-* 'benefactive', and *t-* 'middle'. These occur in left to right order as shown in the table, where slot -2 is filled with an object prefix or the reciprocal prefix and slot -1 is filled with a valence changing prefix. A maximum of only one object agreement marker and one valence marker may usually co-occur (see below for further details). Both slots may be empty where no prefix is required by the grammar, e.g. for intransitive verbs or transitive verbs with a third-person non-proximal object.

-2		-1		0
n- '1/2.O'	*m-* 'PRX.O'	*a-* 'BEN'	*p-* 'CAUS'	V
gos- 'RECP'				
		t- 'MID'		

Table 8-1.   Verbal prefixes

Theoretically, an additional object marker, namely a third person non-proximal object marker with zero realisation, should also be distinguished. Although I do not mark this throughout the thesis, its presence is implied on verbs with a valence of two or more which have no other object marker.

There are a number of restrictions on the co-occurrence of verbal prefixes. The attested combinations are shown in (8-4) below. No reordering of these combinations is possible.

(8-4)   *m-a-*   'PRX.O-BEN-'
        m-p-   'PRX.O-CAUS-'

        n-a-   '1/2.O-BEN-'
        n-p-   '1/2.O-CAUS-'

        gos-a-   'RECP-BEN-'
        gos-p-   'RECP-CAUS-'

        n-m-a-   '1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-'

        a-p-   '(3.O.)BEN-CAUS-'[1]

As shown in (8-5) below, illicit combinations of prefixes include: the reciprocal marker plus an object marker, the reciprocal marker plus both the causative

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[1] In this combination of prefixes, the absence of a first-person or proximal object marker (*n-* or *m-*) indicates that the object is third person non-proximal, indicated here by '3.O.' in round brackets. Recall that round brackets are used in this thesis to indicate meanings implied by the lack of a given affix, i.e. zero morphemes; see Chapter 1, §1.5.2.1.

and benefactive, and the middle marker plus anything else (which is predictable as this lowers transitivity).

(8-5) *m-gos-
       *n-gos-
       *gos-a-p-
       *m-t-
       *n-t-
       *t-a-
       *t-p-

      The most common combinations of prefixes are: an object agreement prefix and the benefactive (as shown in example (8-6) below) and an object agreement prefix and the causative (as shown in example (8-7) below).

(8-6) *in*   *nuxul*   *i=ka*   *meg=l*
       so   1pEX   DEM.DST=place   talk=SAY(.SEQ)

       pti-n=a   *em*   *ux*   *u*
       stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   mother.1POSS 3sf   call.out

       n-a-l   *x-n-gwel*
       1/2.O-BEN-SAY(.SEQ)   be-PFV-VIS.YESTP
       'So, while we were talking there, I heard my mother call out for me.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(8-7) *ixil*   *toxan=o*   *den=o*   *jox=a*
       3p   sweet.potato=CNJ food=CNJ   DEF=EMPH

       n-p-d-pti=xe=a
       1/2.O-CAUS-eat-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD=LINK
       'They feed me sweet potato and other food, so …' ("Looking After Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

      Less commonly, the benefactive and causative co-occur (as shown in example (8-8) below). In this case, the benefactive prefix always precedes the causative prefix. This combination of the benefactive and the causative most often occurs with verbs of motion.

(8-8) **a-p-**opli-pti[2]   *ap*   *jox*
       (3.O.)BEN-CAUS-come-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   house   DEF

       o=m-a-de-pti   *s-sxe=li*
       leave=PRX.O-BEN-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   go-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
       'When they had brought (food) for them, they used to leave it at the house for them and then go.' ("Women's house" by Julie James)

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[2] When the verb *əpil-* 'come' occurs with the causative prefix, the schwa vowel changes to /o/.

Rarely, the two object markers can co-occur with the benefactive marker as shown in examples (8-9), (8-10) and (8-11) below. This is not possible in the upper dialect which does not have the object agreement marker *m-* 'PRX.O'. It is not possible for the proximal object agreement prefix to precede the first or second person object agreement prefix. The first and second person prefix agrees with the benefactive object and the proximal object prefix agrees with the direct object.

(8-9) *ku*   *tit*   *toxan*   *mox*   **n-m-a-*sxu-n-pol*=o**
      woman INDF   sweet.potato   ANPH   **1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-**get-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT

      li-nuŋ
      say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
      'A woman asked if she could get that sweet potato from me.' ("Today" by Palis)

(8-10) *tu*   *kina=xe*   *xip*   *ku*   *mux*
       two(Eng)   monetary.unit=POSS   pile   woman   ANPH

       ux   **n-m-a-*dli-nuŋ***
       3sf   **1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-**take-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
       'The lady took from me a two kina's (worth) pile.' ("Today" by Palis)

(8-11) *noxe*   *uŋ*   *jox*   *i=ka*
       1s.POSS   string.bag   DEF   DEM.DST=place

       *o=**n-m-a-***de-m*   *so-l*
       leave=**1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-**MAKE-SEQ   go-IPFV.PER.TODP

       x-n-gwel   *em*   *ux*
       be-PFV-VIS.YESTP   mother.1POSS   3sf
       'I went down and saw that my mother had gone and left my bag for me.'
       ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The reciprocal marker occasionally occurs with either the benefactive (8-12) or the causative.

(8-12) *xan*   *ot*   *max*   *kom*   **gos-a-*sl***   *i=te*
       man   two   RECG   back   **RECP-BEN-**put(.SEQ)   DEM.DST=place

       toŋno-t-pa
       sit.down-PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'Those two men sat down with their backs pressed against each other.' ("Xoxom clan origin" by Tapsut)

8.1.1 *n-* 'First or Second Person Object'

The prefix *n-* '1/2.O' indicates a first or second person object. It is obligatory where there is a first or second person object of any kind: patient (8-13), recipient (8-14),

causee (8-16), or beneficiary (8-15). The referent with which it agrees can additionally be referenced by an overt noun phrase as in examples (8-13) and (8-16) below.

(8-13)   *nox*   *ma*   ***gut=nuŋ***   *aŋ*   ***n-x-m***
            1s   REL   **2d=O**   find   **1/2.O**-MAKE-SEQ
            'I (will) find you and...' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-14)   *was*   *alel*   *mox*   *p-opli-s=a*   ***n-pgi-n-gopa***
            wash(Eng)   thing   ANPH   CAUS-come-SEQ=LINK   **1/2.O**-show-PFV-VIS.FP.PL

            tumbuna   *ixil*
            ancestor(TP)   3p
            'They brought the thing to wash with and showed it to us. The ancestors did.'
            ("Men's House" by Dalput)

(8-15)   *niŋ*   *kəm*   *jox*   *xan*   *ixil*
            small.mammal   feast   DEF   man   3p

            n-a-xut-nipti
            1/2.O-BEN-cook.in.ground.oven-HAB.VIS.FP.PL
            'As for the possum feast, the men cooked (the small mammals) in the ground oven for us.' ("Men's House" by Dalput)

(8-16)   ***tinaplin***   ***nuxut=ja=xe***   ***n-p-d-n-gwel=a***
            PN   **1dEX=O=FOC**   **1/2.O**-CAUS-eat-PFV-VIS.YESTP=EMPH

            kwalxan   *ox=a*
            PN   3sm=EMPH
            'He fed Tinaplin and I too, Kwalxan (did).' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

One verb, 'hit, kill' has suppletive verb stem alternation to indicate first and second person object agreement as shown in the examples below: *ni-* is used for first and second person objects, *su-* is used with third person objects.

(8-17)   ***ni-pla=xən***   *da*   *x-t*   *pt-t=a*
            1/2.O.kill-FF.SG=IRR   think   DO-SIM   stay-IPFV.PER.YESTP=LINK
            'I thought he might hit me.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-18)   *nox=xe xanəp*   ***su-m***   *sl*   *i=xi-sux*   *xan*
            1s=FOC person   **(3.O.)kill**-SEQ   put(.SEQ)   like.that=DO-HAB.PER.FP.SG   man

            olxol=a
            3sm.REFL=EMPH
            '"I'm also someone who used to kill people but…"' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

8.1.2 *m-* 'Third Person Proximal Object'

The prefix *m-* indicates the presence of a third person object which has one or more of the following properties:

- it is the main character in a third person narrative; or
- it is more familiar or important to the speaker and addressee than the subject; or
- it is physically closer to the speaker or addressee than the subject.

The prefix *m-* is only present in Lower Oksapmin (the dialects spoken down the valley from about Sabate down to Oksapmin Station), and is not present in Upper Oksapmin as described by M. Lawrence (1972b; 1993 etc.).

The use of this prefix is demonstrated in the following examples where, in both cases, the object is the protagonist of the story and has been mentioned many times previous to the given utterance.

(8-19) *moŋsup   ox   **m**-su-n-gop=li*
      ghost   3sm   **PRX.O-**fight-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'The ghost fought him.' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(8-20) *ap   te   nuŋ   de-pat-n=a   inəp   blel*
      house   place   TO   go.across-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK wife.3POSS   child

      imd-il   ap   ka   xən   ko-ŋ
      mother&child-PL   house   place   across   arrive-PNCT

      *li   jox   dəxa   **m**-de-n-gopa=li*
      SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP   question   **PRX.O-**MAKE-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
      'He went across to his village and when he got there his wife and child questioned him.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

In (8-21) below, the proximal object agreement prefix is used for a referent who is known to all parties of the conversation and who is being acted upon by another unspecified child. In this case, the proximal object agreement prefix indicates that the object of the verb 'kill' is one that is known to all parties, i.e. Irene. Examples (8-22) and (8-23) show that it does not make sense to use the proximal object agreement marker where there is a subject who is of equal topicality to the object and who is equally known to all parties of the conversation.

(8-21) *blel   tit   airin   ux=nuŋ   **m**-us-pat=xe*
      child   INDF   PN   3sf=O   **PRX.O-**kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS
      'A child (we don't know) is hitting Irene (who we all know).' (Elicited FNB 6.102)

(8-22) *ivan*   *ox*   *airin*   *ux=nuŋ*   *su-pat=xe*
       PN   3sm   PN   3sf=O   kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS
       'Ivan is hitting Irene.' (Elicited FNB 6.102)

(8-23) *ivan   *ox*   *airin*   *ux=nuŋ*   ***m-us-pat=xe***
       PN   3sm   PN   3sf=O   **PRX.O**-kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS
       Intended meaning: 'Ivan is hitting Irene.' (Elicited FNB 6.102)

The following example shows the use of this prefix to index the object (the inanimate theme) because it is physically closer to the speaker than to the subject of the clause, in this case a second person.

(8-24) ***m-lapli-n***
       PRX.O-give-IMP
       'Give it to him/her here!' (Observed example.)

The prefix *m-* can be added to any verb to agree with a patient-like (8-25), recipient-like (8-24), causee[3] (8-26) or beneficiary (8-27) object. In each of the examples below, the object agreement marker refers to the main character of the story. In example (8-25) below, the object cross-referenced with *m-* is also expressed by an overt noun phrase.

(8-25) *in=xejox*   *a*   *mə=ma*   *sjap*   *mox*   *ox*
       so=BECAUSE   HES   DEM.DST=REL cassowary   ANPH   3sm

       a   *mox*   *ox=nəŋ*   *a*   ***m-pgwe-n-gop=li=a***
       HES   ANPH   3sm=O   HES   **PRX.O-**help-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP=LINK
       'So, that cassowary helped him.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

(8-26) *gin*   *it*   *məmxan*   ***m-p-di-n=o***
       now   again   what's.it   **PRX.O-**CAUS-eat.PFV-IMP=QUOT
       '"Feed her what's it again!"' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

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[3] In example (8-26), it is clear that *m-* cross-references the causee-object and not the theme-like object *məmxan* 'what's it' as the following example in the text refers to the same referent ('her') but there is only one possible object, as *sut* 'injection' is a coverb here.
in   *ux*   *sut*   *m-de-n-gop*
so   3sf   injection   PRX.O-MAKE-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
'So she gave her an injection.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)
The same applies to example (8-27), where the proximal object refers to what is the beneficiary in (8-27) elsewhere in the text where it is the only possible object.

(8-27) *tom*   *jox=xe*   **m**-*a-oxo-m*
      water   DEF=FOC   **PRX.O-**BEN-fetch.water-SEQ

əpi-sxe=li=a
come-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP=LINK
'(It is said that) they used to come and fetch water for them as well.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

This object agreement marker is probably historically derived from the proximal demonstrative clitic *m=* 'DEM.PRX' (see Chapter 4, §4.1.1).

8.1.3 *gos-* 'Reciprocal'[4]

The primary use of the reciprocal prefix *gos-* in Oksapmin is to encode symmetric, reciprocal events (contrary to the cross-linguistics tendency for reciprocal affixes to be polysemous; see König and Kokutani, 2006[5]). Evans (2008) reports that a number of languages have dedicated verbal reciprocal affixes, e.g. Kayardild and Mundari. A typical symmetric use of the reciprocal prefix is shown in (8-28) below. See Chapter 10, §10.4.7, for more on reciprocal constructions.

(8-28) *gin*   *kis*   *t-x-m*   *la-ti-pja=xejox*
      now   try   MID-MAKE-SEQ   sing.and.dance-PFV-TODF.PL=SBRD

gos-*x-n-gopa=li*
RECP-MAKE-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'(It is said that) they said to each other, "Now we will sing and dance."'
("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

The meaning of *gos-* may, however, cover situations that deviate from the prototypical reciprocal scenario to a limited extent. For example, *gos-* may be used for chained reciprocals, asymmetrical reciprocals and collective events as described below.

The reciprocal prefix may code chained actions, where the action involves a number of participants who are acting upon each other in a chain but where the first participant is not acted upon and the last participant does not act upon anyone else.[6] This is shown in the example below where the women are running in a row and one

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[4] Much of this discussion of *gos-* is also set to appear in Loughnane (forthcoming).
[5] "The reciprocal anaphors or quantifiers seem to have no other use in many languages, whereas polysemy is the standard situation for reciprocal affixes and reciprocal pronouns." (König and Kokutani 2006: 282)
[6] MPI Reciprocal clips 2, 13, 34, 37, 48 representing "chained" events all got responses with the reciprocal prefix from at least one speaker.

particular woman stays in front the whole time and another stays at the back the whole time.

(8-29) *ku   muk   mox   dus   **gos**-x-m   səkli-pti*
       woman   group   ANPH   follow   **RECP**-MAKE-SEQ   run-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'The women are chasing each other.' (Henna Kashat, MPI Reciprocals 14)

       Asymmetrical actions may also rarely take the reciprocal prefix in Oksapmin.[7] This is shown in the example below where one man stays in front of the other the whole video clip.

(8-30) *xan   ot   dus   **gos**-x-pti*
       man   two   chase   **RECP**-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'The two men are chasing each other.' (Henna Kashat, MPI Reciprocals 64)

       Although the reciprocal marker may usually only occur with plural subject agreement on the verb, there is an idiomatic expression *xəjop gos-su-* (~ *gos-si-*) 'go hunting at night' (Lit. 'fight with the moon') which takes singular subject agreement when it is just one person who is hunting (8-31).

(8-31) *a   nonxe   a   ita   ox   a   xəjop*
       HES   1s.POSS.REFL   HES   father.1/2.POSS   3sm   HES   moon

       ***gos**-si-t-pol=o*   *li-m=a*
       RECP-kill-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT   say-SEQ=LINK
       'My very own father wanted to go hunting and…' (Lit. said "I will fight with the moon and…") ("Gəxən and the ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

       The prefix *gos-* can also occur with the complex predicate *di de-* ~ *ml-* 'follow' (see Chapter 9), even where the action is asymmetric and the subject is singular (8-32).

(8-32) *pat=xe   da   xəx   jox   moŋ   da*
       stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS   thought DO.PRS.SG   top   time   day

       x-el=a   *kom   di   **gos**-x-ti-p=li*
       DO-IPFV.PER.TODP=EMPH   behind follow **RECP**-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
       'He thought she was in the house. At day break, he followed her.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

       Although a dedicated reciprocal prefix is a relatively uncommon way to mark reciprocality cross-linguistically (as such verbal affixes usually also indicate reflexivity, see Evans 2008), a number of other Papuan languages also have dedicated

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[7] MPI "asymmetrical" clips 23, 64 got responses with the reciprocal prefix from at least one speaker.

verbal reciprocal affixes, e.g. Yimas (Foley 1991: 286), Usan (Reesink 1987: 107), Lavukaleve (Terrill 2003: 366).

The most likely origin of *gos-* 'RECP' is from the second person singular pronoun *go* plus the marker *=si* 'WITH' (see Chapter 6, §6.2.5).

8.1.4 *a-* 'Benefactive'

The benefactive prefix *a-* 'BEN' increases the valence of a verb, adding a benefactive or malefactive object. The benefactive is used for any action which has salient consequences for a person other than the subject, either positive (as in examples (8-33) and (8-34)) or negative (as in examples (8-35) and (8-36)).

(8-33) *jəxe   nox   dsebra=o   pl   u*
　　　　then   1s   PN=QUOT   TELL(.SEQ)   call.out

　　　　a-Ø-ti-l
　　　　(3.O.)BEN-SAY-PFV-PER.YESTP
　　　　'Then I called out to (her) "Hey, Zebra!".' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(8-34) *em   go   dup   tit   n-**a**-xu-ti-n=a*
　　　　mother.1POSS   2s   bow   INDF   1/2.O-**BEN-**twirl-PFV-IMP=EMPH
　　　　'"Mum, twist a bow for me!"' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

(8-35) *ej   ble   gwe   mox   jox=a   age   ml*
　　　　gosh   child   small   ANPH   TOP=EMPH   rub.shit.on   MAKE(.SEQ)

　　　　***a**-sli-l=a*
　　　　(3.O.)BEN-put-IPFV.PER.TODP=EMPH
　　　　'Gosh! There's a child who has had shit rubbed on him.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(8-36) *kwet   tit   doxo-ŋ   **a**-p-ti-l*
　　　　sugar.cane   INDF   kill-PNCT   **(3.O.)BEN-**TELL-PFV-PER.YESTP

　　　　papa=xe   kwet
　　　　father=POSS   sugar.cane
　　　　'…I broke off a piece sugar cane on him. My father's sugar cane.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The benefactive is also used when the non-benefactive object is a body part of another person or animal (8-37).

(8-37) *xət*   *te=nəp*   *i-lox*   *gəte-ŋ*   *ep=e*   *noxe*
      up   place=VERY   DEM.DST-up   cut-PNCT   sorry=EXCL   1s.POSS

      non   *gət*   *n-**a**-de=d=a*   *pli-n-gop=li*
      breast   cut   1/2.o-**BEN**-MAKE(.PRS.SG)=PQ=EMPH   tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'He cut up higher and then (she) said "Hey! Did you just cut my breast on me?"'
      ("Pandanus" by Tracks Babyan)

Although the benefactive marker is a verb prefix, and therefore normally follows coverbs, I have one example of it preceding a coverb (8-38). This is likely to be phonologically motivated as the coverb *wa* 'see' ends in /a/, therefore the predicted *wa=a-de* would be phonologically awkward. Other prefixes which occur with *wa* 'see' attach to the inflecting light verb in a regular fashion, as shown in example (8-39) below.

(8-38) *ixit*   *kaksup* *tit*   *ux=xe*   *a-wa=de*
      3d   lice   INDF   3sf=POSS   (3.O.)BEN-LOOK=MAKE(.PRS.SG)

      tit   *ux=xe*   ***a**-wa=de*   *x-pti*
      INDF   3sf=POSS   (3.O.)**BEN**-look=MAKE(.PRS.SG)   be-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
      'They (2) are taking turns looking for lice for each other/for each person.' (Misseth Apipnok, MPI Reciprocals 10)

(8-39) *gul*   *tux*   *na=wa=**m**-de-l=d=a*
      2p   smoke   NEG=see=**PRX.O**-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ=EMPH
      '"(I cooked a pig in a ground oven…) Didn't you see the smoke?"' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

8.1.5 *p-* 'Causative'

The causative prefix *p-* 'CAUS' adds a controlling participant and increases the valency of a verb by one. The subject of a causative verb is the controller or instigator of the action. The object is the undergoer and would be the subject in the non-causative version.

(8-40) *jox*   *jæx=w=o*   *nuxul*   *it*
      TOP   good=RESP=QUOT   1pEX   again

      ***p**-wæd-pja=w=o*   *li-n-gwel*
      CAUS-come.down-TODF.PL=RESP=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
      '"Ok, we'll bring it down again", (they) said.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

The prefix *p-* functions as a direct causative in that the causer must be present and physically involved in causing or assisting the action at the time it occurs. This is consistent with the definition of direct causatives by Shibatani and Pardeshi:

> The ultimate defining feature of direct and indirect causation is the spatiotemporal configuration of the entire causative event, rather than the nature of the causee. The notion of direct causation emanates from the conceptualization of a causative situation as involving the same spatiotemporal profile for the causing-event segment and the caused-event segment. (2001: 90)

Example (8-41) below shows the underived intransitive verb *tim-* 'sleep'. In example (8-42), *tim-* 'sleep' occurs with the causative prefix *p-* to mean 'cause someone to sleep'. In example (8-42), the causer must be present and directly causing the causee to sleep, e.g. by rocking them to sleep in a string bag. If a child was simply told to go to sleep and then went off by themselves to another room and lay down, then the causative prefix cannot be used.

(8-41) *sup*   *jox=a*   *kwet*   *ox=təp*   *jə-xəm*   *imap*
        mother DEF=EMPH   PN   3sm=WITH   DEM.DST-down husband.1/3POSS

        ox=təp   *se*   **tim-di-p=li**
        3sm=WITH   MOD   **sleep-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP**
        'The mother might have slept with her husband Kwet.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-42) *suŋlen* *ux*   *tuxup*   *m-de-m*   *ml-pat*
        PN   3sf   carry.in.arms   PRX.O-MAKE-SEQ   come.up-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

        mox   *epe*   *nox*   *amlu-pat=xe*   *nox*
        anph   sorry 1s   take-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   1s

        p-*tim-di-p=w=a*
        CAUS-sleep-PFV-PER.FP.SG=RESP=EMPH
        'When Suŋlen was bringing her up, I took her and put her down to sleep in my house.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

In example (8-44) below, the causative prefix occurs on the normally intransitive verb *ms-* 'wake up' when the speaker is being physically shaken awake. Note the presence of the object agreement marker *n-* '1/2.O', which indicates that the verb is now transitive. Example (8-43) shows the normal intransitive use of *ms-* 'wake up'.

(8-43) *jəxe*   *timo-l*   *pti*   *mda-m=a*
        then   sleep-IPFV.PER.TODP   stay.IPFV.PL.PRS   finish-SEQ=LINK

        ms-xi-l=a
        wake-PFV-PER.YESTP=EMPH
        'So, we slept and then woke up.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

(8-44) *mox*   *nix*   *sa*   *mix*   *ml*
       DEM.PRX   who   INFR   like.this   make(.SEQ)

       *n-**p**-ms-pat=o*   *li-m*   *xtol*   *ja*
       1/2.O-**CAUS**-wake-IPFV.SG=QUOT   say-SEQ   see(.SEQ)   SBRD

       em=e   *keti=si*   *xupku*   *ixit*
       gosh=EXCL   PN=CNJ   PN   3d
       '"Who is waking me up like this?", I wondered and, when I looked, I saw that it was
       Keti and Hupku.' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

The prefix *p-* commonly occurs with verbs of motion to mean 'bring'. An underived verb of motion is shown in example (8-45) below and a verb of motion with the causative prefix is shown in example (8-46) below.

(8-45) *ux=xe*   *it*   *mə=noŋ*   ***mde-nuŋ***
       3sf=FOC   again   DEM.PRX=TO   **come.across-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**
       'She came across here as well.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

(8-46) *lat*   *jox*   *kut*   *ko*   *de-pat=xe*
       tree   TOP   future   cut.down   make-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD

       sux-pat=xe   ***p**-mde-pla*   *ap*   *nuŋ*
       collect-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   **CAUS**-come.across-FF.SG   house   TO
       'As for wood, after I've cut it up and collected it, I'll bring it across to my home.'
       ("Firewood" by Kila Dasyal)

There is one occurrence of *p-* which is not semantically causative, or at least not in a semantically regular way. The prefix *p-* occurs with *jəm-* 'cry' to mean 'mourn' in (8-48). The subject is the mourners, the people crying, and the causer (the deceased) is the object – the reverse of what we would expect semantically. If this were simply 'cause to cry', then we would expect a singular object (the causer) and the mourners as the object.

(8-47) *go*   ***jəm-m***   *pt-el=d=o*
       2s   **cry-SEQ**   stay-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ=QUOT

       m-pli-n-gop=li
       PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       '"Are you crying?", he told her.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(8-48) *a*   *jəm-ti-pla*   *kut*   *ol*   *sl=wi*
        HES   cry-PFV-FF.SG   future   dead.body   put(.PRS.SG)=ONLY

p-*jəm-pti=xejox*   *p-ti-p*
CAUS-cry-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=BECAUSE   tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG
'I told (her) "Don't cry, we all will mourn (for her) after burying (her) body."' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

There is a form *pl-* 'tell, TELL' which appears to be formed from the verb *li-* 'say, SAY' with by addition of the causative prefix. The meaning of *pl-*, however, is not the causative of *li-* (see Chapter 9, §9.1.1).

Causative prefixes are found elsewhere in New Guinea, e.g. in the Papuan languages Kewa (*ma-*) (Franklin and Franklin 1978: 62), and Yimas (*tar- ~ tal-*) (Foley 1991: 291).

8.1.6 *t-* 'Middle'

This valency-reducing prefix is added to otherwise transitive verbs to indicate actions which do not have the normal two distinct participants of a transitive event because there is:

-       no clear agent/initiator;
-       no clear patient/endpoint; or
-       the agent and patient are the same (reflexive).

These properties place this marker in the domain of reflexives and middles which can be defined as events which are semantically in between one and two participant events (Kemmer 1993). Kemmer (1993) does not list events with no patient or endpoint in her description of middle semantics although middle markers are known to indicate this type of event, e.g. in New Caledonian languages (see Bril 2005).

8.1.6.1 No Agent / Initiator of Action

The prefix *t-* is used for actions where the agent or initiator of the action is not clear or important or there simply is none – Kemmer's (1993) "spontaneous action or process", which is shown in examples (8-49), (8-50), and (8-51) below. For example, in (8-50), *en ml-* 'line up' occurs with the middle prefix to indicate that there is no overt agent present, as is the case when it is used as a transitive verb meaning 'line X

up'. This results in a passive-like meaning of the middle prefix, in both examples (8-50) and (8-51).

(8-49) *jəxe*   *ixil*   *bəten*   *n-a-x-pti-n*   *[...]*   *jəxe*
      then   3p   pray   1/2.O-BEN-MAKE-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   [...]   then

      tom   *ban*   *mox*   *ulex*   ***t-x-t***   *se*
      water   a.lot   DEM.PRX   splash   **MID-**MAKE-SIM   INFR

      wən-xi-p=li
      come.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
      'Then they prayed for me and [...] they say the water just splashed by itself and must have come out (of my nose).' ("Near Drowning" by Hirai)

(8-50) *jəxe*   *xtol*   *jox*   *a*   *məmxan*   *alwap-il*
      then   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP   HES   what's.it   SS.SIB.1/3POSS-PL

      ga   *mox*   *a*   *kak*   *tem*   *gən*   *mə-xət*   *en*
      jaw   ANPH   HES   on.top   hole   high.place   DEM.PRX-up   lined.up

      t-x-t   *pat-gop=li*
      MID-MAKE-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'Then, when he looked, his brothers' jaws were lined up on top (of the rack above the fire).' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(8-51) *nonxe*   *kak*   *uŋ*   *gon*   *mox=si*
      1s.REFL.POSS head   string.bag   whole   ANPH=WITH

      kin   *mox*   ***t-dpəlkweli-l***
      eye   ANPH   **MID-**turn.over-IPFV.PER.TODP
      'My eyes had been covered with my very own hat.' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

8.1.6.2 No Patient / Endpoint of Action

The middle marker is also used when a normally transitive verb occurs without its normal object. This is shown in the following examples where *aŋ t-x-* (intransitive) means 'look around' as opposed to *aŋ de-* 'find' (transitive).

(8-52) *sup*   *ux*   *aŋ*   ***t-x-t***   *us=jox=o*
      mother.3POSS   3sf   find   **MID-**MAKE-SIM   go.PRS.SG=TOP=EMPH

      sjap   *bap*   *tit=o*   *pat-gop=li=o*
      cassowary   small   INDF=EMPH   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP=EMPH
      '(It is said that) when the mother was looking around, (she saw that) there was a cassowary chick (there).' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

In example (8-54) below, *t-xtol-* means 'look around' as opposed to *xtol-* 'look at something' as shown in example (8-53) below.

(8-53) *nonxe*   *mon*   *ox=nuŋ*   *tabubil nuŋ*   *mə-xət*   ***xtol***
        1s.REFL.POSS   brother 3sm=O   PN   TO   DEM.PRX-up   **see(.SEQ)**

        s-pla
        go-FF.SG
        'I will go to Tabubil to see my own brother.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-54) *xim*   *gəx*   *de-pat=xe=a*   *jəxe*
        clothes wash   go.across-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD=LINK   then

        t-xtol   *jox*   *it*   *taim*   *xəx*
        MID-see(.PRS.SG)   top   again   time(Eng)   DO.PRS.SG

        sa   *da=x-ti-l*
        INFR   think=DO-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'I washed the clothes and then when I looked around I thought that it must be time (to stop).' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

This use of the middle is further shown in the examples below. In example (8-56) the normally transitive complex predicate *pəlpel de-* ~ *ml-* 'encircle MAKE' is used with the middle prefix (and therefore the light verb changes to *x-* 'DO', see Chapter 9, §9.1.2.1) to indicate going around in circles and not necessarily encircling something. This contrasts with example (8-55) below where there is a patient of the action of encircling.

(8-55) *i=ma*   *asup*   *ap*   *jox=xe*   *doxe=si*
        DEM.DST=REL   menstruation   house   DEF=FOC   fence=WITH

        pəlpəl   ***de-sxe=li***
        encircle   **MAKE**-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
        'They used to make fences around the menstruation huts too.' ("Women's house" by Julie James)

(8-56) *sjap*   *mox*   *mi=x-m*   *pəlpel*
        cassowary   ANPH   like.this=DO-SEQ   encircle

        t-x-ti-pa   *jox*
        MID-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL   TOP
        'When the cassowaries went round in circles like this, …' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Rarely, a verb with the middle prefix takes an apparent object as in (8-57), where there appears to be an object, *samin* 'wild pig(s)', despite the presence of the middle prefix, which is detransitivising. In this example, the use of the middle prefix implies that the older brother will go hunting around the place and may or may not actually find any pigs. A possible explanation as to why it is grammatical to use the middle marker in this case is the non-individuation (non-referentiality) and potential

non-affectedness of the object, two of Hopper and Thompson's (1980) indications of low transitivity.

(8-57) *gəxən nənəp=nəp*   *mox   ox   samin   xəx*
      later   elder.brother.1/3POSS=VERY   ANPH   3sm   wild.pig   find

      t-x-m=o   *li-m*   *s-n-gop=li*
      MID-MAKE-SEQ=QUOT   say-SEQ   go-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'The older brother went to hunt for wild pigs.' ("Five brothers" by Pesen)

8.1.6.3 Reflexive

The middle prefix is also used to indicate reflexive actions, where the agent and patient are the same. It often occurs with a reflexive pronoun (see Chapter 3, §3.4) in this use. The middle prefix with a reflexive meaning is shown in the examples below.

(8-58) *ku=a   xan=a   ixil=a   bəten   x-t-pel*
      woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   3p=LINK   pray(TP)   DO-PFV-IF.PL

      m-t=a   *məmen t-x-t*   *pti=xe*
      MAKE-SIM=EMPH   ready **MID-**MAKE-SIM   stay.IPFV.PL.PRS=VIS
      'The people had readied themselves to pray.' ("Today" by Palis)

(8-59) *ei   gin   ox   t-dpəlkwe-s   itanit*
      gosh   now   3sm   **MID-**turn.over-PNCT   3d.REFL

      wa=gos-x-s
      see=RECP-MAKE-PNCT
      'He turned (himself) around and they suddenly saw each other.' ("Xoxom clan origin" by Tapsut)

In example (8-61), *gəx* 'wash' is used with the middle prefix to mean 'wash oneself' whereas example (8-60) shows *gəx* 'wash' used transitively to mean 'wash X'. (Note that the change in light verb from *x-* 'DO' to *ml-* 'MAKE' is regular and occurs due to the presence of the prefix, see Chapter 9, §9.1.2.1, for details.)

(8-60) *gin   sutja=o   kol=o   gin   go   tom   dəx-noŋ*
      now   PN=EMPH   sister=EMPH   now   2s   water   down-ALL

      toxan   gəx   ml   so-n=o   pl
      sweet.potato   wash   **MAKE.SEQ**   go-IMP=QUOT   TELL(.PRS.SG)
      '"Sutja, sister, go and wash the sweet potato in the water!", I told her.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

(8-61) *kutkutxe   nonxol   gəx   t-x-el*
      morning   1s.REFL   wash   **MID-**MAKE-IPFV.PERS.TODP
      'In the morning, I washed myself.' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

8.2 Final Verb Suffixes

Final verbs in Oksapmin inflect for aspect, tense, subject number, and evidentiality. Not all verb forms, however, inflect for all of these; certain combinations of aspect and tense do not mark subject number and/or evidentiality. The exact combinations found are discussed in §§8.2.2.6–8.2.2.13, and a summary is given below.

Future and present tense verbs typically inflect for aspect and number of the subject, in addition to tense. The verb form *sutiplox* in (8-62) below is inflected for perfective aspect, today-future tense, and singular subject number.

(8-62) *su-**ti-plox***
kill-**PFV-TODF.SG**
'(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will kill (something/someone) (today).'

Imperative verb forms inflect, in addition tense[8], for aspect, but not subject number. The verb form *sutin* in (8-63) below is inflected for perfective aspect and imperative tense/mood.

(8-63) *su-**ti-n***
kill-**PFV-IMP**
'Kill (something/someone)!'

Most past tense verbs, in addition to tense, inflect for aspect, subject number, and evidentiality. This is shown in example (8-64), which is inflected for perfective aspect,[9] visual-sensory evidentiality, today-past tense and singular subject number. Some past tense forms do not inflect for number as in (8-65), which is inflected for perfective aspect, personal-factual evidentiality and yesterday-past tense.

(8-64) *su-**nuŋ***
kill-**(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**
'(I saw that) (he/she/it) killed (something/someone) today.'

(8-65) *su-**ti-l***
kill-**PFV-PER.YESTP**
'(I/we) killed (something/someone) before today.'

The semantics of the overarching categories of aspect, evidentiality, tense and subject number are discussed in §8.2.1 and the selection of forms and the particular uses of forms are discussed in §§8.2.2.6–8.2.2.13.

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[8] For the purposes of this discussion, the imperative is discussed as a tense as it patterns along with the other tenses although its function may more accurately be described as a mood.

[9] Recall that categories encoded by the lack of some morpheme (i.e. a zero morpheme) are indicated with brackets in the gloss. See Chapter 1, §1.5.2.1, for a full discussion.

8.2.1 Semantics of Final Verb Inflectional Categories

The general semantics of each of the categories expressed by verbal suffixes, shown in Table 8-2 below, are described in this section.

Category	Values
Tense	Imperative Far future Today future Immediate future Present Today past Yesterday past Far past
Aspect	Perfective Imperfective Habitual
Subject number	Singular Plural
Evidentiality	Personal-Factual Visual-sensory

Table 8-2.   Verbal Suffix Categories

8.2.1.1 Tense

As mentioned above, Oksapmin distinguishes seven tenses plus an imperative. While this may seem a lot cross-linguistically, a number of Papuan languages have a similar number of tenses, e.g. Mian (Fedden 2007) and Yimas (Foley 1991). The time reference of these tenses is absolute in main clauses with the deictic centre being the time of speaking, the present (see Comrie 1985 for more on the absolute versus relative distinction). In (8-66) below, the far-past tense is absolute: it is worked out with respect to the time of speech.

(8-66) *nənip*   *mox*   *ox*   *gugu*   *li-ti-p=li=o*
        eB.1/3POSS   DEM.PRX   3m   walk   SAY-PFV-FP.SG=REP=EMPH
        '(It is said that a long time ago) the eldest brother went for a walk.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

The time reference of tenses is relative in adverbial subordinate clauses (see Chapter 12, §12.2) and in reported speech. In (8-67) below, the verb in the main clause *xngwel* is inflected for yesterday-past tense. Although the verb in the adverbial subordinate clause, *un*, is inflected for present tense, the event occurred on the day prior to the speech event. The time reference of the adverbial subordinate clause is calculated relative to the tense of the main clause: the event 'I came down' occurred

simultaneously to the event '(I saw that) there were not many people at the end up there'.

(8-67)
nox	*un*		*jox*	*ku=si*	*xan=si*	*jox*
1s	come.down(.PFV.PRS.SG)		SBRD	woman=CNJ	man=CNJ	DEF

jə-xət	*pe*	*lumsan*	*ti=bəs*	*x-n-gwel*
DEM.DST-up	end	a.lot.of	some=NEG	DO-PFV-VIS.YESTP

'When I came down, (I saw that) there were not many people at the end up there.'
("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

A number tenses have additional implicatures which are not related to time reference. The use of the immediate-future tense, for example, implies that the event in question is likely to occur. The exact time reference and meaning of each tense is discussed further for each tense in §§8.2.2.6– 8.2.2.12 below.

8.2.1.2 Aspect

The main aspectual distinction in Oksapmin is perfective versus imperfective. The terms perfective and imperfective are used in their standard senses, where the perfective "indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation" (Comrie 1976: 16) and the imperfective "pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation" (Comrie 1976: 16).

The interpretation of the perfective aspect is straightforward for most tenses, as in (8-68) below, where the event 'I came' is viewed as a whole.

(8-68)
noxe	*ap=nuŋ*	*ap-do-l*
1s.POSS	house=TO	come-PFV-PER.YESTP

'(I) came back to my house (yesterday).' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

The presence of a perfective present tense may seem unusual, as present tense is, both logically and cross-linguistically, generally inherently imperfective. In Oksapmin, the present perfective technically has a time reference immediately before or after the speech act, not exactly cotemporaneous to it; see also §8.2.2.9.1.

The imperfective usually has a continuous interpretation. This is demonstrated in (8-69) and (8-70) below, where habitual readings are not readily available.

(8-69)
haus	*sik*	*mo-xon*	*təmle-l=a*
house(TP)	sick(TP)	DEM.PRX-across	work-IPFV.PER.TODP=EMPH

'(All last night) I was working across here at the health centre.' ("Today" by Kerina)

(8-70) *nox=xe*   *kip*   *jox*   *apli-pat-n*   *nox*   *xtol*
       1s=FOC   road DEF come-IPFV.SG-NOMLS   1s   see(.PRS.SG)

       jox   *xan*   *tit*   *apli-pat-nuŋ*
       SBRD man   INDF come-IPFV.SG-TODP.VIS.SG
       'As for me, when I was coming along the road, I saw that a man was coming along.'
       ("Today" by Julie James)

There are two forms which have both a continuous and a habitual reading readily available: present imperfective and yesterday-past visual-sensory. This is demonstrated for the present imperfective in the examples below. In example (8-71), a continuous meaning is intended by the present imperfective form *lipat*. In example (8-72), however, the present imperfective form is used with a habitual meaning.

(8-71) *bətjan-ap*   *jə-xəm*   *jox*   *aw-xel*   *ixil*   *ixit*
       place.name-village   DEM.DST-down DEF grandparent.1POSS-PL 3p   3d

       edo-l   *səŋ*   *mə-ma*   **li-pat**   *mox*
       be.PFV-(PER.)YESTP story DEM.PRX=REL **SAY-IPFV.SG(.PRS)** DEM.PRX
       'The story about how my grandparents stayed down there at Bətjan village is what I'm saying now.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-72) *noxe* *tap*   *gwe*   *jox*   *toxan*   *jox*   *kutkutxe=si*
       1s.POSS pig   small DEF sweet.potato DEF morning=CNJ

       oloxən=si   *wot*   *məl=wi*   **a-sxa-pat**
       afternoon=CNJ two   time=ONLY   **BEN-look.after-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**
       'I feed my pig sweet potato in the mornings and afternoons.' ("Looking after my Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

The continuous (8-73) and habitual (8-74) readings are also readily available for the imperfective yesterday-past visual-sensory forms, as shown below. As discussed in 8.2.2.11.4 below, the imperfective yesterday-past visual-sensory forms are used for habitual actions performed by others, rather than the present imperfective, which is used for action performed by the speaker. This is due to the evidential system: a speaker can only vouch for what they have seen others do in the past, and cannot know for sure whether such actions will continue into the future.

(8-73) *jəxe* *gəx* **de-pat-gwel**
       then   wash **DO(TR)-IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP**
       'So, (yesterday I saw that) someone was washing (clothes).' ("Yesterday" by Kerina)

(8-74) *jæxe   nox   toxan   jox   lum   klim   ml*
        then   1s   sweet.potato   DEF   a.lot.of   ?   MAKE(.SEQ)

        a-gno-pat=xejox   *toxan*   *jox*   *pat=xejox*
        BEN-grow-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   sweet.potato   DEF   be.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD

        d-pat-gwel
        eat-IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP
        'So, because I grow rather a lot of sweet potato for him, because there is a lot of sweet potato, he eats.' ("Looking after my Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

The far-past tense differs from the other tenses in distinguishing specifically habitual forms. Visual-sensory imperfective (i.e. continuous) (8-75) and habitual (8-76) examples are shown below.

(8-75) *jæxe   it   bəp   blel   gwe   pat-gop=li*
        then   again   so   child   small   be.IPFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'So, again, (they say that he saw that) there was a small child there.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(8-76) *niŋ   kəm   jox   xan   ixil   n-a-xut-nipti*
        small.mammal   feast   DEF   man   3p   1/2.O-BEN-mumu-HAB.FP.PL.VIS
        '(We used to see that) the men used to cook a possum feast for us.' ("Men's House" by Dalput)

The personal-factual far-past tense has a habitual form (8-77) but no imperfective (i.e. continuous) form; although theoretically possible, and present for the visual-sensory forms, the personal-factual far-past imperfective is a gap in the paradigm. Instead, a complex clause construction is used for continuous actions which occurred over a shorter time period, as shown in (8-78) below, see Chapter 12, §12.4.2.2, for details. For continuous actions which occurred over longer time frames and which are now complete, the far-past habitual may be used. This is shown in (8-79), where the residing at one place presumably occurred uninterrupted over a long period of time..

(8-77) *xanəp   xəp-tu-pa   dus   jox   a   ninan   max   suxu-m*
        person   die-PFV-FP.PL   inside   DEF   HES   bush.kumu   RECG   collect-SEQ

        d-sxe
        eat-FP.PL.HAB
        'In the midst of the famine, we used to collect and eat that (inedible) *ninan*.'
        ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-78) *ol-pat-n=a*   *ej*   *kutkutxe*   *ol-pat-n=a*
      go.up-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   gosh   morning   go.up-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK

      a   *xət*   *ka*   *je*   *ka*   *xət*   *ko-ŋ*   *li-m*
      HES   up   place   mountain   place   up   arrive-PNCT   SAY-SEQ

      wa-pat-n=a   *xəm*   *akwe-t*   *edi-p=li*
      go.down-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK down   wait.and.look-SIM   be.PFV-FP.SG=REP
      'In the morning, he went up to the top of the mountain and then went down to wait at his trap.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

(8-79) *a*   *weto*   *but*   *m-ia=x*   *pt-sxe=li*
      HES   PN   flat.place   DEM.PRX-below=3m   be-HAB.FP.PL=REP
      '(It is said that) they used to live down here at Weto.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

8.2.1.3 Subject Number

In regards to number marking, the verb agrees with the nominative subject: the A argument in transitive clauses and the S argument in intransitive clauses. Singular (8-80) and plural (8-81) subject number are distinguished. Although singular, dual and plural number are distinguished by the pronouns (see Chapter 3, §3.4), dual and plural subjects are both marked as plural on the verb.

(8-80) *i=ma*   *səŋ*   *səgan*   *li-ti-plox*
      DEM.DST=REL   story   tumbuna.story   say-PFV-TODF.SG
      'I'll tell that myth.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(8-81) *nuxut*   *m-ja*   *təx=noŋ*   *toxan*   *pok*   *aŋ*
      1dEX   DEM.PRX-below place=TO   sweet.potato   all   find

      ml   *s-pti=o*   *jəxe*   *it*
      MAKE(.SEQ)   go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT   then   again

      əpli-pja=w=o
      come-TODF.PL=RESP=QUOT
      'We are going down there to find sweet potato. Then we'll come back again.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

While number of the subject is an important distinction in the verbal morphology, not all verb forms mark number. The present of subject-number marking depends on the particular combination of tense and aspect (see §§8.2.2.6–8.2.2.13 for details). Where subject number is not marked, it is usually recoverable from an optional overt noun phrase. Subject number is not marked, for instance, in the personal-factual yesterday-past perfective forms, as shown for a singular (8-82) and

plural (8-83) subject below. (Recall that reciprocal-marked verbs are almost always marked for plural subject agreement, see 8.1.3.)

(8-82) *in   nox   kəs   x-s   li-m   bus*
        so   1s   fear   DO-PNCT   SAY-SEQ   bush(Eng)

        naip   tən   mle-pat=a   əp-di-l
        knife(Eng)   flat.thin hold-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=LINK   come-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'I got scared and I held onto my bush knife and came.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

(8-83) *djisas ox   nuxut   wə=gos-x-ti-l*
        Jesus   3sm   1dEX   see=RECP-MAKE-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'Jesus and I met each other.' ("Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

8.2.1.4 Evidentiality

Evidentiality is obligatorily marked on past tense final verbs, which distinguish personal-and-factual (henceforth personal-factual) from visual-and-other-sensory (henceforth visual-sensory) evidence. Personal-factual past tenses are, roughly speaking, used when the speaker consciously and willingly performed an action as the subject, or for events taken as fact. The visual-sensory past tenses are used for events which the speaker saw, heard or otherwise sensed. This distinction is demonstrated in the two examples below, which are consecutive lines from a single text. In (8-84), the speaker uses the personal-factual verb form to describe an action which she performed, namely telling something to someone; in (8-85), the speaker uses the visual-sensory verb form to describe the actions of another which she both saw and heard, namely a man speaking to her.

(8-84) *nox   natan   oxe   kol   max=a   p-ti-**p***
        1s   PN   3sm.POSS   sister RECG=EMPH   tell-PFV-**PER.FP.SG**
        'I told him, "I'm, you know, Nathan's sister."' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-85) *jæxe   ox   gi=n-p-n-**gop**=o*
        then   3sm   THUS=1/2.O-tell-PFV-**VIS.FP.SG**=QUOT
        'Then he told me as follows.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

A speaker must give the strongest evidence available for a given event (personal-factual evidence is stronger than visual-sensory). This leads to an implicature as to the person of the subject (see §8.2.1.4.3).

Personal-factual versus visual-sensory is also obligatorily marked in the present tense, but this is done with the clitic =*xe* 'VIS' (see Chapter 11, §11.1.5) rather than by inflectional means.

Note that in some cases, the attitude towards the knowledge of the speaker may fall outside those covered in §8.2.1.4.1 and §8.2.1.4.2. Epistemological stance can be expressed in ways other than through the personal-factual and visual-sensory past tenses. The modal phrasal clitics (Chapter 11), the pre-verbal-complex particles (Chapter 9), and a number of clause-combining constructions (Chapter 12) all express evidentiality and/or epistemological stance.

8.2.1.4.1 Personal-Factual Evidence

The personal-factual past tenses have the following main uses, each of which is discussed in more detail in the sections below. Examples of each main use are given below.

- first person statements about events which the speaker consciously and deliberately performed;
- second person questions about events which the speaker anticipates that the hearer consciously and deliberately performed;
- uncontested facts for which the speaker has accumulated various types of evidence throughout his/her life, which is also available to others

(8-86) *jæxe   kom   mædəp   a   pildon   nuxut   ul-xi-l=a*
        then   behind   FROM   HES   PN   1dEX   go.up-PFV-**PER.YEST**=LINK
        'Pildon and I came up after.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

(8-87) *em=e   go   kin   x-el=a*
        gosh!=EXCL   2s   how   DO-**PER.TODP**=EMPH

        m-p-n-gop=li
        PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        '"Gosh! How did you come?", he told him.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-88) *lexox*   *aw-xenil*   *ixile*   *taim*   *dik*   *jox*
         long.ago   grandparent.1POSS-PL   3p.POSS   time(Eng)   time   DEF

        mə=ma   *ten*   *toea*   *jox=si*
        DEM.PRX=REL   ten(Eng)   monetary.unit   DEF=WITH

        *na=moxe-**sxe***
        NEG=buy-**PER.FP.PL.HAB**
        'Long ago, in the elders' time, they didn't use to pay money (lit. 10 toea) (for the brideprice).' ("Brideprice" by Kila Dasyal)

M. Lawrence (1972b; 1987) and H. Lawrence (1972) have described what I call the personal-factual evidence past tense forms using various terms, which have evolved over time, as shown in Table 8-3 below.

Article	Term used	Definition given
H. Lawrence (1972)	Participant viewer	subject is viewer; S = V
M. Lawrence (1972b)	Agent's viewpoint	"narratives [...] told from the viewpoint of one of the participants in the narrative, events in which that participant is agent" (1972b: 53)
M. Lawrence (1987)	Set A	"is used when the participant from whose viewpoint the story is being told is also the subject of the clause" (1987: 58)

Table 8-3.　　The Lawrences' analyses of the personal-factual past tenses

The analysis given in this thesis broadly agrees with the basic ideas given in the definitions given above, although these hinge on the definition of viewpoint, a concept with no basis in the literature. H. Lawrence (1972) defines viewpoint as "the location of the viewer when viewing". M. Lawrence (1987) defines viewpoint as "whose perspective is reflected in the events as the narrative unfolds" (1987: 57) and notes that verbs of motion (e.g. 'come' versus 'go'), locationals and clause order all reflect viewpoint (1987: 58).

The Lawrences' definitions don't explain exactly why there are instances where the participant is the agent but the visual-sensory forms are used (see §8.2.1.4.2.3), although M. Lawrence (1987) does note the existence of these. Nor do the Lawrences' definitions accommodate facts, which M. Lawrence (1987) argues are expressed in a separate construction with 'omniscient viewpoint' when "the narrator chooses not to mark from whose viewpoint the story is being told" (1987: 60). Tying these categories to evidentiality goes much further in explaining their distribution in these instances.

8.2.1.4.1.1   Personal-Factual Evidentials in Cross-Linguistic Perspective

The category *personal-factual,* as the name suggests, covers two semantic domains: personal evidentiality and factual evidentiality. The terms personal and factual are used following Mushin's (2001) description of personal-experience[10] and factual[11] epistemological stances.

In this thesis, I use the term 'personal evidentiality' to refer to the first two uses of the personal-factual forms, as outlined above: first person statements and second person questions. In each case, the epistemic authority (the speaker in first-person statements, the addressee in second-person questions) has evidence for the information because they performed the event in question. Personal evidence is hard to define in terms of a single type of information source, because the epistemic authority typically has many types of direct evidence for the information in question: they may have experienced the event with all their senses at once, e.g. if I say "I went", I would know that I went because I would have both seen and felt my feet moving, and consciously caused them to do so. It is thus clear that personal evidentiality is a subtype of direct evidentiality (see e.g. Willett 1988; Aikhenvald 2004): the epistemic authority has directly experienced the event in question.

The term factual evidentiality is used in this thesis to describe the third use of the personal-factual past tenses, as outlined above: uncontested facts. Like personal evidentiality, factual evidentiality can involve a range of types of evidence. Unlike personal evidentiality, the evidence is not available only to the epistemic authority: anyone can experience the same evidence which the epistemic authority has. Just as in Western science, facts must be independently verifiable.

Neither personal nor factual are widely recognised as evidentials, as witnessed by their absence in Willett's (1988) and Aikhenvald's (2004) influential evidential typologies. Despite this, similar terms are found in the evidential systems in a number

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[10] "The adoption of a personal experience epistemological stance towards information involves its representation as the product of the conceptualiser's direct and conscious perceptual experience. In many cases the speaker is the only person who has access to the 'truth' of the information. These are private states, like emotions and sensations. In other instances, the information may be something the speaker has directly but not exclusively experienced, something that other people might have experienced if they were also present. These are contexts where the conceptualiser has witnessed an externally perceivable event. In these cases, the adoption of a personal experience epistemological stance represents information as the speaker's version of events." (Mushin 2001: 59)

[11] "Adoption of a factual epistemological stance is reflected in the *absence* of any representation of the source of information (and its status) in the construal. Adoption of a factual epistemological stance typically implies either that the information is assumed to be known by anyone in the speech community as general cultural knowledge or, more generally, that the source of information is unimportant to the establishment of the validity of the information." (Mushin 2001: 74)

of languages: Foe (TNG; Rule 1977), Fasu (TNG; Loeweke and May 1980), Kashaya (Pomoan; Oswalt 1986), Central Pomo (Pomoan; Mithun 1999). I will briefly discuss each of these below.

Foe (Trans New Guinea, Papua New Guinea) also has a personal-factual category, which forms a part of a complex set of portmanteau evidential and tense verb inflections. Within these tense inflections, five evidential categories are distinguished: personal-factual (or in Rule's term "participatory or factual"), visual ("seen"), other sensory ("unseen (sense perception)"), assumption ("mental deduction"), and inference ("visible evidence" and "previous evidence") (Rule 1977: 74). In Foe the personal-factual category indicates that:

> "The speaker is either participating actively and consciously in the action, or is making a statement of known fact without regard to the way the knowledge has been gained. Hence this aspect is nearly, but not always, used when the speaker is participating in the action." (Rule 1977: 71)

The personal-factual evidential category (8-89) is contrasted with the visual evidential category (8-90) in the examples below.

(8-89) *na   mini   wa-**bubege***
        1s   today   come-**PRS.PER**
        'I am coming today.' (FOE Rule1977: 74)

(8-90) *diame   davi   to   wa-**bo owa'ae***
        PN   two.days.ago   this   come-**FP.VIS**
        'Diame came here two days ago.' (FOE Rule 1977: 37)

Rule also notes the close relationship between person and evidentials in Foe (also present in Oksapmin, see 8.2.1.4.3):

> "When my wife and I first analysed the Foe language, we had [the personal-factual] classified as a 1st pers[on] subject-verb agreement, and the [visual] […] as a 2nd/3rd pers[on] subject-verb agreement. It was not until later, when we came across numbers of examples of sentences wherein the [personal-factual] was used for actions which a 3rd person/s were doing, and also of the [visual] being used for things the speaker was doing, that I realised that the basic relationship was not between subject [and] the verb, but between the speaker [and] the verb" (1977: 71).

The related language Fasu (Loeweke and May 1980) appears to have a similar distinction to Oksapmin and Foe. It has two past tense forms which appear to indicate personal-factual and visual-sensory. Loeweke and May describe the personal-factual as where "the speaker is telling about something that he himself participated in" (1980: 74), whereas the visual-sensory is where "the speaker is talking about

something he saw or heard in the near [or far] past" (1980: 74). See San Roque and Loughnane (forthcoming) for further analysis of the evidential system of Fasu.

As mentioned above Oswalt (1986) describes a personal-like category for Kashaya (a Pomoan language from North America) called performative. An example of the performative in Kashaya is shown in (8-91) below.

(8-91) *mi·-li*   *ʔa*   *me-ʔe-l*   *pʰakúm-mela*
        there-VISIBLE I   your-father-OBJ   kill-PERFORM
        'Right there I killed your father.' (KASHAYA Oswalt 1986: 35)

Mithun (1999) reports a similar category for the related language Central Pomo which has the category "personal agency", demonstrated in (8-92) below.

(8-92) *da-čé-w=la*
        pulling-seize-PRF=PERSONAL.AGENCY
        'I caught it' (I know because I did it) (CENTRAL POMO Mithun 1999: 181)

The conjunct term in conjunct/disjunct systems appears, at least in some languages, to be a personal evidential. Indeed, Mushin exemplifies personal-experience epistemological stance with example of the conjunct term from Newari (Mushin 2001: 60–1). Researchers describe the conjunct term as evidential or having an evidential component for a number of Tibeto-Burman languages: Kathmandu Newari (Hargreaves 1991), Sherpa (Kelly 2004), and Tibetan (Garrett 2001; Tournadre 1996; DeLancey 1985, 1986, 1990). For example, DeLancey argues the following:

> "[The conjunct/disjunct] distinction can be interpreted as part of the evidential system, where the conjunct forms represent the speaker's direct perception of the act of volition which leads to an action, and the disjunct form represents its absence (DeLancey, 1985, 1986, 1990[...]; see also Hargreaves, 1991). Since only the perpetrator of an act can possibly have direct knowledge of the act of volition which led to it, this distinction can be made only in statements with first person actor and in questions with second person actor." (DeLancey 2001: 372)

The numerous languages presented above which incorporate personal and factual semantics into their evidential systems would appear to justify these as cross-linguistically valid evidential categories (see also Loughnane 2007, San Roque and Loughnane forthcoming).

8.2.1.4.1.2   First Person Statements

Personal-factual evidence is usually given for actions which the first person subject performed, unless there is a pragmatic reason to throw doubt on this evidence (see §8.2.1.4.2.3). In following examples (8-93) and (8-94) below, the speaker is a conscious instigator/performer of these actions and is the grammatical subject, therefore the personal-factual evidence form of the verb is used.

(8-93)   *nuxut*   *gəl*   *ml*   ***di-pa***
           1d   cut   MAKE(.SEQ)   **eat.PFV-PER.FP.PL**
           'We cut it up and ate it.' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-94)   *nox*   *[...]*   *əbop*   *dap=si*   *dum-m*   ***sxa-sux***
           1s   rope   long=WITH   tie-SEQ   **look.after-HAB.PER.FP.SG**
           'I used to tie him up with rope and look after him.' ("Looking after my Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

        Example (8-95) below shows that the visual-sensory evidence past tense is ungrammatical when the speaker is the subject of the action. (Although there with the appropriate context this could be grammatical, see §8.2.1.4.2.3). This is because a speaker must use the highest form of evidence available to them. If the speaker has personal-factual evidence for an event because they participated in that event as the agent/initiator of the action, then they should use the stronger evidence personal-factual forms. (Although in some circumstances such an utterance would be acceptable, see §8.2.1.4.2.3)

(8-95)   **/?nuxut*   *gəl*   *ml*   ***de-n-gopa***
           1d   cut   MAKE(.SEQ)   **eat-PFV-VIS.FP.PL**
           'We cut it up and ate it.'

8.2.1.4.1.3   Second Person Questions

Personal-factual evidence past tense forms are used for second person questions about actions which the speaker anticipates the second person consciously participated in, and about which they are genuinely enquiring because they do not have knowledge of the event. The speaker is requesting personal-factual evidence of the state of affairs. Examples (8-96) and (8-97) show second person questions with the personal-factual past tenses.

(8-96)   *go*   *koli*   *ox=nuŋ=xe*   *wa*   ***de-l=d=o***
           2s   PN   3sm=O=FOC   see   **MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ=EMPH**
           'Did you see Koli?' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(8-97) | *noxe* | *naŋ* | *jox* | *go* | *kjan* | *xan=o* | *li-m* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1s.POSS | rope | DEF | 2s | what | thing=QUOT | say-SEQ |

n-m-a-dl   **s-ol=o**
1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-take(.SEQ)   **go-IPFV.PER.TODP**=QUOT

li-nuŋ   *jəxe*   *nox*   *gi=p-t=o*
say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG   then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT
'"Why did you take my rope away?", (I saw that) she said. Then I told her as follows:' ("Today" by Julie James)

Questions with *nix* 'who' also use the personal-factual as shown in example (8-98) below.

(8-98) *ap*   *m=ox*   *nix*   *paint-im*   *m-ti-l*
house   DEM.PRX=3sm   who   paint(Eng)-TR(TP)   MAKE-PFV-PER.YESTP
'Who painted this house?' (Elicited FNB 6.79 Dahl 1985 TAM 130)

8.2.1.4.1.4 Facts

Historical events and uncontested facts which everyone knows also commonly use the personal-factual evidence forms. These are events for which the speaker has accumulated various types of evidence throughout his/her life. This evidence is also available to others. Examples of accepted facts are shown below.

(8-99) *lex*   *ox*   *aw-xenil*   *ixile*   *taim*
long.ago   3sm   grandparent.1POSS-PL   3p.POSS   time

dik   *j=olxol*   *ti=bəs*   **x-ti-p**
time   DEM.DST=3sm.REFL   INDF=NEG   **DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG**
'(Ipe rope in this area) ran out in the elders time.' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-100) *aw-xenil*   *ixile*   *dik*   *j=olxol*   *nuxul*
grandparent.1POSS-PL   3p.POSS   time   DEM.DST=3sm.REFL   1pEX

kukumi   *jox*   **moxe-sxe**
bride.price   DEF   **buy-HAB.PER.FP.PL**
'In the elders time, we used to pay bride price.' ("Bride Price" by Kila Dasyal)

Events which the speaker and addressee jointly witnessed but which may not be accepted facts in the wider community may also use the personal-factual past tense forms. For example, if you saw a fight and came running and told someone about it, then you would use the visual-sensory past tense form but if the addressee was also present at the fight and you talked about it together at a later point then you can use the personal-factual past tense form.

8.2.1.4.2 Visual-Sensory Past Tenses

The visual-sensory past tenses have the following main uses, each of which is discussed in more detail in the sections below.

- events which the speaker witnessed;
- events which the speaker heard or otherwise sensed;
- first person statements where the speaker does not have, or doubts, personal-factual evidence of the event or is putting the onus of evidence onto the hearer for pragmatic reasons.

The visual-sensory forms are also used in a grammatical construction in combination with the pre-complex-predicate particle *xa* 'HORT' (see Chapter 9, §9.2.1). Table 8-4 below details the Lawrences' various definitions of the category called visual-sensory here.

Article	Term used	Definition given
H. Lawrence (1972)	Participant viewed	subject is not viewer; S ≠ V
M. Lawrence (1972b)	Observer's viewpoint	"events in which the participant from whose viewpoint the narrative is being told is not agent, but events which he has seen or heard" (1972b: 53)
M. Lawrence (1987)	Set B	"is used when the participant from whose viewpoint the story is being told is not the subject of the clause" (1987: 58)

Table 8-4.   The Lawrences' analyses of the visual-sensory past tenses

In addition to the visual-sensory past tense, there are a number of other constructions in the language which can express visual-sensory evidentiality: the visual-sensory clitic (see Chapter 11, §11.1.5), a complement clause construction with *x-* 'be' (see Chapter 12, §12.1.3) or a medial verb construction with *x-* 'be' (see Chapter 12, §12.4.1.2.5). The choice of visual-sensory evidence marking strategy is dependent on the tense and aspect of the verb. If a speaker wishes to distinguish auditory evidence from visual-sensory evidence, the auditory medial verb construction is used (see Chapter 12, §12.4.1.2.4).

8.2.1.4.2.1   Witnessed Events

When the speaker knows the information contained in an utterance because they witnessed the action, then the visual-sensory past tense forms of the verb are used. Visual-sensory evidence past tense forms are most often used with third person subjects as is shown in the following examples.

(8-101) *jəxe*   *ita*   *ox*   **xto-n-gop**
        then   father.1/2POSS 3sm   **see-PFV-VIS.FP.SG**
        'Then (I saw that) my father looked at (it).' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-102) *tom*   *xulu*   *jox*   *oksapmin*   *mə-xəm*   **pt-nipat**
        water pond DEF   PN   DEM.PRX-down **stay-HAB.VIS.FP.SG**
        '(I saw that) there was a pool down at Oksapmin Station.' ("Nearly Drowning" by Hirai)

Visual-sensory evidence is also used in declarative sentences with a second person subject where the speaker is stating actions they witnessed of which the second person was subject as shown in the examples below.

(8-103) *gulagule*   *təmd-il*   **sli-pti-gwel**   *toxan*
        2p.REFL.POSS   father&child-PL **put-IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP** sweet.potato

        mədu   *i=təx*
        mound DEM.DST=place
        'The place where (I have seen that) your father and you grow sweet potato.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-104) *a*   *go*   *apuŋ=xe*   *i=xi-m*   **əpli-n-gwel**
        HES   2s   yesterday=FOC like.that=DO-SEQ   **come-PFV-VIS.YESTP**
        'Hey, (I saw that) you came like this too yesterday.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-105) *ep=o*   *go*   *lex*   *ma*   **na=əpi-nuŋ**
        sorry=QUOT 2s   then   REL   **NEG=come-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**

        max=w=o   *gin*   *xan=xe*   *nita*   *ixil=wi*
        RECG=RESP=QUOT now   man=POSS   relative 3p=ONLY

        mə=ma   *elel*   *mox*   *d-t-ja=mul*
        DEM.PRX=REL thing ANPH take-PFV-PER.TODP.PL=CERT
        '"You didn't come quickly to see me. Now the father's relatives have taken all the presents away."' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

8.2.1.4.2.2   Heard or Otherwise Sensed Events

The visual-sensory forms are also used to indicate states of affairs for which the speaker has auditory evidence (8-106).

(8-106) *nox*   *əpli-s*   *gumət*   *dəx*   *j=ox*   *ko-ŋ*
        1s   come-SEQ   PN   down   DEM.DST=3sm   arrive-PNCT

        li   *jox*   *tit*   *xan*   *tit*   *mə=te*
        SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP   another   thing   INDF   DEM.DST=place

        xəles   *xəles*   **li-pat-gop**
        noise   noise   **SAY-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG**
        'When I got to Gumət, I heard something making noise.' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

This is also the case with other non-visual visual-sensory evidence such as feelings. This is shown in the following examples with the visual-sensory past tense forms which have an experiencer object.

(8-107) *nox*   *de*   *jox*   *[...]*   *ake*   *jox*
        1s   eat(.PRS.SG)   TOP   stomach   DEF

        pipis   **n-pli-pat-gwel**
        full   **1/2.O-TELL-IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP**
        'When I have eaten (that), (I have felt that) (my) stomach has gotten full.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(8-108) *nox*   *tom*   *din*   *wanxe*   **n-x-n-gwel**
        1s   water   thirsty   a.lot   **1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-VIS.YESTP**
        '(I felt that) I was really thirsty.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

A medial verb plus the auxiliary *x-* 'DO' can also be used to indicate auditory or visual-sensory evidence (see Chapter 12, §12.4.1.2.4–5, and also Lawrence, M. 1987).

8.2.1.4.2.3   First Person Questions and Doubted Statements

The visual-sensory evidence past tense forms are also used for first person statements where the speaker does not have or doubts personal-factual evidence of the event or is putting the onus of evidence onto the hearer for pragmatic reasons. In example (8-109) below (from Lawrence, M. 1987: 62), a man returns to borrow an axe from someone whose axe he had borrowed the previous day and not since returned. In example (8-110) below, a man returns to a place after having been told to go home the previous day. In English, the doubt over these sentences is expressed by using a rhetorical question as shown in the translations below.

(8-109) *noxe*   *ma*   ***n-api-gwer***   *ox=w=a*
         1s.POSS   REL   **1/2.O-give-VIS.TODP**   3sm=RESP=EMPH
         'What about the one of mine I gave you yesterday?' (Lawrence, M. 1987: 62)

(8-110) *bəp*   *apuŋ*   *mə=te*   ***n-p-n-gwel***
         so   yesterday   DEM.PRX=place   **1/2.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.YESTP**

         max=a   *go*   *na=s-ol*   *jox=o*
         RECG=EMPH   2s   NEG=go-IPFV.PER.TODP   TOP=QUOT
         'Yesterday, in this very place, didn't I tell you (to go home)? But you haven't gone (home)!' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

The visual-sensory evidence past tense is also used with first person questions (8-111).

(8-111) *nox*   *go=təp*   *tabubil*   *xən*   *ed-gop*   *ma*
         1s   2s=ASSC   PN   across   stay.PFV-VIS.FP.SG   REL

         ku   *dus*   *nox*   *gup*   *x-el*
         night   middle   1s   snore   DO-IPFV.PER.TODP

         x-n-gop=d=a
         be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=PQ=EMPH
         'When I stayed with you in Tabubil, did you hear me snore during the night?' (Elicited.)

The visual-sensory evidence past tense forms can be used to report the speaker's actions in a dream (8-112).

(8-112) *nox*   *ku*   *dis*   *utəp*   *xəx*   *jox*   *nox*   *je*
         1s   night   middle   dream   DO.PRS.SG   TOP   1s   mountain

         gən   *tit*   ***wol-pat-noŋ***
         up   INDF   **go.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG**
         'In the middle of the night when I dreamt, I saw myself climbing a mountain.' (Elicited.)

8.2.1.4.3 *Person Implicature of the Evidential Past Tense Forms*

The personal-factual evidence past tense forms have a first person subject implicature in declarative utterances and a second person implicature in questions (where no overt subject pronoun is present). This is shown in Table 8-5 below along with the complementary implicatures of the visual-sensory past tense forms. Second person declarative utterances and first person questions are somewhat pragmatically marked and are in brackets as the normal implicature for the visual-sensory past tenses would be third person although a second or first person reading is possible.

	Declarative utterance	Question
Personal-factual	1st	2nd
Visual-sensory	3rd, (2nd)	3rd, (1st)

Table 8-5.   Person implicature of evidential values

The person of the subject is not otherwise marked on the verb and this implicature may be cancelled as shown in the examples below. Example (8-113)a. shows the most common use of the personal-factual past tense forms: with a first person subject. As shown in example (8-113)b., however, this person implicature may be cancelled and the personal-factual past tense forms may be used with second or third person subjects. This only occurs in very specific contexts: where the event is taken to be an unquestionable fact.

(8-113) a.   *tap   su-ti-p*
              pig   kill-PFV-PER.FP.SG
              'I killed a pig.'

        b.   *tap   su-ti-p*
              pig   kill-PFV-PER.FP.SG
              '(Everybody knows and no-one doubts that) (he/she/you/it) killed a pig.'
              '(When you and I were both present,) (he/she/you/it) killed a pig.'

Example (8-114)a. shows the normal person implicature for the visual-sensory evidence past tense forms: an event with a second or third person subject which the speaker witnessed. This person implicature may, however, be cancelled as shown in (8-114)b. below and the visual-sensory evidence past tense forms may occur with a first person subject. Again, this may only occur in very specific contexts: where the speaker does have or doubts personal-factual evidence for the event, as in a dream or question.

(8-114) a.   *tap   su-n-gop*
              pig   kill-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
              '(I saw that) (he/she/you/it) killed a pig.'

        b.   *tap   su-n-gop*
              pig   kill-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
              '(I had a dream where I saw that) I killed a pig.'
              '(I seem to remember but I doubt that) I killed a pig.'
              'Did I kill a pig?'

Put most simply, this person implicature arises because these are the grammatical persons with which these past tense forms most commonly occur. In declarative sentences, when a speaker uses a personal-factual past tense form, it is most commonly because they have performed the action themselves, and as a result

have personal evidence for the event. When the speaker uses a visual-sensory past tense form, it is because they have seen or otherwise sensed the action and not performed it: if they had performed the event, they would have given the stronger personal-factual evidence.

In interrogative sentences, when a speaker uses a personal-factual past tense form, she is asking the hearer about an action that the speaker anticipates that they performed, and for which they therefore have personal-factual evidence. When a speaker uses a visual-sensory past tense form, they are asking the hearer about an action which they anticipate that the hearer saw or otherwise sensed.

This implicature is the same as that found in conjunct/disjunct systems.

8.2.2 Final-Verb Forms

The complete final verb paradigm for the regular verb *su-* 'kill' is shown in Table 8-6 and Table 8-7 below. The imperative, future and present forms are shown in Table 8-6. Note that there are three future tenses (immediate, today and far). Present and future tenses distinguish between singular and plural in subject number, but the imperative does not. Present, future and imperative tenses all distinguish perfective and imperfective aspect.

	Perfective		Imperfective	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Imperative	*sutin*		*sun*	
Far future	*sutipla*	*sutipli*	*supla*	*supli*
Today future	*sutiplox*	*sutipja ~ sutiploxe*	*suplox*	*supja ~ suploxe*
Immediate future	*sutpol*	*sutpel*	*supol*	*supel*
Present	*su*	*suja*	*supat*	*supti*

Table 8-6.   Imperative, future and present final verb forms for the regular verb *su-* 'kill'

The past tense forms for the verb *su-* 'kill' are shown in Table 8-7 below. Note that, in addition to the number and aspect distinctions made by the other tenses above, past tenses distinguish personal-factual and visual-sensory evidentiality. In the far-past tense a third aspect, habitual, is distinguished.

	Personal-Factual				Visual-sensory			
	Perfective		Imperfective		Perfective		Imperfective	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Today past	*sut*	*sutja*	*sul*		*sunuŋ*	*sungwe*	*supatnuŋ*	*suptigwe*
Yesterday past	*sutil*		*sut*		*sungwel*		*supatgwel*	*suptigwel*
Far past	*sutip*	*sutpa*	-		*sungop*	*sungopa*	*supatgop*	*suptigopa*
			Habitual				Habitual	
			susux	*susxe*			*sunipat*	*sunipti*

Table 8-7.   Past tense verb forms for the regular verb *su-* 'kill'

8.2.2.1 Verb Template

Due to the fairly fusional nature of the final verb forms, it is not possible to arrive at a single verb template for final verbs. It is hoped, however, that the templates below provide some aid in visualizing the way that verbs are constructed in this language. These templates are also useful in discussing portions of the final verb paradigm which are formed fairly agglutinatively. Note that a number of zero morphemes are posited in this section; see Chapter 1, §1.5.2.1, for a discussion of the approach to morphology taken in this thesis.

On inspection of the imperative and future tense forms only, as shown in Table 8-8 below for the regular verb *su-* 'kill', a template as shown in Table 8-9 below can be posited, if a zero imperfective morpheme is assumed. Number of the subject is marked as optional with brackets as number is not marked for the imperative forms.

	Perfective		Imperfective	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Imperative	*su-ti-n*		*su-Ø-n*	
Far future	*su-ti-pla*	*su-ti-pli*	*su-Ø-pla*	*su-Ø-pli*
Today Future	*su-ti-plox*	*su-ti-pja ~ su-ti-ploxe*	*su-Ø-plox*	*su-Ø-pja ~ su-Ø-ploxe*
Immediate future	*su-t-pol*	*su-t-pel*	*su-Ø-pol*	*su-Ø-pel*

Table 8-8.   Future and imperative tense forms for the regular verb *su-* 'kill'

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
person of object	valency	V	aspect	tense (subject number)

Table 8-9.   Future and imperative final verb template
                Where V is the verb root

The above template roughly works for the present tense forms as well, shown in Table 8-10 below for the regular verb *su-* 'kill'. It is necessary, however, to posit a zero present tense suffix for the imperfective forms, as well as a zero perfective suffix

for the perfective forms, and a zero present singular suffix for the present perfective singular form. In the imperfective forms, the aspect markers -*pat* 'IPFV.SG' and -*pti* 'IPFV.PL' also mark number of the subject. This gives us the revised template in Table 8-11 below.

	Perfective		Imperfective	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Present	*su-Ø-Ø*	*su-Ø-ja*	*su-pat-Ø*	*su-pti-Ø*

Table 8-10. Present tense forms for the regular verb *su-* 'kill'

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
person of object	valency	V	aspect (subject number)	tense (subject number)

Table 8-11. Future, imperative and present final verb template
     Where V is the verb root

More complications arise on inspection of the past tense forms as shown in Table 8-12 below, again for the regular verb *su-* 'kill'. Once again, zero morphemes must be posited, some of which are not highly motivated: today-past singular (in the perfective), imperfective, and perfective (in the visual-sensory today-past singular). This gives a final verb template shown in Table 8-13 below similar to those given above but with added optional evidentiality. The habitual forms cannot be manipulated into the above template as the addition of any zero morphemes would be completely unmotivated here. This gives rise to the need for a separate template for habitual verbs as shown in Table 8-14 below. Note the homophony of some of the present and past tense suffixes with different meanings, e.g. -*l* 'PER.TODP', 'PER.YESTP'; -*ja* 'PRES.PL', 'PER.TODP.PL', which is possibly the result of a shift of meaning in some of these forms, whose meanings may have aligned in an earlier stage in the language's history.

	Personal-Factual				Visual-sensory			
	Perfective		Imperfective		Perfective		Imperfective	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
Today past	*su-t-Ø*	*su-t-ja*	*su-Ø-l*		*su-Ø-nuŋ*	*su-n-gwe*	*su-pat-nuŋ*	*su-pti-gwe*
Yesterday past	*su-ti-l*		*su-Ø-t*		*su-n-gwel*		*su-pat-gwel*	*su-pti-gwel*
Far past	*su-ti-p*	*su-t-pa*			*su-n-gop*	*su-n-gopa*	*su-pat-gop*	*su-pti-gopa*
			Habitual				Habitual	
			su-sux	*su-sxe*			*su-nipat*	*su-nipti*

Table 8-12. Past tense forms for the regular verb *su-* 'kill'
     Shaded cells are theoretically possible forms not present in the language

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
person of object	valency	V	aspect (subject number)	tense (subject number) (evidentiality)

Table 8-13.   Final verb template
Where V is the verb root

-2	-1	0	+1
person of object	valency	V	aspect subject number tense evidentiality

Table 8-14.   Habitual final verb template
Where V is the verb root

A further complication arises with a small set of verbs which have suppletive perfective stems as shown for the verb *d-* 'eat' in (8-115)a. below, for which a perfective aspect suffix cannot be identified. For perfective forms of these verbs, another template must be posited as shown in Table 8-15 below. (Note that the present perfective and past visual-sensory perfective forms are not built on the perfective stem for these verbs but on the verb root.) See §8.2.2.4 for details.

(8-115) *a.*   *di-plox*
                eat.PFV-IF.SG
                '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will eat.'

         b.   *d-plox*
                eat(.IPFV)-IF.SG
                '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will be eating.'

-2	-1	0	+1
person of object	valency	V	tense (subject number) (evidentiality)

Table 8-15.   Final verb template for perfective forms of suppletive verbs in the future, imperative or personal-factual past
Where V is the perfective stem

8.2.2.2 Conjugation Class Membership

Following M. Lawrence (1972b), it is useful to divide the set of inflecting verbs into the following classes: L, M, and S. A verb's conjugation class gives information about its inflectional pattern. The difference between these classes is evident in the choice of

one variant over another in the following suffixes: sequential (§8.3.1), simultaneous (§8.3.2), perfective (§8.2.2.3), and punctual (§8.4.1).[12]

The verb root of L-class verbs ends in /l/ and these take zero as the sequential medial suffix (8-116), whereas M-class verbs take *-m* to indicate sequential (8-117), and S-class verbs take *-s* (8-118).

(8-116) *xtol*
      see**(.SEQ)**
      'see and…'

(8-117) *su-**m***
      kill**-SEQ**
      'kill and…'

(8-118) *s-s*
      go**-SEQ**
      'go and…'

Verb class membership is also important for perfective suffix selection. S-class verbs take *-si* in the future tenses and *-xi* in past tenses as shown in the examples below.[13] (See §8.2.2.3 for details on perfective inflection.)

(8-119) *de-**si**-pel*
      go.across**-PFV**-IF.PL
      'Let's go across!'

(8-120) *de-**xi**-p*
      go.across**-PFV**-PER.FP.SG
      '(I) went across.'

In describing choice of perfective suffix, the M-class must be divided into two: M(a)-class, and M(b)-class. M(a)-class verbs take *-ti* to indicate the perfective (8-121), whereas M(b)-class verbs take *-di* (8-122).

(8-121) *la-**ti**-p*
      sing.dance**-PFV**-PER.FP.SG
      '(I) sang and danced.'

(8-122) *xut-**di**-p*
      cook.in.ground.oven**-PFV**-PER.FP.SG
      '(I) cooked (food) in a ground oven.'

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[12] Although this suffix is derivational and derives punctual coverbs from verbs.
[13] Except for *əpil-* 'come' and *s-* 'go' which are irregular.

The L-class must also be divided into two subclasses to account for choice of perfective suffix. L(a)-class verbs take *-ti* (8-123), whereas L(b)-class verbs take *-tu*. L(b)-class verb roots end in /ul/ (8-124) (although some verb roots which end in /ul/ are L(a)-class). (Note that for L-class verbs the /l/ is dropped when the perfective suffix is added.)

(8-123) *ko-**ti**-p*
       arrive-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
       '(I) arrived.' (< *kol-* 'arrive')

(8-124) *əb-**tu**-p*
       get-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
       '(I) got (someone/something).' (< *əbul-* 'get')

The above inflectional properties of the verb classes, as well as the simultaneous medial suffix and the punctual suffix choice, are summarized in Table 8-16 below.

	Sequential medial suffix	Perfective suffix	Simultaneous medial suffix	Punctual suffix
M(a)	*-m*	*-ti*	*-t*	*-s*
M(b)	*-m*	*-di*	*-n*	*-s*
L(a)	*-Ø*	*-ti*	*-t*	*-s, -ŋ*
L(b)	*-Ø*	*-tu*	*-t*	*-s, -ŋ*
S	*-s*	*-si, -xi*	NA	NA

Table 8-16.   Differences in suffix choice by verb class

The following is a list of inflecting verbs in Oksapmin collected so far grouped into their inflectional classes.

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
amla-	'hear'	*məpda-*	'pull along'
awxe-	'castrate'	*ni-*	'1/2.O.kill'
bilxi-	'sing'	*oxo-*	'fetch (water)'
boxo-	'remove'	*pigi-*	'show'
d- / di-	'eat'	*pin-*	'take out'
da-	'cling onto'	*pogwe-*	'help'
de-	'MAKE'	*pulu-*	'pile up'
dek-	'get leaves'	*puxu-*	'kill'
dum-	'tie'	*sa-*	'read'
dəlpə-	'begin'	*su-*	'kill'
eka-	'prepare pandanus'	*tolo-*	'grow tall'
gi-	'shit'	*toŋno-*	'sit down'
gono-	'grow'	*tum-*	'carry'
gu-	'emit from mouth'	*tumku-*	'malnourished'
gus-	'sharpen'	*tədapla-*	'went down'
gwa-	'peel'	*təga-*	'shout'
jəm-	'cry'	*təmnə-*	'swell'
kilmə-	'shut eyes'	*təp-*	'fall down'
kopo-	'gather'	*təp-*	'tie'
la-	'sing and dance'	*təpe-*	'open eyes (of animal)'
li-	'say, SAY'	*təte-*	'turn back, stay behind'
loxo-	'cook in ground oven'	*təpxo-*	'take out'
lu-	'urinate'	*x-*	'DO'
mi-	'put in bag'	*xip-*	'pull back bow string'
minxa-	'wait'	*xu-*	'twirl'
minxe-	'conceive'	*ədo-*	'cook'
moxe-	'buy'	*ətpo-*	'close'
məda-	'finish, leave'	*əwto-*	'dig'
mle-	'hold'		

Table 8-17.   M(a)-class verbs

Form	Meaning
al-	'put on (of clothes)'
lem-	'hide'
pəpe-	'look after'
pt- / en- ~ in-	'stay'
suxu-	'carry.on.head'
sxa-	'look after'
tim-	'sleep'
təlpə-	'appear'
təmle-	'work'
tpa-	'lift up'
təp-	'injure oneself'
xut-	'cook (in a ground oven)'
əlpə-	'cook'

Table 8-18.   M(b)-class verbs

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Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
akwel-	'wait and look'	*mətdal-*	'jump'
al-	'lean against	*natdal-*	'escape'
alxul-	'follow'	*pl-*	'tell, TELL'
amkal-	'hold'	*plal-*	'pull'
alxwal-	'uncover'	*pol-*	'grow'
apxol-	'rub something on someone'	*pul-*	'explode'
dil-	'get stuck'	*pətil-*	'wash'
dilxil-	'ripple'	*sjal-*	'remove from ground'
doxol-	'break'	*səkl-*	'run'
dul-	'accuse'	*sl-*	'put'
dəkmel-	'go over'	*tapl-*	'die'
dəkəptel-	'lift up'	*til-*	'rub'
dl-	'take'	*tolol-*	'slide'
dəlxel-	'send'	*totgal-*	'stand on'
dəpekl-	'strangle'	*totgwəl-*	'step'
dəpel-	'take off head, unwrap'	*tədəptuxul-*	'go up'
dəpəlkwel-	'turn over'	*tədəmxol-*	'dive'
gatal-	'open mouth'	*təpdal-*	'run away'
gulmel-	'swallow'	*xitil-*	'trip over'
gulpel-	'pour'	*xel-*	'alight'
gulul-	'make noise'	*xel-*	'break'
gənel-	'dry up'	*xtol-*	'see'
gətel-	'cut'	*xul-*	'be crazy'
klol-	'jump'	*xwel-*	'pull out'
kol-	'arrive'	*əlxul-*	'weed'
kənkəndəl-	'make noise'	*əpdal-*	'throw'
kwel-	'chop'	*əpel-*	'discuss'
ml-	'MAKE'		

Table 8-19.   L(a)-class verbs

Form	Meaning
bupul-	'shake'
depakul-	'remove hair by singeing'
dukul-	'spill'
dpul-	'open'
tpul-	'close'
xəpul-	'die'
əbul-	'get'

Table 8-20.   L(b)-class verbs

Form	Meaning
de-	'go across'
lapil-	* 'give'
lo-	'enter/exit'
mde-	'come across'
ml-	'come up'
mlo-	'come out'
ms-	'wake up'
s- / xu-	'go'
wəd- ~ un-	'come down'
wa-	'go down'
wəli- ~ uli-	'go up'
əpil-*	'come'

Table 8-21.   S-class verb
            *takes *-di* as perfective marker in personal-factual past tenses

8.2.2.3 Perfective Aspect Suffix

The perfective is marked with a non-zero perfective suffix for the imperative, future tenses, and past personal-factual tenses (but not for the past visual-sensory or the present). As noted in the previous section, depending on the conjugation class (§8.2.2.2) of the verb in question, as well as the tense in question, the form of the perfective suffix varies and is *-ti*, *-tu, -di, -si*, or *-xi* as shown in the examples below.

(8-125) *su-**ti**-pla*
        kill-**PFV**-FF.SG
        '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will kill.'

(8-126) *xəp-**tu**-pla*
        die-**PFV**-FF.SG
        '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will die.'

(8-127) *lem-**di**-pla*
        hide-**PFV**-FF.SG
        '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will hide.'

(8-128) *a.*   *de-**si**-pla*
                go.across-**PFV**-FF.SG
                '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will go across.'

        b.   *de-**xi**-pa*
                go.across-**PFV**-PER.FP.PL
                '(We) went across.'

        M(a) class verbs form the perfective through the addition of *-ti* to the verb root as shown in the example below for the verb *su-* 'kill'.

(8-129) *su-**ti**-p*
      kill-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
      '(I) killed (something).'

      L(a)-class verbs also form the perfective through the addition of the suffix *-ti*. L(a)-class verbs drop the final /l/ before the perfective marker *-ti* is added. This is shown in the example below for the verb *dl-* 'get'.

(8-130) *d-**ti**-p*
      get-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
      '(Someone) got (something).'

      The perfective marker *-ti* is optionally shortened to *-t* when it occurs with tense/number suffixes of the form CV(C) (i.e. *-pa, -pol, -pel*) and when the preceding syllable ends in a vowel. This is demonstrated in the example below for the verb *su-* 'kill'.

(8-131) *su-**t**-pol*
      kill-**PFV**-IF.SG
      '(I) am about to kill (something/someone).'

      The perfective aspect marker *-ti* is obligatorily shortened to *-t* when it occurs with the performative today-past tense singular (§8.2.2.10.1). This is shown in the example below for the verb *su-* 'kill'.

(8-132) *su-**t***
      kill-**PFV**(.PER.TODP.SG)
      '(I) killed (something) (this morning).'

      L(b)-class verbs and derived verb stems which are two syllables (or more) and which end in /ul/ or /u/, drop the /ul/ or /u/, and add the perfective suffix *-tu*. This is shown in the example below for the verb *xəpul-* 'die'.

(8-133) *xəp-**tu**-p*
      kill-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
      '(Someone) died.'

      M(b)-class verbs as well as *əpil-* 'come' and *lapil-* 'give' add the suffix *-di* to the verb root to form the perfective. An example of a verb which takes *-di* is shown below.

(8-134) *sux-**di**-p*
      collect-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
      '(Someone) collected (something).'

The perfective aspect marker *-di*, in a similar manner to *-ti,* is optionally shortened to *-d* when it occurs following a vowel and preceding a tense/number suffix of the form CV(C).

(8-135) *təmle-**d**-pol*

> [təmlenɸol]
> work-**PFV**-IF.SG
> '(I) am about to work.'

It is likewise optionally shortened to *-d* when it occurs with the performative today-past tense singular (§8.2.2.10.1). This is shown in the example below for the verb *əpil-* 'come'.

(8-136) *toxan-la   gəx   de-pat   mi-pat*
       sweet.potato-? wash   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   lift.up-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

> *uŋ   jə-xən   mi-pat   noxe*
> string.bag   DEM.DST-across   lift.up-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   1s.REFL.POSS

> *ap   te   əpi-**d***
>   [əβin]
> house place   come-**PFV**(.PER.TODP.SG)
> 'After I washed the sweet potato and put it in my bag, I came to my village.'
> ("Today" by Palis)

S-Class verbs form the perfective by the addition of the perfective suffix *-si* for future tenses and *-xi* for past tenses. Note that, unlike *-ti* and *-di*, *-si* and *-xi* cannot be shortened. This pattern for the perfective aspect marker for verbs of coming and going is probably derived historically from a serial verb construction with the verb *s-* 'go' which has the suppletive form *xu-* as its past tense perfective.

(8-137) *de-**si**-pol*

> go.across-**PFV**-IF.SG
> '(I) am about to go across.'

(8-138) *de-**xi**-p*

> go.across-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
> '(I) went across.'

The S-class verbs *de-, mde-, mlo-, lo-* and *wa-* (i.e. S-class verbs whose roots end in a vowel) may add /j/ to the verb root before adding the perfective marker *xi-*. The verb *wa-* 'go down' does so obligatorily. For example, the far-past perfective

form of the verb *lo-* 'enter' may be pronounced [lojçipli] as in example (8-139) below, or [loçipli].

(8-139) *ux*   *ap*   *jox*   ***loj-xi-p**=li*
        3sf   house   DEF   **enter-PFV-PER.FP.SG**=REP
        '(It is said that) she went into the house.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The verbs *lapil-* 'give' and *əpil-* 'come' are irregular S-class verbs in that they take *-di* as the perfective marker in past tenses. This is shown for *əpil-* 'come' below, which takes *-si* in future tenses, such as the far future (8-140)a., and *-di* in past tenses, such as the far past (8-140)b..

(8-140) *a.*   *əpil-**si**-pla*
               come-**PFV**-FF.SG
               '(I/you/he/she/it) will come.'

        b.   *əp-**di**-p*
               come-**PFV**-PER.FP.SG
               '(I/you/he/she/it) came.'

The exact semantics of perfective verb forms are discussed in each of the relevant sections below. A number of perfective forms do not express the perfective aspect with the perfective suffix described above. The today-, yesterday- and far-past visual-sensory perfective (§8.2.2.10.3, §8.2.2.11.3, and §8.2.2.12.3 respectively) use the suffix *-n* 'PFV'. The present perfective (§8.2.2.9.1) does not use either.

8.2.2.4 Suppletive Perfective Stems

Four verbs have suppletive perfective stems: *pt-* 'stay', *sl-* 'put', *d-* 'eat', and *s-* 'go'. The perfective stem is used for perfective forms which would take a perfective suffix for regular verbs. The perfective stem for *pt-* 'stay', *idi-* 'stay.PFV', is shown in (8-141)b. below, contrasted with the verb root in (8-141)a.

(8-141) *a.*   ***pt**-pla*
               stay-(IPFV.)FF.SG
               '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will be staying.'

        b.   ***idi**-pla*
               stay.PFV-FF.SG
               '(I/you(sg)/he/she/it) will stay.'

For *pt-* 'stay' and *d-* 'eat', the perfective stem is used for perfective verb forms in all tenses. For *s-* 'go', a change of verb stem to the perfective *xu-* is only used in past tenses. For future tenses, *s-* 'go' patterns with the verbs of coming and going. For

sl- 'put', the suppletive stem is only used by some speakers. The verbs with suppletive perfective stems are listed in Table 8-22 below.

Verb Root	Perfective Stem	Meaning
pt-	*id(i)- ~ ed(i)-*	'stay'
sl-	*it-*	'put'
d-	*di-*	'eat'
s-	*xu-*, pi-**[14]	'go'

Table 8-22.   Verbs with suppletive perfective stems
           *Used for past tenses only

8.2.2.5 Imperfective Aspect Suffix

The imperfective aspect suffix has the form *-pat* for singular subjects and *-pti* for plural subjects (8-142).

(8-142) *a.*   *su-**pat**-gwel*
              kill-**IPFV.SG**-VIS.YESTP
              '(I saw that) (he/she/it) was killing (something) (yesterday).'

       b.   *su-**pti**-gwel*
              kill-**IPFV.PL**-VIS.YESTP
              '(I saw that) (they) were killing (something) (yesterday).'

Not all imperfective forms have this overt (non-zero) imperfective aspect suffix. The overt imperfective aspect suffix is only used for: present tense forms, and visual-sensory past tense forms. Imperfective verb forms which do not take this suffix are analysed as having an imperfective suffix realised as zero (see §8.2.2.1).

See each of the relevant sections below for more on the imperfective aspect suffix.

These forms are etymologically related to the verb *pt-* 'stay, be' and are identical to its present imperfective singular and plural forms, *pat* 'stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)' and *pti* 'stay. IPFV.PL(.PRS)' respectively.

8.2.2.6 Immediate Future

Immediate-future tense is formed by the addition of the suffix *-pol* for singular subjects (8-143) and *-pel* for plural subjects (8-144). These are added to the perfective verb stem (see §§8.2.2.3–8.2.2.4) to form the immediate-future perfective; or to the bare verb root to form the immediate-future imperfective. (Note that the immediate-

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[14] Used in Upper Oksapmin only, see M. Lawrence (1993).

future form does not have a future time reading in example (8-144) below. This is a special subordinate construction which is discussed further below.)

(8-143) *tit nunuŋ tit s-si-**pol**=o li=xən=xe*
　　　 another TO　　INDF　　go-PFV-**IF.SG**=QUOT　　say(.PRS.SG)=IRR=SBRD

　　　 s-si-pla
　　　 go-PFV-FF.SG
　　　 'If I say "I will go to some other (place)", then I will go.' ("Future" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-144) *gi=p-t-**pel**=xən ep=o noxe apte sa banis*
　　　 THUS-tell-PFV-**IF.PL**=IRR　　sorry=QUOT　　1s　　village　INFR　fence(TP)

　　　 lu-ti-p=o da x-ti-p=li
　　　 break-PFV-PER.FP.SG=QUOT　　thought DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
　　　 'When they told this to him, he thought that the fence in the village must
　　　 unfortunately be broken.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

As noted in §8.2.2.3 above, the perfective affix may lose its final vowel /i/ in this tense where it has attached to a verb root which ends in a vowel (in the example below, the vowel is an epenthetic schwa not represented in the orthography). In (8-145) below, the verb *x-* 'DO' has the perfective suffix *-ti*, which has shortened to /t/.

(8-145) *nuxlanuxle toxan ox jox ti=bəs*
　　　 1p.REFL.POSS　　sweet.potato　　3sm　　TOP　　INDF=NEG

　　　 ***x-t-pol**=xən*
　　　 [xətɸolɣən]
　　　 DO-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
　　　 'When our own sweet potato ran out, …' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

The immediate-future tense is restricted in its distribution and is used in three situations:

- 　　　as first person imperative
- 　　　to indicate wants, intentions and desires
- 　　　in temporal subordinate clauses

The immediate-future forms commonly function as a first person imperative (8-146).

(8-146) *s-pel=o*
　　　 go-IF.PL=EMPH
　　　 'Let's go!'

The immediate-future tense is also used in reported speech constructions to indicate something someone wants to do or has the intention of doing (8-147). In this use it may be understood as a reported first person imperative.

(8-147) *in   aw   la-pti   nəŋ   jax   ixit*
  so elder.1POSS sing.and.dance-IPFV.PL(.PRS) TO below 3d

  *sup   gamd   ixit   xtol   s-**pel**=o*
  mother.3POSS husband&wife 3d see(.SEQ) go-**IF.PL**=QUOT

  li-m=a
  say-SEQ=LINK
  'So, the parents decided to go down to the place of traditional singing and dancing and …' (Lit. …they said "let's go!" and…) ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

The immediate future forms similarly occur in the reported speech construction with the verb *ml-* 'MAKE' (see Chapter 12, §12.1.2). This construction is used to indicate the reason for which someone does something (8-148).

(8-148) *su-t-**pel**   m-t   ox=nuŋ   aŋ   de-l*
  kill-PFV-**IF.PL** MAKE-SIM 3sm=O   find MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP
  'They looked for him because they wanted to kill him and then...' ("High School Dispute" by Kila Dasyal)

The immediate-future tense is also used in temporal subordinate clauses to indicate something which occurs just prior to or at the same time as the time reference of the main clause (8-149). In this use, the immediate-future form loses its future time reference. See Chapter 12, §12.2.8, for more on this type of subordinate clause.

(8-149) *i=x-ti-**pel**=xən=a*   *den   mox   ti=bəs*
  like.that=DO-PFV-**IF.PL**=SBRD=LINK food ANPH INDF=NEG

  *x-t-**pel**=xən=a*
  DO-PFV-**IF.PL**=SBRD=LINK
  'When that happened, when the food ran out, …' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

8.2.2.7 Today Future

In a parallel fashion to the immediate-future tense, the today-future tense is formed by the addition of the suffix *-plox* for singular subjects (8-150) and *-pja ~ -ploxe* for plural subjects (8-151) to the perfective verb stem to form the today-future perfective, or to the bare verb root to form the today-future imperfective. The suffix *-pja* is the more common variant for plural subjects.

(8-150) *nox   lat   suxu-**plox**=o*
  1s tree carry-**TODF.SG**=EMPH
  'I will collect firewood (later today).' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

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(8-151) *a   gin   klabu   sli-pja=o   pli-pti-n*
 HES   now   grave   put-**TODF.PL**=QUOT   tell-IPFV.PL-NOMLS
 'When we said that we would bury (her) (later that day), …' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

Today-future tense indicates an event which will occur on the day of speaking or in the near future. This usually means events less than a day and a night ahead of the relevant deictic centre as in (8-152) and (8-153) below.

(8-152) *nox   gin   oloxən   jox   s-plox=a*
 1s   now   afternoon   DEF   go-**TODF.SG**=LINK
 'I will be going this afternoon.' ("Future" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-153) *go   kjan   xan   oxox=wi   jəxe   x-plox=o*
 2s   what   thing   work=ONLY   then   be-**TODF.SG**=EMPH
 'What work will there be for you (later today)?' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

A common implicature of today-future tense is that the event is highly likely to occur. In this way, the time frame can be extended to include any event which is certain to occur, according to the speaker. This is used in contrast to the far future (§8.2.2.8) which often implies that an event is unlikely to occur. In (8-154) below, the event described of building a high school is at least several months away. It is the certainty of the event which merits the use of today-future tense. In (8-155) below, the speaker is asserting that if a certain bird is eaten at any time in the future, then it will taste good.

(8-154) ***bak   mə-xəm   s-ti-pja***
 PN   DEM.PRX-down put-**PFV-TODF.SG**
 'They are (definitely) going to put (it) down here at Bak.' ("High School Dispute" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-155) *go   de   jox   xəbal   dəsən=wi   **n-x-ti-plox***
 2s   eat.PRS.SG   TOP   tasty   taste=ONLY   **1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-TODF.SG**
 'When you eat (that bird) it will (definitely) taste good.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

8.2.2.8 Far Future

Similar to the immediate and today-future tenses, the far-future tense is formed by the addition of the suffix *-pla* for singular subjects (8-156) and *-pli* for plural subjects (8-

157) to the perfective verb stem (to form the far-future perfective) or to the bare verb root (to form the far-future imperfective).

(8-156) ku   jox   go   kin   kin=wi   de-s   p-ti-**pla**
        woman   DEF   2s   how   how=ONLY MAKE-PNCT TELL-PFV-**FF.SG**
        'As for the female (pig), what will you do to it?' ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

(8-157) elap   jox   jox   nutanut   imd   lus   pli-**pli**
        grease DEF   TOP   1dEX.REFL   mother&child suck   TELL-**FF.PL**
        'As for the really greasy bit (of the pig), my child and I will suck it up ourselves.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

The far-future tense indicates events more than one day in the future (i.e. from tomorrow onwards) relative to a given deictic centre.

(8-158) go   bap=nəp=xejox   kut   əpli-**pla**   jia
        2s   small=VERY=BECAUSE   future come-**FF.SG** year

        mox   [...]   gin   it   apte   so-n=o
        ANPH   [...]   now   again   village go-IMP=QUOT
        '"As you're too small, you will come back next year. Now, go home!"' ("First Day of School" by Savonna Frank)

(8-159) nox   kut   but   nuŋ   mə-xən   de-si-**pla**
        1s   future   flat.place   TO   DEM.PRX-across go.across-PFV-**FF.SG**

        jəxe
        then
        'Tomorrow, I will go across to my garden. Then…' ("Future" by Kila Dasyal)

The far-future tense combines with the clitic =xən 'irrealis' to describe an action which is unlikely or unwanted, even where the time reference is less than a day from the deictic centre, as in (8-160) and (8-161) below.

(8-160) mon   ox   di-pla=**xən**=o   li-m
        son   3sm   eat.PFV-FF.SG=**IRR**=QUOT   say-SEQ

        jəm-ti-pla=**xən**=o   li-m=a   itəp   ox
        cry-PFV-FF.SG=**IRR**=QUOT   say-SEQ=LINK   father 3sm

        a-əbul   ale   san   nəŋ   i-lox
        (3.O.)BEN-get(.SEQ)   wood.drying.rack   top   TO   DEM.DST-up

        m-ti-p=li=a
        MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=LINK
        'He thought (Lit. said) "(my) son might want to eat (it)" and then he thought "he might cry", so he got it and put it up in the place where they put chopped firewood to dry.' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-161) *xan   ixile   kin   te   pitəp   x-ti-pli=**xən**=o*
man   3p.POSS eye   place   in.the.open DO-PFV-FF.PL=**IRR**=QUOT

li-m=a   axla   əpli-sxe=li
say-SEQ=LINK   easy   come-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
'They used to come quietly thinking "we might be out in the view of the men."'
("Women's House" by Julie James)

The far future is also used to express a negative imperative without any overt negation (8-162). This is the only way to express a negative imperative in Oksapmin; the negative imperative cannot be expressed using the verbal or non-verbal negator with the imperative form (§8.2.2.13).

(8-162) *m   tom   lən   x-t   pat=xe   go   li*
HES   water   flood   DO-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS 2s   first

*de-**pla**   ajan   bris   mo-xom   olxol*
go.across-**FF.SG**   iron(Eng)   bridge(Eng)   DEM.PRS-down 3sm.REFL

s-pja=xejox   n-pli-nuŋ
go-TODF.PL=BECAUSE   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
'"(I saw that) it's flooded. Don't cross (there)! We'll go together to the iron bridge.",
(I saw that) he told me.' ("Today" by Julie James)

If context is not enough to disambiguate between the far-future time reference and negative imperative uses of the far-future tense, the clitic *=mul* 'CERT' (see Chapter 11, §11.1.3) may be used to indicate that the action is likely to occur or desirable.

(8-163) *te   pe   lin   pe   gul=xe   nonxol=nəŋ   net*
top   end   leaf   end   2p=FOC   1s.REFL=O   hold

*n-pli-ja=xən   dəm   tum-pli=**mul***
1/2.O-tell-PRS.PL=IRR   food   bear-FF.PL=**CERT**
'As for the branches and leaves, if you hold me, you will bear fruit.'[15] ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

8.2.2.9 Present

Like the future tenses described above, the present tense has both perfective and imperfective forms.

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[15] This is a biblical metaphor about Jesus being the tree trunk and the people the branches.

8.2.2.9.1 Present Perfective

The form of the present perfective singular is identical to the verb root (8-164); for plural subjects *-ja* is added to the verb root (8-165). (Note that in example (8-164) below, the time reference is relative to the main clause, which is not shown.)

(8-164) *ox   ma   xem   seŋ   li   jox*
         3sm   REL   blood   heat.up SAY(.**PRS.SG**)   TOP
         'When he had just gotten really angry, ...' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(8-165) *maxap lin   dek-**ja***
         banana leaf   get.leaves-**PRS.PL**
         'We cut banana leaves just now.' ("Today" by Kerina)

Comrie (1976) discusses the apparent contradictory nature of a present perfective tense, as present events are by nature imperfective. In Oksapmin, the present perfective tense is used for events which take place immediately before (8-166) or immediately after (8-167) the time of speech. Similar to South Slavonic (Comrie 1976: 67-8), the present perfective in Oksapmin commonly occurs in certain subordinate clause types as in (8-164) above.

(8-166) *koŋ   li-**ja***
         arrive-PNCT   SAY-**PRS.PL**
         '(They) arrived just now.' (Elicited.)

(8-167) *nuxut   lu   nəŋ   s-**ja**=mul=o*
         1d   garden TO   go-**PRS.PL**=CERT=QUOT

         m-p-n-gop=li
         PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
         '"We are about to go to the garden now", they told (them).' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

A number of verbs have irregular suppletive forms for the present perfective, shown in Table 8-23 below.

Verb	Singular	Plural
pt- 'stay'	*ed ~ id ~ pt*	*enja ~ inja ~ ptja*
x- 'DO'	*xəx*	*xeja*
d- 'eat'	*de*	*deja*
s- 'go'	*us*	*sja*[16]

Table 8-23.   Irregular present perfective verb forms

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[16] This form, the plural for *s-* 'go', is regular.

As shown in Table 8-23 above, there is variation between speakers of the present perfective form for the verb 'stay'. Some speakers base this on the verb root (8-168), others on a variation of the suppletive perfective stem (8-169).

(8-168) *a   jæxe   bəp   it   ku   ixil=təp   a   əpli-s=a*
HES   then   so   again   woman   3p=ASSC   HES   come-SEQ=LINK

i-ja=ka   meg   sl=a   pt=a
DEM.DST-below=place   speech   put(.SEQ)=LINK **stay(.PRS.SG)**=EMPH
'Then, I talked with some women down there and stayed.' ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

(8-169) *go   ap   mox   ed=xən   jem-m=xe*
2s   house   ANPH   **stay.PRS.SG**=SBRD   cry-SEQ=FOC

pt-pla
stay-FF.SG
'"When you stay here in the house, don't stay crying!"' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

8.2.2.9.2 Present Imperfective

Present imperfective is formed by the addition to the verb root of *-pat* for singular subjects (8-170) and *-pti* for plural subjects (8-171). Recall that the same forms indicate imperfective aspect in other tenses, see §8.2.2.5.

(8-170) *nox   but   nuŋ   mə=xəm   s-**pat**=o*
1s   flat.place   TO   DEM.PRX=down   go-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=EMPH
'I'm going down to the garden.' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(8-171) *mə=ma   apte-jan   ku   nuxule   uŋ*
DEM.PRX=REL   village-DENZ   woman   1pEX.POSS   string.bag

*x-**pti***
DO-**IPFV.PL(.PRS)**
'We, village women here, make string bags.' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

The present imperfective indicates continuous actions, which are unbounded, and which began previous to the time of speech and will continue after the time of speech (8-172).

(8-172) *iŋ   iŋ=si   oksapmin   s-**pti**=o*
string.bag   a.lot=WITH   PN   go-**IPFV.PL(.PRS)**=QUOT

li-ja=xe
say-PRS.PL=VIS
'They said "(we) are going to Oksapmin Station with all our bags."' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The present imperfective can also indicate present habitual actions in which the speaker participates, and which were occurring previous to the time of speech and will continue after the time of speech (8-173). Note that ongoing habitual actions in which the speaker does not participate are expressed using the yesterday-past visual-sensory imperfective (§8.2.2.11.4).

(8-173) *noxe*   *tap*   *gwe*   *jox*   *toxan*   *jox*   *kutkutxe=si*
1s.POSS   pig   small   DEF   sweet.potato   DEF   morning=CNJ

oloxən=si   *wot*   *məl=wi*   *a-sxa-**pat***
afternoon=CNJ   two   time=ONLY   (3.O.)BEN-look.after-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)**
'I feed my pig sweet potato in the morning and in the afternoon.' ("Looking after my Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

The present imperfective form of the verb is often used in adverbial subordinate clauses with the same time reference as the main clause (see Chapter 12, §12.2, for details).

8.2.2.10   Today Past

In addition to the perfective versus imperfective distinction found in present and future tenses, personal-factual versus visual-sensory evidentiality is distinguished in all past tenses. The time reference of the today-past forms is, as the name suggests, less than one day before the time of speech, i.e. 'today'.

8.2.2.10.1   *Today-Past Personal-Factual Perfective*

The today-past personal-factual perfective is formed by adding nothing for singular subjects (8-174) and *-ja* for plural subjects (8-175) to the verb root plus the perfective affix (§8.2.2.3), or to the perfective stem for verbs which have one (§8.2.2.4).

(8-174) *tom*   *siŋk*   *dəx*   *jox*   *nox*   *was*
water   sink(Eng)   inside   DEF   1s   wash(TP)

x-t
DO-PFV(**.PER.TODP.SG**)
'I washed in the sink.' ("Today" by Julie James)

(8-175) *pinat*   *uŋ*   *mox*   *joxjox*   *d-ti-**ja***
       peanut(Eng)   a.lot   ANPH   TOP   take-PFV-**PER.TODP.PL**

       jəxe   *em*   *ux*   *pinat*   *uŋ*   *jojox*   *ale*
       then   mother.1POSS   3sf   peanut(Eng)   a.lot   TOP   wood.drying.rack

       ka   *jə-xət*   *sli-nuŋ*
       place   DEM.DST-up   put-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
       '…we got the peanuts, then (I saw that) my mum put the plastic bag on the rack
       above the fire place.' ("Today" by Julie James)
       S-class verbs (§8.2.2.2) add *-x* to the perfective affix (*-xi* 'PFV') to form the

today-past personal-factual perfective singular (8-176).

(8-176) *jəxe*   *nox*   *plastik*   *jox*   *a-dl*
       then   1s   plastic.bag(Eng)   DEF   BEN-take(.SEQ)

       *loj-**xix**=a*   *jəxe*   *plastik*   *jox*   *a-dl*
       enter-**PFV.PER.TODP.SG**=LINK   then   plastic(Eng)   DEF   BEN-take(.SEQ)

       p-mlo-pat
       CAUS-exit-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       'So, I went inside and got the plastic bag for her. So, when I got the plastic (bag) for
       her and came outside, …' ("Today" by Julie James)

       As the name suggests, these forms indicate perfective actions in which the
speaker participated less than a day and a night from the time of speech (8-177).

(8-177) *toxan*   *sux-pat*   *toxan*   *uŋ-lə=si*
       sweet.potato   get-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   sweet.potato   string.bag-?=WITH

       p-s-pat-n=a   *tom*   *dæx*   *xən=a*   *toxan-lə*
       CAUS-go-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   water   down   across=EMPH   sweet.potato-?

       gæx   *de-t=a*
       wash   MAKE-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK
       'After I collected the sweet potato, I took the bag of sweet potato and washed it in the
       water down there.' ("Today" by Palis)

       The today-past personal-factual perfective forms are also commonly used in
subordinate clauses (8-178); see Chapter 12, §12.2, for details.

(8-178) *in*   *a*   *den*   *ake*   *el*   ***x-ja***   *mox*
       so   HES   hunger   stomach   bad   DO-**PER.PRS.PL**   SBRD

       ix=x-ti-ploxe=xejox
       like.that=DO-PFV-TODF.PL=BECAUSE
       'When there is a famine, people will do that because…' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

8.2.2.10.2   Today-Past Personal-factual Imperfective

The today-past personal-factual imperfective is formed by the addition of *-l* to the verb root (8-179). There is no number distinction in the today-past personal-factual imperfective.

(8-179) *ixil   aŋ   de-l*
       3p   find   MAKE-**IPFV.PER.TODP**
       'They were searching (for him) (today).'

    L(a) class verbs take an epenthetic /i/ before the addition of the today-past personal-factual imperfective suffix, as shown for the verb *sl-* 'put' in (8-180) below.

(8-180) *tom   san   jox   jox   nox   ap   kus   jə-xət*
       water   container   DEF   TOP   1s   house   corner   DEM.DST-up

       sli-l   jəxe   ap   kus   jə-xət   sl-pat-n
       put-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   then   house   corner   DEM.DST-up   put-IPFV.SG-NOMLS

       ox=o   it   nox   tom   di-plox=mul=o   nox
       no=QUOT   again   1s   water   eat.PFV-TODF.SG=CERT=QUOT   1s

       tom   din   wanxe   n-x-pat=mul=o
       water   thirsty a.lot   1/2.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CERT=QUOT

       li-nuŋ
       say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
       '…I put the container in the corner. When I put (the water container) in the corner, (I saw that) (she) said "No! I have to drink again! I'm really thirsty!"' ("Today" by Julie James)

    Verb roots which end in a consonant other than /l/ add an epenthetic schwa vowel to the verb root which strengthens to /o/ (see Chapter 2, §2.3.2, for discussion of schwa to /o/ strengthening). The verb *tim-* 'sleep' in the imperfective today-past personal-factual with an epenthetic /o/ is shown in (8-181)a., but with an epenthetic schwa vowel in the present imperfective plural in (8-181)b.

(8-181) *a.*   *nuxlanul   timo-l=a*
             1pEX.REFL   sleep-**IPFV.PER.TODP**=LINK
             'We ourselves were sleeping (last night).'

       b.   tim-pti
             [timəpti]
             sleep-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
             '(We/you/they) are sleeping.'

    A number of verbs form the today-past personal-factual imperfective irregularly, as shown in Table 8-24 below.

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Verb	Today-past personal-factual imperfective form
x- 'DO'	*xel*
pt- 'stay'	*ptel*
d- 'eat'	*del*

Table 8-24.   Verbs with irregular today-past forms

The today-past personal-factual imperfective is used to express continuous events for which the speaker has personal-factual evidence and which happened previously on the day of the speech event (i.e. today) or during the night before the speech event, as shown in (8-182) and (8-183) below.

(8-182) *pildon   nuxut   gæx   t-x-**el***
       PN   1dEX   wash   MID-MAKE-**IPFV.PER.TODP**
       'Pildon and I were washing ourselves (this morning).' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

(8-183) *gæx   t-x-pti   jæxe   ti=bæs   x-m*
       wash   MID-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   then   INDF=NEG   DO-SEQ

       mda-m=a   tom   mo-xom=ox   tom   pamp-im
       finish-SEQ=LINK   water   DEM.PRS-down=3sm   water   pump(Eng)-TR(TP)

       *de-**l**=a*
       MAKE-**IPFV.PER.TODP**=LINK
       'After we were washing, then we stopped and then (I) was pumping water down at the water (tank).' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

The today-past personal-factual imperfective is also used for repeated actions or actions which last a long time, as shown in the examples below. In this construction, the time reference of the verb is determined relative to the main clause or to the other events in the narrative. These are either complement clauses which occur with *mda-* 'finish' (8-184) (see Chapter 12, §12.1.4) or adverbial subordinate clauses (as in examples (8-185) and (8-186)), and, as such, the personal-factual form of the verb is always used, no matter what the evidentiality of the final finite verb of the sentence.

(8-184) *t-apxoli-**l**   t-apxoli-**l***
       MID-rub-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   MID-rub-**IPFV.PER.TODP**

       *t-apxoli-**l**   t-apxoli-**l**   mda-m=a*
       MID-rub-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   MID-rub-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   finish-SEQ=LINK
       'After he had been rubbing (the shit) on himself for a long time, ...' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(8-185) *nap*   *ux*   *de=təx*   *pat=o*   *li-m*
        ySIB   3sf   WHICH=place stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   say-SEQ

        aŋ   *de-l*   *aŋ*   *de-l*   *aŋ*
        find   MAKE-**IPFV.PER.TODP** find   MAKE-**IPFV.PER.TODP** find

        de-l   *aŋ*   *de-l=a*
        MAKE-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   find   MAKE-**IPFV.PER.TODP**=LINK

        ti=bəs=a
        INDF=NEG=EMPH
        '(She) kept on searching for a long time to find her younger sister but (found) nothing.' (Lit. 'She said "where is younger sister?" and looked and looked and looked and looked. Nothing!') ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(8-186) *mon*   *ox*   *so-l*   *niŋ*   *dal*
        brother 3sm go-IPFV.PER.TODP   small.mammal hunt

        x-el=a   *pt-el*   *pt-el*
        DO-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK   stay-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   stay-**IPFV.PER.TODP**

        pt-el   *pt-el*   *pt-el*
        stay-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   stay-**IPFV.PER.TODP**   stay-**IPFV.PER.TODP**

        pt-el
        stay-**IPFV.PER.TODP**
        'After the brother had gone hunting, (the sister) waited and waited for a very long time.' ("Pandanus" by Tracks Babyan)

8.2.2.10.3   *Today-Past Visual-Sensory Perfective*

Today-past visual-sensory perfective tense is formed by the addition to the verb root of -*nuŋ* for singular subjects (8-187) and -*n-gwe* for plural subjects (8-188).

(8-187) *it*   *ux*   *tom*   *san*   *jox*   *aŋ*
        again 3sf   water container DEF   find

        *m-de-**nuŋ***   *blel*   *gwe*   *mox*   *aŋ*
        PRX.O-MAKE-**(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**   child small ANPH find

        *m-de-**nuŋ**=a*   *aŋ*   *m-de-pat*
        PRX.O-MAKE-**(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**=LINK   find   PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        '…then (I saw that) she came looking for the water container again. The small child (did). '(I saw that) she looked for it. When she was looking for it, …' ("Today" by Julie James)

(8-188) *de=nuŋ*   *s-pti=o*   *n-p-**n-gwe***
        WHICH=TO   go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT 1/2.O-tell-**PFV-VIS.TODP.PL**
        '(I saw that) they told us "where are you going?"' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The today-past visual-sensory perfective tense is used for perfective actions which occurred less than a day and a night before the time of speaking and were seen, heard or felt by the speaker (8-189).

(8-189) *djuli*   *ux*   *ko-ŋ*   *li-**nuŋ***
        PN   3sf   arrive-PNCT   SAY-**(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**
        '(I saw that) Julie arrived.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

L-class verb stems take an epenthetic /i/ in this tense, as shown below for the verb *pl-* 'tell' (8-190).

(8-190) *jɔxe*   *ana*   *ux*   *gi=n-pli-**nuŋ**=o*
        then   PN   3sf   THUS=1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=QUOT
        'Then, (I saw that) Anna said to me thus:' ("Today" by Julie James)

Note that a zero morpheme is theoretically assumed to indicate the perfective in the today-past visual-sensory perfective singular and as such is in brackets. It is necessary to assume a zero perfective marker so that *-nuŋ* can be consistently glossed as 'VIS.TODP.SG' whether it occurs with either the perfective or the imperfective (§8.2.2.10.4).

The today-past singular suffix was probably previously *-uŋ* and has been reanalysed to include the perfective suffix and is now *-nuŋ* even in the imperfective (see §8.2.2.10.4).

This form also occurs with the modal pre-verbal-predicate particle *xa* 'HORT' a third person imperative (i.e. hortative) (see Chapter 9, §9.2.1).

Today-past visual-sensory perfective semantics are expressed for some speakers by a medial verb plus the verb *x-* 'be' construction (see Chapter 12, §12.4.1.2.5), rather than these forms.

8.2.2.10.4   *Today-Past Visual-Sensory Imperfective*

To form the imperfective today-past visual-sensory, *-pat-nuŋ* is added to the verb root for singular subjects (8-191), and *-pti-gwe* for plural subjects (8-192).

(8-191) *jɔxe*   *nox*   *əpi-s*   *kip*   *jox*   *əpi-s*   *kol*
        then   1s   come-SEQ   road   DEF   come-SEQ   arrive(.PRS.SG)

        jox   *xan*   *pəsel*   *tit*   *əpli-**pat-nuŋ***
        TOP   man   old   INDF   come-**IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG**
        'When I came to the road, (I saw that) an old man was coming along (today).'
        ("Today" by Julie James)

(8-192) *xan*   *ot*   *əpli-**pti-gwe***
      man   two   come-**IPFV.PL-VIS.TODP.PL**
      '(I saw that) two men were coming along (today).' (Elicited FNB 5.68)

The verb *pt-* 'stay' has irregular forms for the today-past visual-sensory imperfective, as shown in Table 8-25 below.

Verb	Singular	Plural
pt- 'stay'	*patnuŋ*	*ptigwe*

Table 8-25.   Irregular today-past visual-sensory imperfective forms

8.2.2.11   Yesterday Past

Like the today-past forms, yesterday-past forms mark for both perfective versus imperfective aspect, and personal-factual versus visual-sensory evidentiality. Yesterday-past tenses refer to events which occurred at least one day prior to the time of speech (i.e. yesterday) and up to a few weeks or months prior.

8.2.2.11.1   Yesterday-Past Personal-Factual Perfective

The suffix *-l* is added to the verb root plus the perfective affix (8-193) (§8.2.2.3), or to the perfective stem for verbs which have one (8-194) (§8.2.2.4) to form the yesterday-past personal-factual perfective. There is no subject number distinction for these forms.

(8-193) *nonxe*   *uŋ*   *bitaŋ*   *mə-xəm*
      1s.REFL.POSS   string.bag   decoration   DEM.PRX-down

      *mi-ti-**l**=a*
      lift.up-PFV-**PER.YESTP**=LINK
      'I put it in my own decorated string bag (yesterday).' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(8-194) *jəxe*   *nox=xe*   *xu-**l**=a*
      then   1s=FOC   go.PFV-**PER.YESTP**=LINK
      'Then, *I* left too (yesterday).' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

8.2.2.11.2   Yesterday-Past Personal-Factual Imperfective

Yesterday-past personal-factual imperfective is formed by the addition of *-t* to the verb root. Like its perfective counterpart described above, there is no number distinction for this form. This form is rarely used and appears to be falling into disuse.

(8-195) *robin*   *uxe*   *ap*   *tim-**t**=a*
        PN   3sf   house   sleep-**IPFV.PER.YESTP**=LINK
        '(We) slept at Robyn's house.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

(8-196) *apuŋ=xejox*   *nox*   *ku*   *dis*   *olxol*
        yesterday=BECAUSE   1s   night   inside   3sm.REFL

        *təmle-**t**=a*
        work-**IPFV.PER.YESTP**=LINK
        'About yesterday, I worked the night before last.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

This suffix is formally indistinguishable from the simultaneous medial suffix for M(a)- (8-197) and L(a)&(b)-class verbs (see §8.2.2.2). M(b)-class verbs have the simultaneous medial suffix -*n* (8-198)b., so this overlap in forms is avoided. S-class verbs do not have a simultaneous medial form.

(8-197) *toŋno-**t***
        sit-**IPFV.PER.YESTP/-SIM**
        '(I/we) sat yesterday.'/'…sitting and...'

(8-198) *a.*   *lem-**t***
              hide-**IPFV.PER.YESTP**
              '(I/we) hid yesterday.'

        b.   *lem-**n***
              hide-**SIM**
              '…hiding and…'

8.2.2.11.3   *Yesterday-Past Visual-Sensory Perfective*

Yesterday-past visual-sensory perfective is formed by adding -*n-gwel* to the verb root. Like the other yesterday-past forms described so far, there is no number distinction for this form.

(8-199) *s-pat-n*   *ux*   *sen*   *bupu-ŋ*
        go-IPFV.SG-NOMLS   3sf   strongly   shake-PNCT

        li-n-gwel
        SAY-**PFV-VIS.YESTP**
        'When I went, (I saw that) she started.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(8-200) *dok*   *m-de-**n-gwel**=li=a*
        long   PRX.O-MAKE-**PFV-VIS.YESTP**=REP=LINK
        '(It is said that) (it was seen that) he made (them) grown up (lit. long).' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

As for the present-perfective forms (§8.2.2.9.1), there is some variation between speakers for the verb *pt-* 'stay': *-n-gwel* can be added to either the verb root (8-201) or the suppletive perfective stem *ed-* (8-202).

(8-201) *gi=n-pl*   **ed-n-gwel=a**
THUS=1/2.O-tell(.SEQ)   **stay.PFV-PFV-VIS.YESTP=LINK**
'They told me like this.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

(8-202) *em*   *ux*   *ita*   *a*
mother.1POSS 3sf   father.1/2POSS   HES

       pl   **pt-n-gwel**   *n∂nip*   *ox=n∂ŋ*
       tell(.SEQ)   **stay-PFV-VIS.YESTP** eB.1/3.POSS 3sm=O
'My mother called him 'father', her big brother.' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

8.2.2.11.4   *Yesterday-Past Visual-Sensory Imperfective*

The yesterday-past visual-sensory imperfective is formed by the addition to the verb root of *-pat-gwel* for singular subjects (8-203) and *-pti-gwel* for plural subjects (8-204).

(8-203) *a*   *ku*   *tit*   *noxe* *tank*   *ka*   *jox*   *xim* *gæx*
HES   woman INDF 1s.POSS tank(Eng)   place DEF   clothes wash

       de-pat-gwel
       MAKE-IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP
'(I saw that) there was a woman washing clothes at my tank (yesterday).'
("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

(8-204) *ku=si*   *xan=si*   *jox*   *[...]*   *gras*   *jox*   *gət*
woman=CNJ man=CNJ   DEF   grass(Eng) DEF   cut

       de-pti-gwel
       MAKE-IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP
'(I saw that) the people were cutting the grass (yesterday).' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

As per the name, these forms generally indicate a single continuous action which occurred the day before the time of speaking, as in (8-205) below, where the river was dry for a stretch of time on the previous day.

(8-205) *jæxe*   *s-pat-n=a*   *a*   *de-s=a*   *tom*
         then   go-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   HES   go.across-SEQ=LINK   water

         gǝne-t   **pat-gwel**
         dry.up-SIM   **stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP**
         'Then, after I went, I crossed (the river) and (I saw that) the river was dry
         (yesterday).' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

These forms additionally indicate ongoing habitual actions for which the speaker has visual-sensory evidence, as in (8-206) and (8-207) below. Unlike in English where the present tense is used for all ongoing habitual actions, there is a distinction in Oksapmin between habitual actions with personal-factual versus visual-sensory evidence. For ongoing habitual events for which the speaker has personal-factual evidence, the present imperfective is used (§8.2.2.9.2).

(8-206) *oxe*   *mǝ=ma*   *m=ox*   *niŋ=xe*
         3sm.POSS   DEM.PRX=REL   DEM.PRX=3sm   small.mammal=FOC

         i=ka   *kilol*   *od-**pat-gwel**=o=xejox*
         DEM.DST=place   jump(.SEQ)   come.down-**IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP**=EMPH=SBRD
         'This is where (I have repeatedly seen that) the possum comes down.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

(8-207) *dile*   *gon*   **pat-gwel**   *mǝ-so=x*
         tree.variety   whole   **stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP**DEM.PRX-across=3sm
         'Across there where (I have repeatedly seen that) a pine tree is.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

The above use of the yesterday-past visual-sensory imperfective form to indicated ongoing habitual actions is due to the fact that when we describe what a second or third person does habitually, it is because we have visual-sensory evidence that they performed the action a number of times in the past. As there is no evidence that the action is currently underway, a present tense form cannot be used, as the tense and aspect indicate the temporal and aspectual makeup of both the actual event and the perception event together.[17] In this way, the tense is indexing the times when the speaker sensed the event happening.

The verb *pt-* 'stay' has irregular forms for the yesterday-past visual-sensory imperfective, shown in Table 8-26 below.

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[17] In the rare instances where the actual event and the perception event are different, a special construction is used, which is described in Chapter 12, §12.1.3.

Verb	Singular	Plural
pt- 'stay'	*patgwel*	*ptigwel*

Table 8-26.   Irregular yesterday-past visual-sensory imperfective forms

8.2.2.12   Far Past

The far-past distinguishes perfective and habitual forms in the personal-factual; and perfective, imperfective and habitual forms in the visual-sensory. Far-past time reference is generally used for events that occurred many months or years before the time of speech, although in some circumstances may be used for events that occur as recently as two days before the time of speech.

8.2.2.12.1   Far-Past Personal-Factual Perfective

The far-past personal-factual perfective is formed by adding *-p* for singular subjects (8-208) and *-pa* for plural subjects (8-209) to the verb root plus the perfective affix, or to the perfective stem, depending on the verb in question.

(8-208)   *bəp*   *nox*   *bəp*   *nox=w=a*   **_p-ti-p_**=li
         so   1s   so   1s=RESP=EMPH   **TELL-PFV-PER.FP.SG**=REP
         '(It is said that) he told (him) "Um, it's… um me!"' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(8-209)   *nuxut*   *gəl*   *ml*   **_di-pa_**
         1d   cut   MAKE(.SEQ)   **eat.PFV-PER.FP.PL**
         'We cut it up and ate it.' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

8.2.2.12.2   Far-Past Personal-Factual Habitual

The far-past personal-factual habitual is formed by adding *-sux* to the verb root for singular subjects (8-210) and by adding *-sxe* for plural subjects (8-211).

(8-210)   *nox*   *[…]*   *əmbop*   *dap=si*   *dum-m*   **_sxa-sux_**
         1s   rope   long=WITH   tie-SEQ   **look.after-HAB.PER.FP. SG**
         'I used to tie (him) up with a rope and look after (him).' ("Looking after my Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-211)   *go*   *əla-nil*   *ixile*   *nel*   **_d-sxe_**
         2s   grandparent.2POSS-PL   3p.POSS   bird   **eat-HAB.PER.FP.PL**

         meg=xe   *əm=d=a*
         talk=FOC   knowledge=PQ=EMPH
         'Do you know about the birds that your ancestors used to eat?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

8.2.2.12.3   *Far-Past Visual-Sensory Perfective*

The far-past visual-sensory perfective is formed by adding *-n-gop* to the verb root for the singular subjects (8-212) and *-n-gopa* to the verb root for the plural subjects (8-213).

(8-212) *inəp   ux=nuŋ   m-dəlxe-**n-gop**=li*
       wife.1/3POSS   3sf=O   PRX.O-send-**PFV-VIS.FP.SG**=REP
       'It is said that (he) sent his wife.' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

(8-213) *kis   t-x-m   la-**n-gopa**=li=o*
       try   INTR-MAKE-SEQ   sing.and.dance-**PFV-VIS.FP.PL**=REP=EMPH
       '(It is said that) (it was seen that) they tried to sing and dance.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

The final /l/ is regularly deleted from all L-class verb roots before the addition of *-n-gop ~ -n-gopa*, as shown in (8-214) below for the verb *xtol-* 'see'. See Chapter 2, §2.3.1, for details on /l/ deletion.

(8-214) *jəxe   ita   ox   xto-**n-gop***
       then   father.1POSS   3sm   see-**PFV-VIS.FP.SG**
       'Then (I saw that) dad looked (at it).' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

8.2.2.12.4   *Far-Past Visual-Sensory Imperfective*

The far-past visual-sensory imperfective is formed by adding *-pat-gop* for singular subjects (8-215) and *-pti-gopa* for plural subjects (8-216) to the verb root.

(8-215) *suŋlen ux   [...]   tuxup   m-de-m*
       PN   3sf   carry.in.arms   PRX.O-MAKE-SEQ

       *ml-**pat-gop***
       come.up-**IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG**
       '(I saw that) Suŋlen […] was bringing (her) up, carrying (her) in her arms.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-216) *mox   ox   amla   jox   meg=t*
       ANPH   3sm   hear(.PRS.SG)   TOP   speech=(SAY.)SIM

       *wa-**pti-gopa**=li*
       go.down-**IPFV.PL-VIS.FP.PL**=REP
       '(It is said that) he heard (the dogs) who were coming down and talking as they went.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

The verb *pt-* 'stay' has irregular forms for the far-past visual-sensory imperfective, as shown in Table 8-27 below.

Verb	Singular	Plural
pt- 'stay'	*patgop*	*ptigopa*

Table 8-27.　　Irregular far-past visual-sensory imperfective forms

8.2.2.12.5　Far-Past Visual-Sensory Habitual

The far-past visual-sensory habitual is formed by the addition to the verb root of *-nipat* for singular subjects (8-217) and *-nipti* for plural subjects (8-218).

(8-217) *pti-n* .... *xan* ... *muk* ... *jæx* ... *x-t* .... *pt-el*
　　　 stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS ... man ... group ... good ... DO-SIM .... stay-IPFV.PER.TODP

　　　 alwap .... *mə=ma* .... *a* ... *alwap* .... *oxe*
　　　 SS.SIB.1/3POSS DEM.PRX=REL ... HES ... SS.SIB.1/3POSS 3sm.POSS

　　　 blel ... *jox* ... *xəpul=wi* .... *pt-**nipat**=li*
　　　 child ... DEF ... die(.SEQ)=ONLY ... stay-**HAB.VIS.FP.SG**=REP
　　　 'It is said that the group of men stayed there and all was well except that one of the brother's children were always dying.' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

(8-218) *jəxe* ... *nuxul* .... *skul* .... *x-sxe* .... *skul*
　　　 then ... 1pEX .... school(Eng) ... DO-HAB.PER.FP.PL ... school(Eng)

　　　 xəm ... *jox* ... *jəx=nəp* ... *jəx=nəp* ... *xan* ... *xan=wi* .... *nuxul*
　　　 down ... DEF ... good=VERY ... good=VERY ... thing ... thing=ONLY ... 1pEX

　　　 məmxan .... *tiksa* .... *ixil* ... *n-pgi-**nipti***
　　　 what's.it .... teacher(Eng) ... 3p ... 1/2.O-show-**HAB.VIS.FP.PL**
　　　 'We used to go to school and the teacher used to teach us lots of good things.'
　　　 ("School" by Kila Dasyal)

　　　In addition to its use for completed habitual actions, as in (8-217) and (8-218) above, these forms may also be used for completed continuous actions (8-219) which occurred over very long time frames.

(8-219) *tom* ... *xulu* ... *jox* ... *oksapmin* .... *mə-xəm*
　　　 water ... pond ... DEF ... PN .... DEM.PRX-down

　　　 *pt-**nipat***
　　　 stay-**HAB.VIS.FP.SG**
　　　 '(I used to see that) the lake was at Oksapmin Station.' ("Near Drowning" by Hirai)

8.2.2.13　　Imperative

The imperative is formed by the addition of the suffix *-n* to either the verb root (8-220) to form the imperfective imperative; or to the verb root plus the perfective affix

or the perfective stem for verbs which have one (8-221) to form the perfective imperative.

(8-220) *s-s=a*   *i-so=ka*   *noŋ*   *xəm*   *lapli-**n**=o*
        go-SEQ=LINK   DEM.DST-across=place TO   down   (3.O.)give-**IMP**=QUOT

        nox   *p-ti-l*
        1s   tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'I said "Ok, go across there and give it to her!"' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(8-221) *nox*   *blel*   *gəpən*   *x-t=mul=a*   *gin*
        1s   child   undeveloped   be-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=CERT=EMPH   now

        mon   *go*   *ap*   *təm*   *d-ti-**n**=mul=a*
        brother 2s   house bone   take-PFV-**IMP**=CERT=EMPH

        p-n-gop=li
        tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        '(It is said that) (it was seen that) she said "I'm pregnant so you go and get house posts (to make a new house)!"' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

Imperative verb forms are not marked for evidentiality. The imperative suffix is identical in form but not in syntax or function to the nominalised verb form (§8.4.2). Unlike the nominalised verb forms, however, there is no distinction between imperfective and aspect neutral forms. S-class verbs can only occur in the imperfective form of the imperative.

Imperative forms may occur with the modal particle *xa* 'HORT' (see Chapter 9, §9.2.1) for use as a third person imperative or hortative, as in (8-222) and (8-223) below.

(8-222) *jəxe*   *i=ma*   *jox*   *jox=o*   *dikson* *ox*
        then   DEM.DST=REL DEF   TOP=QUOT   PN   3sm

        xa   *p-opli-**n**=o*   *li-m*   *mda-m=a*
        HORT CAUS-come-**IMP**=QUOT say-SEQ   finish-SEQ=LINK
        'Then she said "Let Dikson bring that thing!" and...' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

(8-223) *nox*   *plastik*   *em*   *ux*   *plastik*

        1s   plastic.bag(Eng)   mother.1POSS 3sf   plastic.bag(Eng)

tit   *p-opli-n=o*   *nox*   *pinat*   *san*   *uŋ*   *mox*   *jox*

INDF CAUS-come-IMP=QUOT 1s   peanut(Eng)   seed   a.lot ANPH TOP

plastik   *tem*   *nuŋ*   *m-t-pol=o*   ***xa***   *xæx*

plastic.bag(Eng)   inside TO   MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT   **HORT** dry

x-t   *idi-**n**=o*   *n-pli-nuŋ*

DO-SIM   stay.PFV-**IMP**=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG

'"Bring the plastic (bag) here! I want to put the peanut seeds inside so that they can dry out." (I saw that) Mum told me.' ("Today" by Julie James)

Imperative forms commonly occur with either *=o* 'EMPH' or *=a* 'EMPH' (see Chapter 11, §11.3) to add emphasis. They also commonly occur with *=mul* 'CERT' (see Chapter 11, §11.1.3) to express a more forceful order (8-224).

(8-224) *po*   *m-de-ti-**n**=mul=o*

        well   PRX.O-MAKE-PFV-**IMP**=CERT=QUOT

        '"You must make (her) well!"' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

Imperative forms can be made more polite by using a nominalised form of the verb (which happens to be the same in form as the imperative, see §8.4.2 for details) with the imperative verb form with the auxiliary *x-* 'be' (8-225).

(8-225) *go*   *kətpe* *jox*   *li-ti-**n***   *x-ti-**n**=d=o*

        2s   some   DEF   say-PFV-**NOMLS**   be-PFV-**IMP**=PQ=EMPH

        pja   *nel*   *jox*

        big   bird   DEF

        'Would you say some of the big birds names please?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

8.2.2.13.1 *Imperfective Imperative*

As noted above, regular verbs form the imperfective imperative through the addition of *-n* to the verb root (8-226). The clitic *=mul* 'CERT' (see Chapter 11, §11.1.3) often occurs in combination with the imperative to make it more forceful.

(8-226) *in*   *den*   *mox* *jox*   *gono-**n**=mul*

        so   food   ANPH TOP grow-**IMP**=CERT

        'So you must be growing your own food!' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

S-class verbs which end in a vowel form the imperfective imperative by adding /j/ plus a schwa vowel strengthened to /o/ (see Chapter 2, §2.3.2) to the verb

root before the imperative suffix. These include *de-* 'go across'; *mde-* 'come across'; *wa-* 'go down'. This is shown in the example below with *wa-* 'go down'.

(8-227) *kut   wajo-**n**=o   n-p-n-gop*
      future   go.down-**IMP**=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
      'Tomorrow you will be going down.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

L(b)-class verbs (and any derived verbs which end in /ul/ and have two or more syllables) undergo metathesis if the vowel and /l/ before the imperative suffix is added. This is shown in the example below for the derived verb root *a-p-ul* 'take up something for someone'.

(8-228) *faip-pela   pa   gwe   lel   mox   njari=ja*
      five(Eng)-ADJ(TP)   taro   small   some   ANPH   PN=O

      *a-p-lu-**n**=o*
      (3.O.)BEN-CAUS-go.up-**IMP**=QUOT
      "'You will be taking these five small taros up to Njari.'" ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The following verbs have irregular forms for the imperfective imperative verb form:

Verb	Meaning	Imperfective imperative verb form
d-	eat	*den*
x-	DO	*xen*
pt-	be	*pten*

Table 8-28.   Irregular imperfective imperative verb forms

S-class verbs often appear as a medial verb with *x-* 'DO' in the imperative (8-229). The meaning difference between this construction and the imperfective imperative with a verb of motion is not clear at this stage of research.[18] It should be noted, however, that there appears to be no perfective imperative form for verbs of motion – it seems probable, therefore, that either this construction or the imperfective form is filling this gap.

(8-229) *in   kut   s-s   **xe**-n=o   m-p-n-gop=li*
      so   future   go-SEQ   **be**-IMP=QUOT   PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      '(It is said) that he told him that he could go the next day.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

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[18] M. Lawrence (1993) analyses these forms as "continuative".

8.2.2.13.2   *Perfective Imperative*

The perfective imperative is formed by the addition of *-n* to the verb root plus the perfective affix, or to the perfective stem for verbs which have one (§8.2.2.3). S-class verbs have no perfective imperative form.

(8-230) *gul*   *jəx*   *x-t*   *məmxan*   *toŋno-ti-**n**=mul=o*
           2p   good   DO-SIM   what's.it   sit.down-PFV-**IMP**=CERT=QUOT
           '"Sit down and do good work!"' ("School" by Kila Dasyal)

8.3 Medial Verb Suffixes

Medial verbs are verbs which are minimally inflected and rely on a final, fully inflected verb for subject number, aspectual, evidential and tense information. They are dependent on the final verb and cannot stand alone as an utterance. Medial verbs in Oksapmin consist only of a verb root and the medial verb suffix (and optional prefixes) as per the template in Table 8-29 below.

-2	-1	0	+1
person of object	valency	V	medial suffix

Table 8-29.   Medial verb template
                    Where V is the verb base

      Medial verbs are used in clause chaining as described in Chapter 12, §12.4. The sequential medial verb forms *da xm* 'think and…' and *til* 'rub and…' are shown in (8-231) below.

(8-231) *nonxe*   *apte*   *nəŋ*   *da*   *x-**m**=a*   *nox*   *səlap*   *til*
           1s.REFL.POSS   village TO   thought DO-**SEQ**=LINK 1s   mud   rub**(.SEQ)**

           əpli-pat=mil=o   *p-ti-p=li*
           come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CERT=QUOT   tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
           '"I think of my very own village and then I am rubbing mud on my face and then coming", he told (him).' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

      There are two medial verb suffixes: sequential, and simultaneous. Sequential suffixes are generally used when the event of the medial verb precedes the event of the final verb in time. Simultaneous suffixes are used when the event of the medial verb occurs at the same time as the event in the final verb.

      Medial verb suffixes are generally used when the subject of the medial verb and the final verb is the same. See Chapter 12, §12.4, for more detail on the same subject constraint.

8.3.1 Sequential

M-class verbs (§8.2.2.2) add *-m* to the verb root to form the same subject sequential medial verb form. This is shown for the M-class verbs *li-* 'say' and *mda-* 'leave, finish' in (8-232) below.

(8-232) *gin*   *gute*   *xan*   *ot=xe*   *jox=a*   *nonxe=xe*
           now   2d.POSS   man   two=POSS   DEF=CNJ   1s.REFL.POSS=FOC

           mox   *li-**m***   *mda-**m**=a*   *[...]*
           ANPH say-**SEQ**   finish-**SEQ**=LINK
           '"That one is you two men's and this one is mine", he said and then...' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

L-class verbs (§8.2.2.2) add (phonological) zero to the verb root to form the same subject sequential medial verb form. This is shown for the L-class verb *sl-* 'put' in example (8-233) below.

(8-233) *ap*   *li*   *x-m=a*   *lat=o*   *jox*
           house   first   DO-SEQ=LINK wood=EMPH   DEF

           suxu-m   *sl=a*   *i=x-sxe=li*
           carry.on.head-SEQ   put(.**SEQ**)=LINK like.that=DO-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
           'They first made a house and then collect and put firewood.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

S-class verbs (§8.2.2.2) add *-s* to the verb root to form the same subject sequential medial verb form. This is shown in example (8-234) below for the S-class verb *lo-* 'enter'.

(8-234) *ap*   *jox*   *lo-**s**=a*   *mətit*   *jox*   *ilaile*
           house   DEF   enter-**SEQ**=LINK   fern.variety   DEF   3p.REFL.POSS

           toŋno-ti-pja   *but*   *jox*   *əw*   *m-t*
           sit.down-PFV-TODF.SG   flat.place   DEF   mound MAKE-SIM

           pulu-sxe=li
           pile.up-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
           'They go into their house and then make piles of the Matit leaf where they are going to sit.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

The same subject sequential form is used to express:

- actions which constitute sub-actions of a macro-action
- sequential actions
- purpose
- adverbial semantics
- imperfective aspect with *pt-* 'stay'
- perfective aspect with *mda-* / *o=de-* ~ *o=ml-* 'finish'
- visual-sensory evidence with *x-*

See the various sections referenced above for details on the function of this verb form. As shown in the example above, medial verbs commonly occur with the marker *=a* 'LINK' (see Chapter 11, §11.4.1).

Although a sequential medial verb form must usually be followed by a fully inflected final verb form, there are two constructions in which it is the last verb of the sentence: a verb of motion with a location following (8-235), or the verb *li-* 'say' expressing reason (8-236). Unlike other uses of medial verb forms, this construction has final clause intonation.

(8-235) *wa-s=a*   *xəm*   *ka*
       go.down-**SEQ**=LINK   down   place
       '(They) went down there.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

When *li-m* 'say-SEQ' occurs as a 'why' question or a 'because' answer, it may occur by itself without a following final verb (8-236). This appears to be a formalized insubordination construction in the language (Evans 2007).

(8-236) *jox*   *kjan*   *xan*   **li-m**
       TOP   what   thing   **say-SEQ**
       'Why is that?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

8.3.2 Simultaneous

The same subject simultaneous is formed by the addition of the suffixes *-t* or *-n*[19] to the verb root. M(a), L(a) and L(b) verbs form the same subject simultaneous by the addition of the suffix *-t* to the verb root (8-237).

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[19] Cf. M. Lawrence who argues that *-t/-n* "make the verb into a stative. The stative form of the verb is used as an adverbial modifier to the verb" (1993: 218). He says that *-t* is used for *l*-class and *m*(a)-class, *-n* for *m*(b)-class and *-xim/-xum* for *s*-class. I have not come across the forms *-xim/-xum* during my research. It is possible that these are restricted to the upper dialects.

(8-237) *jæxe*   *wili*   *ox*   *xət*   *but*   *jæxe*   *wili*   *nuxut*   *meŋ*
      then   PN   3sm   up   flat.place   then   PN   1dEX   speech

      *s-**t***   *s-pti-n*   *s-pti-n=a*   *wili*   *nuxut*
      put-**SIM** go-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   go-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   PN   1dEX

      meŋ   *s-**t***   *stori*   *x-**t***   *əpli-pti-n=a*
      speech   put-**SIM** story(Eng)   DO-**SIM**   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
      'Then, Willy was up there. Then when Willy and I were talking (Lit. putting talk) as we went along, when Willy and I were telling stories as we came along, ...' ("Today" by Julie James)

M(b) class verbs add *-n* to the verb root to form the same subject simultaneous as shown in the examples below.

(8-238) *toxan*   *kət-la*   *mox*   *nox*   *mle-**n***   *pat-n=a*
      sweet.potato   short-?   ANPH   1s   hold-**SIM**   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
      'I stayed holding the piece of sweet potato and, …' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

(8-239) *blel*   *ixil*   *tim-**n***   *pti-n=a*
      child   3p   sleep-**SIM**   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
      '..., while the kids were sleeping, ...' ("Today" by Palis)

S-class verbs do not appear to have a same subject simultaneous form. A motivating factor for this may be that verbs of motion commonly act as the final verb, with other actions expressed by medial verb preceding it.

The same subject simultaneous suffix is used to express:

-      actions which occur simultaneously with a motion
-      adverbial and adjectival semantics
-      imperfective aspect with *pt-* 'stay'
-      perfective aspect with *mda-* / *o=de-* ~ *o=ml-* 'finish'
-      actions which occur simultaneously with a durative action

See Chapter 12, §12.4.2, for more on the function of this verb form.

8.4 Derivational Suffixes

Oksapmin has derivational suffixes which change the word class of verbs into coverbs or nouns. These may attach to the verb root or to the verb root plus an aspect marker.

8.4.1 Punctual Gerund

Punctual gerunds are forms derived from verbs which perform an identical function to coverbs (see Chapter 9, §9.1). Punctual gerunds are derived through the addition of *-s*

or *-ŋ* to the verb root. Most verbs form the punctual gerund by the addition of *-s* to the verb root as shown in the examples below. I am using the standard definition of punctual where "[p]unctual events are those which have no internal temporal structure because they occur in an instant in time. Sometimes this aspect is referred to as instantaneous" (Payne 1997: 241).

(8-240) *kis   xe-ja   jox   jəx   **x-s**   li-n-gwel*
        try   DO-PRS.PL   TOP   good   **DO-PNCT**   SAY-PFV-VIS.YESTP
        'After we practised, it became good.' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

(8-241) *ep=e   dpəlkwe-**s**   pl   xtol   jox=a*
        sorry=EXCL   turn.over-**PNCT** TELL(.SEQ)   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP=LINK
        'Unfortunately (I) turned (her) over and saw that …' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

       L(a) and L(b) class verbs delete the final /l/ before the addition of the punctual suffix *-s* to the verb root as shown for the verb *tupul-* 'close' in example (8-242) below. See Chapter 2, §2.3.1, for more on /l/ deletion in Oksapmin.

(8-242) *jəxe   ap   kwal   jox   kwe=xe   paliman   wanxe ti*
        then   house   door   DEF   stone=POSS   big   a.lot INDF

        *tpu-**s**   m-p-n-gopa=li*
        close-**PNCT**   PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
        'Then they closed the door with a very big stone.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

       As noted by M. Lawrence (1972b) and in §8.2.2.2 above, a small number of L(a) and L(b) class verbs form the punctual gerund by the addition of *-ŋ* to the verb root as opposed to *-s*. These include, for example:

Verb	Meaning	Punctual gerund form
kol-	'arrive'	*koŋ*
bupul-	'shake'	*bupuŋ*
xel-	'break'	*xeŋ*
gətel-	'cut'	*gəteŋ*
dul-	'point'	*duŋ*
klol-	'jump'	*kloŋ*

Table 8-30.   Verbs which take *-ŋ* to form the punctual gerund

       Note that many of the coverbs which occur with *pl-* 'TELL' and *li-* 'SAY' also end in *-ŋ* but are not derived from verbs (see Chapter 9, §9.1.1). Examples of verbs which take the suffix *-ŋ* for the punctual gerund form are shown below. Note that *ko-ŋ* 'arrive' is the most commonly used punctual gerund which is derived from a verb.

(8-243) *ej* *jajku=xe* *ap* *kat* *mox* **ko-ŋ** *li* *jox*
   gosh PN=POSS house place ANPH **arrive-PNCT** SAY(.PRS.SG) TOP
   'Sorry, when I arrived at Jajku's house, …' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-244) *jəxe* *kəkəl* *i-lo=x* **gəte-ŋ** *p-t-pol=xən*
   then root DEM.DST-up=3sm **cut-PNCT** TELL-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
   'Then, when he cut the roots up there, …' ("Pandanus" by Tracks Babyan)

The following figure shows verbs which have an irregular punctual gerund form:

Verb	Meaning	Punctual form
dl-	take	*dlis*
sl-	put	*slis*

Table 8-31. Irregular punctual gerund forms

See Chapter 9, §9.1.1.3, for more on the function of punctual gerunds derived from verbs. Note that S-class verbs do not have a punctual gerund form.

8.4.2 Nominaliser

The verb nominalising suffix *-n* may occur with either of the following three forms to create a verbal noun: the verb root (8-245)a., the verb root plus a perfective suffix (8-245)b. (or with the perfective stem for suppletive verbs), or the verb root plus the imperfective aspect suffixes *-pat/-pti* (8-245)c. noun.

(8-245) *a.* *su-n*
    kill-NOMLS

   b. *su-ti-n*
     kill-PFV-NOMLS

   c. *su-pat-n*
     kill-IPFV.SG-NOMLS
     'killing'

The form in (8-245)a. above will be referred to as the aspect-neutral nominalised, (8-245)b. as the perfective nominalised, and (8-245)c. as the imperfective nominalised.

The aspect-neutral and perfective nominalised forms function as regular lexical nouns. Within this function, they can occur as the head noun or as a modifier within an NP. Although their uses overlap, the perfective form is typically used for

single, bounded events, typically in the past, whereas the aspect-neutral form is used to describe an event type in general, which is not tied to a specific instantiation.

The use of the imperfective nominalised form has been specialized and is only used in subordination. The perfective nominalised form may also be used in subordination, although far less commonly than the imperfective form. See Chapter 12, §12.2.9–10, for more on the function of these two verb forms in subordinate clauses.

8.4.2.1 Aspect-Neutral Nominalised

The aspect-neutral nominalised form of the verb is generated by adding the suffix *-n* to the verb root as shown in the examples below.

(8-246) *oloxən*   *x-t*   *mda-t-pol=d=o*   *sup=si*
   afternoon   DO-SIM   finish-PFV-IF.SG=PQ=EMPH mother.3POSS=CNJ

   itəp   *ixit* *əpli-**n***   *kakdup x-pti-n=a*
   father.1/3POSS 3d come-**NOMLS** close DO-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
   'Was it afternoon already? When the parents' arrival was getting close, …' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

(8-247) *nox* *jəm-**n**=o*   *ti=bəs*
   1s   cry-**NOMLS**=EMPH INDF=NEG
   'I didn't cry at all.' (Lit. 'As for me, crying: nothing!' or 'As for me, no crying.')
   ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

L(a)-class verbs add an /i/ to the verb root before the nominalised suffix is added. This is shown for the verb *xtol-* 'see' in the example below.

(8-248) *elina* *ux=nəŋ* *m-xtoli-**n**=xe*   *apwaku* *ox* *ti=bəs*
   PN 3sf=O   PRX.O-see-**NOMLS**=FOC PN   3sm INDF=NEG
   'Apwaku didn't come up to see Elina at all.' (Lit. 'As for (his) coming to see Elina, Apwaku – not any!') ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

The following verbs also have irregular forms for the aspect-neutral nominalised verb form:

Verb	Meaning	Nominalised verb form
d-	eat	*den*
x-	DO	*xen*
pt-	be	*pten*

Table 8-32.   Irregular aspect-neutral nominalised verb forms

The aspect-neutral nominalised form of the verb is commonly used to modify other nouns (8-249).

(8-249) *xanəp=xe*   *a-li-**n***   *lum*   *tit*   *pat*
         person=POSS   (3.O.)BEN-say-**NOMLS**   room   INDF   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)
         'You have a room for gossiping (about others).' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum
         Aleap)

The aspect-neutral nominalised verb form is also commonly used to emphasize that an action has or has not taken place without emphasis on when, how many times or for how long. A verbless clause construction with *tibəs* 'nothing, not any' is commonly used with this function of the aspect-neutral nominalised form of the verb (see Chapter 10, §10.2, for more on verbless clauses). The aspect-neutral nominalised form of the verb *s-* 'go' is shown in a verbless clause in the example below.

(8-250) *a*   *ket*   *kəpo-m*   *so-**n**=o=xe*   *ti=bəs*
         HES   pandanus   pull-SEQ   go-**NOMLS**=EMPH=FOC   INDF=NEG
         '(I) have never (again) gone to harvest pandanus.' (Lit. '(My) going to harvest
         pandanus – not any!') ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

The aspect-neutral nominalised form can also be used as a coverb with *x- / de-* ~ *ml-* to mean 'want to X' or 'feel like X-ing'. This is shown for the verb *wa-* 'go down' in the example below.

(8-251) *mal=a*   *kol*   *nox*   *təkin*   *noŋ*   *mə-xəm*
         yes=EMPH   sister   1s   PN   TO   DEM.PRX-down

         *na=wajo-**n***   *xəx=o*   *in*   *mə=ka*
         NEG=go.down-**NOMLS**   DO.PRS.SG=QUOT   so   DEM.PRX=place

         gəx   *de-pat=o*   *li-n-gwel*
         wash   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
         '"I don't want to go down to Tekin river so I'm washing here", she said.'
         ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

8.4.2.2 Perfective Nominalised

The perfective nominalised verb form is created by adding the suffix *-n* to the verb root plus the perfective affix, or to the perfective stem for verbs which have one.

(8-252) *in*   *po*   *n-m-ti-**n***   *xan*   *olxol*
         so   well   1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-**NOMLS**   man   3sm.REFL

         pat=xejox=li
         stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=BECAUSE=REP
         '(It is said that) he is the one who fixes us, so…' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum
         Aleap)

(8-253) *gin*   *pja=ke=a*   *jəxe*   *ake*   *s-ti-**n***
         now   big=VERY=EMPH   then   stomach   put-PFV-**NOMLS**

         kakdup
         close
         'Now my pig is very fat, so it is close to giving birth.' (Lit 'stomach putting')
         ("Looking after my Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

Like the aspect-neutral nominalised verb form, the perfective nominalised verb form is frequently used to modify other nouns. In example (8-254) below, a verb of this form is acting as a noun which is modifying another noun and is taking the postpositional clitic =*si* 'WITH'. In example (8-255) below, the perfective nominalised verb form is directly modifying a noun.

(8-254) *a*   *kin*   *x-t*   *li-ti-**n**=**si***   *xan*   *mox*
         HES   how   DO-SIM   say-PFV-**NOMLS**=**PROP**   man   ANPH
         'He is a man who had (Lit with) trouble speaking.' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-255) *a*   *tomato*   *be*   *pinat*   *bəp*   *əlpo-ti-**n***
         HES   tomato(Eng)   just   peanut(Eng)   so   cook-PFV-**NOMLS**

         kak   *kak*   *ti*   *moxe-m*   *d-el=a*
         head   head   INDF   buy-SEQ   eat-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK
         'I bought some tomatoes and cooked bunches of peanuts and ate them.' ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

Also like the aspect-neutral nominalised verb form, the perfective nominalised verb form is also commonly used to emphasize that an action has or has not taken place without emphasis on when, how many times or for how long, as shown in the examples below. It may occur with this function in a verbless clause with *tibəs* 'nothing' (8-256), or in a question meaning 'ever' (8-257).

(8-256) *be*   *təm*   *gəpa*   *x-ti-**n**=o*   *ti=bəs*
         just   bone   weak   DO-PFV-**NOMLS**=EMPH   some=NEG
         '(I) didn't feel very weak at all.' (Lit. 'Bones getting weak, nothing!') ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(8-257) *mon*   *go*   *nel*   *u=si*   *nel=nəp*   *xəti*
         brother   2s   bird   grease=WITH   bird=VERY   some

         *wa=m-ti-**n**=d=a*
         see=MAKE-PFV-**NOMLS**=PQ=EMPH
         'Brother, have you ever seen any birds with lots of grease or not?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

Again like the aspect-neutral nominalised verb form, the perfective nominalised form can also be used as a coverb with *x- / de- ~ ml-* to mean 'want to X' or 'feel like X-ing'. This is shown for the verb *tim-* 'sleep' in the example below.

(8-258) *jəxe   kin   tim-di-n   n-x=a*
        then   eye   sleep-PFV-**NOMLS**   1/2.O-MAKE(.PRS.SG)=LINK
        'Then my eyes felt sleepy.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

Like the imperfective nominalised form, the perfective nominalised form of the verb may also occur as a temporal subordinate clause (8-259). The nominalised perfective form of the coverb construction *i=x-* 'do like that' is often used in head tail constructions as a subordinate clause to summarize the previous sentence (see Chapter 12, §12.2.10). It is likely that this is the origin of the discourse marker *in* 'so'.

(8-259) *i=x-ti-n=a*   *ej   ox   bupu-ŋ*
        like.that=DO-PFV-**NOMLS**=LINK   gosh   3sm   shake-PNCT

        li-pat-n=a
        SAY-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
        'After that, he got a shock and then, …' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

See Chapter 10, §10.4.5, for a discussion of the use of the perfective nominalised form of the verb *x-* 'be' in the 'like' construction.

8.4.2.3 Imperfective Nominalised

An imperfective nominalised verb is formed by the addition of the imperfective singular *-pat* 'IPFV.SG' plus the nominalising suffix *-n* 'NOMLS' for singular subjects (8-260), and the imperfective plural *-pti* 'IPFV.PL' plus the nominalising suffix *-n* 'NOMLS' for plural subjects (8-261) to the verb root as shown in the examples below.

(8-260) *m-d-**pat-n***   *jəxe   tup   m-de-pat*
        PRX.O-eat-**IPFV.SG-NOMLS**   then   trap   PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

        de-xi-p=li
        go.across-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
        'When it was eating (the nuts), he made a trap and came back to his house.'
        ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

(8-261) *s-**pti-n**=a*   *kakip*   *s-**pti-n**=a*   *kip*
       go-**IPFV.PL-NOMLS**=LINK   on.foot   go-**IPFV.PL-NOMLS**=LINK   road

       tæx   *i-so=x*   *jam*   *mutux*   *i-so=x*
       place   DEM.DST-across=3sm   PN   middle   DEM.DST-across=3sm

       tim-di-pa
       sleep-PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'After we went along, after we went along on foot, we slept across there on the road, across there in the middle of Jam.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

The verb *pt-* 'stay' has the irregular forms *pat-n* for singular subjects and *pti-n* for plural subjects. An example of this verb form with the verb *pt-* 'stay' is shown below.

(8-262) *xoto-t*   ***pat-n**=a*   *moŋsup ilbok*   *gax*
       see-SIM   **stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS**=LINK   ghost   tracks   top

       mə-xən   *ox*   *əpli-n-gop=li*
       DEM.PRX-across   3sm   come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       'When he was watching, he saw the ghost come on the track across here.' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

Unlike the aspect-neutral and perfective nominalised verb forms, the imperfective nominalised verb form cannot be used as a regular lexical noun or as a coverb. The imperfective nominalised verb form is, however, commonly used in subordinate temporal clauses (see Chapter 12, §12.2.9, for details).

Chapter 9
Complex Predicates

Oksapmin has complex predicates consisting of a coverb and a light verb. The complex predicate *meg li-* 'talk', literally 'say speech', is indicated with double dashes in example (9-1) below, consisting of the coverb *meg* 'speech' and the light verb *li-* 'SAY'. The various types of coverbs and the light verbs with which they combine are discussed at length in §9.1.

(9-1)　*gin=a*　　　　*nox*　　**meg**　**li-***pat*　　　　　　*mox=a*
　　　　now=EMPH　　1s　　**speech** **SAY-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)　　ANPH=EMPH
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　===talk===
　　　　'Now I'm talking here.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

　　　　Also forming a part of the verbal predicative unit in Oksapmin are a set of pre-verbal-predicate particles, which are discussed in detail in §9.2. These combine with simple verbal predicates (i.e. verbs) (9-2), or complex verbal predicates (i.e. coverb plus light verb) (9-3).

(9-2)　*jæxe*　　*j=o*　　　　　*nuxul=xe*　　　*kəpkəp*
　　　　then　　yes=QUOT　　1pEX=FOC　　　quickly

　　　　na=p-opli-l=o*　　　　　　　　　*li-n-gwel*
　　　　NEG=CAUS-come-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　'They said "Sorry, we should have brought (the baby) earlier."' (Lit. 'Yes, WE didn't bring it quickly.') ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

(9-3)　*nox*　　*be*　　　*wok*　　　　*lumsan=nəp=xejox*　　*nox*
　　　　1s　　　just　　work(Eng)　　a.lot=VERY=BECAUSE　1s

　　　　is=w=o　　　　　　　　*go=təp*　　　*lumsan*
　　　　go.PRS.SG=RESP=QUOT　2s=ASSC　　a.lot

　　　　na=meg=ti-plox=o[1]*　　　　　　　　*p-ti-l*
　　　　NEG=speech=SAY.PFV-TODF.SG=QUOT　　　tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
　　　　　　===talk===
　　　　'"I'm busy so I'm going. I can't talk a lot with you", I told her.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

　　　　Pre-verbal-predicate particles cannot occur with nominal predicates, as shown in example (9-4) below for the pre-verbal-predicate particle *na=* 'NEG'.

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[1] The coverb *meg* 'speech' cliticises to the verb in some tenses (9-3), but not others (9-2).

(9-4) *nox **na**=əm
1s **NEG**=knowledge
(intended meaning: 'I don't know.')[2]

9.1 Coverbs and Light Verbs

Complex predicates consisting of a coverb plus a light verb are frequently used in Oksapmin. This is not surprising as coverb constructions are "very widespread among […] Papuan languages, especially those of the highlands areas" (Foley 1986: 119). A coverb is a word which combines with a light verb to form a predicative unit, henceforth called the complex predicate. The light verb carries all the inflectional information about tense, aspect, subject number and evidentiality, if it is a final verb, or sequential or simultaneous, if it is a medial verb, and the coverb carries the information about the specific semantics of the action. The complex predicates *o=de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'leave MAKE' (9-5) and *konoŋ pl-* 'knock TELL' (9-6) are shown below. The coverb always precedes the light verb and only one coverb can occur per light verb (although this may be repeated or reduplicated, as in (9-6) below). Light verbs are glossed with majuscule letters to differentiate them from their homophonous regular verb counterparts.

(9-5) *jæxe doxe min tæx **o**=m-a-de-pat=xe*
then fence floor place **leave**=PRX.O-BEN-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD

s-sux=li
go-HAB.PER.FP.SG=REP
'Then, (it is said that) after (he) had left (it) at the bottom of the fence, (he) used to go.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

(9-6) ***konoŋ konoŋ** pl-ja jox*
knock knock TELL-PRS.PL TOP
'When they banged (on the post), …' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

I use the term "coverb" to describe this part of speech, following e.g. Schultze-Berndt (2000) and Wilson (1999). I refrain from using the term "adjunct nominal" as do a number of researchers working on New Guinea languages, e.g. Foley (1986), Donohue (2005), or NV complex predicates as for Hindi (Mohanan 1997), because I do not wish to claim that all of these words are nouns or any other kind of nominal, and argue that they necessarily form a separate word class called coverbs. While it is

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[2] With a nominal predicate such as *əm* 'knowledge', the non-verbal negator =*bəs* 'NEG' must be used: *nox əm=bəs* (1s knowledge=NEG) 'I don't know.'

true that many coverbs are derived from nouns, many other coverbs cannot act as nominals, as they cannot occur in a noun phrase as shown in the examples below.

(9-7)   *o   jox
          leave   DEF
          (intended meaning: 'the leaving')

(9-8)   *konoŋ mox
          knock   ANPH
          (intended meaning: 'this knocking')

Complex predicates are commonly found in Papuan languages with the light verbs 'say', 'do' and 'hit' (Foley 1986). In Oksapmin, coverbs occur primarily with four light verbs: *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' (9-6) (§9.1.1) and *x-* 'DO' and *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' (9-5) (§9.1.2).[3] A small number of coverbs also occur with the verbs of motion, as shown in example (9-9) below for *s-* 'go' and discussed further in §9.1.3.

(9-9)   *nel*   *mo-xon=ox*   ***putput*** *us=xejox=o*
          bird   DEM.PRX-across=3sm   **fly**   go.PRS.SG=BECAUSE=QUOT
          '"…because the bird across here flew away, …"' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

Unlike coverbs in some other languages, a given coverb in Oksapmin cannot occur with a different light verb with a different meaning, as is possible in, for example, Kalam: *suk ag-* (laughter SAY) 'laugh' versus *suk ap-* (laughter COME) 'feel like laughing' (Pawley forthcoming). Coverbs in Oksapmin can occur with a single light verb or set of light verbs only, with 'SAY'/'TELL' (§9.1.1), 'DO'/'MAKE' (§9.1.2) or with verbs of motion §9.1.3. The incompatibility of *konoŋ* 'knock' with verbs other than the light-verb set *li-* 'SAY' / *pl-* 'TELL' (intransitive/transitive) is shown in the examples below (*konoŋ* is shown with *pl-* 'TELL' in (9-6) above).

(9-10)   *konoŋ de*
          knock   MAKE(.PRS.SG)
          '(I) knocked.'

(9-11)   *konoŋ us*
          knock   go(.PRS.SG)
          '(I) went around knocking.'

The two sets of light verbs *li-* 'SAY' / *pl-* 'TELL' and *x-* 'DO/MAKE' are derived from the verbs *li-* 'say', *pl-* 'tell' (§9.1.1.6), *x-* 'be, become' (§9.1.2.5)

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[3] Rather confusingly, the form of the light verb *x-* 'DO' is the same as an allomorph of the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE'. This allomorphy is discussed in §9.1.2.1.

respectively. The original semantics have been bleached, however, and the light verbs now act simply to carry the verbal inflection. It is for this reason that the light verbs are glossed differently to their regular verb counterparts. It is not clear from which verbs the light verbs *de-* 'MAKE' and *ml-* 'MAKE' are derived.

Coverbs can be easily identified as they are the only part of speech which both follows pre-verbal-predicate particles (such as the negative clitic *na=* 'NEG' as shown in example (9-12)a. below), and precedes the verb (along with any verbal prefixes such as *n-* '1/2.O' as in example (9-12)b. below).

(9-12) *a.* **na**=*o=de-ti-p*
             NEG=leave=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG
             '(I) didn't leave (something/someone).'

      b. *o=**n**-x-n-gop*
             leave=**1/2.O-MAKE-**PFV-VIS.FP.SG
             '(He/she/it) left me.'

There are four subtypes of coverbs: ideophonic coverbs, transitive coverbs, denominal coverbs, and deadjectival coverbs. Ideophonic coverbs usually occur with the light verbs *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' (§9.1.1), or less commonly with verbs of motion (§9.1.3). These phonologically and semantically resemble ideophones. Transitive coverbs only occur in a transitive complex predicate with the light verb *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE' (§9.1.2.2). Denominal coverbs only occur in an intransitive complex predicate with the light verb *x-* 'DO' (§9.1.2.3). Deadjectival coverbs can occur in a transitive complex predicate with the light verb *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE' or in an intransitive complex predicate with the light verb *x-* 'DO' (§9.1.2.4).

9.1.1 Coverbs with the Light Verbs li- 'SAY' and pl- 'TELL'

A large number of coverbs occur with the light verb *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL'.[4] These primarily indicate noise emission (§9.1.1.1) or motion (§9.1.1.2) which is punctual in nature. The form *li-* is used for intransitive actions, as for the complex predicate *nuk li-* (oink SAY) 'oink' in example (9-13) below. The form *pl-* is used for transitive actions, as shown in (9-14) below. As in the examples below, reduplication and repetition are common processes for coverbs which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' (§9.1.1.4).

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[4] *pl-* has the allomorph *pli-* in some verb forms

(9-13) *jæxe* *tap* *bap* *jox* **nuk** **nuk** *li-m* *[...]*
       then pig small DEF **oink** **oink** **SAY-**SEQ
       'Then, the small pig was oinking and…' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

(9-14) *dep* *tem* *jə-xəm* **toxəs** **toxəs**
       fern.variety inside DEM.DST-inside **poke** **poke**

pli-*n-gop=li*
TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'...he poked inside the fern.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

Foreign words which clearly group with either of these semantic categories (noise emission or sudden motion) are borrowed into Oksapmin as coverbs with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL'. This is shown in the example below for *nok* 'knock' (< *knock* English N) which is a punctual, sudden action or motion.

(9-15) **nok** **nok** *pl* *jox* *robin=o*
       knock(Eng) **knock(Eng)** TELL(.PRS.SG) TOP PN=EMPH

təde-t *pat=xe*
stand.up-SIM stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS
'When I knocked (on the door), Robyn was standing (there).' ("Today" by Julie James)

As is the case for coverbs in for Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt 2001), coverbs which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' in Oksapmin have a number of properties which are attributed to ideophones in other languages (note that these properties do not apply to coverbs with other light verbs):

- sound symbolism
- use as predicates
- phonological peculiarities

Many coverbs in Oksapmin which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' appear to show some sound symbolism as shown by the groups of coverbs which appear to have consistent sound-meaning correlations.

/ŋ/ ≈ make contact with something
baŋ 'drip'
konoŋ 'bang on something'
puŋ 'hit'
toŋ 'bump'
doŋ 'slap' (Lawrence, M. 1993: 31)
kuŋ 'knock over, shove over' (UPPER OKSAPMIN Lawrence, M. 1993: 61)
sadeŋ 'drip off leaves' (UPPER OKSAPMIN Lawrence, M. 1993: 88)

/l/V/l/V or /r/V/r/V ≈ move away from something
dəlala 'break'
kilili 'stand up'
pəla ~ pəlala 'pull'
xəriri 'to give up and leave behind' (UPPER OKSAPMIN Lawrence, M. 1993: 46)
nururu ~ ŋururu 'to grunt liked a scared wild pig being hunted' (UPPER OKSAPMIN Lawrence, M. 1993: 73)

Coverbs with *li- / pl-* may occur to a limited extent as predicates without an inflecting light verb, see §9.1.1.5 for details.

In Oksapmin, the coverb *xoj* 'make noise as when one engages in traditional singing and dancing', as shown in example (9-16) below, contains the syllable coda /oj/ which is not attested elsewhere in the grammar.

(9-16) | *mə=ma* | | *sjap* | | *ma* | *ixile* | *kom* | *san* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DEM.PRX=REL | | cassowary | | REL | 3p.POSS | back | body |

mə-de=x		*pla-t-pel=xən*		***xoj***
DEM.PRX-across=3sm		pull-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD		**sing**

li-n-gop=li
SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'When the cassowaries pulled with their backs, they made singing noises.'
("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

A further example of an unusual phonological structure is reported for Upper Oksapmin: M. Lawrence notes that the vowel in the coverb *kwa ~ kwe* (1993: 62) which occurs with the light verbs *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' is nasalized. Nasalized vowels are not attested elsewhere in the phonology of Lower or Upper Oksapmin.

The similarities of coverbs in Oksapmin to ideophones gives a possible path for their development and use with the verb 'say' (although I have not analysed a synchronic word class of ideophones): these coverbs probably originally indicated only the noise of the action and have developed to denote the action itself.

The form *pl-* is morphologically the causative of *li-*, although the meaning of *pl-* is not the causative of *li-*, but simply the transitive form. That is, the subject of *li-* remains the subject of *pl-*: it is an affected object which is added, not a causer subject which demotes the subject of *li-* to causee object status as would be the case if it were causative.

9.1.1.1 Noise Emission

A large group of coverbs which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' express an action which involves emitting noise of some kind, or carrying out some other action with the vocal tract. These include the following:

> *am* 'pass on knowledge'; *dasup* 'lie'; *ex* 'bark (of dog)'; *goŋ* 'whistle'; *kim* 'be quiet'; *nu* 'call out (of a pig)'; *nuk* 'oink'; *pup* 'trumpet'; *səŋ* 'tell a story'; *tet* 'squeak (of bat)'; *u* 'call out'; *xes* 'be angry', *xwek* 'whistle'; *xəles* 'make noise' ; *xəlot* 'chew'

Coverbs of noise emission most commonly occur with the intransitive *li-* 'SAY' and not with the transitive *pl-* 'TELL' as shown in the examples below. Note the repetition of the coverb in (9-18) to indicate the iterative nature of the action, discussed further in §9.1.1.4.

(9-17)　*in=xe=a*　　　***pup***　　　　*li-t-pel=xənox*　　　　*nox*　　*us*
　　　　so=SBRD=LINK　**trumpet**　　SAY-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD　1s　　go.PRS.SG
　　　　'After they made trumpet sounds, I left.' ("Today" by Palis)

(9-18)　***xəlot***　***xəlot***　*li-t*　　　　　*əpli-pat-gop=li*
　　　　chew　　**chew**　SAY-SIM　　　come-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
　　　　'(He saw that) (the pig) was coming towards him chewing (nuts).' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

When these coverbs do occur with the transitive *pl-* 'TELL', the transitive object encodes the addressee or hearer, as shown for *goŋ* 'whistle' in the example below.

(9-19)　***goŋ***　***goŋ***　*pli-l*　　　　　　*tap*　　*ox*　　*əpli-n-gwel*
　　　　whistle whistle TELL-IPFV.PER.TODP　pig　　3sm　come-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　'I whistled to him and then (I saw that) the pig came.' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

9.1.1.2 Sudden Motion

The second major group of coverbs which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' express actions which involve sudden, punctual motion.

> *baŋ* 'drip', *dəlala* 'break', *gu* 'give', *gugu* 'run off', *jejaŋ* 'hang from', *kaŋ* 'break, smash', *kilili* 'stand up', *konoŋ* 'bang on something', *kuŋ* 'bump' (= *tuŋ*), *kuk* 'disappear/leave', *kwes* 'cut', *lus* 'suck', *mak* 'pluck', *net* 'grab', *pes* 'take out', *pox* 'set off', *puŋ* 'hit', *pipis* 'fill up', *plet* 'shoot out', *pəla ~ pəlala* 'pull', *seŋ* 'heat up', *subu* 'kick', *titin* 'wash', *toŋ* 'shoot', *toŋ* 'peck', *tuŋ* 'bump', *təxe* 'throw', *tədəmxo* 'dive', *təpes* 'stop, cease action'

These coverbs occur with *li-* 'SAY' to express an intransitive action or *pl-* 'TELL' to express a transitive action as shown in the examples below for *toŋ* 'shoot'.

(9-20) *jæxe*   *mon*   *ox*   *nel*   *kuptutul*   *xən*   *gem=si*   ***toŋ***
            then   son   3sm   bird   bird.variety   across arrow=WITH   **shoot**

            p-n-gop=li
            TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
            'He shot the *kuptutul* bird with an arrow.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

(9-21) *gem=si*   ***toŋ***   *li-t-pol=xənox*   *m-su-m*
            arrow=WITH   **shoot**   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   PRX.O-kill-SEQ

            odo-n-gop=li
            come.down-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
            'When he shot with an arrow, he killed (it) and (it) fell down.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

Further examples are given for the coverb *net* 'grab, hold' with both intransitive *li-* 'SAY' and transitive *pl-* 'TELL'.

(9-22) *gi=n-p-ti-pol=xən*   *in*   *bes*   *mox*   *jox*   ***net***
            THUS=1/2.O-tell-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   so   hand   ANPH   TOP   **hold**

            net   *pl*   *m-xto-n-gop*
            hold   TELL(.SEQ)   PRX.O-see-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
            'When she told me this, she held the (child's) hand and looked at her.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-23) *djisas* *olxe*   *bok*   *i-de=x*   ***net***   *li-t*
            PN   3sm.REFL.POSS skin   DEM.DST-across=3sm   **hold**   SAY-SIM

            pti=xən
            stay.IPFV.PL=IRR
            'If we hold on tight across at Jesus' body, …' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

9.1.1.3 Punctual Gerunds

Punctual gerunds are derived verb forms that, although morphologically distinct from coverbs, perform the same function and adhere to the same syntactic constraints as coverbs which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL'. Punctual gerunds[5] are formed from verbs by the addition of *-s* or *-ŋ* to the verb root (see Chapter 8, §8.4.1, for details). Just like coverbs that occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL', punctual gerunds occur with this light verb set to indicate a punctual action. In the example below, the punctual form of the verb is used to indicate planting a single cutting where other

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[5] Analysed by M. Lawrence as the "adjunct form of subordinate verbs" (1972b: 63).

forms of the verb would allow an interpretation of planting multiple cuttings over a longer time period.

(9-24)   *san*   *jox*   *jox*   *nonxe*   *kwet*   *lex*
        seed   DEF   TOP   1s.REFL.POSS   sugar.cane   long.ago

        gono-t   *dus*   *jox*   *jox*   **gono-s**
        plant-IPFV.PER.YESTP   inside   DEF   TOP   **grow-PNCT**

        p-ti-l
        TELL-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'I planted the cutting where I had already planted some (the week) before.'
        ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The punctual meaning is also shown by the example below for the verb *xtol-* 'look at'. Normally, with other verb forms, the action of 'looking at' is prolonged.

(9-25)   *nox*   *kin*   *i=nuŋ*   *jə-xəm*   ***t-xto-s***
        1s   eye   DEM.DST=TO   DEM.DST-down   **MID-look-PNCT**

        li   *jox*
        SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP
        'When I glanced downwards, (I happened to see some of my friends.)' ("Yesterday"
        by Julie James)

The punctual gerund form of the verb *bupul-* 'shake' is shown in the example below to mean 'shake once', 'get a shock' or 'start'.

(9-26)   *ux*   *sen*   ***bupu-ŋ***   *li-t-pol=xən*   *nox=xe*
        3sf   strong   **shake-PNCT**   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   1s=FOC

        sen   ***bupu-ŋ***   *li-ti-l*
        strong   **shake-PNCT**   SAY-PFV-PER.YESTP
        'When she started strongly, I started strongly too.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The punctual gerund does not take prefixes; the light verb takes them (9-27).

(9-27)   *lex*   *ox*   *pigi-s*   ***m-pli-pti-n***   *gət-t*
        long.ago   3sm   show-PNCT   **PRX.O-TELL-IPFV.PL-NOMLS**   cut-SIM

        ap   *min*   *tem*   *nəŋ=wi*   *de-s*
        house   floor   under   TO=ONLY   MAKE-PNCT

        a-pli-t=li
        (3.O.)BEN-TELL-IPFV.PER.YESTP=REP
        'After they showed him, he (got it and) cut it and threw it under the house on them.'
        ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

Coverbs which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' may also be derived from nouns by zero derivation. Nominal coverbs with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' occur,

however, much less frequently than with the other light verb set, *x-* 'DO' / *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE' (§9.1.2). An example is given below for the coverb *ga* 'sing' derived from the noun *ga* 'song' (originally from *ga* 'tooth', 'jaw').

(9-28) | *dulum* | *a* | *walil* | *a* | *tili-l* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| small.mammal.variety | shit | small.mammal.variety | excreta | rub-IPFV.PER.TODP |

tili-l	*li-m*	*mda-m*	*ox*	***ga***
rub-IPFV.PER.TODP	SAY-SEQ	finish-SEQ	3sm	**song**

li-ti-p
SAY-PFV-PER.FP.SG
'He said "*dulum* possum shit, *walil* possum shit, I rubbed (it), I rubbed (it)!" as he sung' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

9.1.1.4 Reduplication of Coverbs with *pl-* / *li-*

As noted by M. Lawrence (1972b: 63), the coverb may be repeated to indicate repetition of the action as shown in example (9-29) below.

(9-29) | *bek* | *ka* | *noŋ* | *[...]* | ***konoŋ*** | ***konoŋ*** | ***konoŋ*** | *pli-sxe=li* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| post | place | TO | | **knock** | **knock** | **knock** | TELL-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP |

'They used to bang repeatedly on the fireplace posts (with tongs).' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

In addition to repetition, many coverbs with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' are reduplicated with a conventionalized vowel change to /i/ or /u/ in the reduplicated form which precedes the original coverb form. These are regarded as reduplication as opposed to repetition as the reduplicated form cannot occur without the original form following and the result is considered a single word. Example (9-30) shows the alternation of the vowel in the first instance of the coverb to /i/. Example (9-31) shows the alternation of the vowel in the first instance of the coverb to /u/.

(9-30) | *li-m=a* | *atol* | *mox* | ***kiŋ-kaŋ*** | *li-m=a* | *late* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| say-SEQ=LINK | knife | ANPH | **REDP-break** | SAY-SEQ=LINK | fire |

sl-pat-gop=li
put-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'… (it is said that) he said and then he broke up (the wood) with a knife and then made a fire.' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

(9-31) *jəxe*   **tuŋ-toŋ**   *p-n-gop=li*   *an*   *ban*
then **REDP-bump**   TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP   arrow   bundle.of

mox
ANPH
'Then, he pecked at them. This bunch of arrows.'[6] ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Like coverbs which occur with *pl-* 'TELL' and *li-* 'SAY', punctual gerunds such as *gəteŋ* 'cut', derived from the verb *gətel-* 'cut', may also undergo a vowel change in the first instance of the reduplicated gerund (9-32).

(9-32) *bijol-la=si*   **gitiŋ-gəteŋ**   **gitiŋ-gəteŋ**   *p-t*   *po*
bush.knife-?=WITH   **REDP-cut**   **REDP-cut**   TELL-SIM   well

de-pat=xe
MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'After I cut it up really well with my bush knife, …' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

A small number of bird names appear to have been formed using the same rules of reduplication: *pilpol* 'bird variety', *silisəle* 'bird variety', and *tiktek* 'bird variety'.

Such imperfect reduplication of words, in particular coverbs, is similarly found in the Papuan language Kalam, e.g. *gti gto g-* 'make a din or racket' (Pawley 2006).

9.1.1.5 Light Verb Omission

Any coverb or punctual gerund which occurs with the light verbs *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' may occur with the inflected light verb omitted, as shown in the following examples with the derived coverb *gəteŋ* 'cut' (9-33) and the underived coverb *kagu* 'crash' (9-34).

(9-33) *a.*   *kak*   *jox*   *mem*   *x-t*   *pat-n=a*
head   DEF   hang.down   DO-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK

i   *ox*   *senax* *dli-n-gop=li=jox=o*
gosh   3sm   axe   take-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP=TOP=EMPH
'When her head was hanging down, he took the axe.'

b.   *kak*   *mox*   **gəte-ŋ**
head   ANPH   **cut-PNCT**
'He chopped her head off.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

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[6] The object, the noun phrase *an ban mox* 'this bunch of arrows' is in afterthought position here.

(9-34) *xəm=a*   ***kagu   kagu***
        down=EMPH   **crash   crash**
        'Down (he fell with) very loud crashes.' ("Dropping Xalit" by Dulum Aleap)

This construction has exactly the same meaning as the full construction with the light verb and is used for dramatic effect only. For example, example (9-35) below with the light verb *pl-* 'TELL' could be used with exactly the same meaning as (9-33)b. above.

(9-35) *kak   mox   gəte-ŋ   pli-n-gop=li*
        head   ANPH   cut-PNCT   TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'He chopped her head off.' (Elicited.)

This is also shown in the consecutive examples from a text below with the punctual gerund form of *x-* 'be'.

(9-36) *it   ox   a   xanəp   **x-s***
        again   3sm   HES   person **be-PNCT**
        '(When he went up again to where the bird's shelf was,) he suddenly became a man again.' ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

(9-37) *moŋniŋ   **x-s***
        echidna   **be-PNCT**
        '(Then, when he went down to the roots again,) he suddenly became an echidna.'
        ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

This is further exemplified by the four consecutive lines from a text shown below. Due to its form, I assume that *tuxuŋ* is a punctual gerund derived from a verb of the form *tuxul-* although I have not witnessed this verb elsewhere. *təxe* is an underived coverb which occurs with the light verbs *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL'.

(9-38) *a.*   *i=nəŋ*   *xəm*   ***təxe***
                 DEM.DST=TO   down   **throw**
                 He threw one down this way.

        b.   ***tuxu-ŋ***
                 splash-PNCT
                 Splash!

        c.   *i=kat*   *xəm*   ***təxe***
                 DEM.DST=place   down   **throw**
                 He threw one down that way.

        d.   ***tuxu-ŋ***
                 splash-PNCT
                 Splash!
                 ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

9.1.1.6 The Verbs *li-* 'say' and *pl-* 'tell'

The light verbs *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' are derived from the verbs *li-* 'say' and *pl-* 'tell' respectively. The verbs *li-* 'say' and *pl-* 'tell' are differentiated from *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL' in that they subcategorise for an optional complement clause in place of a coverb.

The verb *li-* 'say' licenses a quotation complement clause (9-39) or a noun phrase which represents what is spoken (9-40).

(9-39) *aw*   *la-pti=mul=o*
        grandparent.1POSS   sing.and.dance-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=CERT=QUOT

        li-n-gopa=li
        say-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
        '(It is said that) (it was seen that) they said "the elders must be dancing now."'
        ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(9-40) *sitoli*   *jox*   *djon*   *piptin*   *jox*   ***li-pti=a***
        story(Eng)   DEF   PN   15(Eng)   DEF   **say-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=LINK**
        'As for this story, we are saying John chapter 15.' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

The verb *pl-* 'tell' licenses a quotation (9-41) or a noun phrase which represents what is spoken (9-42) as well as an object which represents the addressee.

(9-41) *gwe*   *blel=xe*   *jox=o*
        2s.POSS   child=FOC   DEF=QUOT

        m-p-ti-p=w=a
        PRX.O-tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=RESP=EMPH
        '"Here is your child", (she) told (him).' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(9-42) *noxe*   *meŋ*   *tit*   *n-p-ti-plox*
        1s.POSS   speech   INDF   **1/2.O-tell-PFV-TODF.SG**
        '"I want to tell you something (Lit. a speech of mine)."' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

9.1.2 Coverbs with the Light Verbs *x-* 'DO' and *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE'

A separate set of coverbs, distinct to those which occur with *li-* 'SAY' and *pl-* 'TELL', occur with the light verbs *x-* 'DO' and *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE'. The light verb *x-* 'DO' is intransitive; *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE' is transitive. Different groups of coverbs occur with either *x-* 'DO' or *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE' or both.

Transitive coverbs (§9.1.2.2) may only occur in a transitive complex predicate with the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE', e.g. *gæx de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'wash' as in (9-43) and (9-44) below

(9-43) *toxan-lə*   **gæx**   **de-***t=a*
       sweet.potato-? **wash**   **MAKE-**PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK
       '(I) **washed** the sweet potatoes.' ("Today" by Palis)

(9-44) *nox*   *gæx*   *m-***de-***pat*
       1s   wash   PRX.O-**MAKE-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       'I am washing him/her/it here.'

Denominal coverbs (§9.1.2.3) may only occur in an intransitive complex predicate with the light verb *x-* 'DO', e.g. *ap x-* 'make a house', as in (9-45) below. Denominal coverbs cannot occur with *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' (9-46).

(9-45) *ap*   *təm*   *d-ti-n=mul=a*   **ap**   **x-***ti-n=mul=a*
       house bone   take-PFV-IMP=CERT=EMPH   **house**   **DO-**PFV-IMP=CERT=EMPH

       p-n-gop=li
       tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       '"Get the house posts (Lit. 'bones') and **make a house**!", she told him.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

(9-46) **ap*   *m-***de-***pti*
       house   PRX.O-**MAKE-**IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       (Intended meaning: 'They are making it a house.')

Deadjectival coverbs (§9.1.2.4), usually derived from lexical noun modifiers, can occur with either *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' (9-47)a. or *x-* 'DO' (9-47)b. The meaning of the transitive forms with *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' are the causative of the intransitive with *x-* 'DO'. Deadjectival coverbs cannot occur with a light verb with the detransitivising middle prefix (9-47)c.

(9-47) *a.*   *dok*   **x-***ti-p*
              long.thin   **DO-**PFV-PER.FP.SG
              '(I) became tall.'

       b.   *dok*   **de-***ti-p*
              long.thin   **MAKE-**PFV-PER.FP.SG
              'I raised (he/she/it/them).' (Lit. '(I) made (he/she/it/them) become tall.')

       c.   **dok*   *t-***x-***ti-p*
              long.thin   MID-**MAKE-**PFV-PER.FP.SG
              (Intended meaning: 'I made myself tall.')

9.1.2.1 Allomorphy of *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE'

The allomorphy of the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' is explained in this section. This light verb has three allomorphs: *de-*, *ml-* and *x-*. The allomorphs *de-* and *ml-* are the basic, underived forms of this light verb; the choice between the two depends on the particular tense used, sometimes the two forms are interchangeable. The use of the allomorph *x-* is triggered by the presence of certain prefixes.

In particular, the presence of any of the prefixes *a-*, *n-*, *t-* and *gos-* trigger the *x-* allomorph of the transitive light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE', as in (9-48) below. This form is, rather confusingly, identical to the form of the intransitive light verb *x-* 'DO'.

(9-48) *ox*　　*gǝx*　　*n-**x**-pat*
　　　　3sm　　wash　　1/2.O-**MAKE-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)
　　　　'He is washing me.'

The allomorph *x-* of the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' cannot be used without a derivational prefix: it can never occur in its underived state (9-49)a. To express a single participant action, the derived intransitive form of *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' is used, as in (9-49)b. below.

(9-49) *a.*　　　**nox*　　*gǝx*　　***x**-pat*
　　　　　　　1s　　　wash　　**MAKE-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)
　　　　　　　(Intended meaning: 'I am washing.')

　　　　b.　　　*nox*　　*gǝx*　　*t-**x**-pat*
　　　　　　　1s　　　wash　　MID-**MAKE-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)
　　　　　　　'I am washing myself.'

The combinations of prefixes and the allomorphs of the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' are shown in Table 9-1 below. Note that the causative prefix cannot occur with this light verb.

Prefix	Occurs with
Causative (*p-*)	-
Benefactive (*a-*)	*de-* ~ *ml-*
First and second person object prefix (*n-*)	- (derived benefactive forms *a-de-* ~ *a-ml-* only)
Proximal object prefix (*m-*)	*de-* ~ *ml-*
Middle prefix (*t-*)	*x-*
Reciprocal prefix (*gos-*)	*x-*[7]

Table 9-1.   Combinations of prefixes with allomorphs of *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE'

As shown in Table 9-1 above, the first person object prefix occurs with the allomorph *x-* 'MAKE' whereas the proximal object prefix occurs with *de-* ~ *ml-* 'MAKE' as shown in the examples below. In each case, the complex predicate has exactly the same meaning, it is simply a convention of the language that one form must be used with one prefix and a different form with another prefix, as shown for the complex predicate *dasup de-* ~ *ml-* (lie MAKE) 'lie'.

(9-50) *dl*   *wa=o*   *li-m*   *wa*
        take(.SEQ)   go.down(.PRS.SG)=QUOT   say-SEQ   go.down(.PRS.SG)

        max=a   *dasup*   **m-de-*pat=xe***
        RECG=EMPH   lie   **PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD**
        'She lied that she was going down to get (firewood) and then she went to where he sister was.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(9-51) *nox=ja*   *dasup*   **n-x-*m***   *n-sux-di-p=o*
        1s=O   lie   **1/2.O-MAKE-SEQ**   1/2.O-get-PFV-PER.FP.SG=QUOT

        da=x-ti-p
        think=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG
        '… "he lied to me in order to marry me", the wife thought.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

As for the allomorphy between *de-* and *ml-*, either *ml-* or *de-* may be used for perfective future, perfective past personal-factual, same subject medial, and perfective nominalised and imperative verb forms with identical meanings. Only *de-* may be used with imperfective future, present, non-perfective and imperfective nominalised and imperative, and punctual verb forms.[8] Again, the alternation between *de-* and *ml-*

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[7] The reciprocal prefix has not been witnessed with the derived benefactive form of this coverb although it may be possible.

[8] The forms for which it is not possible to use *ml-* 'MAKE' coincide exactly with the forms which would be identical to those for the frequently used verb *ml-* 'come up': imperfective future, perfective and imperfective present, perfective and imperfective imperative forms, all nominalised forms, and the punctual gerund. For example, the present imperfective singular form of the verb *ml-* 'come up' is *mlpat*, a hypothetical present imperfective singular form of the verb *ml-* 'MAKE' would be identical. This appears to be a motivation for the missing forms of *ml-* 'MAKE'.

has no effect on the meaning of the complex predicate and is simply an artefact of the rules of the language. This is shown in the two consecutive lines from a text where the form of the light verb alternates between *ml-* and *de-* with absolutely no change in meaning apart from the change in aspect.

(9-52) *a.*   *olxol*   *ətem*   *mox=xe*   *olxol*   *po*
                 3sm.REFL   mouth   ANPH=FOC   3sm.REFL   well

n-a-m-*ti-plox=li=a*
1/2.O-BEN-MAKE-PFV-TODF.SG=REP=EMPH
'(It is said that) (God) himself, he will fix our mouths for us too.'

        b.   *be*   *dile*   *el*   *kat*   *el*   *kat*   *jox*   *mox*
                 just   1pIN.POSS   bad   place   bad   place   DEF   ANPH

olxol   *po*   **n-a-de-***plox=li*
3sm.REFL   well   **1/2.O-BEN-MAKE-**(IPFV.)TODF.SG=REP
'As for simply all our wrong behaviour, he himself will make this right for us.' ("Bible stories (Baku 15)" by Dulum Aleap)

9.1.2.2 Transitive Coverbs

A large group of coverbs express transitive actions: an action with an affected object of some kind. These coverbs occur with the transitive *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' only. This is demonstrated for the coverb *aŋ* 'find' in the various examples below. When the coverb *aŋ* is used with a third person object, it occurs with *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' as shown in example (9-53) below.

(9-53) *kətən*   *xən*   *toxan*   **aŋ**   **de-pat**=*xe*
        other.side   across   sweet.potato   **find**   **MAKE-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
        'I found some sweet potato across at the other side (of the river) and then…'
        ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

When used with the benefactive, this combines with the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' as shown in example (9-54) below.

(9-54) *it*   *but*   *nuŋ*   *toxan*   **aŋ**   **a-ml**
        again   flat.place   TO   sweet.potato   **find**   **BEN-MAKE**(.SEQ)

xu-l
go.PFV-PER.YESTP
'I went to the garden to find sweet potato for (my pig).' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

With the first and second person object prefix, the allomorph *x-* of the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' is used (9-55).

(9-55) *nox*   *ma*   *gut=nuŋ*   ***aŋ***   ***n-x-m***
      1s   REL   2d=O   **find**   **1/2.O-MAKE-SEQ**
      'I (will) find you and …' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

With the proximal object prefix, the allomorphs *de-* or *ml-* of the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' are used (9-56).

(9-56) *ep=e*   *ku*   *xan*   *mə=ma*   *olxe*
      sorry=EXCL   woman man   ANPH=REL   3sm.REFL.POSS

      apte-jan   *mox*   *ixil*   *de=nuŋ*   *x-ti-p=o*
      village-DENZ   ANPH   3p   WHICH=TO   go-PFV-PER.FP.SG=QUOT

      li-m   ***aŋ***   ***m-de-pti**=a*
      say-SEQ   **find**   **PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)**=LINK
      '… unfortunately, after the people of his village were looking for him because they didn't know where he had gone, …' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

The coverb *aŋ* may also be used intransitively with the middle prefix. When the middle prefix is present the allomorph *x-* of the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE' is used (9-57).

(9-57) *de=tax*   *əlp-t*   *di-pel=o*   *li-m*
      WHICH=place   cook-SIM   eat.IPFV-IF.PL=QUOT   say-SEQ

      aŋ   ***t-xe-l***
      find   **MID-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP**
      'We looked around because we wanted somewhere to cook and eat.' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

The coverb *aŋ* cannot occur with the intransitive light verb *x-* 'DO' (9-58).

(9-58) **aŋ*   *xəx*
      find   DO.PRS.SG
      (Intended meaning: 'I was looking around.')

I do not have a naturally occurring recorded example of *aŋ* plus a light verb bearing the reciprocal prefix. The following example shows another transitive action coverb, *wa* 'see, meet', with the reciprocal prefix.

(9-59) *gin*   *dit*   ***wa=gos-xe-ja***   *ka*   *m=ox*
      now   1dIN   **see=RECP-MAKE-PRS.PL**   place   DEM.PRX=3sm
      '… here, where we met just now, …' ("Today" by Palis)

Other coverbs which follow the same pattern as *aŋ* are shown in the non-exhaustive list below. Most of these coverbs cannot be shown to be etymologically derived from any other word.

Coverb	Meaning	Coverb	Meaning
aŋ	'find/look for'	*luka*	'break'
awa	'chase away'	*lulux*	'snap in half'
abəpte	'beat'	*nən*	'trample'
bax	'weed'	*pəla*	'pull, stretch'
blak	'write'	*pəlpəl*	'follow'
dasup	'lie, trick someone'	*pəs*	'shoot, beat(drum), put on (penis gourd)'
de	'fix'	*tuxup*	'hold/carry in arms'
di ~ dim	'follow'	*tup*	'make trap'
gex	'scratch'	*təntən*	'load up'
gja	'cover up' (also a verb)	*ulex*	'pour'
guŋ	'sniff'	*utaŋ*	'carry on shoulders'
gəl	'cut'	*wa*	'see'
gət	'cut'	*wə*	'leave behind'
gəx	'wash'	*xal*	'make fire'
i	'be angry at'	*xil*	'sweep'
ipip	'pour'	*xe*	'light fire'
kal	'make bridge'	*xesup*	'be angry at'
kin	'how'	*xəx*	'find'
kis	'test/try'	*xolo*	'drop'
ko	'cut down'	*xup*	'make into piles'
lowa ~ ləwa	'shoot'	*əu*	'make into mounds'

Table 9-2.   Transitive coverbs

Transitive verbs from English or Tok Pisin are productively incorporated into Oksapmin as a coverb plus *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE'. First, the Tok Pisin transitive suffix *-im* is added to all verbs regardless of whether they are from Tok Pisin or enter the language directly from English. Then, the resulting word is treated as a coverb which goes with the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE'.

(9-60) *gwe*   *meŋ*   *joxjox*   **rikod-im**
        2s.POSS   speech   TOP   **record(Eng)-TR(TP)**

        n-a-m-ti-pol=o
        1/2.O-BEN-MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT
        '"I want to (Lit. I will now) record your story from you."' ("Today" by Palis)

(9-61) *gəx*   *de-pat=xe*   *tom*   *tit*   **pamp-im**
        wash   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   water   INDF   **pump(Eng)-TR(TP)**

        de-pat=xe
        MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
        'After I washed, then I and pumped water and then ...' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

The following table gives a list of foreign words in my text collection which occurred as transitive coverbs with the light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE'.

Coverb form	Meaning	Origin
bol-im	boil	boil V Eng
help-im	help	help V Eng
lukaut-im	look after	lukautim V TP
ok-im	work	wokim V TP
paint-in	paint	paint V Eng
pamp-im	pump (water)	pump V/N Eng
pinis-im	finish	pinisim V TP
rent-im	rent	rent V Eng
rikod-im	record	record V Eng
sal-im	sell	sell V Eng
skel-im	divide up	skelim V TP
səkəl-im	surround	circle V/N Eng

Table 9-3.　　　Foreign words which occur as transitive coverbs in Oksapmin

9.1.2.2.1 Experiencer object complex predicates

A small number of transitive complex predicates encode an animate experiencer as the object, as shown in Table 9-4 below.

Coverb	Meaning	Etymology
aman	be in pain	
bəbet	be in pain	
din	be hungry / thirsty	< *di- / d-* vt 'eat/drink'
timdin	be sleepy	< *tim-* vi 'sleep'

Table 9-4.　　　Coverbs which can take an experiencer object

Although the experiencer is the grammatical object, as evident by verbal prefixes which agree in person with the object, the experiencer may additionally appear as an overt noun phrase in topic position without any object marking, as in example (9-62) below. Note that the verb is in the visual-sensory evidence form which is further indication that the first person is not the grammatical subject in this example.

(9-62) **nox**　　*tom*　　*din*　　*wanxe*　**n-x-n-gwel**
　　　　1s　　water　thirsty　a.lot　　**1/2.O**-MAKE-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　'I was really thirsty.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

A body part can also be added and is the grammatical subject (9-63).

(9-63) **nuxul**　*toŋ=o*　　　　*mox*　　*aman*　*wanxe*　**n-x=o**
　　　　1pEX　foot=QUOT　　　ANPH　hurt　　a.lot　　**1/2.O**-MAKE.PRS.SG=QUOT
　　　　'"Our feet really hurt."' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

Other Papuan languages have also been described as having experiencer object constructions, e.g. Kalam (Pawley 2000) as shown in example (9-64) below.

(9-64) *yp   sb   g-p*
       1O   guts   act-PFV-3SG
       'I feel hungry.' (KALAM Pawley 2000: 180)

9.1.2.3 Denominal Coverbs

Another large group of coverbs express intransitive actions: actions which do not have any object. These occur with the intransitive *x-* 'DO' only, as shown in the example below for the intransitive complex predicate *loxlox x-* 'play'.

(9-65) *ku   blel   ixile   a   **loxlox x-**pti   but*
       woman child   3p.POSS HES   **play   DO-**IPFV.PL(.PRS)   flat.place
       'Playground.' (Lit. 'women and children's flat place where they play'.)
       ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Other coverbs which behave in the same way include those shown in Table 9-5 below. A number of these are clearly derived from nouns in the language.

Coverb	Meaning	Origin
ap	'build house'	*ap* N 'house'
awat	'decorate (self)'	
bugos	'try'	
da	'think'	*da* N 'thought'
da el	'worry'	*da el* N+Adj 'thought bad'
den	'hungry'	*den* (verbal noun) 'eat-NOMLS'
dul	'play'	
gal	'be sick of'	
li	'be first'	
loxlox	'play'	
nəknək	'have trouble breathing'	
paŋ	'be standing'	*paŋ* N 'fork (e.g. of tree)'
paxna	'hungry'	*paxna* N 'famine'
səkələp	'argue'	
toman	'share'	
toxat	'shatter'	
uŋ	'make string bags'	*uŋ* N 'string bag'

Table 9-5.   Denominal coverbs

The coverbs *ap* 'build house' and *uŋ* 'make string bags' may be somewhat unexpected verbs in this category for the reader. From a Western perspective, building houses and making string bags are very much transitive actions which affect an object and has a clear result, namely the thing in question being produced. In Oksapmin, it appears to be the case that these are viewed more like intransitive processes – that is, the cultural focus is moved away from the result to the action itself. A possible translation for, e.g. *uŋ x-* which reflects this focus is 'engage in the process of string bag making' rather than 'make (a) string bag'.

(9-66) *ipe*   *naŋ=si*   **uŋ**   **x-pti**
       tree.variety   rope=WITH   **string.bag**   **DO-**IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       '… we make bags with Ipe rope.' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

Foreign nouns and intransitive verbs are commonly incorporated into the complex predicate with the light verb *x-* 'DO' as shown in the examples below. These cannot occur with the transitive light verb *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE'.

(9-67) *wili*   *nuxut*   *meŋ*   *s-t*   **sitoli**   **x-t**
       PN   1dEX   speech   put-SIM   **story(Eng)**   **DO-**SIM

       apli-pti-n=a
       come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
       'When Willy and I were telling stories as we came along, …' ("Today" by Julie James)

(9-68) *nox=xe*   *kut*   **moniŋ**   **sip**   **x-pla=xejox**
       1s=FOC   future   **morning(Eng)** **shift(Eng)**   **DO-**FF.SG=BECAUSE
       'I'm doing the morning shift tomorrow, so …' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(9-69) *jəxe*   *nox*   *sik*   *ap*   *xəm*   **oxox**   **x-m**
       then   1s   sick(Eng)   house   down   **work**   **DO-**SEQ

       wa   *jox*
       go.down(.PRS.SG)   TOP
       'They, when I went down to the health centre in order to work, …' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

Other foreign nouns and intransitive verbs from my corpus are given in Table 9-6 below.

Oksapmin word	Meaning	Origin	Other
bəten	pray	*beten* N Tok Pisin	
oxox	work	*wokwok* N 'work', 'job' Tok Pisin[9]	$
riŋ	use telephone	*ring* N, vi, vt English	
moniŋ sip	do the morning shift	*morning shift* N English	$
skul ~ sikul	go to school	*skul* N 'school' Tok Pisin/school N English	$
sik	be sick	*sik* Adj/N Tok Pisin / sick Adj English	$
soŋ	sing	*song* N English	$
stat ~ sitat	start	*start* vi, vt English	
stori ~ sitoli	tell stories	*stori* vi 'tell stories' Tok Pisin	$
tait	be tired	*tired* Adj English	
was	wash	*waswas* vi 'wash oneself' Tok Pisin	

Table 9-6.   Foreign words used as coverbs with *x-* 'DO' / *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'MAKE'
                 $ Also used as noun or adjective in Oksapmin

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[9] Lawrence, M (P.C.)

9.1.2.4 Deadjectival Coverbs

Deadjectival coverbs may occur in either an intransitive complex predicate with the light verb *x-* 'DO' meaning 'be/become X', or in a transitive complex predicate with the light verbs *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE' meaning 'cause Y to be/become X'. The following examples show the use of *xəx* 'dry' in intransitive (9-70) and transitive (9-71) complex predicates respectively.

(9-70) | *pinat* | *san* | *uŋ* | *mox* | *jox* | *[...]* | *xa* | ***xəx*** | ***x-t*** |
| peanut(Eng) | seed | a.lot | ANPH | TOP | | HORT | **dry** | **DO**-SIM |

     idi-n=o
     stay.PFV-IMP=QUOT
     '"Let the peanut seeds stay there and dry out!"' ("Today" by Julie James)

(9-71) | *məmxan* | *ale* | | *kak* | *tem* | *ka* | *mə-xət* | ***xəx*** |
| what's.it | wood.dryingrack | | on.top | inside | place | DEM.PRX-up | **dry** |

     ***m**-t-pa-li*
     MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
     '(They took just the jaw bone and) put it up on the rack used to dry wood above the fireplace.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

Intransitive (9-72) and transitive (9-73) examples are likewise shown for *tibəs* 'finish' below.

(9-72) | *i=ma* | *asup* | *max* | ***ti=bəs*** | ***xe-ja*** | *jox* |
| DEM.DST=REL | menstruation | RECG | **INDF=NEG** | **DO**-PRS.PL | TOP |

     'When (their) periods had finished, …' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

(9-73) | ***tibəs*** | ***de-m*** | *wə=de-t-pel=xən=a* |
| **finish** | **MAKE**-SEQ | leave=MAKE-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD=LINK |

     'When they had destroyed everything, ...' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Other coverbs, which are derived from adjectival lexical nouns or other lexical noun modifiers, and which behave in the same way as those described above are shown in Table 9-7 below. When these occur in an intransitive complex predicate, they occur with the light verb *x-* 'DO'. When they occur in a transitive complex predicate they occur with the light verb *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE'.

Coverb	Meaning in intransitive complex predicate	Meaning in transitive complex predicate with
amam	'be happy'	'hug'
bapgwe	'be small'	'make small'
bopol	'be happy'	'like'
dok	'be long, matured'	'make long, matured'
el	'be bad'	'make bad'
gwelel	'be small'	'make small'
i*	'do like that'	'do like that'
jəx	'be good'	'make good'
kin	'how'	'how'
kən	'be dry'	'make dry'
kəs	'be scared'	'make scared'
kəsip	'be strong'	'make strong'
mi*	'do like this'	'do like this'
məmen	'be ready'	'make ready'
paliman	'be huge'	'make huge'
palieŋ	'be amazing/huge'	'make amazing/huge'
pja	'be big'	'make big'
pitəp	'be in the open'	'put in the open'
po	'be well/good'	'make well/good'
tep	'be full'	'make full'
tibəs#	'end, finish (of own accord)'	'cause to finish, destroy'
təp	'be together'	'make together'
təlop	'be unstuck'	'make unstuck'
ulaw	'be proper(ly)'	'make proper(ly)'
xal	'be hot'	'make hot'
xəx	'be dry'	'make dry'

Table 9-7.   Deadjectival coverbs
*derived from demonstratives
#derived from pronoun plus negative clitic

9.1.2.5 The Verb *x-* 'Be, Become'

The verb *x-* 'be, become' is homophonous with the light verb *x-* 'DO' (and the allomorph *x-* of the light verb *de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'MAKE') and is its most likely origin. The verb *x-* 'be, become' is intransitive and does not license any objects, as in example (9-74) below, where *awsi em ixit* 'my mother and my grandmother' is the subject and there are no objects.

(9-74) *nox*   *xtol*   *jox*   *aw=si*   *em*   *ixit*
        1s   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP   grandparent.1POSS=CNJ mother.1POSS   3d

        ***x-**-n-gwel=a*
        be-PFV-VIS.YESTP=EMPH
        'When I looked, (I saw that) it was my mother and my grandmother.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

With the verb *x-* 'be, become', the negative clitic must always attach phonologically to the verb unlike with the light verb *x-* 'DO' where the negative clitic occurs before the coverb. This is shown in the examples below, where the negative clitic directly precedes the verb *x-* 'be' (9-75), but precedes the coverb rather than the light verb *x-* 'DO' in a complex predicate (9-76).

(9-75) *kǝpen*   *asup*   **na=x-t**   *pti-n*   *jox*
      not.yet menstruation **NEG=be-**SIM   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS   TOP

      ap   *li*   *x-sxe=li*
      house   first   DO-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
      '(It is said that) when (they) hadn't yet gotten their period (Lit. when (their) periods weren't there), they first used to make a house.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

(9-76) *a*   *tit*   *xan*   *tit*   **na=i=xǝx=xǝn**   *jox*   *dile*
      HES   another man   INDF   **NEG=**like.that=DO.PRS.SG=IRR TOP   1pIN.POSS

      apte   *m=ox*   *i=x-t*   *pt-pla=nǝp=li*
      village DEM.PRX=3sm like.that=DO-SIM   be-FF.SG=VERY=REP
      '(If one of us does that, like Jeremiah, all good things will come.) If one of us doesn't do that, our home will stay as it is here.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

9.1.2.5.1 A Note on the Use of x- 'Be, Become' versus pt- 'Be, Stay'

Oksapmin has two verbs which may be translated into English as 'be'. Both *x-* 'be, become' and *pt-* 'be, stay' are intransitive verbs which have full paradigms. A description of the various common uses of these two verbs is given below. Both of these verbs have also been grammaticalised for different uses: *pt-* has grammaticalised to an imperfective marker (see Chapter 8, §8.2.2.5, and Chapter 12, §12.4.2.2), and *x-* has grammaticalised to indicate non-visual sensory evidence (see Chapter 12, §12.1.3, §§12.4.1.2.4–5).

The verb *x-* 'be' is used to describe *what* something is. In these examples, there is a focus on the fact that it is the subject which is existing and not something else. *x-* 'be' is often used with an adverbial subordinate clause which contains *xtol-* 'see'. The verb *x-* 'be' is often translated by the English construction with the dummy subject *it* and the verb *be*, e.g. 'it is X'.

(9-77) *nox*   *xtol*   *jojox* *dsebra* *ux*   *x-n-gwel*
      1s   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP   PN   3sf   **be-**PFV-VIS.YESTP
      'When I looked, (I saw that) it was Zebra.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(9-78) *xtor=ox*   *xem*   **x-s=ri**
        see(.PRS.SG)=SBRD   blood **be-**PNCT=REP
        '(They say) when (she) look, (she saw that) it was blood!' ("Eagle" by Bitel Palmal)

The verb *x-* 'be' is often used to describe what something or someone has turned into, e.g. in a story with anthropomorphism.

(9-79) *jəxe*   *bəp*   *i=te*   *xən*   *ixit*   *xan*   *ot*
        then   so   DEM.DST=place across 3d   man   two

        məmxan=a   *xanəp=ot*   **x-s**   *li-n-gopa=li*
        what's.it=LINK person=two **be-**PNCT   SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP

        mjan   *ot*   *bəs*
        dog   two   NEG
        'Then, as for those two there, (he saw that) they became people (Lit. there were suddenly two people). No (longer) two dogs.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

The verb *x-* 'be' is also used for times of the day as shown in example (9-80) below or for stating the time as in example (9-81) below.

(9-80) *jəxe*   *moŋ*   *da*   **x-pat-n**   *tim-n*   *s-pat*
        then   time   day   **be-**IPFV.SG-NOMLS   sleep-SIM   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'So, when it's morning, he goes to sleep.' ("Birds 7" by Paiiz Wengsin)

(9-81) *pildon* *ox=noŋ*   *a*   *ap*   *jox*   *m-mda-pat*
        PN   3sm=O   HES   house DEF   PRX.O-leave-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

        et   *kilok*   *taim*   **x-t-pol=xənox**
        eight(Eng)   o'clock(TP)   time(Eng)   **be-**PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
        'After I left Pildon at the house and when it was eight o'clock, …' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

The verb *x-* 'be' cannot combine with adverbs, instruments or another other verb phrase modifiers.

In contrast to *x-* 'be', when *pt-* 'be, stay' is used, there is a focus on the *event of being or staying*, especially in a particular location. *pt-* 'be, stay' is often translated by the English construction with the dummy subject *there* and the verb *be*, e.g. 'there is/are X'.

(9-82) *a*   *ku*   *təbe*   *tit*   **pt-sxe=li**
        HES   woman OS.SIB   INDF **stay-**HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
        '(It is said that) there once lived a brother and sister.' ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

The verb *pt-* 'be, stay' is used in situations where people come across something unexpectedly, particularly when they have arrived at a new location, and

state its presence. The verb *pt-* 'be, stay' is often used with an adverbial subordinate clause which contains a verb of motion or the verb 'arrive'.

(9-83) *jæxe*   *nox*   *api-d=a*   *apli-pat=xe*
       then   1s   come-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD

       kal   *tit*   **pat-*nuŋ***   *tom*   *kal*
       bridge INDF **stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG**   water bridge
       'Then I came (across) and (I saw that) there was a bridge.' ("Today" by Julie James)

(9-84) *uli-s*   *ko-ŋ*   *li=a*   *lusi*   *aməl*
       go.up-SEQ   arrive-PNCT   SAY(.PRS.SG)=LINK   PN   and.others

       be   *ku*   *kət*   *i=ma*   *kət*   *ixil*
       HES   woman some DEM.DST=REL some 3p

       pti-*gwel=a*
       stay.IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP=LINK
       'When I went up and arrived (there), (I saw that) Lucy and some other ladies were (there).' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

The verb *pt-* 'be, stay' is used for describing someone's possessions (9-85), whether permanent or temporary (see Chapter 10, §10.4.3).

(9-85) *kol*   *go*   *ki*   **pat*=xən***   *p-opli-n=o*
       sister 2s   key(Eng) **stay.IPFV.SG.PRS=IRR** CAUS-come-IMP=QUOT

       p-ti-l
       TELL-PFV-PER.YESTP
       '"Sister, if you've got the key, bring it!", I said.' (Lit. '"As for you sister, if there is a key…"') ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

The verb *pt-* 'be, stay' often occurs with a location phrase (9-86) whereas *x-* 'be' does not.

(9-86) *in*   *ux*   *ap*   *jox*   **idi-*p=li***
       so   3sf   house DEF **stay.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP**
       'So, (they say,) she stayed in the house.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The verb *pt-* 'be, stay' also occurs with comitative objects with *=si* 'WITH' (9-87) whereas *x-* 'be' does not.

(9-87) *xan*   *təm*   *koklax=si*   **pat-*gwel***   *tupən*   *mox*
       hand bone forked=WITH **stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP**   thumb ANPH
       '(I saw that) she lived with a forked finger. The thumb.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

The verb *pt-* 'be, stay' occurs with the 'alone' series of pronouns (9-88) whereas *x-* 'be' does not.

(9-88) *bəten*   *ap*   *jox*   *olxap*   ***pat**=mul=o*
       pray(TP)   house   DEF   3sm.ALONE   **stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=CERT=QUOT
       '"Only the church building was (there)."' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

Grammatically, *pt-* 'be, stay' and *x-* 'be' can also occur in a number of constructions outside of their use as intransitive verbs meaning 'be'. The verb *pt-* can occur in a special construction to indicate imperfective aspect (see Chapter 12, §12.4.2.2). The verb *x-* can occur in a special construction to indicate non-visual sensory evidence and double tense (see Chapter 12, §12.1.3, §§12.4.1.2.4–5).

Although neither *pt-* nor *x-* may occur with adjectival predicates, their functions are similar to those of the Spanish verbs of being *estar* (commonly thought of as being used for "temporary" or "accidental" qualities) and *ser* (commonly thought of as being used for "permanent" or "essential" qualities) respectively. A recent account of *ser* and *estar*, Maienborn (2005), gives a discourse-based account for their distribution. "By using *estar* a speaker restricts his or her claim to a specific discourse situation, whereas by using *ser* the speaker makes no such restriction" (Maienborn 2005: 157). Maienborn lists temporal, spatial and epistemic dimensions of variation of the discourse situation.

In Oksapmin such a discourse-based analysis works, where *pt-* is restricted to a particular discourse situation and *x-* is not. In particular, *pt-* appears to be restricted to a particular spatial location. For example, *x-* is used to describe cosmological events such as the time, night and day, because, at least from the traditional Oksapmin perspective, these are events which do not change according to one's location, whereas *pt-* is used when describing that someone is temporarily in a certain place or time.

9.1.2.6 The Motion Verbs *x-* 'go' and *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'cause to go'

The verb *x-* 'go' and *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'cause to go' can also substitute for any motion verb. This is particularly the case when the origin and direction of the motion is unknown or unimportant. To encode a motion with a single participant, *x-* is used as in example (9-89) below (equivalent to intransitive verbs of motion, e.g. *s-* 'go'). To encode a motion with two participants, *de- ~ ml- ~ x-* is used as in example (9-90) (equivalent to transitive verbs of motion, e.g. *ps-* 'cause to go, take').

(9-89)   *sjap*   *ot*   *mox*   *tit*   *i=nuŋ*   ***x-s***
             cassowary   two   ANPH   INDF   DEM.DST=TO   **go-**PNCT

             tit   *mə=nuŋ*   ***x-s***
             INDF   DEM.PRX=TO   **go-**PNCT
             'As for the pairs of cassowaries, they each went off in a different direction.'
             ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

(9-90)   *tap*   *ox*   *pja*   *x-t-pol=xən*   *doxe*   *dəx*   *nuŋ*
             pig   3sm   big   be-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   fence   down   TO

             ***m-**t-pa*
             CAUS.go-PFV-PER.FP.PL
             'When he became an adult pig, we put him in the pig enclosure.' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

9.1.3 Coverbs with Verbs of Motion

There are a small number of coverbs which occur with verbs of motion and which describe various specialized types of motion. Unlike the other coverbs described in this chapter, these do not occur with a light verb, but occur with regular verbs of motion, whose semantics have not been bleached, unlike light verbs. The coverbs *lamlam* 'run around' and *putut* 'fly' are shown with the verb *s-* 'go' in the examples below.

(9-91)   *tit*   *blel*   *ox*   ***lamlam***   *s-pol=xən*   *ot*   *ixit*
             another   child   3sm   **run.around**   go-IF.SG=SBRD   two   3d

             di=de-pti=xe
             follow=MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=VIS
             'One child is running around and two are following him.' (Julie James, MPI Reciprocals 14)

(9-92)   ***putput*** *s-pat=xe*   *it*   *ox*   *əpli-pat-n=a*
             fly   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD again   3sm   come-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
             'After (the bird) had flown away, he came again (to the house) and then, ...'
             ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

A list of the coverbs in my corpus thus far which can occur with verbs of motion is shown in Table 9-8 below.

Form	Meaning	Source
putput	fly	*put* 'point, tip' n; *put te* 'sky'
gugu	run	*gugu* 'run' coverb with *li-* 'SAY'
lamlam	run around	
ləplap	walk backwards	
dalap	hunt	
kakip	walk	*kip* 'road, path' n
abi	to hunt birds just after dark (from Lawrence, M. 1993 *ämbi*)	
ərjor	to cut down all the trees in an area to make a garden (from Lawrence, M. 1993 *aryor*)	
bəxabəxa	to pass by someone without greeting them; ignore (from Lawrence, M. 1993 *bahämbahä*)	
kak	to go on an errand; go for a purpose (from Lawrence, M. 1993 *käk*)	*kak* 'head' n
tom dadu	to swim (from Lawrence, M. 1993 *tom dänduu*)	*tom* 'water' n
tura	to set a time; make a plan (from Lawrence, M. 1993 *turä*)	

Table 9-8.　　　Coverbs which occur with verbs of motion

It seems probable that the coverbs which occur with verbs of motion are a subset of the ideophonic coverbs as: many of them resemble ideophonic coverbs phonologically as they appear to be reduplicated in form, and at least one coverb, *gugu* 'run (off)' can occur with both verbs of motion (9-93) and the verb *li-* 'SAY' (9-94) with which ideophonic coverbs occur.

(9-93)　*təpe=si*　　*ixit*　　***gugu***　*əpli-pti*　　　*səbate*
　　　　PN=WITH　　3d　　**run**　come-IPFV.PL(.PRS)　PN

　　　　i-so=x
　　　　DEM.DST-across=3sm
　　　　'They quickly came with the Təpe clan to Səbate.' ("Xoxom Clan Origin" by Tapsut)

(9-94)　*jæxe*　***gugu***　*li-pat=xe*　　　　*s-s*　　*mda-m*　　　*ap*
　　　　then　**run**　SAY-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD　go-SEQ　finish-SEQ　house

　　　　kus　　*mox*　　*jojox*　*tom*　　*san*　　　*mox*　*tiŋ-toŋ*
　　　　corner　ANPH　TOP　water　container　ANPH　REDP-peck

　　　　p-n-gop=li
　　　　TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
　　　　'(The cassowary) ran very quickly and went to the corner of the house and pecked at the water container.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

9.2 Pre-Verbal-Complex Particles

There are four pre-verbal-complex particles in Oksapmin: *xa* 'HORT', *sa* 'INFR', *na=* 'NEG' and *gi=* 'THUS'. The pre-verbal-complex particles cannot co-occur.

9.2.1 xa – Hortative

The particle *xa* 'HORT' expresses a wish or hortative regarding a third person subject, made by the speaker or reported speaker: an action which is unrealized but which the speaker wishes to occur.

(9-95)

nox	*plastik*	*em*	*ux*	*plastik*
1s	plastic.bag(Eng)	mother.1POSS	3sf	plastic.bag(Eng)

tit	*p-opli-n=o*	*nox*	*pinat*	*san*	*uŋ*	*mox*	*jox*
INDF	CAUS-come-IMP=QUOT	1s	peanut(Eng)	seed	a.lot	ANPH	TOP

plastik	*tem*	*nuŋ*	*m-t-pol=o*	***xa***	*xæx*
plastic.bag(Eng)	inside	TO	MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT	**HORT**	dry

x-t	*idi-n=o*	*n-pli-nuŋ*
DO-SIM	stay.PFV-IMP=QUOT	1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG

'"Bring the plastic (bag) here! I want to put the peanut seeds inside so that they can dry out." (I saw that) Mum told me.' ("Today" by Julie James)

The particle *xa* 'HORT' generally occurs immediately to the left of the complex predicate (i.e. verb or coverb plus light verb). This particle is restricted in its distribution and only occurs with the imperative form of the verb or with today past and yesterday past visual-sensory perfective forms. In both cases the meaning is the same. *xa* 'HORT' is shown with the imperative form of the verb in examples (9-96) and (9-97) below.

(9-96)

gi=li-n-gwel=o		*go*	*dsebra=ja*	*u*
THUS=say-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT		2s	PN=O	call.out

a-ti-n=o	*dsebra*	*ux*	*pa*	*m=ox*
BEN(.SAY)-PFV-IMP=QUOT	PN	3sf	taro	DEM.PRX=3sm

xa	***d-ti-n=o**=xejox*	*n-pli-n-gwel*
HORT	**take-PFV-IMP**=QUOT=BECAUSE	1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.YESTP

'She told me thus: "You call for Zebra! Let her take this taro!", she said to me.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(9-97) *jəxe*   *oxe*   *bəp*   *a*   *tap*   *uŋ=si*   *a*   *lumsan uŋ*
then   3sm.POSS   so   HES   pig   a.lot=WITH   HES   a.lot.of bag

mox   *xa*   *pəŋ*   *x-ti-n=o*   *li-m*   *bəp*   *ixit*
ANPH   **HORT** **light** **be-PFV-NOMLS**=QUOT   SAY-SEQ   so   3d

a-dəkme-s   *olxol*   *bəp*   *tap*   *lumsan olxol*   *in*
BEN-go.over-PNCT   3sm.REFL   so   pig   a.lot.of 3sm.REFL   so

a   *lum*   *lum*   *mox*   *pəŋ*   *x-s*
HES   heavy   heavy   ANPH   light   be-PNCT
'They jumped over his heavy bag of lots of pig (meat) for him so that it would
become light. That very same heavy bag full of pig meat became light.' ("Dogs" by
Dasyal Gahan)

The particle *xa* 'HORT' is shown with the today-past visual-sensory in
examples (9-98) and (9-99) below. The visual-sensory forms lose their evidential
meaning in this construction: the speaker has not witnessed or otherwise sensed the
event in question. This is simply a convention of the grammar, similar to the form
would in English, which is morphologically a past tense form, but no longer has a past
tense meaning.

(9-98) *a*   *ulaw*   *de-pat-n=a*
HES   properly   MAKE-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK

xa   *so-n-gwe*   *p-ti-pa*
HORT **go-PFV-VIS.TODP.PL**   tell-PFV-PER.FP.PL
'When she had done it properly, they$_i$ told her that they$_j$ should go.' ("Rich Girl" by
Geno Dipin)

(9-99) *amnən*   *ox*   *əpil=xənox*   *a*   *məmxan*   *toxan*
uncle.2POSS 3sm   come(.PRS.SG)=SBRD   HES   what's.it   sweet.potato

jox   *xa*   *de-nuŋ=mul=o*   *li-m*
DEF   **HORT** **eat-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**=CERT=QUOT   say-SIM
'… "If your uncle comes, let him eat, um, what's it, the sweet potato!" (she) said
and…' ("Five brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

The particle *xa* 'HORT' is shown with the yesterday past visual-sensory
perfective in the example below. The particle *xa* 'HORT' occurs less frequently with
the yesterday past visual-sensory perfective than with the imperative and with the
today past visual-sensory perfective as shown above.

(9-100) ***xa***   *i=xe-n-gwel*   *li-m*
HORT **like.that=DO-PFV-VIS.YESTP**   say-SEQ
'I said "let him stay like that" and then …' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

9.2.2 sa ~ se – Inferred or Assumed

This particle is used to indicate that the speaker or reported speaker did not directly witness an event but has other evidence that the event occurred or has concluded on the basis of an educated guess as shown in the example below. The story from which the example is taken is a first person narrative where the speaker thought her daughter died when she really hadn't. From this event, the speaker concludes that God is testing her.

(9-101) *nox=ja* **sa**   *tlaj-im*   *n-xe-l=o*
      1s=O   **INFR**   try(Eng)-TR   1/2.O-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT

      da=x-ti-p
      thought=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG
      'I thought that God must have been testing me.' ("Near death of child" by Dulum Aleap)

In the following example, the speaker recounts how she pretended to be asleep so that the rat would come near her: she was not asleep, the rat simply must have assumed as such as it approached her.

(9-102) *xanəp*   *ma*   **se**   *lumsan=nəp*   *timo-l=o*
      person   REL   **INFR**   a.lot.of=VERY   sleep-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT

      niŋ=o   *da*   *x-pat=xe*   *ox*   *axla*
      small.mammal=QUOT   think   DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   3sm   easy

      əpli-pat=xe
      come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
      'When the rat thought "the people must be asleep", when it came quietly, …' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

This particle can also occur with future tense actions with a similar meaning as shown in the example below. When someone has rope in the Tekin Valley, they will usually twist it at some point in preparation for making a string bag.

(9-103) *a*   *naŋ*   *jox*   *jox*   *xwel*   *kunuŋ* *bap*   *jux*   *ux=ja* *naŋ*
      HES   rope   DEF   TOP   PN   girl   small   DEF   3sf=O   rope

      mox   *ulxul*   *jəxe*   **se**   *xu-ti-plox=o*   **li-m**
      ANPH   3sf.REFL   then   **INFR**   twist-PFV-TODF.SG=QUOT   **say-SEQ**

      m-a-mda-pat=xe   *ml*
      PRX.O-BEN-leave-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   MAKE(.PRS.SG)
      'I left the rope for the small Hwelmin girl thinking that she would probably twist it later.' ("Today" by Julie James)

When *sa* 'INFR' occurs with a verb which follows the complex predicates *kin x-* 'how' and *kin de- ~ ml- ~ x-* 'how', it has a specialised meaning which expresses the impossibility of a future action which the speaker or reported speaker desires to occur as shown in the following future tense examples.

(9-104) *blel*　*mox*　*dit*　*kin*　*ml*　　　**sa**　　*o=m-de-m*
　　　　child　ANPH　1dIN　how　MAKE(.SEQ)　**INFR**　leave=PRX.O-MAKE-SEQ

　　　　s-ploxe
　　　　go-TODF.PL
　　　　'"However can we leave the child behind and go?"' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(9-105) *kin*　　*m-t*　　　　**sa**　　*pu-s-si-plox=o*　　　　**li-m**
　　　　how　　DO-SIM　　**INFR**　CAUS-go-PFV-TODF.SG=QUOT　**say-**SEQ

　　　　uŋ　　　　*mi-m*　　　　*sli-l*
　　　　string.bag　　put.in.bag-SEQ　put-IPFV.PER.TODP
　　　　'"How will I ever take (them home)?", he said and put (them) in his bag and put the bag (down).' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

The particle *sa ~ se* must occur inside a complement clause of speech or thought (see Chapter 12, §12.1.1) or with the reported clitic (see Chapter 11, §11.1.8). The personal-factual past tense forms (see Chapter 8) are always used with this particle. These, however, are bleached of their personal-factual semantics, just as visual-sensory forms with the particle *xa* 'HORT' (§9.2.1) are. Examples (9-106) and (9-107) show this particle occurring in a reported speech clause. Examples (9-108) shows this particle in a sentence which is marked with the reported enclitic. If there is no overt complement taking predicate, the reported marker is required, even where the inference is that of the current speaker (first person) as in example (9-108).

(9-106) *em=e*　　　　*nonxe*　　*apte*　**sa**　*i=x-ti-p=o*
　　　　gosh=EXCL　　1s.REFL.POSS　village　**INFR**　like.that=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=QUOT

　　　　li-m
　　　　say-SEQ
　　　　(They told him that people had destroyed parts of the village and that only the church was left standing.) '"Gosh! This must really be happening in my very own village", he said and then…' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-107) *ap*   *ixle=xe*   ***se***   *de-l=o*   ***li-m***
house   3p.POSS=FOC   **INFR**   eat-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT   **say-SEQ**

nuxul   *imd-il=xe*   *apte*   *ko-ŋ*
1pEX   mother&child-PL=FOC   village   arrive-PNCT
'We thought that they must have eaten theirs already so me and my children came to our house.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-108) *təlaŋ*   *ku*   *mox*   ***se***   *it-pa=**li***
PN   woman   ANPH   **INFR**   put.PFV-PER.FP.PL=**REP**
'I guess they must have buried that woman from Oksapmin Station.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

Although *sa* 'INFR' usually occurs immediately to the left of the complex predicate (or verb), I have a number of examples where there is another constituent intervening, as with *lumsannəp* in (9-102) above, and *jə-xəm* in (9-109) below.

(9-109) *ixil=xe*   ***se***   *jə-xəm*   *it-pa=**li***
3p=FOC   **INFR**   DEM.DST-down   put.PFV-PER.FP.PL=**REP**
'They might have buried her body down there.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

The particle *sa* 'INFR' also appears to be able to occur at the end of a reported speech or thought clause as shown in the examples below. When it occurs with the enclitic *=o* 'QUOT', it is shortened to /s/.

(9-110) *in*   *ux=ja*   *kin*   *m-ti-plox*   ***s=o***
so   3sf=O   how   MAKE-PFV-TODF.SG   **INFR=QUOT**

***da=x**-ti-p=li=a*
think=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=LINK
'"What can I possibly do with her?", he thought.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(9-111) *ej*   *nox*   *xəplu-l*   ***s=o***   ***da=x**-ti-p*
gosh   1s   die-IPFV.PER.TODP   **INFR=QUOT**   **thought=DO-**PFV-PER.FP.SG

jox
TOP
'When I had thought that I must have died, …' ("Own illness" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-112) *axja*   *nox*   *wok*   *lumsan=nəp*   ***sa***   ***li**-pat=a*
gosh   1s   work(TP)   a.lot=VERY   **INFR**   **say-**IPFV.SG(.PRS)=LINK
'I thought about how much work I had to do.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

9.2.3 na= – Negative

The negative prefixing clitic *na=* attaches to the left edge of a coverb or to the left edge of a verb where no coverb is present. No other element can intercede between

the negative clitic and the coverb/verb. The negative proclitic is shown in the examples below. In example (9-113) the negative clitic is shown preceding a coverb. In example (9-114) it is shown phonologically attached to a verb.

(9-113) *nulanuxul*   *kətpe*   *ku=si*   *xan=si*   *nulanuxul*   *a*
         1pEX.REFL   some   woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   1pEX.REFL   HES

         na*=*da   *x-pti*
         NEG=thought   DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
         'Some of us, we don't think/understand.' ("Church" by Kila Dasyal)

(9-114) *i=ma*   *xan*   *j=olxol*   *apli-s=a*
         DEM.DST=REL   man   DEM.DST=3sm.REFL   come-SEQ=LINK

         den   *jox*   *ap*   *jə-xən*
         food   DEF   house   DEM.DST-across

         na*=*p-lo-sux=li=a
         NEG=CAUS-enter-HAB.PER.FP.SG=REP=LINK
         '… that man used to come but didn't bring the food into the house.' ("Women's house" by Julie James)

Although *na=* 'NEG' can have the same phonological form as *n-* '1/2.O' (see Chapter 8, §8.1.1), i.e. [nə], *na=* 'NEG' contrasts syntactically with *n-* '1/2.O'. *n-* '1/2.O' can never go before a coverb, whereas *na=* 'NEG' occurs before a coverb. This is shown in the examples below. In example (9-115), the negative proclitic precedes the coverb *gət* 'cut', whereas in example (9-116), the first and second person object agreement prefix follows the coverb and precedes the verb. In example (9-117), the negative proclitic precedes the coverb *wa* 'see', whereas in example (9-118), the first and second person object agreement prefix follows the coverb and precedes the verb.

(9-115) *go*   *skul*   ***na*=*gət***   *m-de-m*   *s-plox*
         2s   school(Eng)   **NEG**=cut   PRX.O-MAKE-SEQ   go-TODF.SG

         go   *skul*   *xəm*   *wajo-n=mul=o*
         2s   school(Eng)   down   go.down-IMP=CERT=EMPH
         'You won't go and cut off your schooling. You must go down to school!' ("Near death of child" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-116) *ep=e*   *noxe*   *toŋ*   *a*   *gət*
         gosh=EXCL   1s.POSS   foot   HES   cut

         n-x=d=a   *p-n-gop=li*
         1/2.O-MAKE.PRS.SG=PQ=EMPH   tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
         '"Hey! Did someone just cut me on the foot?" (it is said that he heard someone) say to him.' ("Pandanus" by Tracks Babyan)

(9-117) *be*   *lat=xe*   *xa=xe*   **na**=*wa=m-ti-pa*
         just   tree=FOC   bush=FOC   NEG=see=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL
         'I didn't see any trees or bush.' ("Own illness" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-118) *en*   *ixil=o*   *a*   *nox=ja*   *sa*   *kədap*   *apən*
         PN   3p=QUOT   HES   1s=O   INFR   tree.variety   deep.inside

         mox   *wa=**n**-x-pli=o*   *li-n-gop=li*
         ANPH   see=**1/2.O-MAKE**-FF.PL=QUOT say-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
         'He said "Let the En clan see me go down into the hole of the *kədap* tree!"' ("Rich girl" by Geno Dipin)

Example (9-119) below shows the negative clitic preceding a coverb which precedes a light verb with the first and second person agreement marker.

(9-119) **na**=*i=**n**-x-n-gop*
        NEG=angry=**1/2.O-**MAKE-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
        'He wasn't cross at me.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

A further distinguishing feature between the negative clitic and the first and second person pronominal prefix is that the negative clitic does not participate in the syllabification process of the word to which it is attached and may take its own stress, as demonstrated by the following examples. In example (9-120) below, the syllabification of the verb *pl-* 'tell' has taken place before the addition of *na=* 'NEG', and so *na=* forms its own syllable. In contrast, in example (9-121) below, syllabification of the verb *pl-* 'TELL'[10] has taken place after the addition of *n-* '1/2.O', and so *n-* forms a syllable with the first consonant, /p/, of the verb *pl-*. See Chapter 2, §2.4, for details on syllabification.

(9-120) *got*   *na=pat=o*   **na**=*pli-pləxe*
                                                     [na.ɸə.lip.lə.ɣe]
                                                      *[nap.lip.lə.ɣe]
        God(Eng)   NEG=stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   NEG=tell-TODF.SG
        'We shouldn't say that God doesn't exist.' ("Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

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[10] *pl-* 'tell' and *pl-* 'TELL' behave identically phonologically and are only distinguished syntactically.

(9-121) *mə=ma*   *gja-s*   **n-*pli-pat***

                                               [nəp.li.βat]

       DEM.PRX=REL   cover-PNCT   **1/2.O-**TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

       m=olxol=xe   *gja*   *n-x-m*   *pat-n*

       DEM.PRX=3sm.REFL=FOC   cover   1/2.O-MAKE-SEQ   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS

       pat-n   *pat-n*

       stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS

       'The one who was covering me was doing that over and over and over.' ("Own illness" by Dulum Aleap)

The scope of *na=* does not extend past its immediate clause (9-122).

(9-122) *nox*   *den*   **na=*d-m*   *tim-d-ol*

       1s   food   **NEG=**eat-SEQ   sleep-PFV-PER.YESTP

       'I didn't eat and then I did sleep.' (Elicited FNB 4.67)

Although the negative clitic usually precedes the coverb, it may occur following the coverb and preceding the verb when the coverb is two syllables or more and the main verb has the first or second person agreement marker as shown in the examples below.

(9-123) *gul*   *agəge*   **na=*n-x-ti-pli=mul=o*

       2p   rub.shit.on   **NEG=**1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-FF.PL=CERT=QUOT

       '"You will not rub your shit on me."' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-124) *jæxe*   *gin*   *gologwe*   *sjos*   *memba*   *ixil*   *kjan*

       then   now   2s.REFL.POSS   church(TP)   member(Eng)   3p   what

       xan=o   *li-m*   *help-im*

       thing=QUOT   say-SEQ   help(Eng)-TR(TP)

       **na=*n-xe-l=o*

       NEG=1/2.O-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT

       '"So, why aren't your church members helping you?"' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The verbal negator *na=* contrasts with the non-verbal negator *=bəs* (see Chapter 11, §11.2.1). Other Papuan languages also have a contrast between a verbal versus non-verbal negation strategy, e.g. Usan (Reesink 1987), Enga (Lang 1973).

Interestingly, verbal negation is also indicated by a pre-verb clitic or suffix of similar form in a number of other Papuan languages: *nə=* in Kewa (Franklin and Franklin 1978: 61); *na-* in Enga (Lang 1973: xxxix); *na-* in Wahgi (Phillips 1976).

9.2.4 gi= – Reported Speech Clause Pronoun

The proclitic *gi=* 'THUS' occurs with the verbs of speech *pl-* 'tell' (9-126) and *li-* 'say' and with the complex predicate *da=x-* 'think=DO' (9-125). This prefix substitutes for a complement clause. No other element can occur between *gi=* 'THUS' and the coverb (or verb if no coverb is present).

(9-125) **gi=da=x-ti-p=li=o**   *nexemja*   *ox=o*
         THUS=think=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=EMPH   PN   3sm=EMPH
         'He thought like this, Jeremiah.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

(9-126) *iselel*   *ixil*   **gi=p-t-pel=xən**
         PN   3p   **THUS**=tell-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD
         'When the Israelites told this to him, …' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap)

The most common use of this suffix is with a finite verb of speech to indicate that a piece of reported discourse follows. This piece of reported discourse is then closed with another verb of speech without the clitic *gi=* 'THUS'. This is shown in the examples below.

(9-127) *nox=nuŋ*   **gi=n-p-n-gopa**   *go*
         1s=O   **THUS**=1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL   2s

         bap=nəp=xejox   *kut*   *əpli-pla*   *jia*
         small=VERY=BECAUSE future   come-FF.SG   year

         mox   *go*   *skul*   *xəm*   *əpli-n=o*   *gin*
         ANPH   2s   school(Eng)   down   come-IMP=QUOT   now

         it   *apte*   *so-n=o*   **n-p-n-gopa**
         again   village go-IMP=QUOT   **1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL**
         '(The teachers) told me thus: "You're too small. Come back next year! Now, go home!", they said.' ("First Day of School" by Savonna Frank)

(9-128) *blel*   *gwe*   *lel*   *ma*   *ixil*
         child   small   some   REL   3p

         gi=m-p-n-gopa=li=a   *nuxule*   *xanəp* *gəl*
         THUS=PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP=LINK   1pEX.POSS   person cut

         de-pti=xe   *mox=mul=o*   **m-pl**
         MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD   ANPH=CERT=QUOT   **PRX.O-tell(.SEQ)**
         'The children said thus: "We cut up people with this knife here", (it is said) they told him and…' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

The particle *gi=* 'THUS' is also used to replace a complement clause when the speaker is summarizing the previous speech event in tail-head linkage (de Vries 2005) and does not wish to repeat the complement clause. In the following examples which

are consecutive lines from a single text, *gi=* 'THUS' in example (9-129)b. is used where there is no overt reported speech clause, and is used to replace the speech clause in example (9-129)a. below.

(9-129) *a.*   *lex*   *gwe*   *ap*   *s-pel=d=a*
               long.ago   2s.POSS   house   go-IF.PL=PQ=EMPH

                  noxe   *ap*   *s-pel=d=a*   *li-t-pa=li*
                  1s.POSS   house   go-IF.PL=PQ=EMPH   say-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
                  'Then, "Shall we go to your house?", "Shall we go to my house?", (it is said that) they said.'

         b.   **gi**=*li-pti=xe*
                  THUS=say-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD
                  'After they said that, …' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

A further use of this prefix is to refer to the current piece of discourse. This is shown in the following example where the speaker refers to the story he is finishing telling by using *gi=* 'THUS'.

(9-130) **gi**=*n-pl*   *ed-n-gwel=a*   *gin*
         THUS=1/2.O-tell(.SEQ)   stay-PFV-VIS.YESTP=LINK   now

         jox   *pok*
         DEF   all
         'They told me thus and stayed. Now, that's the end.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

The fact that *gi=* 'THUS' can precede a complex predicate (i.e. *da=x-* 'think=DO') shows that it is a pre-verbal-predicate particle and not a verbal prefix (or else it could not precede the coverb *da=*).

Further evidence that *gi=* 'THUS' is a clitic is that it does not participate in syllabification during word formation. Thus in example (9-127) above we get [ginəβəngoβa] and not [ginɸəngoβa] which would be expected according to the schwa insertion rules (see Chapter 2, §2.4) if *gi=* 'THUS' were a prefix.

Chapter 10
Clausal Syntax

In this chapter, the syntax of simple clauses is discussed in detail. Arguments licensed by the verb are covered in §10.1. The various types of verbless clauses and their syntax are described in §10.2. Word order in simple clauses is set out in §10.3. Clause level constructions not addressed elsewhere in the thesis, such as interrogatives, negation, and distributive and reciprocal constructions, are dealt with in §10.4.

10.1 Arguments Licensed by Verbal Predicates

There are three core grammatical relations in Oksapmin: subject, primary object and secondary object, which are described in §10.1.1. Underived simple predicates (a verb) and complex predicates (a verb plus a coverb) may license up to one subject and two objects as arguments as discussed in §10.1.2. A verb may alter its subcategorisation frame though derivation, see §10.1.3.

10.1.1　Grammatical Relations

As mentioned above, there are three core grammatical relations in Oksapmin: subject, primary object and secondary object.

10.1.1.1　Subject

The subject is easily identifiable as the argument whose number is cross-referenced in the verbal suffixation. This is shown in example (10-1)a. below where the subject of the subordinate clause *tap ox* 'the pig' has a third singular pronoun which agrees with the light verb *li-* 'SAY' which is in singular form. Likewise in the consecutive example (10-1)b., the subject of the main clause *go* 'you' is singular and agrees with the singular number marking on the verb *pdpat* 'cause to eat, feed'.

(10-1)　*a.*　　*tap*　　**ox**　　*kəsip*　*x-s*　　　　*li*　　　　　*jox*
　　　　　　　　pig　　**3sm**　　strong　be-PNCT　　　SAY(.PRS.**SG**)　TOP
　　　　　　　　'When the pig has grown up, …'

b.   *kja*   *xan*   *den=wi*   ***go***   *p-d-pat*
      what   thing   food=ONLY   **2s**   CAUS-eat-IPFV**.SG**(.PRS)
      '…what food do you feed it?' ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

Both dual (10-2) and plural (10-3) subjects are marked with plural subject marking on the verb.

(10-2)   *noxe*   *ita=si*   *em*   ***ixit***   *a*
        1s.POSS father.1/2POSS=CNJ   mother.1POSS   **3d**   HES

        ed-pa=li
        be.PFV-PER.FP**.PL**=REP
        '(It is said that) my mother and father stayed.' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

(10-3)   ***ixil***   *na=pti=naŋ=a*
        3p   NEG=be.IPFV**.PL**=CNTRF=LINK
        'If they weren't alive...' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

In past tenses, the evidential marking also helps to identify the person of the subject. This is shown in the consecutive lines below from a text, which described the speaker's meeting and conversation with a woman she knows. In example (10-4)b., although there is no overt noun phrase representing the subject, it is clear from the visual-sensory evidence verb inflection that the subject is not the speaker, and therefore must be the woman, who she just described meeting in the preceding sentence. This is because a speaker must give the strongest evidence available for a given action. Note also that personal-factual evidence is ungrammatical in (10-4)b. The reverse applies in example (10-4)c., where it is now the speaker who is addressing the woman and personal-factual verb inflection is used and visual-sensory inflection would be ungrammatical as shown by the starred verb.

(10-4)   *a.*   *nox*   *s-pat-n*   *ku*   *tit*   *u=o*
           1s   go-IPFV.SG-NOMLS   woman INDF   call.out=EMPH

           n-pli-n-gwel
           1/2O-TELL-PFV-VIS.YESTP
           'When I was going along, (I saw/heard that) a lady called out to me.'

b.   *jæxe*   *gi=n-pli-n-gwel=o*
      then   THUS-1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT
              *gi=n-p-ti-l=o
              THUS-1/2.O-tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT
      'Then (I saw/heard that) she told me as follows:'

[…]

c.   *jæxe*   *nox*   *gi=p-ti-l=o*
      then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT
              *gi=pli-n-gwel=o
              THUS=tell-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT
      'Then I told her as follows:' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

See Chapter 8, §8.2.1.4.3, for more on the subject person implicature of evidentials.

10.1.1.2   Primary Object

A primary object can be identified by its ability to be cross-referenced with a verbal prefix indicating the grammatical person of the referent. Primary objects may also take an object marking clitic, either *=ja* 'O' or *=nuŋ* 'O' (where a pronoun or pronominal article is present; see Chapter 6, §§6.2.3–4), which have identical functions. Primary objects are shown in the example below with the ditransitive verbs *lapil-* 'give' and *pl-* 'tell'.

(10-5) **m-***lapli-pol=xənox*   *gəxən=a*   *ixil*   *ko-t-pel=xənox*   *gin*
        PRX.O-give-IF.SG=SBRD later=EMPH   3p   arrive-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD   now

        em   *go*   *nel*   *i=ma*   *nox*   *su*
        mother.1POSS   2s   bird   DEM.DST=REL   1s   kill(.PRS.SG)

        jox=a   *gin*   *naŋ*   *xu-ti-n*   *tit*   *n-a-xu-ti-n*
        DEF=LINK   now   rope   twirl-PFV-IMP   INDF   1/2.O-BEN-twirl-PFV-IMP

        m-*p-n-gop=li*
        PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'When he gave **them** (the bird), when they arrived, "now I've killed the bird so you can twist my rope", he told **them**.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

As per Dryer (1986), primary objects are those objects which function as indirect objects in ditransitive clauses and direct objects in mono-transitive clauses. In Oksapmin, objects licensed by the benefactive and causative prefixes are also primary objects. The (mono)transitive verb *dl-* 'take/get' is shown in (10-6) below with the proximal object agreement marker *m-* 'PRX.O' present, which agrees in person with

the primary object *ima təmlepti xan jox gras naip jox* 'the thing we work with, the grass knife'.

(10-6) *i=ma*   *təmle-pti*   *xan*   *jox*   *gras*
       DEM.DST=REL   work-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   thing   DEF   grass(Eng)

       naip   *jox*   **m-*dli-pat***   *nox=xe*
       knife(Eng)   DEF   **PRX.O-**take-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   1s=FOC

       ul-xi-l
       go.up-PFV-PER.YESTP
       'I took the thing we work with, the grass knife, and I went up too.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

There are three subtypes of object: subcategorized primary object, causative object, and benefactive object. These are treated in an identical fashion by the grammar but differ in whether they are licensed by an underived verb or by the causative or benefactive prefixes. Subcategorized primary objects, as in (10-6) and (10-7), are subcategorized for by underived verbal predicates, whereas causative (10-8) and benefactive (10-9) objects are licensed by the causative and benefactive prefixes respectively. Note that in each of the examples below, the overt noun phrase takes an object marking clitic (as expected, since in the object is a pronoun in each case).

(10-7) *em*   *ux*   *tit*   *uŋ*   *jox*   **nox=ja**
       mother.1POSS   3sf   another string.bag   DEF   **1s=O**

       sux-di-n=o   *li-m*   **n-*apli-n-gwel=a***
       carry-PFV-IMP=QUOT   say-SEQ   **1/2.O-**give-PFV-VIS.YESTP=LINK

       bek   *uŋ*   *jox=a*
       bag(Eng)   string.bag   DEF=EMPH
       'My mother gave me one bag and said "carry it!". That bag.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(10-8) *kwalxan*   *ox*   **nuxul=ja**   **n-*p-d-m***
       PN   3sm   **1pEX=O**   **1/2.O-CAUS-**eat-SEQ

       edo-l
       stay.PFV-PER.YESTP
       'Kwalxan fed us and stayed.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

(10-9)   *a*   *aw*   *ux*   ***nox=nuŋ***   *u*
          HES   grandparent.1POSS   3sf   **1s=O**   call.out

> ***n-a-*nuŋ**
> **1/2.O-BEN**(.SAY)-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
> 'My grandmother called out to me.' ("Today" by Julie James)

Primary objects can be cross-referenced by the reciprocal prefix, *gos-* 'RECP', as shown for the ditransitive verb *lapil-* 'give' in (10-10), the mono-transitive verb *su-* 'hit, kill, fight' in (10-11), the derived benefactive *we ali-* 'shake hands with' in (10-12), and the derived causative *pd-* 'feed' in (10-13).

(10-10) *ixil*   *tɔde-m*   *tit*   *xan*   *tit*   ***gos-apli-pti***
          3p   stand-SEQ   another thing INDF **RECP-**give-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
          'They are standing there giving things to each other.' (Misseth Apipnok, MPI Reciprocals 34)

(10-11) *ixil*   *tɔde-m*   *bes=si*   ***gus-su-pti***
          3p   stand.up-SEQ hand=WITH **RECP-**hit-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
          'They two are standing up hitting each other.' (Misseth Apipnok, MPI Reciprocals 57)

(10-12) *jɔxe*   *nuxut* *[...]*   *we*   ***gos-a-li-pti***
          then   1dEX   shake.hands **RECP-**BEN-SAY(INTR)-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
          'Then, we […] shook hands with each other.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

(10-13) *ixil*   *alwəl*   *x-m*   *den*   ***gos-p-di-pa***
          3p   exchange   DO-SEQ   food **RECP-**CAUS-eat.PFV-PER.FP.PL
          'They fed each other food.' (Elicited.)

10.1.1.3   Secondary Object

Secondary objects may take object marking (10-14) (although usually do not as they are usually inanimate, and as such do not take pronominal articles, meaning there's no host for the object marker; see Chapter 6, §§6.2.3–4). Unlike primary objects, however, secondary objects may not be cross-referenced with a verbal prefix indicating person, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (10-15).

(10-14) *got*   *ox*   ***djisas*** ***ox=nuŋ***   *n-ap-di-l*
          PN   3sm   **PN**   **3sm=O**   1/2.O-give-PFV-PER.YESTP
          'God gave Jesus to us.' (Elicited FNB 7.84)

(10-15) **em*   *ux*   *aw*   *ux=nuŋ* **n-ap-di-l***
          mother.1POSS 3sm   grandparent.1POSS   3sf=O **1/2.O-**give-PFV-PER.YESTP
          Intended meaning: 'My mother gave me to grandmother (as a baby).' (Elicited.)

Certain complex predicates subcategorize for a secondary object but no primary object (10-16)a. This object cannot be cross-referenced on the verb (10-16)b.

(10-16) a.   *nox*   **go=nuŋ**   *xanxan*   *xæx*
           1s   **2s=O**   not.know   DO.PRS.SG
           'I don't know you.' (Elicited.)

        b.   **nox*   **go=nuŋ**   *xanxan*   **n-xæx**
           1s   **2s=O**   not.know   **1/2.O**-MAKE.PRS.SG
           'I don't know you.' (Elicited.)

A second property which distinguishes secondary objects from primary objects is their inability to feed the reciprocal construction with *gos-* as shown in (10-17)a. below. Instead, the alternative reciprocal construction with *alwəl* 'exchange' must be used (10-17)b.

(10-17) a.   **ixil*   *tap*   *dəpæx*   *gos-x-t-pa*
           3p   pig   steal   RECP-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL
           'They stole a pig from each other.' (Elicited.)

        b.   *ixil*   *tap*   *alwəl*   *alwəl*   *x-m*   *dəpæx*
           3p   pig   exchange   exchange   DO-SEQ   steal

           x-t-pa
           DO-PFV-PER.FP.PL
           'They stole a pig from each other.' (Elicited.)

10.1.2   Underived Verbal Predicate Subcategorisation Frames

Verbal predicate subcategorisation frames in Oksapmin may be characterized according to two main variables: ability to take a subcategorized primary object, and ability to take a secondary object. This results in three different subcategorisation frames for verbal predicates: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive as shown in Table 10-1 below.[1] Intransitive and transitive verbal predicates form the vast majority of all verbal predicates in Oksapmin, whereas ditransitive verbal predicates are quite rare.

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[1] In the article "Oksapmin clause structure.", M. Lawrence identifies ten clause types in Oksapmin within a tagmemic theoretical framework. This is shown in the table below where "[i]n each order the expanded series has one more optional nuclear tagmeme than the unexpanded series" (Lawrence, M. 1971a: 111).

	Unexpanded	Expanded
Equational	Intransitive equation	Transitive equation
General	Intransitive	Transitive
Indirect	Semitransitive	Ditransitive
Destination	Motion	Motion transitive
Quotative	Undirected quote	Directed quote

	Subject	Object prefix	Subcategorized primary object	Secondary object
Intransitive	+	-	-	-
Transitive	+	+	+	-
Ditransitive	+	+	+	+

Table 10-1.   Clause types in Oksapmin

10.1.2.1   Intransitive Verbal Predicates

Intransitive verbal predicates license only a subject. The verb suffixation agrees in number with the subject (in most tense/aspect/evidentiality forms), as in (10-18) below. The subject may additionally be encoded by an optional overt noun phrase.

(10-18) *(nox)   jəm-pat*
   1s cry-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
   'I am crying.'

The inability of intransitive verbal predicates to take object agreement markers is demonstrated in (10-19) with the intransitive verbal predicate *jəm-* 'cry', which cannot take an object (except through derivational processes).

(10-19) **m-jəm-pat*
   PRX.O-cry-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
   '(I/you/he/she/it) is crying him/her/it.'

10.1.2.2   Transitive Verbal Predicates

Transitive verbal predicates subcategorize for both a subject and a primary object. The number of the subject is cross-referenced in the verb suffixes for tense/aspect/evidentiality forms which mark number of the subject. The person of the object is cross-referenced with a verb prefix where it is first or second person or third person proximal. The primary object may additionally be encoded by an overt noun phrase with object marking, where relevant. This is demonstrated in example (10-20) below, where the transitive verb *mda-* 'leave' has both a subject and an object. The

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The analysis presented in this thesis similarly has intransitive and transitive verbless clauses (equivalent to M. Lawrence's equational clauses) and intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbal clauses. According to my analysis, however, semi-transitive, motion and motion transitive are not distinct clause types. The analysis that there are no semi-transitive clauses stems from my analysis of =*nuŋ* as an object marker on higher animates, rather than a marker of indirect objects, as M. Lawrence analyses it (see Chapter 6, §6.2.3). As for motion and motion transitive clauses, while it is certainly true that verbs of motion take location phrases much more frequently than other verbs, these location phrases do not function any differently from location phrases with another other verb (see the section on *nuŋ* 'TO' in Chapter 5, §5.2.2.1).

subject, namely *ixil* '3p' is cross-referenced with plural subject number marking on the verb as well as being encoded by an overt noun phrase. The object, namely *noxnuŋ* 'me', is represented by an overt noun phrase as well as being cross-referenced with the first and second object prefix *n-* '1/2.O' on the verb.

(10-20) *jæxe   ixil   nox=nuŋ   xəm   ka   n-mda-pti*
        then   3p   1s=O   down   place   1/2.O-leave-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'After they left me down there, …' ("Near Drowning" by Hirai)

10.1.2.3   Ditransitive Verbal Predicates

A small number of verbal predicates in Oksapmin are ditransitive. Ditransitive verbal predicates take two objects: one primary and one secondary. While both objects may take object marking, only the primary object may be cross-referenced on the verb with a person prefix. I have come across four ditransitive verbal predicates in Oksapmin so far: *lapil-* 'give X to Y', *pigi-* 'show X to Y', *pl-* 'tell X to Y', and *apxol-* 'rub X on Y'. The ditransitive verbal predicate *lapil-* 'give' is shown in (10-21), *pigi-* 'show' in (10-22), *pl-* 'tell' in (10-23), and *apxol-* 'rub' in (10-24).

(10-21) *tixe-pti   xanəp   ixil=noŋ   melasin*
        be.sick-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   person   3p=O   medicine(Eng)

        lapli-pti-n=a
        (3.O.)give-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
        '(We) gave the sick people medicine and then, …' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

(10-22) *mə=ma   ixil   la-pti   jox*
        DEM.PRX=REL   3p   sing.and.dance-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   TOP

        alwap-il   nap-gəpenil   ixil=nuŋ   pig-pti
        SS.SIB-PL   y.SS.SIB-PL   3p=O   (3.O.)show-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'These ones, as for their dancing, the older ones show (it) to the younger ones.'
        ("Birds 2" by Paiiz Wengsin)

(10-23) *noxe   meŋ   tit   go=nuŋ*
        1s.POSS   speech   INDF   2s=O

        n-p-ti-plox=xejox=o   n-p-n-gop
        1/2.O-tell-PFV-TODF.SG=BECAUSE=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
        '"I want to tell you something", he told me.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

(10-24) *jæxe   tjaŋ   əwam   xan=a   tap   u   kət   əwam*
then   what   taboo   thing=EMPH   pig   grease   short   taboo

xan=a   i=ma   alel   jox   n-apxo-nipti
thing=EMPH   DEM.DST=REL   thing   DEF   1/2.O-rub-HAB.VIS.FP.PL
'Then they used to rub that, what's that taboo thing, taboo pig fat on us.' ("Men's House" by Dalput)

It is common in Papuan languages to have either just a small set of ditransitive verbs, or no ditransitive verbs at all (Foley 2000: 377). Interestingly, Yimas has exactly the same set of ditransitive verbs as Oksapmin: 'give', 'tell', 'show', and 'rub' (Foley 2000: 377).

10.1.3 Derived Verbal Predicate Subcategorisation

The valence of a verbal predicate may be increased or decreased by the addition of valence changing verbal prefixes. The most arguments a verb can have, even with derivation, is three: subject, primary object and secondary object. Ditransitive verbs cannot take valence-increasing prefixes.

The derivational prefixes in Oksapmin are: *t-* 'middle' (§10.1.3.1); *gos-* 'reciprocal' (§10.1.3.2); *p-* 'causative' (§10.1.3.3); and *a-* 'benefactive/malefactive' (§10.1.3.4). See the relevant section in the verb morphology chapter (Chapter 8) for more on each of these prefixes and how they change the valence of a verb.

10.1.3.1 Middle

The middle prefix can occur with transitive (10-25) or ditransitive (10-26) verbs to reduce the valence of the verb by one. It cannot occur with intransitive verbs. See Chapter 8, §8.1.6, for more on the middle prefix.

(10-25) *nuxule   **t-**dəlpə-t-pa   meg   jox   xən*
1pEX.POSS   **MID-**begin-PFV-PER.FP.PL   speech   DEF   across

pti-n=a   tekut   xət   pti-n=a
stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   PN   up   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
'Our clan origin story is that we stayed out at Tekut and then…' ("Xoxom Clan Origin" by Tapsut)

(10-26) *dulum*   *a*   *mox*   *sux-pat*   *mda-m=a*
small.mammal.variety   excreta   ANPH   get-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   finish-SEQ=LINK

       t-*apxo-ti-p=li*   *olxol*
       MID-rub-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP   3sm.REFL
       'He finished getting the *dulum* small mammal's shit and then he rubbed (it) on himself.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

10.1.3.2   Reciprocal

The prefix *gos-* occurs only with transitive or ditransitive verbs. The reciprocal prefix is shown below with the underived transitive verb *su* (~ *si*) 'hit/kill/fight' which has a valence of two. When the reciprocal prefix is added, the subject and object are coreferent and an overt object noun phrase is no longer present as shown in example (10-28) below. A (non-reciprocal) transitive example with the verb *su* 'hit/kill' is shown in example (10-27).

(10-27) *a*   *xan*   *tit*   *mitixan*   *ap*   *mədəp*   *um*   *dəx*   *nuŋ*
       HES   man   INDF   PN   village   FROM   PN   down   TO

       a   *tap*   *su-m*   *waj-xi-p=li*
       HES   pig   (3O.)kill-SEQ   go.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
       '(It is said that) a man from Mitixan village went down to kill pigs near the Strickland river.' ("Gahan and the ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(10-28) *a*   *masalaj*   *ixit*   **gos-***si-t-pa*   *meg*   *jox*
       HES   ghost(TP)   3d   **RECP-**kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL   speech   DEF
       'This is the story of how he and a ghost fought with each other.' ("Gahan and the ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

       The reciprocal prefix *gos-* can also occur with ditransitive verbs which have an original valence of three. The verb *lapil-* 'give' is shown in example (10-30) below. After the reciprocal prefix has been added the verb now has a syntactic valence of two. The theme-like object *elel* is present while the recipient-like object is co-referent with the subject. A non-reciprocal example with *lapil-* 'give' is shown in example (10-29) below.

(10-29) *pa*   *mox*   *tit*   *lapli-pel=o*   *li-n-gwel*
       taro   ANPH   INDF   (3O.)give-IF.PL=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
       '"Let's give (her) some taro!", she said.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(10-30) *ixil*   *təde-m*   *elel*   **gos-***apli-pti*
       3p   stand-SEQ   thing   **RECP-**give-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'They are standing and giving things to each other.' (Misseth Apipnok, MPI Reciprocals 37)

The prefix *gos-* can also appear on verbs which have the benefactive prefix *a-* 'BEN'. The benefactive prefix increases the valence of a verb by one and then the reciprocal reduces valency by one. The reciprocal prefix *gos-* is shown with the benefactive prefix in example (10-32) below with the intransitive complex predicate *we li-* 'shake.hands SAY'. The subject is co-referent with the benefactive object. A non-reciprocal sentence with *we a-l-* 'shake.hands BEN-SAY-' with a first person benefactive object is given in (10-31) below.

(10-31) *ux na=we=n-a-t-lox=li*
       3s   NEG=shake.hands=1/2.O-BEN(.SAY)-PFV-TODF.SG=REP
       'She doesn't want to shake hands with me.' (Elicited FNB 7.2)

(10-32) *xan ot=a ku muk=a mox ixlail*
       man   two=CNJ   woman group=CNJ   ANPH   3p.REFL

       *we=**gos**-a-li-pti*
       shake.hands=**RECP**-BEN-SAY-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'The two men and the group of women are shaking hands with each other.' (Henna Kashat, MPI Reciprocals 13)

The prefix *gos-* can also appear on verbs which have the causative prefix *p-* 'CAUS'. Like the benefactive prefix, the causative prefix increases the valence of the verb by one. An example of *gos-* with the causative prefix with the verb *d-* 'eat/drink' is shown in example (10-13) below. The subject is co-referent with the causative object. A non-reciprocal example of *d-* 'eat/drink' with the causative prefix is shown in example (10-33) below.

(10-33) *jəxe nox it tom mox p-di*
       then   1s   again   water   ANPH   CAUS-eat.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
       'Then, I made (her) drink more water.' ("Today" by Julie James)

(10-34) *ixil alwəl x-m den **gos**-p-di-pa*
       3p   exchange   DO-SEQ   food   **RECP**-CAUS-eat.PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'They fed each other food.' (Elicited.)

Although it is possible for the benefactive and the causative to appear with each other and for each of them to appear with the reciprocal prefix, I have not been able to successfully elicit an example with the reciprocal prefix with both the benefactive and causative prefixes together as shown in example (10-35). The closest I have is example (10-36) with 'each bring food for each other' which shows that this combination is at least semantically possible in Oksapmin.

(10-35) *den   gos-a-p-op-di-pa
       food   RECP-BEN-CAUS-come-PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'They brought food for each other.' (Elicited.)

(10-36) *ixil*   *tit*   *ux=noŋ*   *den*   *a-p-opil*   *den*
       3p   INDF   3sf=O   food   (3.O.)BEN-CAUS-come(.PRS.SG) food

       a-p-opil   **gos-x-t-pa**
       (3.O.)BEN-CAUS-come(.PRS.SG) **RECP-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL**
       'They each brought food for the other.' (Elicited.)

The reciprocal prefix *gos-* may not co-occur with the other verbal prefixes: the middle prefix (*t-* 'MID'); and the object agreement prefixes (*n-* '1/2.O' and *m-* 'PRX.O').

The reciprocal prefix *gos-* 'RECP' can occur with animate or inanimate subjects, as shown in the example below with an inanimate subject.

(10-37) *buk*   *wet*   *iŋ*   *mox*   *ixlail*   *dip*
       book(Eng)   tied.package   a.lot   ANPH   3p.REFL   point

       gos-x-t   *pti*
       RECP-MAKE-SIM   stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'The books are leaning against (lit. pointing towards) one another.' (Henna Kashat, MPI Reciprocals 35)

Although *gos-* can be used with almost any verb with a valence of two or more, given the right context, in natural data it most commonly occurs with only two verbs: *su-* ~ *si-* 'hit/kill/fight' (10-28); or the light verb *x-* 'DO' plus either a coverb (10-38) or a quotation (10-39) (including with the quotation replacement clitic *gi=* 'thus' (10-40)).

(10-38) *ej*   *gin*   *ox*   *t-dəpəlkwe-s*   *itaxit*
       gosh   now   3sm   MID-turn.over-PNCT   3d.REFL

       *wa=***gos-x-s**
       see=**RECP-MAKE-PNCT**
       'He suddenly turned around and they saw each other.' ("Xoxom clan origin" by Tapsut)

(10-39) *gon=si=nəp*   *s-pli*   *s-pli=nəp=xe=o*[2]
       all=WITH=VERY   go-FF.PL   go-FF.PL=VERY=VIS=QUOT

       gos-x-n-gopa=*li*
       RECP-MAKE-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
       '"Let's all go!", they said to each other.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

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[2] This may prove to be the subordinating clitic *=xejox*. Further research is required.

(10-40) *jəxe   ixit   k=ot   gi=**gos**-x-t-pa=li=o*
then   3d   woman=two   THUS=**RECP-**MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
'Then, (it is said that) the two women said to each other as follows: …' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

During elicitation using the set of MPI reciprocals video clips, a similar situation was found with the reciprocal prefix occurring primarily with the light verb *x-* 'DO' (10-41).

(10-41) *ku   ot=a   xan   ot=a   ixlail   amam*
woman two=CNJ   man   two=CNJ   3p.REFL   happy

gos-*x-pti*
RECP-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
'The two women and two men are hugging each other.' (Henna Kashat, MPI Reciprocals 2)

10.1.3.3   Causative

The prefix *p-* can occur on underived intransitive and transitive verbs, but not ditransitive ones. In example (10-42) the intransitive verb *ml-* 'come up' is shown. In example (10-43), this verb occurs with the causative prefix which licenses an object which is cross-referenced with the first or second object prefix *n-*.

(10-42) *sista   sintija ux=xe   ulxe   ap   nuŋ*
sister(Eng)   PN   3sf=FOC   3sf.REFL.POSS house TO

mlo-*s   xe-l=a*
come.up-SEQ   be-IPFV.PER.TODP=EMPH
'Sister Cynthia went to her own house...' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

(10-43) *jəxe   nox=nəŋ   n-**p**-ml-s=a   em-xenil*
then   1s=O   1/2.O-**CAUS**-come.up-SEQ=LINK   mother.1POSS-PL

ixle   pti   ka   nəŋ   n-mda-s
3p.POSS   stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)   place TO   1/2.O-leave-SEQ
'He took me to my mothers and left me there and...' ("Nearly Drowning" by Hirai)

In example (10-44) the transitive verb *d-* 'eat' is shown. In example (10-45), the verb *d-* occurs with the causative prefix which licenses a new primary object which is cross-referenced by the object prefix *n-* '1/2.O', thus becoming ditransitive. What was the primary object, as in example (10-44), becomes the secondary object when the causative prefix is present, as in example (10-45). The prefix *p-* commonly occurs with *d-* 'eat'.

(10-44) *ap   mox   jox   jǝxe   den   **d-pti**=xe*
       house   ANPH   TOP   then   food   **eat-IPFV.PL(.PRS)**=SBRD
       'After (we) ate at the house, ...' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

(10-45) *jǝxe   s-pti-n=a   klepol ixil   pa=o*
       then   go-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   PN   3p   taro=CNJ

       *toxan=o   jox   **n-p-de-n-gopa***
       sweet.potato=CNJ   DEF   **1/2.O-CAUS-eat-PFV-VIS.FP.PL**
       'So, after we went, the Telefol people fed us taro and sweet potato.' ("Tabubil" by
       Kila Dasyal)

10.1.3.4   Benefactive

Similarly to the causative prefix, the benefactive prefix *a-* 'BEN' cannot occur with ditransitive verbs. It may, however, occur on any underived intransitive (10-46) or transitive (10-47) verbs. The prefix *a-* 'BEN' indicates a beneficiary which may be expressed by an overt noun phrase (10-46) or a covert one (10-47).

(10-46) *i=xi-m   pat-n=a   kol=**ja**   u*
       like.that=DO-SEQ   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   sister=**O**   call.out

       ***a**-ti-p=li*
       (3.O.)BEN(.SAY)-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
       'That kept going on like that and then he called out to his sister.' ("Echidna, *laxjan*
       Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

(10-47) *bǝs   tux   ma   ixit   nǝ=wa=m-de-t   jox   mjan   ot*
       no   smoke REL   3d   NEG=see=PRX.O-MAKE-SIM   TOP   dog   two

       *ixit   tux   ma   **a**-lem-di-pa*
       3d   smoke REL   **(3.O.)BEN**-hide-PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'No! They didn't see the smoke because the two dogs had hidden it for him.' ("Dogs"
       by Dasyal Gahan)

10.2 Verbless Clauses

Oksapmin makes frequent use of verbless clauses. Verbless clauses are considered to have a basic structure of topic followed by predicate. Evidence for this is that the first element of a verbless clauses is often topic marked as discussed in §10.2.1 below. Constituents other than the topic and the predicate follow the same order as for clauses with verbs as discussed in §10.3 below.

(10-48) *jox   ixil   bap   gwe   lel*
TOP   3p   small   small   some
'Because they are really small (ones).' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

Noun phrase predicates can have any of the following functions: equative (10-49), ascriptive (10-48), locational (10-50), and possessive (10-51).

(10-49) *mo=x   gwe   xəjop   kip=d=a*
DEM.PRX=3sm 2s.POSS   moon   road=PQ=EMPH
"'Is this your hunting path?'" ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(10-50) *noxe   səŋ   səŋan=xe   i=ka   j=ox*
1s.POSS story   tumbuna.story=FOC   DEM.DST=place   DEM.DST=3sm
'That's my traditional story.' (Lit. 'My traditional story (is) there.') ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(10-51) *gin   gute   xan   ot=xe   jox=a   nonxe=xe*
now   2d.POSS   man   two=POSS   DEF=EMPH   1s.REFL.POSS=FOC

m=ox   li-m   mda-m=a
DEM.PRX=3sm say-SEQ   finish-SEQ=LINK
"'That one is yours and this one is mine", he said and then...' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

The basic structure of a verbless clause is a topic/subject noun phrase followed by a comment/non-verbal predicate as shown in the examples below.

(10-52) *amnəp   ol   bok*
uncle.3POSS   dead.body   skin
'The uncle (was) (a) dead (body).' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(10-53) *xan   mox   wətəku=nəp*
man   ANPH   brave=VERY
'This man is very brave.' (Elicited FNB 1.120)

Either topic or predicate can consist of any kind of noun phrase, including pronouns, as shown in example (10-54) below for the pronoun *nonxol* 'me myself'.

(10-54) *apkwal=xe=li   nonxol=a   kip=xe   nonxol=a*
door=FOC=CNTR   1s.REFL=EMPH road=FOC   1s.REFL=EMPH
'(In order to get to Heaven, Jesus says that) "The doorway is me myself and the road is me myself."' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

The topic and the focus markers are commonly used in verbless clauses as discussed in the following sections.

10.2.1   With *jox* 'ᴛᴏᴘ'

The first noun phrase in a verbless clause is commonly topic-marked as shown in the examples below. Verbless clauses with *jox* 'ᴛᴏᴘ' are equative only.

(10-55) *u=si   nel   jox   jox   xəmot   pok=wi*
         grease=PROP   bird   DEF   TOP   bird.variety   all=ONLY
         'As for greasy birds, (there is) only *xəmot*.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(10-56) *bopol=nəp   de-pat   de-pat   nel=nəp   jox*
         heart=VERY   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   bird=VERY   DEF

         jox   xəmot
         TOP   bird.variety
         'The bird which I really like to eat is *xəmot*.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

10.2.2   With *=xe* 'ꜰᴏᴄ'

The focus marker is commonly used in verbless clauses as shown in the examples below.

(10-57) *gin=a   gwe   blel=xe   j=ox=o*
         now=EMPH   2s.POSS   child=**FOC**   DEM.DST=3sm=EMPH
          'Now, your child (is) that (one).' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(10-58) *kip=xe   djisas   olxol*
         road=**FOC**   PN   3sm.REFL
         'The road (to heaven) (is) Jesus himself.' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

The focus marker commonly occurs in a verbless construction with nominalised verbs and *tibəs* 'none, nothing' to mean 'never' (10-59).

(10-59) *a   ket   kəpo-m   so-n=o=xe   ti=bəs*
         HES   pandanus   pull-SEQ   go-NOMLS=EMPH=**FOC** INDF=NEG
         'I have not gone to harvest pandanus (again).' (Lit. 'My going to harvest pandanus – nothing!.') ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

10.2.3   Transitive Nouns

Some nominal predicates can license an object argument, which may take the object case enclitic *=nuŋ* 'ᴏ', when human or otherwise normally required by the grammar of the language (see Chapter 6, §6.2.3). This has only been found so far for the nominal predicates *əm* 'know' and *xanxan* 'not know' as shown in the examples

below. These can be easily identified as non-verbs as they cannot take verb morphology as shown in (10-61)b.

(10-60) *tom=xe*   *win*   *jox*   *nox*   *xanxan*
         water=POSS   name   TOP   1s   not.know
         'I don't know the river's name.' (Elicited FNB 1.102)

(10-61) *a.*   *go*   *hena*   ***ux=nuŋ***   *əm=d=a*
              2s   PN   3sf**=O**   know=PQ=EMPH
              'Do you know Hannah?' (Elicited FNB 1.130)

        b.   **go*   *hena*   *ux=nuŋ*   *əm-**ti-l**=d=a*

10.3 Word Order in Simple Clauses

The most frequently attested word order of the core grammatical relations subject (S) and object (O) and the predicate (Pred) in Oksapmin is: S O Pred. The basic word order remains the same regardless of the illocutionary type of the utterance (interrogative, declarative, etc.) and regardless of whether the predicate is verbal or not. An example of S O Pred word order is shown in example (10-62) below.

(10-62) *jæxe*   *nuxul*   *melasin*   *lapli-l=a*
              S   **O**   **Pred**
        then   1pEX   medicine(Eng)   (3.O.)give-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK
        'Then, we gave medicine (to them).' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

Although there is a strong tendency for S O Pred word order,[3] the word order in clauses in Oksapmin is, however, somewhat free apart from a single rigid constraint: the predicate occurs clause finally. This freedom of word order is shown in the sentences below, both from the same text where the object *tom san jox* 'the water container' may precede the subject *nox* 'I' as in (10-63)a. or follow it as in (10-63)b.

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[3] For example, in an analysis of two texts ("Five Brothers" spoken by Dasyal Gahan, and "Today" spoken by Julie James), the following frequencies of S O Pred and O S Pred were found. (Note that only a small percentage of clauses had overt S and O arguments.)

Clause type	"Five Brothers" text	"Today" text
S O Pred	8	21
O S Pred	0	4
Total clauses	101	163

(10-63) *a.* *[tom* *san* *jox* *jox]* *[nox]* *[ap* *kus* *jə-xət]*
         O   **S**   **Location**
         water container DEF TOP 1s   house corner DEM.DST-up

         [sli-l]
         Pred
         put-IPFV.PER.TODP
         'I put the container in the corner.' ("Today" by Julie James)

         [...]

         b. *jæe* *[nox]* *[tom* *san* *jox]*
               S   **O**
               then   1s   water container DEF

         [lem-s   *p-t]=a*
         =====**Pred** =====
         hide-PNCT   TELL-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK
         'So I hid the water container.' ("Today" by Julie James)

All parts of the clause except for the predicate are optional where recoverable from context and need not be repeated when they have already been mentioned earlier in the discourse. This further confuses the matter of word order because constituents are not frequently found in combination. The most common clause structure in Oksapmin is a verbal predicate with a single noun phrase preceding it, which may have any of a variety of functions.[4] This structure is common in other languages of New Guinea, and is discussed by de Vries (2006) and Heeschen (1998) as "distribution". This phenomenon is succinctly summarized by Foley:

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[4] For example, in an analysis of two texts ("Five Brothers" spoken by Dasyal Gahan, and "Today" spoken by Julie James), the clause type breakdown was as follows (where X is a constituent other than a discourse marker or predicate, and where each verb was considered a clause except for gerunds, nominalised verbs, verbs in a relative clause, and clause chains other than chained full clauses):

Clause type	"Five Brothers" text	"Today" text
Pred	18	20
X Pred	57	86
XX Pred	21	39
XXX Pred	5	16
XXXX Pred	0	2
Total clauses	101	163

Actual textual structure varies with the individual language and genre type, but some generalizations are possible. (a) There is a relatively high ratio of verbs to nominals, at least compared with the literate styles of European languages. Often clauses contain no nominal or adpositional phrases at all, just verbs, and almost never are there more than two. (b) Given or presupposed information is normally omitted, and independent pronouns, which are rarely employed, have a contrastive force. (c) Only one piece of new information is introduced per clause. The net effect of these tendencies is to establish for the great majority of right-headed Papuan languages a structure like [(XP)V] as the normative clausal unit in wider stretches of text. (Foley 2000: 387)

An overt subject noun phrase is, therefore, not grammatically required in a clause in Oksapmin. Where the subject is fairly constant over a stretch of discourse, it is mentioned at the start and may not be mentioned again for some time, if at all. Example (10-64) below shows a stretch of discourse from a text with a subject, *nox* '1s', which is mentioned in the first clause, and which is then not mentioned in the consecutive clauses where it is still the subject. Note also that the object *plate a ima elel jox* 'plates and those things' is mentioned in the second clause below (10-64)b. but not in the third clause (10-64)c. where it is still the object. All S, O, and Pred constituents are marked in the clauses below.

(10-64) *a.*   *nox*   *kutkutxe*   *ms-pat*
           S   Pred
           1s   morning   wake-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
           'So, after I got up early, …'

      b.   *plajt*   *a*   *i=ma*   *elel*   *jox*
           O
           plate(Eng)   HES   DEM.DST=REL thing DEF

           gəx   *de-l*
           ===Pred===
           wash   MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP
           '(I) washed the plates and those things.'

      c.   *gəx*   *de-pat*
           ===Pred====
           wash   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
           'After (I) washed (those things), …'

      d.   *jəxe*   *a*   *gəx*   *t-x-pat*
                          ====Pred====
           then   HES   wash   MID-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
           '… then, (I) washed (myself) and then…'

e. jəxe   ti=bəs   x-pat
             ======Pred======
    then   INDF=NEG   DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
    '… then, when (I) had finished, ...'

f. s-s=a
    Pred
    go-SEQ=LINK
    '(I) went and…'
    ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

Note also that the temporal adverb *jəxe* 'then' occurs at the start of a clause in example (10-64)d. and e. above. The word *jəxe* 'then' and other words with a similar function commonly occur at the beginning of a clause with a function similar to that of discourse markers. Unlike other non-predicate parts of the clause, these cannot occur in other positions in the clause, at least not with the same function (see §10.3.1 below).

In summary of the above:

- S O Pred is most frequently attested order (when both S and O present) but O S Pred word order is also possible
- predicate occurs clause finally
- overt arguments and adjuncts are all optional
- X Pred most frequently attested clause structure (where X is any constituent apart from a predicate or a discourse marker)
- discourse markers occur clause initially

The above facts can be incorporated into an analysis as shown in Table 10-2. Discourse marker position, and first and middle positions are optionally filled, and middle position is only filled if first position has already been filled.[5] First position is the left-most position which arguments of the clause can fill, and is assigned to the argument or adjunct of the clause which is pragmatically or thematically important.

(Discourse)^n	(First)	(Middle)^n	Predicate

Table 10-2.   Simple clause template

Example (10-65) below, repeated from (10-62) above, demonstrates the above template. Note that in this typical S O Pred example, the subject is analysed as being in first position, the object in middle position and the verb in predicate position. The interjection *jəxe* 'then' is in discourse position.

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[5] This contrasts with M. Lawrence (1972a: 21) who analyses the unmarked order of clause constituents: subject, location, time, IO, O, destination, quotation, instrument, manner, predicate.

(10-65) *jæxe   nuxul   melasin   lapli-l=a*
      Discourse   First   Middle   Predicate
      then   1pEX   medicine(Eng) (3.O.)give-IPFV.PER.TODP=EMPH
      'Then, we gave medicine (to them).' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

Elements which occur in discourse position (§10.3.1) include time adverbs such as *jæxe* 'then', as well as address terms and interjections. The first adjunct or argument of the clause, usually the subject fills first position (§10.3.2). Other constituents usually fill the middle position (§10.3.3), such as objects, quotations, locations and adverbs. A verb, complex predicate or non-verbal predicate can occur last in predicate position (§10.3.4). Rarely, an element may follow the predicate, these are discussed in §10.3.5.

Further research is required to determine in greater detail all the variables which affect word order in the clause.

10.3.1　　Discourse Position

Discourse position is at the very left edge of a clause. Elements which occur in discourse position do not have a grammatical function within the clause: they cannot be phrases licensed by the verb. Interjections, adverbs and kinship terms commonly occur in this position. An example of the time adverb *jæxe* 'then' in discourse position is shown below.

(10-66) **jæxe**   *nuxlanul*   *pt-sxe*
      then   1EX.REFL   be-HAB.PER.FP.SG
      'Then we ourselves used to stay.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

Discourse markers function to "mark relations between sequentially dependent units of discourse. These items are all primarily pragmatic[. …] Without question they also fill a syntactic slot, and have highly constrained syntactic as well as intonational properties" (Traugott 1995). See, for example, Schiffrin (1987), for a detailed study of a number of words which can occur with a discourse marker function in English such as *and, but, or, oh, well, so, because, now, then, y'know* and *I mean*. Many of the words which occur in discourse position in Oksapmin have similar functions to those described by Schiffrin.

Kinship terms (see Chapter 5, §5.1), like *mon* 'brother', also frequently occur in discourse marker position used as address terms. Multiple elements can occur in discourse marker position as in (10-67) below, with both *gin* 'now' and *mon* 'brother'.

(10-67) **gin**   **mon**=a   *əxəsan*   *max=xe*   *go*
        now   **brother**=EMPH   bird.variety   RECG=FOC   2s

den   *x-pat=d=a*
hungry DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH
'Now then, brother, do you like eating that *əxəsan* bird as well?' (Lit. 'Does it make you hungry?') ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

Adverbials, interjections and kinship terms can all occur in discourse position. These often have a slightly different meaning when they occur in discourse position compared to when they occur elsewhere as shown in Table 10-3 below.

	Discourse position meaning	Other meaning
jəxe	so, then[6]	*jəxe* adv. 'this afternoon'
gin	so, then. now then	*gin* adv. 'now' or 'today'
lex	then	*lex* adv. 'long ago'
gəxən	then	*gəxən* adv. 'this afternoon'
it	then	*it* adv. 'again' or 'once more'
be	anyway	*be* adv. 'simply/just'
ej	unfortunately	*ej* 'gosh' interj.
lipin(=nəp)	really	*lipin(=nəp)* adj. 'true'
wes(=o)	thankfully	*wes(=o)* interj. 'thank you'
ep=o, ep=e	unfortunately	*ep=o, ep=e* interj. 'sorry'
em=e	unfortunately	*em=e* interj. 'darn'
axaja	unfortunately	*axaja* interj. 'oh no'

Table 10-3.   Words which occur in discourse position

Those words above which occur in discourse position which originate from temporal adverbs lose the specific time reference when they are used in discourse position. This is shown in example (10-68) below from the beginning of a mythical ancestor story where *gin* 'now' does not match the past time reference of the verb which follows it. It indicates that the speaker is about to speak and that the addressee should tune in and pay attention. Contrast this with *gin* 'now' in example (10-69), which clearly has present time reference and in which *gin* 'now' follows the subject.

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[6] The adverbs *jəxe, gin, lex, gəxən, it* and *in* appear to have similar meanings when they occur in discourse position. Further research is required to determine the subtle differences between them.

(10-68) **gin**   *blel*   *təmd*   *ti*   *blel*   *təmd*
now   child   father&child   INDF   child   father&child

ti   *a*   *niŋ*   *dalxə-m*   *xu-pa=li=a*
INDF   HES   small.mammal   hunt-SEQ   go.PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
'Now then, (it is said that) long ago a father and his child, a father and his child **went** to hunt possums.' ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

(10-69) *nox*   **gin**   *mə=ma*   *li-pat*   *mox*
1s   **now**   DEM.PRX=REL   say-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   ANPH
'(We sat together and talked and while I was here Robyn asked me to tell a story about what I did this morning) which is what I am saying right **now**.' ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

This shift from time adverbial to discourse marker is typical of the grammaticalization cline suggested for discourse markers by Traugott (1995) as shown below in Table 10-4. Note that this transition is facilitated in Oksapmin by the fact that all arguments of the verbal predicate may be omitted, which means that adverbs which occur after the overt subject, if there is one, may still end up at the beginning of the clause if the subject has been omitted.

         Clause internal adverbial > Sentence adverbial > Discourse particle
Table 10-4.   Grammaticalization cline for discourse particles

Although discourse marker position is syntactically at the start of a clause, discourse markers are also commonly found at the end of an intonational phrase. This may be thought of as a kind of floor-holding strategy where the speaker indicates that another sentence is to come through the use of a hanging discourse marker. This is shown in example (10-70) below where *jæxe* 'then' in (10-70)c. belongs intonationally to the preceding clause, but belongs syntactically to the following clause, (10-70)d. Further research is needed into the specific factors of this process in Oksapmin.

(10-70) *a.*   *niŋ*   *jox*   *ita*   *ox=nuŋ*   *pig-ti-p*
       small.mammal DEF   father.1/2POSS 3sm=O   show-PFV-PER.FP.SG
       'I showed the possum to my father.'

      b.   *jæxe*   *ita*   *ox*   *xto-n-gop*
        then   father.1/2POSS 3sm   see-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
        'Then my father looked (at it).'

      c.   **jæxe**   [pause]
        then
        'Then…'

      d.   *nuxut   niŋ*   *jox*   *a-dpakul=a*
        1dEX   small.mammal DEF   BEN-singe.hair(.SEQ)=LINK
        '…we singed off the hair of the small mammal and then…' ("Small mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

10.3.2   First Position

First position hosts the first element which has a grammatical function within the clause: either a phrase that has been licensed by the verb (arguments) or a location, time or other adverbial phrase (adjuncts). If there is an overt noun phrase referring to the grammatical subject, it usually occurs in first position immediately after any elements in discourse position. This is shown in example (10-71) below, where the grammatical subject *ux* 'she' occurs immediately after the discourse marker *in* 'so' and before the adjunct *ap jox* '(in) the house'.

(10-71) *in*   *ux*   *ap*   *jox*   *idi-p=li*
       DM   S   Location   Pred
       so   3sf   house DEF   be.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
       'So, (it is said that) she stayed in the house.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

Elements other than the subject, however, may also fill first position. Constituents which are topicalised, such as *tap mox joxjoxa* 'this pig' as in example (10-72), or focussed, such as *kutxe* 'in the future too' in example (10-73) below, also commonly occur in first position.

(10-72) *tap*   *mox*   *joxjox=a*   *itaxit*   *imd*
        Topic   **S**
        pig   ANPH   TOP=EMPH   3d.REFL   mother&child

        gi=li-sxe
        Pred
        THUS=say-HAB.PER.FP.PL
        'In regards to this pig, the mother and child used to say thus: ("As for the really greasy bit, we two who are mother and child will suck it up", they used to say.)' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(10-73) *kut=xe*   *nox*   *ox=təp*
        Focus(Time)   **S**   **Comitative**
        future=FOC   1s   3sm=ASSC

        ix=xi-m   *pt-pla=kin=a*
        ===**Pred**===
        like.that=DO-SEQ   stay-FF.SG=PROB=EMPH
        'In the future too, I might do the same thing with him.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

Less commonly, an object, such as *kukumi jox* 'bride price payments' as in example (10-74) below (from mid-way through a story about bride prices), or another constituent such as a location, such as *ap tit* 'a house' in example (10-75) below, may occur in first position.

(10-74) *jəxe*   *kukumi*   *jox*   *nuxul*   *kəpkəp=xən=xe*
              O   **S**   **Adverb**
        then   bride.price   DEF   1pEX   quickly=IRR=FOC

        na=moxe-pja
        Pred
        NEG=buy-TODF.PL
        'So, as for bride-price payments, we don't hurry to pay (them).' ("Bride Price" by Kila Dasyal)

(10-75) *ap*   *tit*   *tux*   *ml-pat-gop=li*
        Location   **S**   **Pred**
        house   INDF   smoke   come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        '(It is said that) smoke was coming up from a house.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

It is clear that certain pragmatic factors are at play here, as are known to affect the word order in many languages around the world (Payne 1992). Exactly which pragmatic factors, however, remains an issue to be explored in detail. Possibilities include thematization (de Vries 2006) and domain-creating constructions (Reesink 1994), which would explain the more topic-like constituents in first position, or

something like newsworthiness, which would explain the more focus-like constituents in first position (Mithun 1992: 39).

10.3.3 Middle Position

Overt noun phrases corresponding to non-subject arguments and adjuncts commonly occur in middle position. This includes objects (10-76) as well as other constituents such as quotations (10-77) (see Chapter 12, §12.1.1, for more on quotation complement clauses).

(10-76) *jæxe*   *ox=a*   *tap*   *uŋ*   *mox*
         S   **O**
         then   3sm=EMPH   pig   string.bag   ANPH

         sux-pat=xe
         Pred
         carry-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
         'So, after he picked up the bag of pig meat, …' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

(10-77) *aw=o*   *ax*   *gət*   *gət=o*
         S   **Quotation**
         grandparent.1POSS=QUOT   axe   cut   cut=QUOT

         m-pl   *x-n-gop=li*
            ===Pred===
         PRX.O-tell(.SEQ)DO-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
         '(He heard that) the old man said "Cut round axe! Cut!"' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

Other non-subject constituents such as locations (10-78) and time expressions (10-79) also commonly occur in middle position.

(10-78) *jæxe*   *nuxut*   *i=ka*   *idi-l=a*
         DM   **S**   **Location**   **Pred**
         then   1dEX   DEM.DST=place   be.PFV-PER.YESTP=EMPH
         'Then, we both stayed there.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(10-79) *nox*   *bəp*   *plait=o*   *jox*   *kutkutxe*
         S   **O**   **Time**
         1s   so   plate=EMPH   DEF   morning

         gæx   *m-ti-l*
         ===Pred===
         wash   MAKE-PFV-PER.YESTP
         'I, um, washed the plates in the morning.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

When multiple constituents occur in middle position, there are no strict rules in regards to ordering. For example, when both an object and a location are in middle position, the object may either precede or follow the location as shown in the two lines from the same text in example (10-80) below for the object *toxan kən* 'cooked sweet potato' and the location *ale te mə-xət* 'up on the drying rack'.

(10-80) *a.*

em	*ux*	*ale*		*te*	*mə-xət*
mother.1POSS	3sf	wood.drying.rack		place	DEM.PRX-up

məmxan	*toxan*	*kən*	*n-a-sl*
what's.it	sweet.potato	cooked	1/2.O-BEN-put(.SEQ)

xe-l	*a*
be-IPFV.PER.TODP	HES

'…"Mother put, what's it, some sweet potato above the fire place for you."' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

[…]

b.

em	*ux*	*toxan*	*kən*	*ale*
mother.1POSS	3sf	sweet.potato	cooked	wood.drying.rack

te	*mə-xət*	*n-a-sl*	*xe-l*
place	DEM.PRX-up	1/2.O-BEN-put(.SEQ)	be-IPFV.PER.TODP

p-n-gop=li
tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP

'…"so mother put some sweet potato above the fire place for you", she told him.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

10.3.4 Predicate Position

The predicate is the only constituent in Oksapmin whose position in the clause can be determined solely by grammatical function. Oksapmin is a consistently verb/predicate final language. This is the case for both verbal predicates, as shown for *xil adenmula* 'clean!' in (10-81), and non-verb predicates, as shown for *tibəs* (INDF=NEG) 'not any' in (10-82) below.

(10-81)

gin=a	*golgol*	*pok=wi*	*xil*	*a-de-n=mul=a*
now=EMPH	2s.REFL	all=ONLY	clean	BEN-MAKE-IMP=CERT=EMPH

'"Now, you yourself should clean him."' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(10-82) *be   oloxən   jox   jox   sik   xanəp ti=bəs*
      nothing afternoon   DEF   TOP   sick(Eng)   person INDF=NEG
      'So, in the afternoon, there were no sick people (i.e. patients).' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

10.3.5   'Afterthoughts'

Rarely, a noun phrase occurs after the predicate, separated by a break in intonation from the predicate. These are analysed as 'afterthoughts' which usually function to add information about one of the preceding arguments or adjuncts (whether overt or covert). In the example below, the subject is present at the beginning of the sentence and is also right dislocated and repeated at the end. (Note that this is the end of the sentence even though the last verb in the sentence is a medial verb.)

(10-83) *nuxul əniŋ   mi-t-pel   m-t   xəm   dax*
      1pEX   fish   lift.up-PFV-IF.PL   MAKE-SIM   down down

      *wa-s=a   **blel   kət   nuxul***
      go.down-SEQ=LINK   **child   some   1pEX**
      'We went down there because we wanted to get some fish. We kids.' ("Near Drowning" by Hirai)

Hyman (1975) notes that variation in word order is sometimes due to the conflict in language between syntax and pragmatics. In an SOV language, pragmatics may sometimes force an element to occur after the verb. In a strict SOV language,

> "once the speaker has put the verb down, it is no longer possible to add anything […] However, the speaker may forget to say something in the course of his utterances; or he may find that it is necessary to add something, because his interlocutor has not understood; or he may realize that the sentence he has just uttered is unclear or ambiguous. In all of these cases (and doubtless others), he may wish to add something after the verb-final utterance." (Hyman 1975: 120)

In Oksapmin, there is usually a pause between the verb and the post-verbal constituent. This is evidence that the post-verbal constituent is acting as an 'afterthought' and is not syntactically part of the clause as it does not occur in discourse, first, middle or predicate position.

Givón (1983) notes that right-dislocated constituents in most languages have a very low referential distance or 'look back'. That is, the right-dislocated element has usually been mentioned in a sentence which closely precedes it, for many languages this must be the immediately preceding sentence. In Oksapmin, this is often the case but need not be. This is the case in the following example, where the right dislocated

noun phrase *tupən mox* 'the thumb' adds precision to the noun phrase in the preceding sentence.

(10-84) *xan   təm   koklax=si   pt-n-gwel   tupən*
        hand   bone   two.on.one=WITH   stay-PFV-VIS.YESTP   thumb

        mox
        ANPH
        'She lived with a forked digit. The thumb.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

Sentence final clitics relating to the whole sentence do not occur on the right-dislocated element but on the preceding verb, even though it is possible for these clitics to occur on noun phrases in other circumstances, see Chapter 11. This is shown for *=li* 'REP' which occurs on the verb before the noun phrase *ap noŋ* 'to the house' in afterthought position in example (10-85) below.

(10-85) *jəxe   ixil   it   s-sxe=li   ap   noŋ*
        then   3p   again   go-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP   house   TO
        'Then they went again. To the house.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

When an object or other constituent is right-dislocated, it may still take the relevant case morphology. This is shown in the example below, where the right dislocated constituent *apwaku sup nuxutnuŋ* 'to Apwaku's mother and I' is object-marked.

(10-86) *komoxtəp   ox   kəp-m   n-api-n-gop*
        PN   3sm   pull-SEQ   1/2.O-give-PFV-VIS.FP.SG

        apwaku   sup   nuxut=nəŋ
        PN   mother.3POSS   1dEX=O
        'Komoxtəp harvested it and gave it to us. To Apwaku's mother and I.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

10.4 Other Clause-Level Constructions

In this section, semantically grouped constructions are discussed which are not dealt with in a single section elsewhere in the grammar, namely: interrogatives §10.4.1, negation §10.4.2, 'have/own X' §10.4.3, *kəpen* 'not yet' §10.4.4, 'like' §10.4.5, distributive §10.4.6, and reciprocal §10.4.7.

10.4.1   Interrogatives

Interrogative constructions come from various parts of the grammar in Oksapmin and do not come form the same word class or any other coherent grouping. The

interrogatives in Oksapmin are: the coverb *kin* 'how' (discussed in §10.4.1.1 below); the adjectival lexical noun *kinxe* 'how many' (discussed in 10.4.1.2 below); the adjectival lexical noun *kjan* 'what' (also used for 'why') (discussed in §10.4.1.3 below); the phrasal clitic *=d* 'PQ' (10-87) (see Chapter 11, §11.1.6, for details); the demonstrative clitic *de=* 'which' (also used to mean 'where', 'when') (10-88) (see Chapter 4, §4.1.2, for details); and the pronoun *nix* 'who' (10-89) (see Chapter 3, §3.4.5, for details). There is no special interrogative construction and questions have the same word order and intonation as statements. They are identifiable as interrogatives by the presence of a question word, such as *=d* 'PQ' or *de=* 'WHICH'. These question words are not fronted or focussed in any other way but occur in situ.

(10-87) *xət*   *te=nəp*   *i-lo=x*   *gəteŋ* *[ep=e*   *noxe*
        up   place=VERY   DEM.DST-up=3sm   cut   sorry=EXCL   1s.POSS

        non   *gət*   *n-a-de=**d**=a]*   *pli-n-gop=li*
        breast cut   1/2.O-BEN-MAKE(.PRS.SG)**=PQ**=EMPH   tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'He cut up higher and then (the voice) said: "Hey! Did you just cut my breast on me?"' ("Pandanus" by Tracks Babyan)

(10-88) **de**=*ma*   *nel=nəp*   *jox*   *d-sxe*
        WHICH=REL   bird=VERY   DEF   eat-HAB.PER.FP.PL
        'Which birds did they used to eat?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(10-89) *a*   *[go*   **nix**=*ja*   *aŋ*   *de-pat=o]*
        HES   2s   **who**=O   find   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT

        m-pl=w=a
        PRX.O-tell-SEQ=RESP=EMPH
        '"Who are you searching for?", someone said to him.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

10.4.1.1   *kin* 'how'

The interrogative *kin* 'how' is a coverb which occurs with the light verbs *x-* 'DO' and *de-* ~ *ml-* ~*x-* 'MAKE'. When *kin x-* 'how DO' and *kin de-* ~ *ml-* ~ *x-* 'how MAKE' occur in same subject sequential form preceding another verb or as a final verb, they mean 'what is happening' or 'what is X doing', as in example (10-90) below.

(10-90) *jəxe*   *ox*   *mox*   ***kin***   *n-x-m*   *us=o*
         then   3sm   ANPH   **how**   1/2.O-MAKE-SEQ   go.PRS.SG=QUOT

         li-m   *mda-m=a*
         say-SEQ   finish-SEQ=LINK
         '...then after he wondered what she was doing to him and then going, ...' ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

When *kin x-* 'how DO' and *kin de- ~ ml- ~x-* 'how MAKE' occur in same subject simultaneous medial form before another verb, they are semantically enquiring about the means of realisation of that action (as in examples (10-91) and (10-92) below). If it precedes an intransitive verb *x-* is used (as in example (10-92) below), if it precedes a transitive verb *de- ~ ml- ~x-* are used (as in example (10-91) below).

(10-91) *pes*   *meg*   *dəxa*   *jox*   *tap*   *ox*   *tap*   *bap*
         first(Eng) speech question   TOP   pig   3sm   pig   small

         sl=xən   *djojs*   *go*   ***kin***   *m-t*
         put(.PRS.SG)=SBRD   PN   2s   **how**   MAKE-SIM

         p-pat=a
         CAUS-stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=EMPH
         'The first question is if a mother pig gives birth to piglets, how do you look after them?' ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

(10-92) *ei*   *jəxe*   *gul=w=a*   *gin*   *tom*   *kal*   *jox*   ***kin***   *x-t*
         gosh   then   2p=RESP=EMPH now   water bridge DEF   **how**   DO-SIM

         mde-ja=o   *pl*   *dəxa*
         come.across-PRS.PL=QUOT   tell(.SEQ)   question

         de   *jox*
         MAKE(.PRS.SG)   TOP
         'When I asked them "How did you come across the bridge?", ...' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The complex predicates *kin x-* 'how' and *kin de- ~ ml- ~x-* 'how' may also be used rhetorically to indicate that the speaker did not know how to do something or was not able or did not want to do something, as in examples (10-93) and (10-94) below.

(10-93) *gin*   *nox*   *ux=nəŋ*   *pe*   *m-ti-n=a*   *jox*
       now   1s   3sf=O   cry   MAKE-PFV-NOMLS=LINK   TOP

       kin   *x-t*   *pe*   *m-ti-plox*
       how   DO-SIM   cry   MAKE-PFV-TODF.SG
       'Now, mourning for my daughter was very, very hard.' (Lit. 'Now, as for mourning for my daughter, how will I mourn for (her)?') ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(10-94) *jəxe*   *nəxnəx* *mox*   **kin**   *x-t*   *d-ti-n*
       then   breath   ANPH   **how**   DO-SIM   take-PFV-NOMLS

       x-pat=o   *in*   *it*   *n-əbul*
       be-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT so   again   1/2.O-get(.SEQ)

       mlo-pti=o   *li-n-gwel*
       come.up-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
       '"The baby seems to be having trouble breathing (Lit. how is the baby taking breath?) so we have come up to get you again.", they said.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

10.4.1.2   *kinxe* 'how many'

The question word *kinxe* 'how many' is an adjectival lexical noun (see Chapter 5, §5.2). It is shown in examples (10-95) and (10-96) below.

(10-95) *tap*   *sup*   *jux*   *ux*   **kinxe**   *ap*   *sl-pat*
       pig   mother.3POSS   DEF   3sf   **how.many**   small   put-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       'How many piglets does the mother pig usually give birth to?' ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

(10-96) *jəxe*   *gət*   *de-pti*   *i=ma*   *jox*   *bəp*
       then   cut   MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   DEM.DST=REL   DEF   so

       a   **kinxe**   *awə-s=d=o*   *i=ka*
       HES   **how.many**   hour(Eng)-PL(Eng)=PQ=EMPH   DEM.DST=place

       x-ti-l=a
       DO-PFV-PER.YESTP=LINK
       'So, (I'm not sure), um, how many hours we did that, cut (the grass), there for.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

The adjectival lexical noun *kinxe* is similar in form to the body parts when used as numerals in Oksapmin (see Chapter 1, §1.2.5) which are followed by *=xe* 'POSS' (see Chapter 6, §6.3.2). This suggests a historical origin for *kinxe* 'how many' from *kin* 'how' or *kjan* 'what' plus *=xe* 'POSS', although *kin=xe* 'how=POSS' is not a synchronically productive combination according to the current analysis, since coverbs cannot take the possessor marker, so *kjan* 'what' as a source may be more

likely here even though it is the less ideal candidate phonologically. The noun *kjan* as a source also makes semantic sense because a way of expressing quantity is to use a body part numeral plus *=xe* 'POSS', so asking *kjan=xe* 'what (body part)'s' to mean 'how many' is plausible.

10.4.1.3   *kjan* 'what'

The interrogative *kjan* 'what' most commonly occurs modifying the noun *xan* 'thing' as shown in example (10-97) below. *kjan* also commonly modifies the noun *un ~ win* 'name' as shown in example (10-98) below. *kjan* 'what' also has the dialectal variants *kjaŋ* and *tjaŋ*, particular to certain areas. The interrogative *kjan* cannot occur as a single-word noun phrase and can only occur modifying another noun.

(10-97)   **_kjan_**   *xan*   *jox*   *kaŋ*   *gəte-ŋ*
       what   thing   DEF   crash!   cut-PNCT
       'What did he cut?' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

(10-98)   *məmxan*   **_kjaŋ_**   *un*   *n-pgi-n-gopa*
       what's.it   **what**   name   1/2.O-show-PFV-VIS.FP.PL
       'They showed us the what's-it-called.' ("Men's House" by Dalput)

The interrogative *kjan xan* can occur as a coverb with the light verbs *x-* 'DO' (10-99) and *de- ~ ml-* 'MAKE' to mean 'do what'.

(10-99)   *go*   **_kjan_**   *xan*   *x-t*   *əpil=o*
       2s   **what**   thing   DO-SIM   come(.PRS.SG)=QUOT

       m-p-n-gop=li
       PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       '"What did you do while coming?", (it is said that) he said to him.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

The interrogative *kjan xan* 'what thing' commonly occurs with *li-* 'say' in medial form to mean 'why' (Lit. 'saying what thing'). This is the only way to express 'why' in Oksapmin. This is shown in the examples below.

(10-100) *jəxe*   *ox*   *najtən*   *ox*   *gi=n-p-n-gop=o*   *go*
             then   3sm   PN   3sm   THUS=1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=QUOT   2s

             kjan   *xan*   *li-m*   *mu=nuŋ*   *kakip* *apli-l=o*
             what   thing   say-SEQ DEM.PRX=TO   on.foot come-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT

             n-p-n-gop
             1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
             'Then he, Nathan, said "You said "what" and then came here on foot".' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

(10-101) *jox*   ***kjan***   *xan*   *li-m*
             TOP   **what**   thing   say-SEQ
             'Why is that?' (Lit. 'In regards to that, you said what and then (did it)?') ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

10.4.2   Negation

Verbal clauses are negated with the verbal negator *na=* 'NEG' (10-102) (see also Chapter 9, §9.2.3, for details).

(10-102) *tap*   *ox*   ***na**=pat=xənox*   *it*   *aŋ*   *m-t*
             pig   3sm   **NEG**=stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   again   find   MAKE-SIM

             so-l=o   *li-n-gwel*
             go-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
             '"…because the pig wasn't there, (I) went to look for (it)", (she) said.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

Verbless clauses are negated with the non-verbal negatory *=bəs* 'NEG', which often occurs with *ti* 'INDF' (10-103) (see Chapter 11, §11.2.1, for details).

(10-103) *toxan*   *ti=**bəs***
             sweet.potato   INDF=**NEG**
             '(There was) no sweet potato.' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

10.4.3   'have/own X'

The is no verb in Oksapmin which means 'have' or 'own'. Instead the existential verb *pt-* 'stay' is used with the possessed item as subject. Recall that the verb *pt-* 'stay' is used in contexts where the English 'there is/are' construction is used. The possessor occurs in topic position (10-104), as a possessor, or not at all (10-105).

(10-104)*go*   *tap=xe*   *pat=d=a*
        2s   pig=FOC   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH

        m-p-n-gopa=li
        PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
        '"Do you own a pig?", they said to her.' (Lit. As for you, is there a pig too?)
        ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

(10-105)*jæxe*   *ki*   *pat=xən*   *p-opli-n=o*
        then   key(Eng)   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=IRR CAUS-come-IMP=QUOT

        p-ti-l
        tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
        '"So, if (you) have the key, bring it!", I said.' (Lit. So, if there is a key...)
        ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

The derived causative of *pt-* 'stay' may be used for temporary ownership of something. This is shown in the example below where *p-pt-* 'cause to stay' indicates looking after or keeping pigs in a certain location.

(10-106)*sup*   *ux=si*   *bap*   *ixil=si*   *təp*   *ap*
        mother.3POSS 3sf=CNJ   small 3p=CNJ   same house

        p-pti
        CAUS-stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'We keep (Lit. cause to stay) the mother (pig) and the piglets in the same house.'
        ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

To indicate that one does not have or own something, a verbless clause with *tibəs* 'nothing' is used (10-107).

(10-107)*jæxe*   *iŋ*   **ti=bəs=o**   *kin*   *m-t*
        then   string.bag   **INDF=NEG**=QUOT   how   MAKE-SIM

        p-s-plox=o   *li=xe*
        CAUS-go-TODF.SG=QUOT   say(.PRS.SG)=VIS
        'Then (I saw that) she said "I don't have a bag (Lit. there is no bag). How can I take it?".' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

10.4.4   *kəpen* 'not yet'

To express 'not yet' the adverb *kəpen* plus a negated medial verb in series with the verb *pt-* 'stay' is used, as shown in the examples below.

(10-108)*kǝpen*   *asup*   *nǝ=x-t*   *pti-n*
           not.yet menstruation NEG=be-SIM   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS

           jox   *ap*   *li*   *x-sxe=li*
           TOP   house   first   DO-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
           '(It is said that) when they hadn't yet gotten their period, they first used to make a house.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

(10-109)*nox*   *kǝpen* *na=ǝpi-s*   *pat-n*   *nox*
           1s   not.yet NEG=come-SEQ stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS   1s

           nǝ=n-a=wa=m-ti-p[7]
           NEG=1/2.O-BEN=see=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG
           'When I hadn't yet come, I hadn't yet seen him.' (Elicited FNB 6.72 TAM 52 Dahl 1985)

10.4.5   'like'

The nominalised form of the verb *x-* 'be' is commonly used to indicate what something is 'like' or 'similar to' (10-110).

(10-110)*kol*   *ux*   *heli*   *x-ti-**n**=li*
           sister   3sf   PN   be-PFV-**NOMLS**=REP
           '(It is said that) the girl was about Hailey's age' (Lit. was like Haily). ("Pandanus" by Tracks Babyan)

The use of the verb *x-* 'be' to indicate 'like' is also used in the common expression *tit xtin tit xtin ǝlel* 'different kinds of things' as shown in example (10-111) below.

(10-111)*tit*   *x-ti-**n***   *tit*   *x-ti-**n***   *alel*   *jox*
           INDF   be-PFV-**NOMLS** INDF   be-PFV-**NOMLS** thing   DEF

           uŋ   *jǝ-xǝm*   *mi-pti=o*
           string.bag   DEM.DST-inside   lift.up-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=EMPH
           'We can carry lots of different things in string bags.' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

This construction is also used for common modifier *ku xtin* 'black', literally 'night like', as shown in (10-112) below.

(10-112)*ku*   *x-ti-**n***   *gamxun*   *mox*   *kǝm*   *sli-l*
           night   be-PFV-**NOMLS**   cuscus.variety ANPH   feast   put-IPFV.PER.TODP
           '…we cooked a lot of that black *gamxun* cuscus, …' ("Men's House" by Dalput)

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[7] Note that *wa* 'see' is an irregular coverb in that prefixes may precede it as they do here. Verbal prefixes normally follow a coverb.

10.4.6   Distributive

The distributive construction involves the use of the demonstrative/pronoun *tit* 'INDF' to indicate that each member of a given referent group is acting in the role indicated. It may occur in subject, object or possessive case. The demonstrative *tit* 'INDF' is usually repeated twice (along with the coverb or medial verb) but may also occur once or multiple times. A pronoun or lexical noun may also be used with *tit* 'INDF'. When a pronoun is required, the third person feminine singular pronoun *ux* '3sf' is used even where the referent is male.

(10-113)

a	*uŋ*	*mox*	*a*	*tit*	*ux*	*dǝkme-s*	*tit*	*ux*
HES	string.bag	ANPH	HES	**INDF**	**3sf**	go.over-PNCT	**INDF**	**3sf**

dǝkme-s	*p-n-gopa=li*
go.over-PNCT	TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP

'(When the dogs saw this,) as for the bag, they each jumped over it in turn.' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

(10-114)

tit	*uxe*	*kǝt*	*kopi*	*tit*	*uxe*	*kǝt*
INDF	**3sf.POSS**	short	give	**INDF**	**3sf.POSS**	short

kopi	*kol*	*ux*	*p-t-pol=xǝnox*
give	sister.of.man	3sf	TELL-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD

'When the sister gave each of (the boys) a piece, …' ("Echidna" by Geno Dipin)

Example (10-115) shows the distributive arguments with the object marker *=nuŋ* 'O'.

(10-115)

ku=a	*xan=a*	*mox*	*ixlail [...]*	*kopi*
woman=CNJ	man=CNJ	ANPH	3p.REFL	coffee(Eng)

mox [...]	*tit*	*ux=nuŋ*	*lapli-s*	*jǝxe*	*tit*	*ux=nuŋ*
ANPH	**INDF**	**3sf=O**	give-PNCT	then	**INDF**	**3sf=O**

lapli-s	*jǝxe*	*tit*	*ux-nuŋ*	*lapli-s*	*tit*	*ux=nuŋ*
give-PNCT	then	**INDF**	**3sf-O**	give-PNCT	**INDF**	**3sf=O**

lapli-s	*li-pti*
give-PNCT	SAY-IPFV.PL(.PRS)

'The men and women keep giving one other the coffee in turn.' (Henna Kashat, MPI Reciprocals 34)

See also Loughnane (forthcoming) for details of the distributive construction.

10.4.7   Reciprocal Constructions

The primary means of indicating reciprocality in Oksapmin is by using the reciprocal prefix *gos-* 'RECP' (see Chapter 8, §8.1.3). Examples with reciprocal events marked with *gos-* 'RECP' are given in (10-116) and (10-117) below.

(10-116)*nuxut   meg=l=a*   *amam   **gos**-x-m=a*
        1dEX   speech=SAY(.SEQ)=LINK   happy   **RECP**-MAKE-SEQ=LINK

        we=gos-a-li-pti
        shake.hands=**RECP**-BEN-SAY-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'We talked, greeted and shook hands with each other.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

(10-117)*xan   ot   max   kom   **gos**-a-sl   i=te*
        man   two   RECG   back   **RECP**-BEN-put(.SEQ)   DEM.DST=place

        toŋno-t-pa
        sit.down-PFV.PER.FP.PL
        'They sat down there with their backs to each other.' ("Xoxom clan origin" by Tapsut)

        The reciprocal prefix *gos-* can be used in combination with a number of other strategies which can mark reciprocality. It commonly occurs with an overt subject noun phrase containing a reflexive pronoun, whose referent is grammatical subject, as in example (10-118) below.

(10-118)*ku=si   xan=si   mox   **ixtaxit***
        woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   ANPH   **3d.REFL**

        *ix=**gos**-x-pti*
        angry=**RECP**-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'The man and woman are angry at each other.' (Henna Kashat, MPI Reciprocals 11)

        A reflexive pronoun can also occur in addition to a non-reflexive pronoun. An example of a reflexive pronoun occurring in conjunction with a noun phrase with a regular pronoun is shown in example (10-119) below. In this example, it is not clear whether the reflexive pronoun is in object position and the first noun phrase is subject, or if the first noun phrase is an unmarked topic and the reflexive pronoun is the subject. A number of languages are known show these types of mixed signs of transitivity in reciprocal constructions (Evans et al. 2007).

(10-119)*k=ot   ixit   **ixtanit***   *wa   gos-xe-ja=xe=a*
        woman=two   3d   **3d.REFL**   see   RECP-MAKE-PRS.PL=SBRD=LINK
        'As for the two women, they met (Lit. saw) each other, so…' (Julie James, MPI Reciprocals 7)

A reflexive pronoun may also rarely be marked with object case although this construction was found to be not grammatical or only marginally grammatical for some speakers. This is shown in examples (10-120) and (10-121) below.

(10-120)*?ixil   tᵊde-m   **ixlail=nuŋ**   *puŋ-puŋ*   *gos-x-pti*
       3p   stand.up-SEQ   **3p.REFL=O**   REDP-hit   RECP-MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'They are standing up and hitting each other.' (Misseth Apipnok, MPI Reciprocals 42)

(10-121) *?wot   xan   tit   **itait=nuŋ**   gos-si-m   x-t*
       two   man   INDF   **3d.REFL=O**   RECP-hit-SEQ   be-IPFV.PER.YESTP
       'The two men were fighting each other.' (Elicited.)

The prefix *gos-* 'RECP' may co-occur with the distributive *tit (ux)… (tit (ux)…)* strategy (see §10.4.6). An example of *gos-* used in conjunction with *tit (ux)… (tit (ux)…)* is shown in (10-122) below.

(10-122)*jᵊxe   den   jox   jox   tit=ja lapil   tit=ja lapil*
       then   food   DEF   TOP   INDF=O give(.SEQ)   INDF=O give(.SEQ)

       gos-apli-ja=xe
       RECP-give-PRS.PL=VIS
       'Then, as for the food, each of them gave it to the other.' (Julie James, MPI Reciprocals 21)

The complex predicate *alwol x-* 'exchange' is also used (without *gos-* 'RECP') to indicate a reciprocal action. It occurs far less frequently than the reciprocal construction with the prefix *gos-* 'RECP'. It also has the variants *alwᵊl x-* and *ᵊwlol x-*. In order to indicate reciprocality, it occurs as a medial verb complex before the predicate expressing the symmetric event in question. The coverb may be repeated as in example (10-123) below.

(10-123)*ixil   tap   **alwᵊl**   **alwᵊl**   x-m   dᵊpᵊx*
       3p   pig   **exchange**   **exchange**   DO-SEQ   steal

       x-t-pa
       DO-PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'They stole a pig from each other.' (Elicited.)

The complex predicate *alwol x-* may also be used non-reciprocally, as in example (10-124) below.

(10-124)*nox   xim   **ᵊwlol**   x-pat*
       1s   clothes **exchange**   DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       'I changed clothes and …' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

When used with plural subjects, *alwol x-* 'exchange' is necessarily a symmetric predicate (i.e. naturally reciprocal). This provides a bridging context for the emergence of *alwol x-* as a reciprocal construction, as symmetric predicates, such as 'exchange', are known sources of reciprocal constructions cross-linguistically (see e.g. König and Kokutani 2006; McGregor 2000). A symmetric instance of *alwol x-* 'exchange' is shown in example (10-125) below.

(10-125) *nuxut   səŋ   **alwəl**   x-pti=xe*
     1dEX   story   **exchange**   DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD
     'After we argued with each other, …' (Lit. 'After we exchanged words, …')
     ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

Chapter 11
Phrasal Clitics

Oksapmin has a number of phrasal clitics, shown in Table 11-1 below and discussed in detail in this chapter. These attach to the right edge of a clause or phrase, and form four semantic and functional groups: modal, degree, speech style and clause combining.

		Meaning/function	Co-occurrence restrictions with evidential past tenses
Modal	=*xən*	Irrealis	Personal-factual only
	=*kin*	Probable	Personal-factual only
	=*mul*	Certain	Personal-factual only
	=*naŋ*	Counterfactual	Personal-factual only
	=*xe*	Visual-sensory evidence	Personal-factual only
	=*d*	Polar question	Personal-factual only
	=*w*	Response marker	-
	=*li*	Reported evidence	-
Degree	=*bəs*	Non-verbal negator	-
	=*nəp*	Intensifier	-
	klim	Moderately	-
	=*wi*	Only	-
Speech style	=*o*	Emphatic	-
	=*a*	Emphatic	-
	=*e*	Exclamatory	-
Clause Combining	=*a*	Prosodic linker	-
	=*o*	Quote	-

Table 11-1.   Phrasal clitics in Oksapmin

A number of clitics with a modal meaning have co-occurrence restrictions and may only occur with the personal-factual forms when the verb in the clause to which it attaches is in the past tense. In this case, the modal meaning of the clitic overrides the evidential meaning of the verb.

The general ordering of these clitics, when they co-occur, is: degree, followed by modal, followed by speech style or clause combining, as shown in the examples below.

(11-1)   *mə=te=**bəs=mul=o***   *m-pl*
         DEM.PRX=place=**NEG=CERT=QUOT**   PRX.O-tell(.SEQ)
         'He said "Definitely not here!" and then…' ("Juwan" by Dalput)

(11-2) *got*   *ox=nəŋ*   *dasup=o*   *pl-ja*   *xan*
        God(Eng)   3sm=O   liar=QUOT   tell-PRS.PL   man

      *el=**nəp=mul**=o*
      bad=**VERY=CERT=EMPH**
      '(Any) men who call God a liar are really very bad.' ("Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

The reported evidence clitic, however, may occur following another modal clitic as shown in example (11-3) below. When used in this way, the reported clitic functions like a verb of speech, and the main clause functions like a quotation complement clause, where the epistemological stance associated with =*mul* 'CERT' is assigned to the reported speaker and not to the current speaker.

(11-3) *jəxe*   *i=ma*   *olxol*   *s-s*   *olxol*
        then   DEM.DST=REL   3sm.REFL   go-SEQ   3sm.REFL

      *xəp-tu-p=**mul**=o=li*
      die-PFV-PER.FP.SG=**CERT=EMPH=REP**
      'Then, they say, this (man) really went and died.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

As noted above, all phrasal clitics may occur on either clauses or phrases, attaching phonologically to any part of speech. In (11-4) below, the phrasal clitics =*nəp* 'VERY' and =*li* 'REP' are attached to the lexical noun *jæx* 'good'. Note that the semantic scope of the two phrasal clitics differ: =*nəp* 'VERY' has semantic scope over *jæx* 'good', whereas =*li* 'REP' has semantic scope over the whole clause.

(11-4) *100*   *jox*   *jæx=**nəp**=li*
        100(Eng)   DEF   good=**VERY=REP**
        'It is said that 100 is really good.' ("Jesus is the Doorway to Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

11.1 Modal

Oksapmin has a series of modal clitics: =*xən* 'Irrealis', =*kin* 'Probable', =*mul* 'Certain', =*naŋ* 'Counterfactual', =*xe* 'Visual-sensory evidence', and =*li* 'Reported evidence'. These act to indicate the attitude of the speaker towards the information contained in the sentence (epistemic) and some also indicate the means by which the speaker acquired the information in the sentence (evidential). The modal clitics interact with the verbal inflectional evidential system of Oksapmin in interesting ways, see §11.1.2.1, §11.1.3.1 and §§11.1.8.1 –11.1.8.2.

For the most part, modal clitics are mutually exclusive, since a speaker may only hold one epistemological stance about any one event at any one time. However =*xe* 'VIS' may co-occur with =*mul* 'CERT' as shown in the examples below, as these two clitics express similar epistemological stances. None of the other modal clitics may normally co-occur, although see below.

(11-5) *nox*   *blel*   *mox=xe*   *sut*   *de-pat-n*
        1s   child   ANPH=FOC   injection(TP)   MAKE-IPFV.SG-NOMLS

        xəpul=xe=mul=o
        die(.PRS.SG)=**VIS=CERT**=EMPH
        'I gave the child an injection and (I saw that) the child really died.'
        ("Near death of child" by Dulum Aleap)

11.1.1   =*xən* 'Irrealis'

The clitic =*xən* 'IRR' marks an event as being thought of by the speakers as undesirable or unlikely to be actualized in the future. It commonly occurs with today future (11-6) or far future tense (11-7) in this function.

(11-6) *jəxe*   *nox*   *pelwet* *inəp*   *ux*   *[…]*   *blel*   *jox*
        then   1s   PN   wife.3POSS   3sf   child   DEF

        n-a-bul   *s-plox=xən*   *li-m=a*
        1/2.O-BEN-get(.SEQ)   go-TODF.SG=**IRR**   say-SEQ=LINK

        sup   *alja*   *sl-ja*   *te*   *nəŋ*   *ja*   *nox*
        mother.3 POSS   funeral   put-PRS.PL   place   TO   so   1s

        na=ix=x-ti-p=mil=o
        NEG=like.that=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=EMPH
        'Then I thought that Pelwet's wife **might** take away the baby from me so I did not go to the (baby's) mother's funeral service.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-7) *jəxe*   *jəx=w=o*   *blel*   *nox*   *utaŋ*   *ej*   *nox*
        then   good=RESP=QUOT   child   1s   carry.on.shoulders   gosh   1s

        kətin   *el=si=o*   *blel*   *xolo*   *m-ti-pla=xən=o*
        knee   bad=PROP=QUOT   child   drop   MAKE-PFV-FF.SG=**IRR**=QUOT
        "'Ok, I'll carry her but my knees are bad so I **might** drop her.'" ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The irrealis clitic =*xən* 'IRR' also frequently occurs in conditional adverbial subordinate clauses, as in (11-8) below. See Chapter 12, §12.2.3, for more on this construction.

(11-8) *blel*   *gul*   *təmle-ja=xən*   *po=x-ti-pla=xe=a*
        child   2p   work-PRS.PL=**IRR**   well=DO-PFV-FF.SG=SBRD=LINK
        'If you children work, your future will be bright, so…' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

11.1.2   =*kin* 'Probable'

The clitic =*kin* 'PROB' indicates that the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of the utterance. =*kin* 'PROB' can occur at the right edge of any clause or phrase and is often followed by =*o* (§11.3.1) or =*a* (§11.3.2) but need not be as in (11-9) below.

(11-9) *nox*   *ux*   *li*   *x-t*   *əpil=kin*
        1s   3sf   first   DO-SIM   come(.PRS.SG)=**PROB**

        li-m   *nox*   *aŋ*   *m-de-t*   *əpil*
        say-SEQ   1s   find   PRX.O-MAKE-SIM   come(PRS.SG)

        jox   *ux=xe*   *na=pat=o*
        TOP   3sf=FOC   NEG=stay.IPFV.SG.PRS=EMPH
        '"I thought she had **probably** come (home) first but when I came to look for her, when she wasn't there, …"' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The clitic =*kin* 'PROB' can also occur on sentences which do not contain a verb (11-10).

(11-10) *patrik*   *ox*   *na=mdejo-l=xejox*   *ti*
         PN   3sm   NEG=come.across-IPFV.PER.TODP=BECAUSE   another

         na=mdejo-l=xejox   *balus*   *jox*
         NEG=come.across-IPFV.PER.TODP=BECAUSE   airplane   DEF

         ti=bəs=kin=o   *nox*   *p-ti-l*
         INDF=NEG=**PROB**=QUOT   1s   tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
         'I told them that, because Patrick hadn't come across (to check the radio) and neither had anybody else, there was **probably** no plane (coming).' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

Example (11-11) below shows =*kin* 'PROB' on a noun phrase which is acting as subject within a sentence.

(11-11) *jəxe*   *olxol*   *go=kin*   *təmam*   *n-a-d-pat=o*
         then   3sm.REFL   2s=**PROB**   sorcery   1/2.O-BEN-eat-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT

         li-m=a
         say-SEQ=LINK
         'Then, he said "It's **probably** you who did sorcery to me" and then…' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

The clitic =*kin* 'PROB' is used to indicate guesses or assumptions for which the speaker does not have direct evidence (11-12).

(11-12)　*jæxe*　　*balus=si=**kin**=o*　　　　　　　　*li-m*　　*mda-m=a*
　　　　　then　　airplane(TP)=WITH=**PROB**=QUOT　　　say-SEQ finish-SEQ=LINK

　　　　　nuxul=xe　　　*wa*　　*ml*　　　　　*æpli-ja=mul=o*
　　　　　1pEX=FOC　　　see　　MAKE(.SEQ)　come-PRS.PL=CERT=QUOT

　　　　　li-n-gwel=a
　　　　　say-PFV-VIS.YESTP=LINK
　　　　　'Then they said that they came to see because they thought that there might be a
　　　　　plane.' (Lit. 'Then they said "we came to see because we thought that there might be
　　　　　a plane."' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

The clitic *=kin* 'PROB' is used in (11-13) below to express a future event whose future actualization is very uncertain.

(11-13)　*nox*　　*kæs*　　*x-pat=xe=a*　　　　　　　　*kut=xe*　　*nox*　　*ox=tæp*
　　　　　1s　　fear　　DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD=LINK　future=FOC　　1s　　3sm=ASSC

　　　　　ix=xi-m　　　　　　*pt-pla=**kin**=a*
　　　　　like.that=DO-SEQ　　stay-FF.SG=**PROB**=LINK
　　　　　'I felt afraid and thought that I might do the same thing with him in the near future.'
　　　　　("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

It is possible that the clitic *=kin* 'PROB' is etymologically related to the question word *kin* 'how' (see Chapter 10, §10.4.1.1).

11.1.2.1　Interaction of *=kin* '**PROB**' with Evidential Strategies

The clitic *=kin* 'PROB' contrasts with other evidential strategies: it is used for events for which the speaker or reported speaker cannot have direct evidence. For example, the only person who can know directly what they are thinking or feeling is the person experiencing that thought or feeling themselves. The clitic *=kin* 'PROB' is shown in example (11-14) below used for an assumption on the part of a reported speaker about someone else being hungry.

(11-14)　*epa*　　*sup*　　　*ux*　　*[...]*　　*paxox*　*x-t*
　　　　　PN　　mother.3POSS　3sf　　　　　hungry　DO-SIM

　　　　　*pat=**kin**=o*　　　　　　　　　　*pa*　　*m=ox*　　　*tit*
　　　　　stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=**PROB**=QUOT　taro　　DEM.PRX=3sm　INDF

　　　　　lapli-pel=o　　　　　　*li-n-gwel*
　　　　　give-IF.PL=QUOT　　　say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　　'"Epa's mother is **probably** hungry. Let's give her some taro!", she said.'
　　　　　("Yesterday" by Julie James)

In example (11-15) below, the speaker is making an assumption of what the mother was thinking based on her actions witnessed by the speaker.

(11-15) *sup* *ux* *be* *da* *x-s* *li*
mother.3POSS 3sf just think DO-PNCT SAY(.PRS.SG)

jox *sik* *xəx=xe* *da* *x-ti-l=kin=o*
TOP sick(Eng) DO.PRS.SG=VIS think DO-PFV-PER.YESTP=**PROB**=EMPH
'(Because I saw her come up to get me, the nurse, and tell me about how the baby was having trouble breathing, I assume that) the baby's mother thought that the baby was sick.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

The clitic *=kin* 'PROB' overlaps in function both with the inferred/assumed clitic (see Chapter 9, §9.2.2) and also with a complement clause with *x-* 'be' (see Chapter 12, §12.1.3), used when the speaker has visual evidence of a past event (which leads to an inference).

11.1.3 =*mul* 'Certain'

The clitic *=mul* 'CERT' indicates a state of affairs which is very likely to have occurred in the past or to occur in the future, or a proposition which the speaker claims is real or true as shown in the examples below. *=mul* 'CERT' occurs on the right edge of any phrase or clause. The clitic *=mul* 'CERT' also has the dialectal variants *=mil* and *=məl* for some speakers. The clitic *=mul* 'CERT' is commonly followed by *=o* 'EMPH' (§11.3.1) but need not be. It is restricted to occurring with the personal-factual forms when used with a past tense verb.[1]

(11-16) *aj=a* *pok* *nox* *xəpul* *s-s=a*
gosh=EMPH all 1s die(.SEQ) go-SEQ=LINK

i=x-ti-p=məl=o
like.that=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=**CERT**=EMPH
'I really almost died!' ("Nearly Drowning" by Hirai)

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[1] Although there is one example in my text collection where it occurs with the visual-sensory past tense in conjunction with the modal particle *xa* 'HORT':
toxan *jox* *xa* *de-nuŋ=mul=o* *li-m*
sweet.potato DEF HORT eat-VIS.TODP.SG=CERT=QUOT say-SEQ
'"(If you uncle comes,) let him eat the sweet potato."' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-17) | *tom* | *san* | *jox* | *jox* | *nox* | *ap* | *kus* | *jə-xət* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| water | container | DEF | TOP | 1s | house | corner | DEM.DST-up |

sli-l	*jəxe*	*ap*	*kus*	*jə-xət*	*sl-pat-n*
put-IPFV.PER.TODP	then	house	corner	DEM.DST-up	put-IPFV.SG-NOMLS

ox=o	*it*	*nox*	*tom*	*di-plox=**mul**=o*	*nox*
no=QUOT	again	1s	water	eat.PFV-TODF.SG=**CERT**=QUOT	1s

tom	*din*	*wanxe*	*n-x-pat=**mul**=o*
water	thirsty	a.lot	1/2.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=**CERT**=QUOT

li-nuŋ
say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
'…I put the container in the corner. When I put (the water container) in the corner, (I saw that) (she) said "No! I have to drink again! I'm really thirsty!"' ("Today" by Julie James)

In (11-18) below, =*mul* 'CERT' is phonologically attached to a noun. By using this clitic, the speaker is asserting the truth of the utterance.

(11-18) | *səŋtem* | *ox* | *tomjan* | *ap* | *s-t-pa* | *blel=**mil**=o* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PN | 3sm | PN | village | put-PFV-PER.FP.PL | child=**CERT**=EMPH |

'Səŋtem is a child who was born at Tomjan Village.' (Spoken by mother of Səŋtem.) ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

The clitic =*mul* 'CERT' is also used for unrealized events which the speaker thinks definitely will or should occur, as in (11-19) and (11-20) below.

(11-19) | *lus* | *pli-pli=**mul*** | *li-t* | *pti-n* |
|---|---|---|---|
| suck | tell-FF.PL=**CERT** | say-SIM | stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS |

'They were saying that they should suck (the grease) and then, ...' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(11-20) | *gin* | *nox* | *it* | *tit=xe* | *s-plox=**mul*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| now | 1s | again | INDF=FOC | go-TODF.SG=**CERT** |

'"Now, I'll go again once more."' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The clitic =*mul* 'CERT' often occurs with the second person imperative, as in (11-21) and (11-22) below. This is a very forceful command type and is not used in polite request situations.

(11-21) | *go* | *skul* | *xəm* | *waj-on=**mul**=o* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2s | school(Eng) | down | go.down-IMP=**CERT**=EMPH |

'"You must go down to school!"' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-22) *gul*   *mə=ma*   *səŋ*   *m=ox*   *amla-pti=xən*
         2p   DEM.PRX=REL   story   DEM.PRX=3sm   hear-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=IRR

         po=ml=nəp   *toxan*   *mox*   *gono-n=**mul***
         well=MAKE(.SEQ)=VERY   sweet.potato   ANPH   grow-IMP=**CERT**
         '(In the future if you don't grow your own food, and instead steal food from others, they will hit you and drown you in the river. So,) if you hear this story, you must grow your sweet potato well!' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

11.1.3.1   Interaction of *=mul* 'CERT' with Evidential Strategies

As noted above, *=mul* 'CERT' cannot occur with the visual-sensory past tense forms. The certainty clitic *=mul* 'CERT' is used with the past tense personal-factual forms even where the speaker has information about the event via visual-sensory evidence and the visual-sensory strategies described above would otherwise be used, although this strategy is far less commonly used than simply using the visual-sensory evidence strategies. This used of *=mul* 'CERT' is demonstrated by the following two sentences which occur in sequence in a text to describe the same event. Example (11-23)a. occurs in the personal far past perfective with the modal clitic *=mul* 'CERT' whereas example (11-23)b. occurs in the visual-sensory far past perfective.

(11-23) *a.*   *ep=e*   *kol*   *ux=a*   *xesup*   *wanxe=nəp*
               sorry=EXCL   sister   3sf=EMPH   angry   a.lot=VERY

               *m-de-ti-p=**mul**=o=li*
               PRX.O-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=**CERT**=EMPH=REP
               'Gosh! (They say that) the girl was definitely really angry with (him).'

      b.   *xesup*   *wanxe=nəp*   *m-de-t*
               angry   a.lot=VERY   PRX.O-MAKE-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)

               *x-n-**gop**=li*
               be-PFV-**VIS.FP.SG**=REP
               '(They say that it was seen that) she had gotten really angry with him.'
               ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

This is further demonstrated by (11-24) below for which the speaker presumably has visual and auditory evidence.

(11-24) *em*   *ux*   *n-pl*   *ed-ol=**mul**=a*
         mother   3sf   1/2.O-tell(.SEQ)   stay.PFV-PER.YESTP=**CERT**=EMPH
         'My mother used to tell me.' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

The clitic *=mul* 'CERT' can also be for events for which the speaker has personal-factual evidence (11-25).

(11-25) *goslix   mə=kat   it-pa=**mil**=o*
PN   DEM.PRX=place   put.PFV-PER.FP.PL**=CERT**=EMPH
'I gave birth to him at Goslix.' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

Unlike the visual-sensory past tenses, the visual-sensory evidence clitic *=xe* 'VIS' can co-occur with *=mul* 'CERT' (11-26).

(11-26) *blel   mox   sup-il   ixil   seluŋ=si*
child   ANPH   mother.3POSS-PL   3p   big.string.bag=WITH

        mox   um=de-m   xəplu-ja   joxjox
        ANPH   leave=MAKE-SEQ   die-PRS.PL   TOP

        *ga   jox   kəpkəp na=m-sli-pla=**xe**=mil=o*
        tooth   DEF   quickly NEG=PRX.O-put-FF.SG**=VIS**=CERT=EMPH
        'Her mothers left her in the string bag and died, so (you will see that) (her) teeth won't grow quickly.' ("Shirley" by Dulum Aleap)

11.1.4   =*naŋ* 'Counterfactual'

The clitic *=naŋ* 'CNTRF' indicates a past or present event which is/was non-actualized.

The counterfactual may not occur with the visual-sensory past tense forms.

(11-27) *a   məmxan   noxe   kol=xe   pat=**naŋ***
HES   what's.it   1s.POSS daughter=FOC   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=CNTRF**

        *tap   adaw   m=ox   pəlulsi de-pat=**naŋ**=o*
        pig   spine   DEM.PRX=3sm   ?share MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=CNTRF**=QUOT
        "'If only my daughter was here too, if only she could share this pig meat.'"
        ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-28) *got   ox   na=pat=**naŋ**   jox   gon*
God(Eng)   3sm   NEG=stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=CNTRF**   TOP   all

        *mə=ma-la=wi   x-m   tap-ti-l=**naŋ***
        DEM.PRX=REL-?=ONLY DO-SEQ   die-PFV-PER.YESTP**=CNTRF**
        'If God didn't exist, we would have died like that.' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

The counterfactual may also occur on future verb forms which are consequences of a present or past counterfactual event (11-29).

(11-29) *əpuŋ   balus   əpli-t=**naŋ**   gin   oloxən*
yesterday   plane(TP)   come-IPFV.PER.YESTP**=CNTRF**   now   afternoon

        *na=əpli-plox=**naŋ***
        NEG=come-TODF.SG**=CNTRF**
        'If the plane had come yesterday, then it wouldn't be going to come this afternoon.'
        (Elicited FNB 7.96)

11.1.5 =*xe* 'Visual-Sensory Evidence'

In the past tenses visual-sensory evidence is usually indicated by inflectional means: with the visual-sensory past tenses. In non-past tenses, however, =*xe* 'VIS' marks a sentence as information acquired via visual-sensory evidence. The clitic =*xe* 'VIS' cannot co-occur with the visual-sensory past tenses. The clitic =*xe* 'VIS' most commonly occurs on present tense verb forms. It is shown with the present perfective form of *pl-* 'tell' in (11-30), and with the present imperfective form of *pt-* 'stay' in (11-31). The present tenses without this clitic are interpreted as personal-factual.

(11-30) *ixil*   *gwe*   *lel=xe*   *mal=a*   *ulaw*   *x-t*
          3p   small some=FOC   yes=EMPH   properly   DO-SIM

          pti=o   *n-pli-ja=**xe***
          stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-PRS.PL=**VIS**
          '(I saw/heard that) the kids (Lit. some small ones) told me that they were well.'
          ("Today" by Palis)

(11-31) *nonxe*   *ap*   *ka*   *ko-ŋ*   *li=a*
          1s.REFL.POSS house place arrive-PNCT SAY(.PRS.SG)=LINK

          noxe   *blel*   *kol*   *ixil=xe*   *ap*   *ka*
          1s.POSS child   daughter 3p=FOC   house place

          *pti=**xe***
          stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)=**VIS**
          'When I got home just now, (I saw that) my kids were (Lit. are) there.' ("Today" by Palis)

The clitic =*xe* 'VIS' also occurs on verbless clauses to indicate visual-sensory evidence, as in (11-32) and (11-33) below. The clitic =*xe* shortens to =*x* before the marker =*o* 'QUOT' (11-33).

(11-32) *gin*   *tom*   *tisix=**xe***
          now   water cold=**VIS**
          '(I see/feel that) the water is cold now' (Elicited FNB 6.70 TAM 34 Dahl 1985)

(11-33) | *jæxe* | *tomxan* | *nap* | *dap* | *tit=a* | *əlpo-m* |
| then | pandanus | ySIB | long | INDF=EMPH | cook-SEQ |

| *de-ja=o* | *gin* | *nap=x=o* | *jæxe* | *po=m-t* |
| eat-PRS.PL=QUOT | now | ySIB=**VIS**=QUOT | then | well=MAKE-SIM |

na=de-ja=o   *li-n-gwel*
NEG=eat-PRS.PL=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
'"So, as for this small pandanus, we cooked and ate it just now but (we saw/felt that) it was small (Lit a younger sibling) so it wasn't good", she said.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

As mentioned above, the visual-sensory evidence clitic cannot occur with the visual-sensory past tenses, it can, however, occur to a limited extent with personal-factual past tenses as in (11-34) below. In this case, it indicates present visual evidence for a past event: women in Tekin rarely see their pigs giving birth as they do so in the large communal pig enclosure; it is far more likely that a woman will know that her pig has given birth only when she sees the piglets after the fact.

(11-34) | *aŋ* | *de-l* | *aŋ* | *de-l* |
| find | MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP | find | MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP |

| *gin=w=o* | *bap* | *sli-l=**xe**=d=o* | | *pl* |
| now=RESP=QUOT | small | put-IPFV.PER.TODP=**VIS**=PQ=QUOT | | tell(.SEQ) |

| *nox* | *dæxa* | *de* | *jox* |
| 1s | question | MAKE(.PRS.SG) | TOP |
'When I asked her if her pig had given birth, ...' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

The clitic *=xe* 'VIS' is etymologically derived from the verb *x-* 'be' and is identical to its first person singular present perfective form. An inflected form of the verb *x-* 'be' may also synchronically indicate visual-sensory evidence where the action described occurred before the event of viewing it (see Chapter 12, §12.1.3, for details). Evidence that *=xe* 'VIS' is no longer a form of *x-* 'be' but a grammaticalised clitic is that it can occur with plural subject as in (11-30) and (11-31) above: if this was the complement clause construction with *x-* 'be', the verb *x-* 'be' would need to be plural marked and be of the form *xeja* 'be.PRS.PL' and not *xe* 'be.PRS.SG'.

11.1.6 =*d* 'Polar Question'

When used with simple sentences, the primary function of =*d* 'PQ' is to indicate a polar question. It must be followed by either =*e* 'EXCL' (§11.3.3), =*a* 'EMPH' (11-35) (§11.3.2) or =*o* 'EMPH' (11-36) (§11.3.1).

(11-35) *ej   nox=a   bəp   tap   xuto-m=o*
       gosh   1s=EMPH   so   pig   cook.in.ground.oven-SEQ=QUOT

       ix=xe-l   gul   tux
       like.that=DO-IPFV.PER.TODP   2p   smoke

       na=wa=m-de-l=d=a
       NEG=see=PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=**PQ**=EMPH
       '"I cooked a pig in a ground oven. Didn't you see the smoke?"' ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-36) *kol   go   golgap   us=d=o   nuxul=ja*
       sister   2s   2s.ALONE   go.PRS.SG=**PQ**=QUOT   1pEX=O

       n-minxa-t   edi-n=o   diladil   təp
       1/2.O-wait-SIM stay.PFV-IMP=QUOT   1pIN.REFL   together

       x-t   s-pel=o   n-pli-gwel
       DO-SIM   go-IF.PL=QUOT 1/2.O-tell-VIS.YESTP
       '"Sister, are you going by yourself? Stay and wait for us! We can all go together." (she) told me.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The polar question clitic can also occur on sentences which do not have a verbal predicate, as shown in the examples below.

(11-37) *m=ox   gwe   xəjop   kip=d=a*
       DEM.PRX=3sm 2s.POSS   moon   road=PQ=EMPH
       '"Is this your hunting path (Lit. moon road)?"' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-38) *m=ox   tom=d=o   ri-pat²*
       DEM.PRX=3sm water=**PQ**=QUOT   say-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
       '(The sister) wondered if it was water and then...' (Lit. 'said "Is this water?"')
       ("Eagle" by Bitel Palmal)

The clitic =*d* 'PQ' can also attach to smaller units within a sentence, e.g. a noun phrase (11-39).

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² This is an example from a speaker of Upper Oksapmin, hence the form is *ri-* and not *li-* for the verb 'say'.

(11-39) *ej*   *xan=**d**=a*   *nel*   *ul*   *jox*   *nan*
       gosh   man=**PQ**=EMPH   bird   feather DEF   mushroom

       pətəx *x-ti-n*   *x-m* *mlo-n-gop*   *jox=li*
       shoot   DO-PFV-NOMLS   be-SEQ come.up-PFV-VIS.FP.SG DEF=CNTRS
       'An amazing man (lit. What a man!, Was it a man?) came up and he had a beautiful
       headdress on with feathers in it that looked like mushroom shoots.' ("River Butul" by
       Dulum Aleap)

The polar question marker, like the other epistemic modal markers apart from
=w 'RESP' and *=li* 'REP', can only occur with personal-factual forms of the past tense,
and not the visual-sensory forms. The visual-sensory forms are, however, not
semantically incompatible with *=d* 'PQ'. It is an artefact of the grammar of the
language, that most of the epistemic forms are incompatible with the visual-sensory
past tense forms. If speaker would like to ask a polar question about an event where
they anticipate that the hearer will give visual-sensory evidence, they are forced to use
a normal personal-factual past tense form with the anticipated evidence for the
response left open (11-40).

(11-40) *i=ka*   *ko-ŋ*   *li-pti=xe=a*
       DEM.DST=place arrive-PNCT   say-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD=LINK

       um=a   *blel*   *mox*   *xəplu-l=**d**=a*
       cousin.1POSS=EMPH   child   ANPH   die-IPFV.PER.TODP=**PQ**=EMPH

       n-p-n-gop
       1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
       'When I arrived there, (she) asked me: "Cousin, did (your) child die?"' ("Near Death
       of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

The other strategies for indicating visual-sensory evidence may occur with the
polar question marker: use of the clitic *=xe* 'VIS' (11-41), and use of the verb *x-* 'be'
indicate visual-sensory or other visual-sensory evidence (11-42). This construction
with *x-* 'be' is discussed further in Chapter 12, §§12.4.1.2.4–5.

(11-41) *em=a*   *xəpul=**xe**=**d**=o*   *li-n-gop*
       mother.1POSS=EMPH   die(.PRS.SG)=**VIS**=**PQ**=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.FP.SG

       səŋtem   *ox*
       PN   3sm
       '"Mother, did the baby really die?", asked Səŋtem.' ("Near Death of Child" by
       Dulum Aleap)

(11-42) *nox*   *gux*   *pl*   **x-m**   **xe-l=d=a**
          1s   snore   TELL(.SEQ)   **be-SEQ be-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ**=EMPH
          'Did you hear me snore (last night)?' (Elicited.)

    See Chapter 12, §12.3.2, for the use in complex sentences of the conjunctions *da* 'CNJ' and *do* 'CNJ', which are homophonous with and historically derived from the polar question clitic and a speech style clitic.

11.1.7   *=w* 'Response'

In accordance with M. Lawrence (1993), the clitic *=w* is analysed here as having the primary function of marking a response to a question. The clitic *=w* 'RESP' is frequently used on responses to questions although it is not obligatory. Example (11-43)a. below shows a question, and example (11-43)b. below shows the answer with the clitic *=w* 'RESP'.

(11-43) *a.*   *jəxe*   *go*   *nix*   *m-p-n-gop=li*
                  then   2s   who   PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP

                  mə=ma   *moŋsup*   *mox*
                  DEM.PRX=REL   ghost   ANPH
                  'Then, "Who are you?", he said to him, the ghost.'

          b.   *a*   *bəp*   *nox*   *a*   *bəp*   *nox=**w**=a*
                  HES   so   1s   HES   so   1s=**RESP**=EMPH

                  p-ti-p=li
                  tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
                  '"Um, it's me.", (he) told (him).' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

    The following pair is another question-response pair, where example (11-44)b. below is the response marked with the response clitic *=w* 'RESP'.

(11-44) *a.*   *gin*   *go*   *de=ma*   *nel*   *jox=wi*   *den*
                  now   2s   which=REL   bird   DEF=ONLY   hungry

                  x-pat
                  DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
                  'So what birds do you like to eat?'

b.   *noxe   den   x-pat   nel   jox   jox   xəmot*
     1s.POSS hungry DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   bird DEF   TOP   bird.variety

əlem   əxəsan   ulaw   xəmnuku   be
bird.variety   bird.variety   bird.variety   bird.variety   just

gon=si   nel   nel   p-ti-p   bəp   jox
all=PROP   bird   bird   tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG   so   DEF

*jəx=wi=**w**=a*
good=ONLY**=RESP**=EMPH
'The birds that I like to eat are *xəmot, əlem, əxəsan, ulaw, xəmnuku,* well, all
kinds of birds that are good.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and
Hirai)

The use of *=w* 'RESP' extends, however, past simple question and answer pairs
and can be used to mark a more general answer, response or comment on what
another person has said, whether or not a question was initially asked. The following
two examples from a recorded conversation show the second speaker expressing
agreement with what the first speaker has just said.

(11-45) *a.   go   de   jox   xəbal   dəsən=wi*
             2s   eat(.PRS.SG) TOP   tasty   taste=ONLY

n-x-ti-plox
1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-TODF.SG
'When you eat (that bird) it will taste good.'

b.   *kiste=**w**=a*
     true**=RESP**=EMPH
     'That's true.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(11-46) *a.   nel   su-pat=xən   [...]   jox   mda-m*
             bird   kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   DEF   leave-SEQ

x-pat
be-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
'When (I) kill birds, (I) leave those (ones) behind.'

b.   *mda-m   x-pat   jəx=**w**=a*
     leave-SEQ   be-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   good**=RESP**=EMPH
     'You leave (them) behind. That's good.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna
     Frank and Hirai)

Another very common use of this clitic is at the end of a narrative. Again, the
=w 'RESP' is optional in this case. In this case, it is possible that the whole text is
being interpreted as a response to the request to tell a story.

(11-47) *jox   pok=w=a*
      TOP   all=**RESP**=EMPH
      'That's all.' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(11-48) *pe=w=a*
      all=**RESP**=EMPH
      'That's all.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

As noted by M. Lawrence (1993: 105), when the clitic *=w* 'RESP' is attached to a pronoun or proper name, it roughly translates to 'how are (you)' or 'what about (you)' (11-49). This use of this morpheme is common in conversation.

(11-49) *jəxe   ixil   əpli-s=a   em   go=w=a*
      then   3p   come-SEQ=LINK   mother.1POSS   2s=**RESP**=EMPH

      pli-sxe=li   ap   kwal   ka
      tell-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP   house   door   place
      'So, they used to come and then tell their mothers: "how are you?". (At) the doorway.' ("Women's House" by Julie James)

11.1.8   =*li* 'Reported Evidence'

The clitic *=li* 'REP' marks a sentence as information acquired via hearsay. It occurs at the right edge of a sentence and attaches phonologically to any part of speech. Note that *=li* 'REP' can occur with either personal-factual or visual-sensory past tenses, with a different meaning in each case, see §11.1.8.1 and §11.1.8.2 for details.

(11-50) *xan   nəgmd-il   mox   pt-sxe=li*
      man   SS.SIB-PL   ANPH   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=**REP**
      '(It is said that) there were once five brothers.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-51) *a   be   dile   el   x-t   el*
      HES   so   1pIN.POSS   bad   DO-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG) bad

      x-t   jox   mox   olxol   po
      DO-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG) TOP   ANPH   3sm.REFL   well

      n-a-de-plox=li
      1/2.O-BEN-MAKE-TODF.SG=**REP**
      '(It is said that) (God) will forgive all our bad deeds.' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap)

Like the other clitics in this section, *=li* 'REP' also occurs to the right edge of non-verbal clauses (11-52).

(11-52)
nexemja	*ox*	*babilon*	*jox*	*klabus*	*x-t*
PN	3sm	PN	DEF	jail(TP)	DO-SIM

pt-m=a	*it-pa*	*blel=li*
stay-SEQ=LINK	put.PFV-PER.FP.PL	child=**REP**

'(It is said that) Jeremiah's parents gave birth to him while they were in prison in Babylon.' (Lit. '(It is said that) Jeremiah is a child who they gave birth to in prison in Babylon.') ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

The clitic *=li* 'REP' can occur with both personal-factual and visual-sensory past tenses (see following sections). See Chapter 6, §6.4.3, for a discussion of the homophonous clitic *=li* 'CNTRS'.

The reported clitic is used to express events of which the speaker has knowledge because they were told about them. This is shown in example (11-53) where the speaker knows of the event because the person who left the bag told her themselves that they had done so. She is then reporting the event second hand.

(11-53)
jəxe	*uxe*	*iŋ*	*tit*	*tabubil*	*jə-xət*
then	3sf.POSS	string.bag	INDF	PN	DEM.DST-up

wə=m-ti-p=li
leave=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=**REP**

'She has reportedly left her bag up at Tabubil.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

In example (11-54) below, the speaker is reporting about the events of a council meeting which she was not present but was told about by people who were present. The visual-sensory past tense is used because the person who told her about this event witnessed it.

(11-54)
i=ma	*olxol*	*meg=l*	*jox*	*ox*
DEM.DST=REL	3sm.REFL	talk=SAY(.PRS.SG)	TOP	3sm

kot	*kat*	*nuŋ*	*x-s*	*li-n-gop=li*
outside	place	TO	go-PNCT	SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=**REP**

(Inside the meeting hall, the council president said that Tekin would no longer be the home of the new high school.) 'After he said that, (it was reportedly seen that) he suddenly went outside.' ("High School Dispute" by Kila Dasyal)

In myths and legends *=li* 'REP' occurs at the end of every sentence as shown in the consecutive examples from a text shown below. In this case the story has been passed on from person to person and the original speaker is not known.

(11-55)
ku	*nəgmd*	*tit*	*pt-sxe=li*
woman	SS.SIB	INDF	stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=**REP**

'(It is said that) there were once two sisters.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(11-56) *pti-n=a*   *itəp=o*   *sup-il=o*
        stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   father.3POSS=CNJ   mother.3POSS-PL=CNJ

        ixlanil   *pt-sxe=**li***
        3p.REFL   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=**REP**
        '(It is said that) they lived together with their father and mothers.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The clitic *=li* 'REP' has an additional use: it is used in conjunction with *se* 'INFR' to indicate a proposition which is an inference on the speaker's behalf (11-57). It is possible that this is reported speech in the sense that the speaker is reported their own thoughts; note that the verb *li-* 'say' can also be used to mean 'think'.

(11-57) *ku*   *mutux* *pu-s-pti=xe*   *ixlaixle*   *apte*
        night   middle CAUS-go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD   3p.POSS.REFL village

        se   *d-t=**li***
        INFR   eat-IPFV.PER.YESTP=**REP**
        (They say that some men came and killed and ate Meko's pig on him.) 'I guess they must have taken (it) in the middle of the night to their own village and ate (it).' ("High School Dispute" by Kila Dasyal)

The clitic *=li* 'REP' is etymologically derived from the verb *li-* 'say' and is identical to its first person singular present perfective form.

11.1.8.1   **Reported Personal-Factual Events**

The personal-factual forms are also used for events performed by a reported speaker: when the current speaker has reported evidence of an event because it was told to him/her by the person who performed the action. In this way, the whole utterance can be thought of as similar to a giant reported speech clause: the verb forms (although not other deictic elements) are exactly the same to those which the original experiencer would have used to tell the story. In example (11-58) below, the person who left their bag in Tabubil told the speaker about it. In example (11-59) below, the person who performed the action told someone (who told someone etc.) who told the speaker.

(11-58) *jəxe*   *uxe*   *iŋ*   *tit*   *tabubil*   *jə-xət*
        then   3sf.POSS   string.bag   INDF   PN   DEM.DST-up

        wə=m-ti-p=li
        leave=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
        'She had reportedly left her bag up at Tabubil.' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

(11-59) *i=ma*   *asup*   *max*   *tibəs*   *xe-ja*   *jox*
         DEM.DST=REL menstruation   RECG finish DO-PRS.PL   TOP

         s-sxe=li   *ap*   *nuŋ*
         go-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP   house   TO
         'When their periods were finished, they used to go. (Back) to (the main) house.'
         ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

Note that the visual-sensory past tense cannot be used to talk about someone else's thoughts and some feelings for which the experiencer is the grammatical subject. Instead personal past tenses plus the reported clitic must be used (11-60).

(11-60) *noxe*   *mon*   *ox*   *apuŋ*
         1s.POSS   brother 3sm   yesterday

         gi=da=x-ti-l=li=o   *apuŋ*   *tom*
         THUS=thought=DO-PFV-PER.YESTP=REP=QUOT   yesterday   water

         jox   *tisix*   *x-plox=o*   **da=x-ti-l=li**
         DEF   cold   DO-TODF.SG=QUOT   **think=DO-PFV-PER.YESTP=REP**

         olxol   *ox*   *əm=bəs=kin=o*
         but   3sm   knowledge=NEG=PROB=EMPH
         'My brother reportedly thought that the water would be cold yesterday but he probably doesn't know.' (Elicited FNB 6.78 TAM Dahl 1985 #116)

The actions of the main character of myths, legends and other third person narratives use the personal past tense forms plus a reported clitic even when they are clearly imaginary and the person who performed the action never existed. This is a narrative device through which listeners can identify more with the main character, and the story seems more vivid and real because it is being told as though the main character told it to the current speaker. In the examples below, it is the main or currently important character in the story whose experiences are being reported.

(11-61) *it*   *məmxan*   *mox*   *ox*   **xu-p=li**
         again   what's.it   ANPH 3sm   **go.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP**

         namba   *fo*   *mox*   *ox*
         number(Eng)   four(Eng)   ANPH 3sm
         'So, what's it, then this one left. The fourth one.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-62) *xan*   *nəgmd-il*   *mox*   **pt-sxe=li**
         man   SS.SIB-PL   ANPH   **stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP**
         'There were once (five) brothers.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

11.1.8.2   Reported Visual-Sensory Events

In a third person narrative, events which are seen by the main character also use the past visual-sensory forms along with the reported marker. These are events witnessed by the original speaker and which are told exactly as the original speaker would have relayed the events but with the hearsay clitic *=li* 'REP' on the end of each sentence.

(11-63) *ap*   *tit*   *tux*   **ml-pat-gop=li**
house   INDF   smoke   **come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP**
'(It is said that) ((he) saw that) there was smoke coming up from a house.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-64) *ake*   *di-pol=o*   *p-ti-p=li=a*
stomach   eat.PFV-IF.SG=QUOT   tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=EMPH

sja=si=wi   *de-n=a*   *itəp*   *ox*
mother.2POSS=WITH=ONLY   eat-IMP=EMPH father.3POSS   3sm

m-p-n-gop=li
PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'"Could I eat the stomach and the intestines of the possum?" (it is said that) he asked, but (it is said that) ((he) saw(/heard) that) his father told him: "Eat with you mother at home!"' ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

11.2 Degree

The clitics *=bəs* 'NEG', *=nəp* 'VERY', and *=wi* 'ONLY' indicate the degree to which the referent of a noun phrase or sentence exhibits the stated properties. These are discussed in detail below. These clitics may co-occur (11-65).

(11-65) *jæxe* *nox* *sik*   *ap*   *xəm* *oxox* *x-m*
then   1s   sick(Eng)   house down work   DO-SEQ

wa   *jox*   *sik*   *ap*   *xəm* *xanəp* *jox*
go.down(.PRS.SG)   TOP   sick(Eng)   house down person DEF

*ti=**bəs**=**nəp***   *x-m*   *xe-l=a*
INDF=**NEG**=**VERY**   be-SEQ DO-IPFV.PER.TODP=EMPH
'When I went down to the health centre to work, there was absolutely no one down there.' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

11.2.1   =*bəs* 'Non-Verbal Negator'

The clitic *=bəs* 'NEG' is primarily used to negate verbless clauses and other parts of speech which occur in a sentence which do not contain a verb or which have a nominalised verb (recall that clauses with verbs are negated with the proclitic *na=*

'NEG', see Chapter 9, §9.2.3). =*bəs* 'NEG' occurs on the right edge of the phrase which it negates. =*bəs* 'NEG' is shown in the examples below negating nouns.

(11-66) *bos*　　　　*xan=xe*　　　*un*　　*jox*　　*nox*　　*əm=**bəs***
　　　　　boss(Eng)　　man=POSS　　name　DEF　　1s　　knowledge=**NEG**
　　　　　'I don't know the boss' name.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-67) *mon*　　*ox=nuŋ*　　　　*kor*　　*ux=noŋ=**bəs**=mur*[3]
　　　　　brother　3sm=O　　　　　sister　3sf=O=**NEG**=CERT
　　　　　'The brother. Not the sister.' ("Eagle" by Bitel Palmal)

The clitic =*bəs* 'NEG' frequently occurs with *ti* 'INDF'. The resulting form *ti=bəs* 'none' is frequently used in Oksapmin. It occurs with the light verb *x-* to mean 'finish' (11-68), in equational clauses to mean 'none' (11-69), and also as an exclamation meaning 'none!' or 'nothing!' (11-70).

(11-68) *paxna*　*sup*　　*mox*　　*den*　　*mox*　　*ti=**bəs***
　　　　　hunger　illness　ANPH　　food　　ANPH　　INDF=**NEG**

　　　　　x-m　　　　　*mda-m=a*　　　　　　*xanəp*　*xəp-tu-pa*　　　　　*jox*
　　　　　DO-SEQ　　　finish-SEQ=LINK　　　person　die-PFV-PER.FP.PL　　DEF
　　　　　'The famine was when food ran out and people died.' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-69) *ipe*　　　　　*naŋ*　　*jox*　　*mə=te*　　　　*m=ox*　　　*ti=**bəs***
　　　　　tree.variety　rope　　DEF　　DEM.PRX=place　DEM.PRX=3sm　INDF=**NEG**
　　　　　'There is no *ipe* rope here.' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

(11-70) *a.*　　*nap*　*ux*　　*de=təx*　　　*pat=o*　　　　　　　*li-m*　　　　*aŋ*
　　　　　　　　ySIB　3sf　　WHICH=place　be.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT　say-SEQ　　　find

　　　　　　　de-l　　　　　　　　　　*aŋ*　　*de-l*　　　　　　　　　*aŋ*
　　　　　　　MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP　find　　MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP　find

　　　　　　　de-l　　　　　　　　　　*aŋ*　　*de-l=a*
　　　　　　　MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP　find　　MAKE-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK
　　　　　　　'(She) searched and searched in order to find her younger sister.'
　　　　　　　(Lit. '(She) said "where is my younger sibling" and then searched and
　　　　　　　searched and searched and searched (for her).')

　　　　b.　　*ti=bəs=a*
　　　　　　　INDF=NEG=EMPH
　　　　　　　'Nothing!' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The clitic =*bəs* 'NEG' may also negate a speaker's own utterance in self-correction, as opposed to the verbal negator *na=* which negates the state of affairs

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[3] Upper Oksapmin speaker.

described by the utterance (see Chapter 9, §9.2.3). Examples of speakers using *=bəs* 'NEG' in self-correction are shown in (11-71) and (11-72) below.

(11-71) | *jəxe* | *pt-sxe=li* | | *jəxe* | *bəp* | *a* | *tit* | *dax* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP | | then | so | HES | INDF | day |

it	*a*	*məmxan*	*ej*	*pt-sxe=bəs=a*
again	HES	what's.it	gosh	stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=NEG=LINK

'So, they stayed. Then, one day, oops, sorry, not they stayed.' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(11-72) | *ej* | *ap* | *xəm* | *id-ol=bəs* | | *ap* | *xəm* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| gosh | house | down | stay.PFV-PER.YESTP=**NEG** | | house | down |

na=id-ol		*ej*	*xəm*	*ka*	*pti-n=a*
NEG=stay.PFV-PER.YESTP		gosh	down	place	stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK

'Ah, sorry, not we stayed down at the house. We didn't stay down at the house. Sorry. When we stayed at the place down there, …' ("Yesterday" by Henna Kashat)

There is also a related interjection *bəs* meaning 'no!' or 'it is not!', often as a negating reply to a positive assertion (11-73).

(11-73) | *gin* | *bəs=o* | *li-t-pa* |
|---|---|---|
| now | **no**=QUOT | say-PFV-PER.FP.PL |

'Now (they) have said "no!".' ("Birds 1" by Paiiz Wengsin)

11.2.2   *=nəp* 'Intensifier'

The clitic *=nəp* 'VERY' means 'very', 'really' or 'too' and occurs on almost all parts of speech, although it most commonly occurs with noun phrases. It occurs at the right edge of the unit which it is modifying as shown in the example below where it is modifying an adjective.

(11-74) | *go* | *bap=nəp* |
|---|---|
| 2s | small=**VERY** |

'You're too/really small.' ("First Day of School" by Savonna Frank)

Where *=nəp* 'VERY' is modifying an adjective or other modifier in a noun phrase, it occurs to the right edge of the noun phrase. This appears to be the case for all modifiers which precede the noun in the noun phrase. This is shown in example (11-75) where the clitic *=nəp* 'VERY' occurs after the noun *xan* 'man' instead of after the modifier *alwəlku* 'vengeful' as might be expected from the translation. This is likewise shown in example (11-76) below, where *=nəp* 'VERY' follows the noun *tom* 'water' rather than the modifier *kəs=si* 'frightening'.

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(11-75) *alwəlku*   *xan=**nəp**=li=a*
         vengeful   man=**VERY**=REP=EMPH
         'a really vengeful man' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-76) *kəs=si*   *tom=**nəp***
         fear=PROP   water=**VERY**
         'really frightening water' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

An exception to the above is that *jəx* 'good' can always take the clitic *=nəp* 'VERY' regardless of its position or function (11-77).[4] This is possibly a frequency effect of the combination *jəx=nəp* 'very good'.

(11-77) *gin*   *ixil=xe*   *jəx=**nəp***   *unəŋ=xe=a*
         now   3p=FOC   good=**VERY**   brother=SBRD=LINK
         'Now, because they are really nice brothers as well, …' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

The clitic *=nəp* 'VERY' can occur with nouns, particularly location and time nouns, to indicate that the referent has exaggerated qualities compared to a normal example of that noun (11-78).

(11-78) *təpən*   *mox*   *ox=xe*   *ixil*   *pu*   *te*   *pu*   *te=**nəp***
         bird.variety   ANPH   3sm=FOC   3p   sky   place   sky   place=**VERY**

         mə-xət   *s-pti*
         DEM.PRX-up   go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
         'As for *təpən* too, they fly really high up at the top of the sky.' ("Birds 4" by Paiiz Wengsin)

The following example shows *=nəp* modifying an adverb.

(11-79) *got*   *lipin=**nəp***   *pat*
         God(Eng)   true=**VERY**   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)
         'God really does exist.' ("Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

With coverbs, *=nəp* 'VERY' usually occurs directly after the coverb rather than the light verb. In (11-80) below, *=nəp* 'VERY' immediately follows the coverb *xesup* 'angry'.

(11-80) *be*   *xesup* *xesup=**nəp***   *x-t*   *pat*
         just   angry   angry=**VERY**   DO-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)
         'So, (I) was really angry.' ("Rat" by Kila Dasyal)

With some coverbs, however, *=nəp* 'VERY' occurs after the auxiliary medial verb instead of after the coverb. This occurs for coverbs which have more of an

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[4] Although *jəx* 'good' and *nəp* 'VERY' are also sometimes separated, e.g. *jəx xə-t=nəp pat-gop* (good DO-SIM=VERY stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG) 'she was very well'.

adverbial function and do not indicate a separate action as such, e.g. *jəx x-* 'do/be well' / *jəx de-* ~ *ml-* 'do/cause to be well' (11-81).

(11-81) | *blel* | *gon* | *mox* | *ti* | *sik=xe* | *ti* | *na=xe-l* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| child | whole | ANPH | some | sick(Eng)=FOC | some | NEG=be-IPFV.PER.TODP |

x-n-gopa		*jəx*	*x-t=**nəp***	*pat-gop*
be-PFV-VIS.FP.PL		good	DO-SIM=**VERY**	stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG

'As for the child, sickness had not developed. She was very well.' ("Near Drowning" by Dulum Aleap)

The clitic *=nəp* 'VERY' is shown occurring to the right edge of a sentence before a complementiser in the example below.

(11-82) | *in* | *xanəp* | *mox* | *gon* | *tap-ti-pa=**nəp**=xejox* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| so | person | ANPH | all | die-PFV-PER.FP.PL=**VERY**=BECAUSE |

'So, all the people really died because of the famine so…' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

11.2.3   *klim* 'Moderately, Fairly'

As noted by M. Lawrence (1993: 59) for *kirim* in Upper Oksapmin, *klim* in Lower Oksapmin moderates the degree of a quality assigned to a referent.

(11-83) | *pja* | **klim** | *x-pat-n=a* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| big | **fairly** | DO-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK |

'…when (the pig) got fairly big, …' ("Looking after my Pig" by Kila Dasyal)

(11-84) | *nox* | *lexox* | *xan* | *d-ti-p* | *jox* | *jox* | *a* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 1s | long.ago | man | take-PFV-PER.FP.SG | DEF | TOP | HES |

məmxan	*kakdup*	**klim**	*pok*	*faiv*	*mun*
what's.it	close.to	**fairly**	all	five	months

'As for my getting married long ago, it was, what's it, fairly close to five months (ago).' ("Self" by Kila Dasyal)

11.2.4   *=wi* 'Only'

The clitic *=wi* 'ONLY' is a phrasal clitic which means 'always' or 'only'. The clitic *=wi* 'ONLY' occurs to the right edge of the phrase which it modifies and predominantly occurs with noun phrases (11-85), although it may occur on any part of speech.

(11-85) *nuxul*   *bəten*   *x-m*   *s-pti*   *jox*
        1p   pray(TP)   DO-SEQ   go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   TOP

        *sande=**wi***   *lotu*   *xəm*   *s-pti*
        Sunday(Eng)=**ONLY**   church(TP)   down   go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'As for when we pray, we only go down to church on Sunday.' ("Church" by Kila Dasyal)

In the following example =*wi* 'ONLY' occurs with an inflected verb to mean 'always'. The apparently distant meaning 'only' and 'always' can be related thus: if the only thing that happens is X, then X always happens.

(11-86) *tom*   *wep=xənxe*   *nuxul*   *suxu-pja=**wi***
        water   time=SBRD   1pEX   carry.on.head-TODF.PL=**ONLY**
        '(Even) when it's raining, we will still always go to get (firewood).' ("Firewood" by Kila Dasyal)

In the following example, =*wi* 'ONLY' occurs on a medial verb.

(11-87) *kim*   *li-t=**wi***   *pt-en=mul*
        quiet   SAY-SIM=**ONLY**   stay-IMP=CERT
        'Stay quiet!' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

When =*wi* 'ONLY' occurs on a noun phrase which has a postposition, it always follows the postposition as shown in the examples below with the postpositions =*si* 'WITH' and =*ja* 'Object' respectively.

(11-88) *gin*   *mani=**si**=**wi***   *nuxul*   *ku*   *jox*   *dl*
        now   money(Eng)=**WITH**=**ONLY**   1pEX   woman DEF   take(.SEQ)

        mda-m
        finish-SEQ
        'Now we only pay money to get a wife and…' ("Bride Price" by Kila Dasyal)

(11-89) *a*   *ox=**ja**=**wi***   *ap*   *s-s*   *xe-n=o*
        HES   3sm=**O**=**ONLY**   house   go-SEQ   be-IMP=QUOT

        m-pli-pti-n=a
        PRX.O-tell-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
        'When (they) always told him "go to the houses (to give out pig meat)!"' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

11.3 Speech Style

There are three speech style clitics in Oksapmin: =*o* 'EMPH', =*a* 'EMPH', and =*e* 'EXCL'. These are discussed in detail below. The speech style clitics *o*= 'EMPH' and =*a* 'EMPH' are very commonly used and typically co-occur with the other phrase

clitics described in this chapter, such as *=mul* 'CERT' (11-90) and *=nəp* 'VERY' (11-91).

(11-90)　*nox*　　*lipin=nəp*　　*li=**mul**=**o***
　　　　　1s　　　true=VERY　　　say(.PRS.SG)=**CERT=EMPH**
　　　　　'I am saying the real truth.' ("Heaven" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-91)　*be*　　*xanəp*　*jæx*　*god*　　　　　*ox*　　*wes=**nəp**=**o***
　　　　　just　　person　good　God(Eng)　　　3sm　　thank.you=**VERY=EMPH**
　　　　　'Thank you very much God almighty.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

A number of other Papuan languages have markers which are similar in both form (/e/, /a/, or /o/) and function: they are used as vocatives, emphatic speech, questions and imperatives (see Loughnane 2005 for details). These include: Amele (Roberts 1987), Tok Pisin, Tauya (MacDonald 1990), Hua (Haiman 1980), Hatam (Reesink 1999), Golin (Bunn 1974), Alamblak (Bruce 1984), and Mian (Fedden 2007).

11.3.1　　**=o 'Emphatic'**

The clitic *=o* 'EMPH' as a variety of uses:

- 　　questions
- 　　imperatives
- 　　shouted speech
- 　　exclamations
- 　　vocative
- 　　greetings
- 　　general emphasis

The clitic *=o* 'EMPH' (or alternatively *=a* 'EMPH', see §11.3.2) occurs obligatorily after the polar question clitic *=d* 'PQ', as in (11-92) and (11-93) below.

(11-92)　*go*　　*kətpe*　*jox*　*li-ti-n*　　　　　*x-ti-n=d=**o***
　　　　　2s　　some　DEF　say-PFV-NOMLS　　be-PFV-IMP=PQ=**EMPH**

　　　　　pja　　*nel*　*jox*
　　　　　big　　bird　DEF
　　　　　'Could you say some of the big birds names?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(11-93) *gin   sja-nil   ita-nil   ixil=xe*
            now   mother.2POSS-PL   father.1/2POSS-PL   3p=FOC

            pti   x-m   xe-l=d=o
            stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)   be-SEQ   be-IPFV.PER.TODP=PQ=**EMPH**
            'How are your parents?' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

The clitic *=o* 'EMPH' also commonly occurs with content questions (11-94), although is not obligatory.

(11-94) *mon   go   de=nuŋ   s-pat=o*
            brother 2s   where=TO   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=**EMPH**
            'Brother, where are you going?' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

The clitic *=o* 'EMPH' is also often used with imperatives along with *=mul* 'CERT'.

(11-95) *in   gin=xe   ix=xi-pli=xən   da=x-t*
            so   now=FOC   like.that=DO-FF.PL=IRR   thought=DO-SIM

            pat-n=mil=o
            stay-IMP=CERT=**EMPH**
            'So, think not to do that!' ("Famine" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-96) *in   blel   gul=xe den   jox=li   gno-n=mul=o*
            so   child   2p=FOC food   DEF=first   grow-IMP=CERT=**EMPH**
            'So you children too must first grow food!' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

Although I have no textual examples of this phenomenon, I can report from observation that speakers use this clitic when they are shouting to someone from a distance.

A number of interjections commonly occur with *=o* 'EMPH'. These include: *ep* 'sorry!' (11-97), *mal* 'yes!', *mi* 'agreed!', *ox* 'no!', *wes* 'thank you!', *kiste* 'true!', *j* 'yes' and *bəs* 'no!'.

(11-97) *ep=o   tap   ap   tem   mo-xon   blel*
            sorry=**EMPH**   pig   house inside DEM.PRX-across   child

            it   x-n-gop=li
            put.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG) be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
            'Sorry to say, (it is said that) (he saw that) she had given birth to the child in the pig's house.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

The clitic *=o* 'EMPH' is used for vocatives in the traditionally understood sense of the word: when calling out to someone by name (11-98).

(11-98) *kila=**o***
      PN=**EMPH**
      'Hey, Kila!'

There is a special formulaic salutation that most Oksapmin speakers use upon departing which has the speech style marker *=o* 'EMPH' along with a second person pronoun, an optional multiple dyadic kin terms, focus marker *=xe* 'FOC' and optional contrastive focus marker *=li* 'CNTRS' as shown in the template below.

2ⁿᵈ person pronoun	(dyadic kin term)	=xe	(=li)	=o

Table 11-2.   Greeting template

Examples of the above greeting are shown in (11-99) and (11-100) below.

(11-99) *jox*   *pok=w=a*   *gin=a*   ***go=xe=o***
        TOP   all=RESP= EMPH   now=EMPH   **2s=FOC=EMPH**
        'That's all now. Goodbye.' ("Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(11-100) *jox*   *jəx=w=o*   ***gut=xe=li=o***   ***gul***
        DEF   good=RESP=EMPH   **2d=FOC=CNTRS=EMPH**   **2p**

        təmd-il   ***imd-il=xe=o***   ***gul=xe=o***
        father&child-PL   **mother&child-PL=FOC=EMPH**   **2p=FOC=EMPH**

        pli-pti   *nuxut*   *it*   *əpli-ja*
        tell-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   1dEX   again   come-PRS.PL
        'We two said 'That's all. Now, goodbye you two. Goodbye father, mother and children. Goodbye all of you." and came again.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The clitic *=o* 'EMPH' is also used for types of general emphasis which do not fit into any of the categories described above − when a speaker wishes the addressee to take particular note of what is being said for whatever reason.

A homophonous clitic *=o* 'CNJ' is also used in nominal conjunction (see Chapter 7, §7.9.2). See also §11.4.2 below on another homophonous marker *=o* 'QUOT'.

11.3.2   =*a* 'Emphatic'

The clitic *=a* 'EMPH' is used in a number of similar contexts to *=o* 'EMPH' but is less emphatic than *=o* 'EMPH'. *=a* 'EMPH' is used to express:

- questions and answers
- imperatives
- exclamations
- topics
- general emphasis

As mentioned in §11.3.1 above, the clitic *=a* 'EMPH' (or interchangeably *=o* 'EMPH') occurs obligatorily with the phrasal clitic *=d* 'PQ' (§11.1.6). The use of *=a* is a less emphatic style than *=o* (or *=e*) and is the speech style clitic normally used when asking a question or giving an answer.

(11-101) *m=ox*   *gwe*   *xəjop*   *kip=d=**a***
DEM.PRX=3sm   2s.POSS   moon   road=PQ=**EMPH**
'"Is this your hunting path?"' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

The clitic *=a* 'EMPH' also commonly occurs with the phrasal clitic *=w* 'RESP' (§11.1.7).

(11-102) *a*   *bəp*   *nox*   *a*   *bəp*   *nox=w=**a***   *p-ti-p=li*
HES   so   1s   HES   so   1s=RESP=**EMPH** tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
'"Um, it's me", (he) replied.' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

The clitic *=a* 'EMPH' is used with imperatives (11-103), although imperatives more commonly occur with *=o* 'EMPH'.

(11-103) *ake*   *di-pol=o*   *p-ti-p=li=a*
stomach   eat-IF.SG=QUOT   tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=EMPH

sja=si=wi   *de-n=**a***   *itəp*
mother.2POSS=WITH=ONLY   eat-IMP=**EMPH**   father.1/3POSS

ox   *m-p-n-gop=li*
3sm   PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'"Could I eat the stomach and the intestines (of the possum)?", he said but his father told him: "Eat with your mother at home!"' ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

A small number of interjections, such as *mal* 'yes' (11-104), commonly occur with *=a* 'EMPH'.

(11-104) *əxəsan*   *jox*   *mal=**a***   *nox*   *den*
bird.variety   DEF   yes=**EMPH**   1s   food

x-pat   *nel*   *pja*   *xəti*
DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   bird   big   more
'As for *əxəsan*, yes, I like to eat it and some other big birds too.' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

The marker =*a* 'EMPH' also commonly occurs with noun phrases which are acting as the topic, although it is completely optional in this context. It may occur on a topic which is marked with the topic marker (11-105) or not (11-106).

(11-105) *a   noxe   mon   mox   jox=a*
HES   1s.POSS brother   ANPH   TOP=**EMPH**

i=x-ti-p=mul=a
like.that=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=LINK

i=x-ti-p=mul=a   jəxe   moŋniŋ
like.that=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=LINK   then   echidna

x-ti-p=mul=a
be-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=LINK
'"As for my brother, such and such happened and he became an echidna."'
("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

(11-106) *jəxe   tomxan   nap   dap   tit=a   əlpo-m*
then   pandanus   ySIB   long   INDF=**EMPH**   cook-SEQ

de-ja=o   gin   nap=x=o   jəxe   po=m-t
eat-PRS.PL=QUOT   now   ySIB=VIS=QUOT   then   well=MAKE-SIM

na=de-ja=o   li-n-gwel
NEG=eat-PRS.PL=QUOT   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
'"So, as for this small pandanus, we cooked and ate it just now but (we saw/felt that) it was small (Lit a younger sibling) so it wasn't good", she said.' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

The marker =*a* 'EMPH' is also used in general emphasis on simple sentences (11-107). This use is rather difficult to predict and further research is needed into the factors influencing the presence of =*a* 'EMPH' on finite clauses.

(11-107) *a   pti-n=a   a   xan   almd*
HES   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   HES   man   grandparent&grandchild

xan   almd   pt-sxe=li=a
man   grandparent&grandchild   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP=**EMPH**
'There was a man and his grandfather.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

See also Chapter 7, §7.9.2, on the homophonous conjunction =*a* 'CNJ'.

11.3.3   =*e* 'Exclamatory'

The clitic =*e* 'EXCL' is the least commonly used of the speech style clitics and rarely occurs. M. Lawrence analyses this clitic as "[i]ndicat[ing] uncertainty or wondering.

It is used with interrogatives" (1993: 235). In my data, *=e* 'EXCL' was also found to occur with a small number of exclamations including: *em* 'gosh!' (11-108), and *ep* 'sorry!'.

(11-108) *ep=e*   *noxe*   *non*   *gət*   *n-a-de=d=a*
           sorry=**EXCL**   1s.POSS breast cut   1/2.O-BEN-MAKE(.PRS.SG)=PQ=EMPH
           '"Hey! Did you just cut my breast?"' ("Pandanus" by Tracks Babyan)

This speech style marker can also occur with the polar question marker (11-109) and other question words, such as *kin* 'how' (11-110). The use of *=e* 'EXCL', as opposed to *=o* 'EMPH' or *=a* 'EMPH', in an interrogative construction indicates a rhetorical question.

(11-109) *nonxe*   *da*   *mə-xən*   *kis*
           1s.REFL.POSS   thought DEM.PRX-across   try

           n-m-ti-p=d=e
           1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=PQ=**EXCL**
           'I thought that perhaps this had been a test of me (from God).' (Lit. 'I thought "was this a test of me?"') ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

(11-110) *xim=o*   *jox*   *kin*   *x-ti-p=e*
           clothes=EMPH DEF   how   DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=**EXCL**
           'I didn't know what had happened to my clothes.' (Lit. 'What had happened to my clothes?') ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

11.4 Clause Combining

The prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK' and the quote marker *=o* 'QUOT' are discussed in this chapter as these are not conjunctions or complementizers like those discussed in Chapter 12. They do not, in themselves, function to subordinate or coordinate clauses. Rather, they commonly occur on clauses which are in a subordinate or coordinate relationship with another clause, and which are already marked or understood as such. They are closely related to the clitics *=o* 'EMPH' (§11.3.1) and *=a* 'EMPH' (§11.3.2) as discussed above.

11.4.1   =*a* 'Prosodic Linker'

The clitic *=a* 'LINK' occurs on coordinated clauses, medial verbs (11-111) and adverbial subordinate clauses (11-112), (11-113). It indicates that the sentence or utterance is not completed as shown in the examples below. It may indicate an adverbial subordinate clause alone (11-112) or in addition to another subordinator (in

which case it is not glossed separately throughout the thesis), e.g. with *=xən* 'SBRD' in example (11-113). See the sections in Chapter 12 on adverbial subordinate clauses, coordination and clause chaining for more examples of this marker.

(11-111) *s-s*   *mda-m=a*   *tekut*   *kol*   *ma*   *kəmax kol*
        go-SEQ   finish-SEQ=**LINK**   PN   daughter   REL   rich   daughter

        pja   *pja=nəp=xe*   *adup*   *xəlep*   *jox*   *tim-n*
        big   big=VERY=POSS   anus   underneath   DEF   sleep-SIM

        o=m-ti-p=li
        finish=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
        'He went and then went to sleep under the rich girl from Tekut's bottom.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(11-112) *ixit*   *əpli-pti-n*   *əpli-pti-n*   *əpli-pti-n=a*
        3d   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=**LINK**

        tupte   *ka*   *mi-de=ma*   *ko-ti-pa*
        PN   place   DEM.PRX-across=REL   arrive-PFV-PER.FP.PL
        'They came all the way to Tupte.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(11-113) *xan=d=o*   *tolo-t*   *o=m-ti-pol=**xən**=**a***
        man=PQ=EMPH   grow.tall-SIM   finish=MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=**SBRD=LINK**
        'When he had grown tall, ...' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

In the above functions, the clitic *=a* acts as a carrier of prosody: it is often pronounced super-long. It does not contribute anything semantically, but simply signals that there is more of the sentence to come. In (11-114) below, lines a. and b. both end with a prolonged /a/ vowel indicating that there is more of the sentence to come. It's primary function is not, however, as a hesitation marker (although it can be drawn out in hesitation or to mark various discourse effects, like creating suspense and anticipation about what is to come in the narrative), but as a marker of subordination or coordination – used only when a word does not already end in a vowel and thus cannot carry the subordinating or coordinating intonation on its own.

(11-114)*a.*   *xan=d=o*   *tolo-t*   *o=m-ti-pol=xən=a*
    man=PQ=EMPH grow.tall-SIM finish=MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD=**LINK**
    'When this amazing man (Lit. is it a man?) had grown tall, ...'

  b.   *awat*   *x-m*   *məda-m=a*
    decorate.self DO-SEQ finish-SEQ=**LINK**
    …he finished decorating himself and then…

  c.   *xan=d=o*   *jæx*   *bok*   *x-t-pol=xən=a*
    man=PQ=EMPH good skin DO-PFV.IF.SG=SBRD=**LINK**
    '…when this amazing man looked great,…'

  d.   *it*   *ox*   *xu-p*
    again 3sm go.PFV-PER.FP.SG
    '…he went again.' ("Rich girl" by Geno Dipin)

11.4.2 *=o* 'Quote'

In a direct speech construction (see Chapter 12, §12.1.1) with a complement clause framed by a verb of speech or thought, the clitic *=o* 'QUOT' usually attaches to the complement clause.

(11-115)*skul*   *xəm*   *s-pti=o*   *li-n-gopa*
   school(Eng) down go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=**QUOT** say-PFV-VIS.FP.PL
   '"We're going down to school", they said.' ("First Day of School" by Savonna Frank)

(11-116)*jəxe*   *nox*   *mox*   *kjan*   *xan=o*   *li-m*   *xtol*
   then 1s ANPH what thing=**QUOT** say-SEQ see(.PRS.SG)

  jox
  TOP
  'Then, when I looked to see what it was (Lit. I looked and said "what is this?"), …'
  ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

   In addition to occurring on the reported speech clause, *=o* 'QUOT' also optionally occurs attached to the part of speech (usually the speech verb) preceding the reported speech clause (11-117)

(11-117)*nox*   *supa*   *ka*   *jox*   *pat-n=a*
   1s super(Eng) place DEF stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK

  gi=n-p-n-gop=o   *go*   *apli-n=o*
  THUS=1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=**QUOT** 2s come-IMP=QUOT

  n-p-n-gop
  1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
  'When I was at the supermarket, (someone) told me thus: "you come!", they told me.'
  ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

The clitic =*o* 'QUOT' is most likely related to the emphatic marker =*o* 'EMPH'. The most likely pathway of development is from =*o* 'EMPH' to =*o* 'QUOT' according to the following scenario: a high frequency of questions and imperatives in reported speech, which occur with =*o* 'EMPH', leads to =*o* 'EMPH' being reinterpreted as a quotation marker in this context (see Loughnane 2005 for details).

Chapter 12
Clause Combining

Oksapmin has a number of ways to combine clauses: complement clauses (§12.1), adverbial subordinate clauses (§12.2), coordination (§12.3), and clause chaining (§12.4). I discuss each of these in more detail in the sections below.

12.1 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a finite clause which functions as an argument of a main clause verb. Oksapmin has a number of types of complement clause as shown in Table 12-1 below.

Verb	Complement clause verb form	Complementizer	Complement type	Type	Section
li- 'say', *pl-* 'tell', *da x-* 'think'	-	=*o*, =*a*	Object	Quotation	§12.1.1
ml- 'MAKE'	Immediate future	-	Object	Purpose	§12.1.2
x- 'be'	Personal-factual past	-	Subject	Evidentiality	§12.1.3
mda- 'finish', *o=ml-* 'finish'	Personal-factual past	-	Object	Aspect	§12.1.4

Table 12-1. Complement clause types in Oksapmin

The relationship between complement clauses and phrasal arguments is demonstrated by the examples below. In example (12-1) the verb *li-* 'say' takes the object *wan meg meg jox* 'different speeches'. In example (12-2) the verb *li-* 'say' takes a finite clause with the quotation marker =*o* in final position: *sik man əplijaxo* "sick men have come". The object in (12-1) and the clause in (12-2) are equivalent in that the verb *li-* 'say' can only take one or the other, not both (12-3), and they both have the same properties of a secondary object: they usually occur in object position and cannot be cross-referenced on the verb.

(12-1) *be   wan   meg   meg   jox   li-n-gwel=a*
  just   another speech speech DEF   say-PFV-VIS.YESTP=LINK
  '(They) just talked about other things (Lit. different speeches).' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

(12-2) *sik*　　　　*man*　　　　*əpli-ja=x=o*　　　　　　*li-n-gwel*
　　　　sick(Eng)　　man(Eng)　　come-PRS.PL=VIS=QUOT　　say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　'(They) said "sick people have come."' ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

(12-3) **meg jox　　sik　　　　man　　　　əpli-ja=x=o*
　　　　speech DEF　sick(Eng)　　man(Eng)　　come-PRS.PL=VIS=QUOT

　　　　li-n-gwel
　　　　say-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　Intended meaning: '(They) said the speech that sick people had come.' (Elicited.)

Note that verbs of perception do not take complement clauses in Oksapmin. Rather, the verb of perception occurs in an adverbial subordinate clause and the state of affairs perceived occurs as a main clause (§12.2.4).

12.1.1　　　Quotation Complement Clauses

Confirming M. Lawrence's findings for Upper Oksapmin (1977a: 88), all reported speech clauses in Oksapmin are direct. This is not surprising as Foley reports that many Papuan languages lack indirect reported speech constructions (Foley 1991: 398). Reported speech clauses with *li-* 'say' and *pl-* 'tell' most commonly take the quote marker *=o* 'QUOT' (see Chapter 11, §11.4.2) although they may also occur without it. A reported speech clause with *=o* is shown in example (12-4) below. A reported speech clause without *=o* is shown in example (12-5) below.

(12-4) *ej　　aw　　　　　　　　nox　　bəp　　dasup*
　　　　gosh　grandchild.1POSS　　1s　　so　　lie

　　　　n-x-pat=o　　　　　　　　　　*pli-n-gop=li*
　　　　1/2.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=QUOT**　tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
　　　　'"Sorry, son, I was just tricking you!", (it is said that) (he) told (him).' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

(12-5) *ej　　xan　　aw　　　　　　　　[...]　　wəd-s*
　　　　gosh　man　　grandchild.1POSS　　　　　come.down-SEQ

　　　　xe-n=a　　　m-pli-n-gop=li
　　　　be-IMP**=EMPH**　PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
　　　　'"Sorry, son, come down (here)!", (it is said that) (he) told (him).' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

The marker *=a* 'EMPH' (see Chapter 11, §11.3.2) can also indicate a reported speech clause with *li-* 'say' or *pl-* 'tell' as shown in the examples below (and also in

(12-5) above). =*a* 'EMPH' is used with lower frequency than =*o* 'QUOT', which is the normal reported speech marker.

(12-6) *a   bəp   nox   a   bəp   nox=w=**a***
        HES   so   1s   HES   so   1s=RESP=**EMPH**

  p-ti-p=li
  tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
  '"Um, it's me.", (he) replied.' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(12-7) *jəxe   a   em   ux=o   a   məmxan   mam   go*
        then   HES   mother.1POSS 3sf=QUOT   HES   what's.it   uncle 2s

  *əpil=d=**a***   *p-n-gop=li*
  come(.PRS.SG)=PQ=**EMPH**   tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
  'Then the mother said, "Uncle, you've come?"…' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

The reported speech clause may be preceded by a second verb of speech with the prefix *gi=* 'THUS' (12-8); see Chapter 9, §9.2.4, for more on *gi=* 'THUS'.

(12-8) *dəpe-t   sl-pat=xe   nox=ja*
        take.off.bag-SIM   put-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD 1s=O

  ***gi**=n-pli-n-gwel=o*   *əpli-n=o*
  THUS=1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT   come-IMP=QUOT

  n-pli-gwel
  1/2.O-tell-VIS.YESTP
  'After she put down her bag, she told me "come!"' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

When a reported speech clause occurs in the reciprocal, the light verb *x-* 'DO' (12-9) is used instead of *li-* 'say' or *pl-* 'tell'. The origin of and reason for this grammatical quirk is not known.

(12-9) *ixit   we   go   de=x   s-pat   **gos-x-**m*
        3d   Q   2s   WHICH=3sm go-IPFV.SG(.PRS) **RECP-MAKE-**SEQ
        '… they asked each other "Where are you going?" and…' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

Reported speech clauses with *li-* 'say' and *pl-* 'tell' are very frequently used in Oksapmin and are used for much more than simply reporting the speech of others: they are also used to express thoughts, desires, and purpose. The same situation is found in other Papuan languages, such as Usan (Reesink 1987: 255; 1993), Hua (Haiman 1980: 442) and Golin (Loughnane 2004). This is also found for other Papuan languages spoken in the region near Oksapmin, e.g. Telefol quotative clauses are used to report both the speech and thought of others, specifically: speech, desire,

imperatives, naming and perception (P. Healey 1964). The same is true of Mian (Fedden 2007). The use of reported speech clauses with *li-* 'say' to indicate the thoughts of the speaker is shown in the example below.

(12-10)
ox	*kin*	*jox*	*i=nuŋ*	*x-t=lə=wi*		*əw*	*nuŋ*
3sm	eye	DEF	DEM.DST=TO	DO-SIM=?=ONLY		above	TO

jox	*de=kat*	*wəd-plox=o*	**li-m=a**
DEF	WHICH=place	come.down-TODF.SG=QUOT	**say-SEQ=LINK**

'…he wondered where the possum would come down from, and then…' (Lit. '... he looked up and said "where will (the possum) come down from", and then...') ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

A frequent use of a reported speech clause plus *li-* 'say' and *pl-* 'tell' is to indicate the purpose of an action (12-11), which can also be interpreted as the thoughts of the speaker immediately before performing the action. The verbs *li-* 'say' and *pl-* 'tell' occur in medial form and the reported speech clause gives the reason for which the subject performed the following action.

(12-11)
a	*nox*	*a*	*məmxan*	*robin*	*ux*	*ulxap*
HES	1s	HES	what's.it	PN	3sf	3sf.ALONE

pat=o		*li-m=a*	*bəp*	*ake*	*tom*
stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT		say-SEQ=LINK	so	stomach	water

x-m
DO-SEQ

'I, what's it, worry because Robyn lives by herself and…' (Lit. '"I, what's it, say "Robyn stays by herself", and then I have water in my stomach and then…') ("Today" by Dasyal Gahan)

The verb *li-* 'say' plus a reported speech clause commonly occurs with *kjan xan* 'what' to enquire about the reason behind an action or 'why' (12-12).

(12-12)
sjap	*mox*	*kjan*	*xan=o*	*li-m*
cassowary	ANPH	what	thing=QUOT	say-SEQ

n=apil=o	*li-m*
NEG=come(.PRS.SG)=QUOT	say-SEQ

'"Why hasn't the cassowary come home?", he wondered and…' (Lit 'He said "The cassowary said "what?" and didn't come home?" and…') ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

The particle *we* rarely occurs and appears to be used to indicate a reported question as in (12-13) below, and also (12-9) above. It is likely that it was a discourse marker whose meaning has become specialized to reported speech.

(12-13) **we**   *mox=a*   *nix*   *puŋ*   *n-pli-pat=a*
         Q   ANPH=EMPH   who   hit   1/2.O-TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=EMPH

         li-m
         say-SEQ
         '"Who's hitting me here", I said and then…' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum
         Aleap)

The complex predicate *da x-* 'think' may take a complement clause which
behaves in the same way as complement clauses which occur with *li-* 'say' and *pl-*
'tell'. The complement clause occurs immediately preceding the complex predicate
and usually takes the quote marker *=o* 'QUOT'.

(12-14) *jəxe*   *nuxul*   *[nix*   *ix=x-pat=o]*   *da*   *x-m¹*
         then   1pEX   who   like.that=DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   thought DO-SEQ
         'Then, we thought "who is doing that" and…' ("Earthquake" by Kila Dasyal)

(12-15) *kətpe*   *ixil*   *[kjan*   *xan=o]*   *da=x-ti-pa*   *ej*
         some   3p   what   thing=QUOT   thought=DO-PFV-PER.FP.PL   gosh

         xaxe
         not.know
         'I don't know what other people thought.' (Lit. 'Some people thought "What?". I
         don't know.') ("Earthquake" by Kila Dasyal)

The complex predicate *da x-* 'think' may also be used without a complement
clause (12-16) (in this case *da x-* 'think' may be better translated in English as
'understand').

(12-16) *nulanuxul*   *kətpe*   *ku=si*   *xan=si*   *nulanuxul*
         1pEX.REFL   some   woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   1pEX.REFL

         na=da   *x-pti*
         NEG=thought   DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
         'Some of us, we don't understand.' ("Church" by Kila Dasyal)

12.1.2   Purpose Clauses *-pel/-pol* 'IF' with *ml-* 'MAKE'
A type of purposive complement occurs with the simultaneous form *mt* with a purpose
clause in the immediate future tense. This construction indicates a purpose or thought
on the part of the subject. The form *mt* is presumably the verb *ml-* 'MAKE', see

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¹ The coverb *da* is written as a free word when an epenthetic vowel is inserted after /x/ and as a clitic
where no epenthetic vowel is inserted. So, *da xm* [daɣəm] is written as two words, whereas *da=x-ti-pa*
[daxtiβa] is written as one.

Chapter 9, §9.1.2, although without a coverb. More research is needed into this construction.

(12-17) *toxan*   *sux-di-pel*   *m-t*   *gaten*   *but*
         sweet.potato   carry-PFV-IF.PL   MAKE-SIM   garden(Eng)   flat.place

         noŋ   *xu-ja*
         TO   go.PFV-PER.TODP.PL
         'We went to the garden to get sweet potato.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

(12-18) *nox=a*   *bəten*   *x-t-pel*   *m-t*
         1s=EMPH   pray   DO-PFV-IF.PL   MAKE-SIM

         p-ml-pat-n=a
         CAUS-come.up-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
         'When I was coming up to pray, …' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

12.1.3   *x-* 'be' – Visual-Sensory Evidence of Past Action

The verb *x-* 'be' may function to indicate visual-sensory evidence that an event has already taken place at the time of viewing. The complement clause occurs in the personal-factual, and the main clause verb in the visual-sensory, when past tense. The complement clause is indicated with square brackets in (12-19) below.

(12-19) *mlo-s=a*   *ej*   *[ku*   *muk*   *ixil*   *sik*   *ap*
         come.up-SEQ=LINK   gosh   woman   group   3p   sick(Eng)   house

         m-tpul=a   *xu-ja]*   *x-n-gwel*
         PRX.O-close(.SEQ)=LINK   go.PFV-PER.TODP.PL   be-PFV-VIS.YESTP
         'I came up and saw that the ladies had already shut the health centre and gone.'
         ("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

Where the subject number is marked, the subject number of the main clause final verb must be the same as the subject number of the complement clause final verb. This is shown in example (12-20) below, where the number of the subject in the complement clause corresponds to the number of the subject in the main clause, in both cases plural.

(12-20) *wanxe=si*   *wanxe=si=a*   *awat*   *x-t-ja*
         a.lot=WITH   a.lot=WITH=EMPH   decorate.self   DO-PFV-PER.TODP.PL

         x-n-gopa=li=o
         be-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
         '(It was seen that) lots and lots (of people) had decorated themselves.' ("Waterfall"
         by Julie James)

Rarely, this construction may also occur with the main verb in a future tense and as such does not have to be in the visual-sensory form, as there is no visual-sensory future forms. An example of this construction in the future tense in given as example (12-21) below.

(12-21) | *jəxe* | *oloxən* | *go* | *əpil=xən* | | *nox* | *blak* | *mox* |
| then | afternoon | 2s | come(.PRS.SG)=SBRD | | 1s | writing | ANPH |

| *ti=bəs* | *de* | | *x-ti-plox* |
| INDF=NEG | MAKE(.PRS.SG) | | be-PFV-TODF.SG |

'So, in the afternoon when you come, I will have finished the writing.'
'Then when you come in the afternoon, I will have finished this letter.' (Elicited FNB 6.77 TAM 107 Dahl 1985)

Unlike the other types of complement clauses described in this section, it appears to be the case that this is a subject complement clause, as opposed to an object complement clause. The use of this construction with a complement clause appears to be very similar to the other uses of *x-* 'be' described in Chapter 9, §9.1.2.5. Recall that the intransitive verb *x-* 'be' is commonly used following an adverbial subordinated clause with the verb *xtol-* 'see', which is also the case when it occurs with a subordinate clause. This is shown with the complement clause *kuo xano mox tpte xel* "the men and women have gathered together" in (12-22) and the subject *pasta wil jox* 'Pastor Will' in (12-23). Example (12-22) could be paraphrased as "they saw that it was (the case) that the men and women had gathered".

(12-22) | *i* | *xətl-ja* | *jolxe* | *[ku=o* | *xan=o* | *mox* |
| gosh | see-PRS.PL | SBRD | woman=CNJ | man=CNJ | ANPH |

| *təpte* | *xe-l]* | | *x-n-gopa=li=o* |
| gather | DO-IPFV.PER.TODP | | be-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP=EMPH |

'They saw that the men and women had already gathered together.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(12-23) | *xtol* | | *jox* | *[pasta* | *wil* | *jox]* | *x-nuŋ* |
| see(.PRS.SG) | | TOP | pastor(Eng) | PN | DEF | be-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG |

'I saw that it was Pastor Will.' ("Today" by Julie James)

As mentioned above, this construction requires that the number of the subject of the main clause verb *x-* 'be' is determined according to the number of the subject in the complement clause, unlike in English where such subjectless complement taking constructions like 'it seems that…' are always singular. The plural marking on the

main clause verb is probably due to the fact that the complement clause occurs in subject position.

12.1.4   *mda-* 'finish' – Completive Aspect

In addition to occurring with verbs in medial form (§12.4.1.2.3), *mda-* may also occur with a complement clause to indicate that the action is completed as shown in the examples below.

(12-24) *tim-ol*   **mda-m=a**   *bas*
       sleep-IPFV.PER.TODP   **finish-SEQ=LINK**   bus(Eng)

       m-dli-pti   *wa-xi-pa*
       PRX.O-take-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   go.down-PFV-PER.FP.PL
        'We had finished sleeping and then (in the morning) we took the bus and went down.' ("Tabubil" by Kila Dasyal)

(12-25) *jəxe*   *i=ka*   *mədəp pt-el*   *pt-el*
       then   DEM.DST=place from   stay-IPFV.PER.TODP   stay-IPFV.PER.TODP

       mda-m=a   *jəxe*   *ulxul*   *ma*   *xil*
       finish-SEQ=LINK   then   3sf.REFL   REL   collect

       a-m-ti-p
       BEN-MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG
       'Then she finished staying and then she herself cleaned him up.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

12.2 Adverbial Subordinate Clauses

Adverbial subordinate clauses are very common in Oksapmin. A summary of the major subordinate clause types are shown in Table 12-2 below.

Form of subordinator	Subordinate clause tense restrictions	Subordinate clause type	Specific meaning	Section
=xejox, =xəti	-	Causal	'Because'	12.2.1
max	Visual-sensory past	Causal	'Given that'	12.2.2
=xən	Present perfective	Conditional	'If'	12.2.3
jox, =a, =o, mox, ja	Present perfective	Temporal	'When'	12.2.4
mədəp	-	Temporal	'After'	12.2.5
=te ~ =təte	-	Temporal	'Having already Xed'	12.2.6
=xe, zero	Present imperfective	Temporal	'After, when'	12.2.7
=xən, =xənox	Immediate future	Temporal	'After, when'	12.2.8
zero	Imperfective nominalised	Temporal	'After, when'	12.2.9
zero	Perfective nominalised	Temporal	'After, when'	12.2.10

Table 12-2.   Subordinate clause types

At this stage of research, the exact difference between the various adverbial subordinate clauses meaning 'after, when' is not clear. Further research is required on this point.

12.2.1 =xejox ~ =xəti – 'Because'

The complementizer *=xejox ~ =xəti* 'BECAUSE' follows a subordinate clause which gives a cause or reason for the events described in the main clause. The subordinator *=xejox* is shown with a verbless clause in (12-26) below and with a finite verbal clause in (12-27) below.

(12-26) | *in* | *bəp* | *[ox=a* | *əm* | *xan=**xejox**]* |
| so | so | 3sm=EMPH | knowledge | man=**BECAUSE** |

| *i=təx* | | *kaw* | *kət* | *tit* | *dli-s* |
| DEM.DST=place | | stick | short | INDF | take-SEQ |

| *pl-pat* | | *i=nəŋ* | *xət* | *təxe* | *p-ti-p=li* |
| TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS) | | DEM.DST=TO | up | throw | TELL-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP |

'So, because he was an expert, he got a stick and threw it to the east (Lit up there).'
("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

(12-27) | *[taplisep* | *naŋ=si* | *jox* | *kəpen* | *pok* |
| foreigner | rope=WITH | TOP | new | all |

| *p-op-di-l=**xejox**]* | | | *nuxul* | *lumsan* | | *na=suxu-n* |
| CAUS-come-PFV-PER.YESTP=**BECAUSE** | | | 1pEX | a.lot | | NEG=collect-SIM |

pti
stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
'Because they only just brought Western-style wool (here), not a lot of people carry (bags made of it here).' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

A very common use of this subordinator is in the conventionalized expression *ixtinxejox* 'that's why', 'because it's like that', 'it's like that so' which is used to summarize preceding text as demonstrated in example (12-28) below.

(12-28) | *ix=x-ti-n=**xejox*** | | | | *toxan* | *mudu* | *sl-ja* | | *jox* |
| like.that=DO-PFV-NOMLS=**BECAUSE** | | | | sweet.potato | mound | put-PRS.PL | | TOP |

| *xən=xe* | *wot* | *kak* | *wot* | *kak* | *ml* | | *pok* |
| IRR=FOC | two | head | two | head | MAKE(.SEQ) | | all |

sli-pti
put-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
'Because of that, if we make (sweet potato) mounds, we only do a couple at a time.'
("Gardening" by Kila Dasyal)

The form =*xəti* is used as a less common variation of this subordinator. It is shown in the examples below. Its origin is probably the verb *x-* 'DO' plus the clitic =*te* 'already' (§12.2.6) which has a variant pronunciation =*ti*.

(12-29)   *go*   *sup=**xəti***   *jəx=w=a*   *go*
          2s   mother.3POSS= **BECAUSE**   good=RESP=EMPH   2s

          utaŋ   *m-ti-n=a*   *nox*   *pl*
          carry.on.shoulders   MAKE-PFV-IMP=EMPH   1s   tell(.PRS.SG)
          '"Because you are her mother, good, you carry her!", I said.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

12.2.2   *max* – 'Given that'

The demonstrative *max* 'RECG' occurs very infrequently to mark an adverbial subordinate clause, as shown in the examples below.

(12-30)   *bəp*   *apuŋ*   *mə=te*   ***n-p-n-gwel***
          so   yesterday   DEM.PRX=place **1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.YESTP**

          max=a   *go*   *no=so-l*   *jox=o*
          RECG=LINK   2s   NEG=go-IPFV.PER.TODP DEF=QUOT
          'So, yesterday, in this very place, given that I seem to remember telling you (to go home), but you haven't gone (home)!' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

(12-31)   *ep=o*   *go*   *lex*   *ma*   *na-pi-nuŋ*
          sorry=QUOT   2s   then   REL   NEG-come-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG

          max=w=o   *gin*   *xan=xe*   *nita*   *ixil=wi*
          RECG=RESP=QUOT   now   man=POSS   relative 3p=ONLY

          mə=ma   *elel*   *mox*   *d-t-ja=mul*
          DEM.PRX=REL   thing   ANPH   take-PFV-PER.TODP.PL=CERT
          '"Unfortunately, given that you didn't come quickly to see me, the father's relatives have now taken all the presents away."' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

See also Chapter 4, §4.2.2, for details on the other functions of *max* 'RECG'.

12.2.3   =*xən* – 'Conditional'

The main features of the conditional construction are:

-       protasis usually in present perfective tense (if verb present)
-       presence of =*xən* 'IRR' on protasis
-       protasis also optionally takes an additional subordinator such as *jox* (§12.2.4) or =*xe* (§12.2.7)
-       apodosis is in today future or far future tense

The conditional construction consists of a protasis which is generally in the present perfective tense and which is marked by *=xən* 'IRR', and an apodosis which is generally in the future tense, as in example (12-32) below.

(12-32) *dit*   *blel*   *mox*   *o=m-de-m*   *s-ja=**xən***
        1dIN   child   ANPH   leave=PRX.O-MAKE-SEQ   go-PRS.PL=**IRR**

        ixil   *i=n-x-ti-pli=xən=o*
        3p   angry=1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-FF.PL=IRR=QUOT
        '"If we leave the child behind and go, they might be angry with us."' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The protasis marked by *=xən* 'IRR' may optionally be followed by *jox* 'TOP' as shown in the example below and also example (12-35).

(12-33) *nel*   *jox*   *təpdal*   *us=**xən***   ***jox***   *[...]*
        bird   DEF   run.away(.SEQ) go.PRS.SG=**IRR**   **TOP**

        go   *ap*   *m=ox*   *jem-m*   *pat=o*
        2s   house DEM.PRX=3sm cry-SEQ   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT

        nox   *da=x-ti-plox=xejojox*
        1s   think=DO-PFV-TODF.SG=BECAUSE
        'If the bird (which I try to kill) escapes, then I will know that you are at home crying and, so…' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

Less commonly, the protasis marked by *=xən* may optionally be followed by *=xe* (12-34).

(12-34) *tit*   *nunuŋ* *tit*   *s-si-pol=o*   *li=**xən=xe***
        another TO   INDF go-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT   say(.PRS.SG)=**IRR** **=SBRD**

        s-si-pla
        go-PFV-FF.SG
        'If I decide to go to another place, then I'll go.' (Lit. 'If I say "I will go to another place", …') ("Future" by Kila Dasyal)

A sentence with a non-verbal predicate can also serve as the protasis of a conditional construction marked by *=xən*. This is shown in example (12-35) below.

(12-35) *lat*   *bəp*   *kakdup* *te*   *ti=bəs=**xən**=**jox***   *nuxul*
        tree   so   close place   INDF=NEG=**IRR=TOP**   1pEX

        mex   *nuŋ*   *suxu-m*   *s-pti*
        far   TO   collect-SEQ go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
        'If there's no firewood nearby, we go far away to collect it.' ("Firewood" by Kila Dasyal)

The apodosis may also consist of a non-verbal clause as shown in the following example.

(12-36) *a*   *dalom* *ox*   *pl-ja=**xən***   *samejanku=xe* *aləp*
         HES   PN   3sm   tell-PRS.PL=**IRR**   PN=POSS   grandparent.3POSS

jox
DEF
'Um, if we say Dalom, that is Samejanku's grandfather.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

12.2.4   *jox* – 'When, if'

The topic marker *jox* 'TOP' is the most commonly used subordinator in Oksapmin. *jox* 'TOP' marks a temporal subordinate clause where the events in the subordinate clause are interpreted as occurring immediately prior to the events in the main clause.

- presence of =*jox* after the predicate on the subordinate clause
- prosodic linker =*a* or less commonly the emphatic marker =*o* may also occur
- the adverbial subordinate clause is usually in present perfective tense
- the main clause may have any tense.

jox 'TOP' is shown in the following examples.

(12-37) *nox*   *əpli-s*   *gumət* *dəx*   *j=ox*   *ko-ŋ*
         1s   come-SEQ   PN   down   DEM.DST=3sm   arrive-PNCT

li   *jox*   *tit*   *xan*   *tit*   *mə=te*
SAY(.PRS.SG)   **TOP** another thing   INDF   DEM.PRX=place

xəles   *xəles*   *li-pat-gop*
noise   noise   SAY-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG
'When I got down to Gumat, something was making noise.' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

(12-38) *sapona*   *go*   *xəs*   *nuŋ*   *nel*   *xəx*   *ml*
         PN   2s   up   TO   bird   find   DO(.SEQ)

us   *jox*   *go*   *kjan*   *xan*   *nel=wi*   *su-pat*
go.PRS.SG   **TOP** 2s   what   thing   bird=ONLY   kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
'Savonna, when you go up (the mountain) to find birds, what kind of birds do you kill?' ("Bird Conversation" by Savonna Frank and Hirai)

(12-39) *nuxul*   *nuxlanule*   *mani*   *ten*   *toea*
         1pEX   1pEX.REFL.POSS   money(Eng)   ten(Eng)   PNG.money.unit

jox   *talpo*   *jox*   *nuxul*   *moxe-pti*
DEF   appear(.PRS.SG)   **TOP** 1pEX   buy-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
'If/when we get ten toea, we buy (it).' ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

Verbs of perception in Oksapmin do not take complement clauses as they do in, for example, English. In Oksapmin, a subordinate adverbial clause is used for the act of perception. The events perceived occur in the main clause and usually take the past visual-sensory tense. This is shown for *xtol-* 'see' in the examples below.

(12-40) | *jɔxe* | *xtol* | ***jox*** | *a* | *məmxan* | *alwap-il* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | see(.PRS.SG) | **TOP** | HES | what's.it | SS.SIB.1/3POSS-PL |

ga	*mox*	*a*	*kak*	*tem*	*gən*	*mə-xət*	*en*
jaw	ANPH	HES	on.top	hole	high.place	DEM.PRX-up	lined.up

t-x-t	*pat-gop=li*
MID-MAKE-SIM	stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP

'Then, when he looked, his brothers' jaws were lined up on top (of the rack above the fire).' ("Five Brothers" by Dasyal Gahan)

(12-41) | *xtol* | ***jox*** | *pasta* | *wil* | *jox* | *x-nuŋ* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| see(.PRS.SG) | **TOP** | pastor(Eng) | PN | DEF | be-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG |

'I saw that it was Pastor Will.' ("Today" by Julie James)

The postposition *=jox* 'TOP' may also occur with the emphatic markers *=o* 'EMPH' and *=a* 'EMPH' (see Chapter 11, §11.3.1–2) as shown in the examples below.

(12-42) | *moŋ* | *da=x=o* | *li-m* | *bupu-ŋ* | *li-ja* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| time | day=be.PRS.SG=EMPH | say-SEQ | scared-PNCT | SAY-PRS.PL |

jox=a
TOP=LINK

'When they woke up at day break, …' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

(12-43) | *sup* | *ux* | *aŋ* | *t-x-t* | *us* | ***jox=o*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mother.3POSS | 3sf | find | MID-MAKE-SIM | go.PRS.SG | **TOP=EMPH** |

sjap	*bap*	*tit=o*	*pt-n-gop=li=o*
cassowary	small	INDF=EMPH	stay-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP=EMPH

'(It is said that) when the mother was looking around, (she saw that) there was a cassowary chick (there).' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

The postposition *jox* 'TOP' may also occur in conjunction with *=xən* 'IRR' (see Chapter 11, §11.1.1) to mark the protasis of a conditional sentence (12-44).

(12-44) | *a* | *gin* | *tit* | *xan* | *tit* | *na=jəm=xən* | ***jox=a*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HES | now | another | man | INDF | NEG=cry(.PRS.SG)=IRR | **TOP=LINK** |

na=əpi-si-ploxe
NEG=come-PFV-TODF.PL

'Now if a man doesn't cry, they won't come.' ("Jeremiah" by Dulum Aleap)

The topic marker and subordinator (=)*jox* 'TOP' is homophonous with the definite determiner *jox* 'DEF', distal demonstrative plus third person singular pronoun *j=ox* 'DEM.DST=3sm' (see Chapter 4). Diessel (1999: 180) notes that complementizers are frequently based on pronominal demonstratives. The use of a determiner, particularly one which has a topicalising function, as does *jox* 'TOP' (see Chapter 6), is not unusual among Papuan languages as "[t]he use of the topicalising suffix to mark subordinate clauses is widespread" (Foley 1986: 203). This is likewise noted for Usan and a number of other Papuan languages by Reesink (1994). In fact, the grammaticalization path of the form *jox* is remarkable similar to *eng* in Usan, which is also used to mark given or topic NPs, conditional and temporal subordinate clauses.

In conjunction with the present perfective verb form, the prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK' may also be used to indicate an adverbial subordinate clause meaning 'after' or 'when', as shown in the examples below.

(12-45) *nonxe*   *ap*   *ka*   *ko-ŋ*   *li=a*
1s.REFL.POSS   house   place   arrive-PNCT   SAY(.PRS.SG)**=LINK**

         noxe   *blel*   *kol*   *ixil=xe*   *ap*   *ka*
         1s.POSS child   daughter   3p=FOC   house   place

         pti=xe
         stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)=VIS
         'When I got home, (I saw that) my kids were there.' ("Today" by Palis)

(12-46) *ep=e*   *mex*   *moŋ*   *tit*   *xu=a*   *di*
sorry=EXCL   far   ground INDF   go.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)**=LINK**   follow

         gos-x-pat-n   *di*   *gos-x-pat-n*[2]
         RECP-MAKE-IPFV.SG-NOMLS   follow   RECP-MAKE-IPFV.SG-NOMLS
         'Unfortunately, after she had gone far away, he followed her and followed her and,
         ...' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

The clitic *=o* 'EMPH' can also be used (albeit very rarely) as a temporal subordinator with the present perfective (12-47). An alternative analysis of the example below is that the subordinate clause is actually a reported speech complement clause with the verb of speech omitted, i.e. literally, '(Saying) "It is night", he went across'.

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[2] This complex predicate may occur with a reciprocal prefix even where the number of the subject is singular as is the case here.

(12-47) *moŋ*　　*ku*　　*xəx=o*　　　　　　*de-xi-p=li*
　　　　time　　night　DO.PRS.SG=**EMPH**　　go.across-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
　　　　'When night fell, he went across.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

The demonstrative *mox* 'ANPH' very rarely occurs as a subordinator as shown in the following example.

(12-48) *in*　　*a*　　*den*　　*ake*　　*el*　　*x-ja*　　　　　***mox***
　　　　so　　HES　　hunger　stomach　bad　　DO-PRS.PL　　**ANPH**

　　　　ix=x-ti-ploxe=xejox
　　　　like.that=DO-PFV-TODF.PL=BECAUSE
　　　　'When there is a famine, because (people) will do that …' ("Famine 2" by Dulum Aleap)

The form *ja* 'SBRD' is (again only rarely) used as a subordinator. *ja* 'SBRD' is demonstrated in the examples below.

(12-49) *xtol*　　　　***ja***　　*em=e*　　*keti=si*　　*xupku*　*ixit*
　　　　see(.SEQ)　　**SBRD**　gosh=EXCL　PN=CNJ　　PN　　3d
　　　　'("Who is waking me up like this?", I wondered and,) when I looked, I saw that it was Katie and Hupku.' ("Own Illness" by Dulum Aleap)

(12-50) *ku*　　*tit*　　*ap*　　*max*　　*dupu-s*　　*m-pl*　　　　　***ja***
　　　　woman　INDF　house　RECG　open-PNCT　　PRX.O-TELL(.SEQ)　　**SBRD**

　　　　dipolxan　　　　*sup*
　　　　PN　　　　　　mother.3POSS
　　　　'When a woman opened the kitchen door, (it was) Dipolxan's mother.' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

The subordinator *=ja* is possibly a recent innovation under influence from the Tok Pisin demonstrative *ya* which has also possibly been borrowed into the language as an object marker (see Chapter 6, §6.2.4). More evidence is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

12.2.5　*mədəp* – 'After'

Example (12-51) below shows *mədəp* 'from' (usually a postposition meaning 'from', see Chapter 6, §6.2.1) acting as a subordinator. This is the only example in the corpus of this use of *mədəp*.

(12-51) *skul*　　　　*x-pti*　　　　***mədəp***
　　　　school(Eng)　　DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)　　**FROM**
　　　　'After school, …' / 'From having school, …' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

12.2.6   =*te* ~ =*təte* – 'Having already Xed'

The clitic =*te* ~ =*təte* 'having already Xed' occurs on subordinate clauses to indicate that the action has already happened before the action in the main clause, as in (12-52) and (12-53) below.

(12-52)   *tim-n*   *lo-s=a*   *ap*   *xəm*   *tim-n*
            sleep-SIM   enter-SEQ=LINK   house   inside   sleep-SIM

            *m-de-ja=**te***   *it=a*   *it*
            PRX.O-MAKE-PRS.PL=**ALREADY**   again=EMPH   again

            əpi-n-gop
            come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
            'We went inside and slept. Inside the house, when we had already fallen asleep, (the earthquake) came again.' ("Earthquake" by Kila Dasyal)

(12-53)   *jəxe*   *ox*   *bəp=a*   *lat*   *mox=a*   *məmxan*
            then   3sm   so=EMPH   fire   ANPH=EMPH   what's.it

            *əlpo=**te***   *mox*   *kja*   *xan*   *win*   *lat*   *mox*
            cook(.PRS.SG)=**ALREADY**   ANPH   what   thing   name   fire   ANPH

            əlpo-m=a   *ix=de-ja*   *mox=a*
            cook-SEQ=LINK   like.that=DO-PRS.PL   ANPH=EMPH
            'When he went to light the fire, it had already been lit.' (Lit. 'After the fire had already been lit, he tried to light it.') ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

       This clitic may act by itself to subordinate a clause or it may occur with one of the other subordinators, such as =*xe* as shown in the example below.

(12-54)   *apwaku*   *ox*   *li*   *lex*   *olxol*
            PN   3sm   first   long.ago   3sm.REFL

            mə=nəŋ   *m=ox*   *əp-də-p=**te**=**xe**=a*
            DEM.PRX=TO   DEM.PRX =3sm   come-PFV-PER.FP.SG=**ALREADY**=**SBRD**=LINK
            'So, because Apwaku himself had already come here, …' ("Stealing Pandanus" by Dulum Aleap)

       This clitic is most likely derived from the noun *te* meaning 'place'.

12.2.7   =*xe* – 'After, when'

The clitic =*xe* 'SBRD' can be used as a temporal subordinator to mean 'after' or 'when'. The main features of this construction are:

-         presence of =*xe* on subordinate clause
-         the adverbial subordinate clauses is in imperfective present tense
-         the main clause may have any tense.

The clitic *=xe* 'SBRD' is shown in examples (12-55) and (12-56) below.

(12-55) *niŋ*   *mox*   *nox*   *dpekul*   *su-pat=xe*
small.mammal ANPH 1s   strangle(.SEQ) kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=SBRD**

m-mi-pat=xe   *əp-di-p*
PRX.O-lift.up-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=SBRD**   come-PFV-PER.FP.SG
'After I had strangled and killed the small mammal, after I had lifted it up (and put it in my string bag), I came (home).' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

(12-56) *itəp*   *ox*   *ale*   *san*   *nəŋ*   *i-lox*
father.1/3POSS 3sm drying.rack on.top TO DEM.DST-up

de-pat=xe   *təgam* *xe=m-ti-p=li*
MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=SBRD**   torch light=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
'After his father put it on top of the wood drying rack, he lit a torch.' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

This type of adverbial subordinate clause is very commonly used in tail head linkage (de Vries 2005). This is shown in the three consecutive sentences from a text shown in (12-57) below where the main clause of each sentence is repeated in each following sentence in subordinate form.

(12-57) *a.*   *gin*   *blel*   *təmd*   *ti*   *blel*   *təmd*   *ti*
        now   child father&child INDF child father&child some

        a   *niŋ*   *dalxə-m*   *xu-pa=li=a*
        HES small.mammal hunt-SEQ   go.PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=LINK
        'Now then, (it is said that) a father and a child, a father and a child went for possum hunting.'

     b.   *blel*   *təmd*   *mox*   *niŋ*   *dalxə-m*
        child father&child ANPH small.mammal hunt-SEQ

        s-pti=xe   *niŋ*   *gon*   *tit*
        go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)**=SBRD** small.mammal whole INDF

        su-t-pa=li=a
        kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=LINK
        '(It is said that) when the father and the child went possum hunting, they killed a possum.'

c.   *niŋ*   *gon*   *tit*   *su-pti=xe*
              small.mammal whole INDF   kill-IPFV.PL(.PRS)**SBRD**

              xut-di-pa=li=a
              cook-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=LINK
              '(It is said that) after they killed the possum, they cooked (it) in a ground oven.'

d.   *xut-pti=xe*
              cook-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=**SBRD**
              'After they cooked (it) in a ground oven, …' ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

The subordinator commonly occurs with the prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK', in which case it has a more causal meaning, like *=xejox* 'BECAUSE', as demonstrated in (12-58) and (12-59).

(12-58) *ixil*   *pti=xe=a*   *n-p-di-l=a*
        3p   stay.IPFV.PL.PRS=**SBRD**=LINK   1/2.O-CAUS-eat.PFV-PER.YESTP=LINK

        nuxul=nəŋ
        1pEX=O
        'Because they were alive, they fed us.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

(12-59) *nox*   *blel*   *mox=a*   *ap*   *te*   *ol*
        1s   child   DEM.PRX=EMPH   house place dead.body

        pu-so-n=o   *axlu*   *ku*   *ux*
        CAUS-go-IMP=QUOT   white woman 3sf

        n-pl=xe=a   *pu-s-pat*
        1/2.O-tell(.PRS.SG)=**SBRD**=LINK   CAUS-go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'Because the white woman told me to take the child's dead body to the village, I am taking (her).' ("Near Death of Child" by Dulum Aleap)

The clitic *=xe* 'SBRD' probably originated from the visual-sensory evidence marker *=xe* 'VIS' used with present tense (which in turn is derived from the verb *x-* 'be'). Evidence that it is no longer synchronically analysable as *=xe* 'VIS' is that it can occur with a first person subject who is acting consciously as shown in example (12-55) above (*=xe* 'VIS' can only usually occur with third person subjects). It is also possible that this subordinated is etymologically related to the focus marker *=xe* 'FOC' (see Chapter 6); further research is required.

    Clauses with present imperfective tense can also be subordinated with no overt subordinator. This type of subordination is relatively infrequent. These are equivalent to subordinate clauses with *=xe* 'SBRD' or *jox* 'TOP'. They have a meaning of 'when'

or 'after'. That is, they are interpreted as being simultaneous with or just previous to the main clause, as in (12-60) below.

(12-60) *ap*   *jox*   *ed*   ***pat***   *ox*   *nel*
     house   DEF   stay.PFV(.PRS.SG)   **stay.IPFV.SG.PRS**   3sm   bird

     xəx   *ml*   *s-n-gop=li*
     find   MAKE(.SEQ)   go-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
     'While she stayed in the house, he went to hunt for birds.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The present imperfective form of the verb is often used for repeated actions which occur just before the action of the main clause (12-61).

(12-61) *senax*   *mox*   *aŋ*   ***de-pat***   *aŋ*
     axe   ANPH   find   **MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**   find

     de-pat   *aŋ*   ***de-pat***   *ap*
     MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   find   **MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**   house

     kus   *təx*   *mox*   *senax*   *pat-gop=li*
     corner   place   ANPH   axe   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
     'He looked and looked for his axe and (saw that) it was in a corner of his house.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

12.2.8   *=xən ~ =xənox* – 'After, when'

The subordinator *=xən* 'SBRD' marks a subordinate temporal clause. Summary of features of this construction:

-       subordinate clause usually in immediate future tense
-       presence of *=xən ~ =xənox ~ =xənoxa ~ =xəna* on subordinate clause

The events in the subordinate clause marked with *=xən* 'SBRD' are actualized events and occur immediately before the events in the main clause. In this function, *=xən* 'SBRD' overwhelmingly occurs with the immediate future. This is translated as 'when' or 'after' in English, as shown in examples (12-62) and (12-63) below.

(12-62) *ti=bəs*   *de-t-pol=xən*   *[...]*   *gin*
     INDF=NEG   MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=**SBRD**   now

     wa=mul=o   *p-ti-l*
     go.down(.PRS.SG)=CERT=QUOT   tell-PFV-PER.YESTP
     'When (she) was finished,[3] I said "I will go down."' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

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[3] *tibəs de- ~ ml-* (nothing MAKE) 'finish'.

(12-63) *was*   *n-x-ti-pel=**xən***   *nox*   *skul*   *xəm*
        wash   1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-IF.PL=**SBRD**   1s   school(Eng)   down

        əp-di-p
        come-PFV-PER.FP.SG
        'After they washed me, I came down to school.' ("First Day of School" by Savonna Frank)

The variants *=xəna* (12-64), *=xənox* (12-65) and *=xənoxa* (12-66) are also commonly used with no apparent meaning difference as shown in the examples below.

(12-64) *akal*   *s-pol=o*   *m-p-ti-pol=**xən**=a*   *ep=o*
        excreta go-IF.SG=QUOT   PRX.O-tell-PFV-IF.SG=**SBRD**=LINK   sorry=EMPH

        itəp   *ox*   *xto-t*   *pte-l*   *pte-l*
        father.3POSS   3sm   see-SIM   stay-IPFV.PER.TODP   stay-IPFV.PER.TODP

        kulul   *x-s*
        darkness   DO-PNCT
        'After (the son) told (the father) "I will go to the toilet", sorry to say, the father waited and watched for him until it got dark.' ("Ghost Kidnapping" by Dulum Aleap)

(12-65) *gin*   *moŋ*   *ku*   *x-ti-pol=**xənox***   *nonxe*   *ita*
        now   time   night   DO-PFV-IF.SG=**SBRD**   1s.REFL.POSS   father.1/2POSS

        ox   *xəjop*   *gos-s-ti-pol=o*   *li-m*   *ilbok*
        3sm   moon   RECP-kill-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT   say-SEQ   tracks

        awkwel   *xu-p*   *jox*
        wait.and.look(.SEQ)   go.PFV-PER.FP.SG   DEF
        'Now, after night had fallen, my very own father wanted to go hunting (Lit. fighting with the moon), so he went and waited and watched the (small mammals') path.' ("Gahan and the Ghost" by Dasyal Gahan)

(12-66) *a*   *təmd*   *ot*   *xan*   *ot*   *tit*   *mə=ma*
        HES   father&child   two   man   two   INDF   DEM.PRX=REL

        ot=a   *ot=a*   *xan*   *m-d-pel=**xənox**=a*   *tit*   *xan*
        two=CNJ   two=CNJ   man   PRX.O-eat-IF.PL=**SBRD**=LINK   another   man

        ox   *mə=ma*   *xətxət*   *mox*   *ox=a*   *ixil=noŋ*
        3sm   DEM.PRX=REL   little.finger   ANPH   3sm=EMPH   3p=O

        jox   *da*   *p-op-di-p*
        DEF   thought   CAUS-come-PFV-PER.FP.SG
        'After a father and child eat four of the brothers, the fifth brother brought them back to life.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

Less commonly, =*xən* 'after, when' may also occur with the present imperfective tense (12-67). In this case, the subordinate clause is interpreted as being co-temporal with the main clause.

(12-67) *pti=**xən***   *nuxlanul*   *soŋ*   *li-ti-l=a*
         stay.IPFV.PL.PRS=**SBRD**   1pEX.REFL   song(Eng)   SAY-PFV-PER.YESTP=EMPH
         'When they were there, we all sang a song.' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

This subordinator can also occur with verbless clauses, as shown in the following example.

(12-68) *toxan*   *kaw*   *ti=bəs=**xən**=a*   *jəx=w=o*
         sweet.potato   stick   INDF=NEG=**SBRD**=LINK   good=RESP=QUOT

         li-pti
         say-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
         'When there was no sweet potato stick, we said "That's fine."' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

The most common use of =*xən* temporal subordinate clauses is to summarize the action which occurred in the previous sentence. The subordinator =*xən* is used in what de Vries (2005) characterizes as thematized tail-head linkage (as discussed for =*xe* 'SBRD' above), where non-medial verb forms are used to summarize preceding discourse. This is illustrated by (12-69)a. and b. below which are sequential lines from a text.

(12-69) *a.*   *dulum*   *a*   *walil*   *a*
             small.mammal.variety   excreta   small.mammal.variety   excreta

             tili-l   *tili-l*   *li-m*   *mda-m*
             rub-IPFV.PER.TODP   rub-IPFV.PER.TODP   SAY-SEQ   finish-SEQ

             ox   *ga*   *li-ti-p*
             3sm   song   SAY-PFV-PER.FP.SG
             'He sung saying "*dulum* possum shit, *walil* possum shit, I rubbed (it), I rubbed (it)."'

      b.   *ga*   *li-t-pol=**xənox***   *jəxe*   *inəp*   *mux*   *ux*
             song   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=**SBRD**   then   wife.3POSS   ANPH   3sf

             ma   *skel-im*   *ml*
             REL   evaluate(TP)-TR(TP)   MAKE(.SEQ)
             'After he sung the song, then, the wife evaluated it and…' ("Rich Girl" by Geno Dipin)

The form *ixtipolxən(ox)* is very commonly used in story telling to mean 'after that' (12-70). It is a common way of doing tail-head linkage (de Vries 2005) without having to repeat the whole preceding sentence.

(12-70) **ix=x-ti-pol=xən**   *nelul*   *mox*
      like.that=DO-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD bird.variety   ANPH

      lo-pat-gop=li   *nəxəsxe*
      enter-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP   great
      'After that, Nelul bird(s) went in. Lot's (of them).' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

Although most of the time the tense of the main clause or the presence of /ox/ or =*a* 'LINK' differentiates them, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a =*xən* marked clause is conditional with =*xən* 'IRR' or temporal with =*xən* 'SBRD'. In the following example, the first subordinate clause uses =*xən*, which may be used for either regular temporal subordinate clauses or conditional clauses. Due to the fact that this clause is in the present tense, it is possible that this could be either a conditional or temporal subordinate clause.

(12-71) *lat*   *jox*   *kakdup*   *te*   *pok*   *pat=xən*
      wood   DEF   close   place   all   stay.IPFV.SG.PRS=**IRR/SBRD**

      nuxul=xe   *lat*   *jox*   *aŋ*   *ti=bəs*   *jojox*
      1pEX=FOC   tree   DEF   find   INDF=NEG   TOP

      suxu-pti=a
      collect-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=LINK
      '**When/if** there is wood nearby, when (we) are out of wood, then we collect (it).'
      ("Firewood" by Kila Dasyal)

12.2.9   Imperfective Nominalised

The nominalised imperfective form of the verb (described in Chapter 8, §8.4.2.3) is used to indicate a subordinate clause. This is used, as opposed to many of the other subordination strategies above, in order to indicate the imperfective aspect of the action/state in the subordinate clause (12-72).

(12-72) *nel*   *mo-xon=ox*   *su-t-pol=o*   *li-m=a*
      bird   DEM.PRX-across=3sm   kill-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT   say-SEQ=LINK

      ix=x-pat-n   *nel*   *ox=a*   *putut*
      like.that=**DO-IPFV.SG-NOMLS** bird   3sm=EMPH   fly

      s-n-gop=li
      go-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'While he was trying to shoot the bird, it flew away.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

A subordinate clause with *-patn* or *-ptin* is frequently followed by the prosodic linker *=a* (12-73).

(12-73) | *kak* | *jox* | *mem* | *x-t* | ***pat-n=a*** |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| head | DEF | hang.down | DO-SIM | **stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK** |

i	*ox*	*senax*	*dli-n-gop=li*	*jox=o*	*kak*	*mox*
gosh	3sm	axe	take-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP	TOP=EMPH	head	ANPH

gəte-ŋ
cut-PNCT
'While her head was hanging down, ah, (it is said that) he took the axe and chopped off her head.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

The nominalised verb form is often repeated to indicate the duration of the action. The prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK' occurs on the last of the nominalised verbs only, as shown in examples (12-74) and (12-75) below:

(12-74) | *pti-**n*** | *pti-**n*** | *ap* | *jox* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| stay.IPFV.PL-**NOMLS** | stay.IPFV.PL-**NOMLS** | house | DEF |

*pti-**n**=a*		*blel*	*ot*	*tit*	*api-s*
stay.IPFV.PL-**NOMLS**=LINK		child	two	INDF	come-SEQ

x-n-gopa=li
be-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'They stayed like that for a long time until one day they heard two children coming.' ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

(12-75) | *əpli-pti-**n*** | *əpli-pti-**n*** | *əpli-pti-**n**=a* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| come-IPFV.PL-**NOMLS** | come-IPFV.PL-**NOMLS** | come-IPFV.PL-**NOMLS**=LINK |

ap	*ka*	*ko-ŋ*	*li-n-gop=li*
house	place	arrive-PNCT	SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP

'They kept coming along until they arrived at the house.' ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno Dipin)

12.2.10   Perfective Nominalised

The perfective nominalised form of the verb is also rarely used as a subordinate clause, usually with the verb *ix=x-* 'do like that' to mean 'after that' and is used in tail-head linkage (12-76).

(12-76) **ix=x-ti-n=a**   *ej*   *ox*   *bupu-ŋ*
        like.that=DO-PFV-NOMLS=LINK   gosh!   3sm   scared-PNCT

        li-pat-n=a   *ej*   *aw*   *nox*   *bəp*
        SAY-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   gosh!   grandchild.1POSS   1s   so

        dasup   *n-x-pat=o*   *pli-n-gop=li*
        lie   1/2.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'After that, he started and then someone said "Sorry, young man, I was just tricking
        you!"' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

12.3 Coordination

Coordination of two stand-alone clauses, i.e. clauses with an inflected final verb or full verbless clauses, occurs to only a limited extent in Oksapmin. Subordination and use of medial verbs are the preferred clause combining strategies. Clauses may be coordinated with the speech style marker *=o* 'EMPH' and the prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK' (§12.3.1), with the interrogative *=d* 'PQ' or *da* 'OR' (§12.3.2), or with the conjunction *olxol* 'BUT' (§12.3.3) as discussed in the sections below.

12.3.1   Co-ordination with =o, =a or zero

Sentences can be conjoined in Oksapmin via the use of the prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK' and (less commonly) *=o* 'EMPH'. This strategy is not, however, very common. Where the subjects are the same, it is more usual to use the a medial verb construction. Where the subjects are different, it is more usual to use a subordinate clause. Independent sentences conjoined with *=a* 'LINK' are shown in the examples below.

(12-77) *tap*   *sup*   *ox*   *tap*   *lumsan*   *sl*   *jox*
        pig   mother.3POSS   3sm   pig   a.lot   put(.PRS.SG)   TOP

        kətpe   *xanip*   *lapli-pat=a*   *kətpe*   *jox*   *nonxol*
        some   person   give-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=LINK**   some   DEF   1s.REFL

        sxa-pat
        look.after-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'When the mother pig gives birth to lots of piglets, I give some of them away to other people and I look after some of them myself.' ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

(12-78) *tap*   *ox*   *pja*   *x-s*   *li*   *jox*
         pig   3sm   big   be-PNCT   SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP

        ken   *jox*   *tit*   *ap*   *nuŋ*   *de-pat=a*   *loxen* *jox*
        female DEF   another house TO   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)**=LINK**   male   DEF

        tit   *ap*   *nuŋ*   *de-pat*
        another house TO   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'When the pig grows big, we build one house for the female and one house for the
        male.' ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)

The clitics =*a* and =*o* have a number of other functions in Oksapmin, see Chapter 7, §7.9.2, and Chapter 11, §§11.3–4.

12.3.2   Disjunctive Co-ordination with =*d*, and *da*

Sentences may also be conjoined in Oksapmin with the polar question marker plus the marker =*o* 'EMPH' or =*a* 'LINK'. The resulting clause is usually interpreted as a question. Each sentence may be marked with =*d* 'PQ' as shown in examples (12-79) and (12-80) below.

(12-79) *a*   *lu*   *tətəx*   *pti-n=d=o*   *abe*
        HES   garden place   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS**=PQ**=EMPH mountain

        jə-xət   *pti-n=d=o*
        DEM.DST-up   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS**=PQ**=EMPH
        '…whether they are in their garden or up the mountain, …' ("Women's House" by
        Julie James)

(12-80) *gwe*   *ap*   *s-pel=d=a*   *noxe*   *ap*
        2s.POSS   house   go-IF.PL**=PQ**=EMPH   1s.POSS   house

        s-pel=d=a   *li-t-pa=li*
        go-IF.PL**=PQ**=EMPH   say-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
        '"Shall we go to your house or shall we go to my house?", they said.' ("Legend" by
        Savonna Frank)

Alternatively, a first clause with the polar question marker can be conjoined with a second clause without the polar question marker but with the conjunction *da* 'OR', which is evidently derived from the polar question marker. This is shown in example (12-81) below.

(12-81)　*go*　　　*i=ma*　　　　　*sik*　　　　　*jox*　　　*lexox*　　　　*olxol*
　　　　　　2s　　　DEM.DST=REL　sick(Eng)　　　DEF　　long.ago　　　3sm.REFL

　　　　　　*ix=x-sux=**d**=o*　　　　　　　　　　**da**　　*i=ma*　　　　*taim*
　　　　　　like.this=DO-HAB.PER.FP.SG**=PQ**=EMPH　**OR**　DEM.DST=REL　time(Eng)

　　　　　　pok　　*jox*　　*təlpo-ti-l=o*
　　　　　　all　　　DEF　　appear-PFV-PER.YESTP=EMPH
　　　　　　'As for (your) sickness, did it start long ago or did it just start now?' ("Today" by
　　　　　　Dasyal Gahan)

Like German *oder* 'or', *=da ~ =do* 'or' can be used as a hanging conjunction. This is shown in example (12-82) below, where the speaker is asking someone else whether it is the old man he is talking about or someone else. The first clause is polar marked and the co-ordinator *da* 'OR' is present, which usually indicates the presence of a second clause, but here leaves the second clause up to the hearer to infer.

(12-82)　*a*　　　*xanəp*　*mox*　*xan*　*pəsel=d=a*　　**da**
　　　　　　HES　　person　ANPH　man　old=PQ=EMPH　**OR**
　　　　　　'This man, was it the old man or …?' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

12.3.3　　*olxol* 'BUT'

olxol 'BUT' acts to conjoin two fully finite sentences. This conjunction is derived from the third person singular masculine reflexive pronoun *olxol* '3sm.REFL' (see Chapter 3, §3.4.1). This conjunction is not commonly used and it is possible that it is a recent innovation under the influence of Tok Pisin *tasol* 'but'.

(12-83)　*tom*　　*wanxe=nəp=a*　　　　*lən=nəp*　　　*wanxe*　*xe-l=xejox*
　　　　　　water　a.lot=VERY=EMPH　　flood=VERY　a.lot　　DO-IPFV.PER.TODP=SBRD

　　　　　　be　　*nuxul=xe*　　*kəs*　　*x-t*　　　**olxol**
　　　　　　just　　1pEX=FOC　　fear　　DO-SIM　**BUT**

　　　　　　mde-ja=mul=o　　　　　　　　　　*li-n-gwe*
　　　　　　come.across-PRS.PL=CERT=QUOT　　say-PFV-VIS.TODP.PL
　　　　　　'"The river's really flooded and we were scared but we crossed anyway", they said.'
　　　　　　("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

In the examples below, *olxol* 'BUT' occurs with the prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK'.

(12-84) *jəxe*   *ox*   *xesup*   *wanxe*   *x-pat=xe*   *ixil=təp*
then   3sm   angry   a.lot   DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   3p=ASSC

       ma   *akit*   *meŋ=wi*   *mə-xəm*   *but*
       REL   strongly   speech=ONLY   DEM.PRX-down   flat.place

       x-s   *gos-su-t-pa*   **olxol**=*a*
       DO-PNCT   RECP-kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL   **BUT**=LINK

       na=gos-su-t-pa
       NEG=RECP-kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL
       'So, he was angry and argued with them (lit. speak fight) but they didn't (physically) fight.' ("High School Dispute" by Kila Dasyal)

(12-85) *lu*   *lu*   *blel*   *gwe*   *lel*   *ixil*   *nuxule*   *at*
break   break   child   small   some   3p   1pEX.POSS   father.1POSS

       ox   *bəs=o*   *n-pli-pat-gwel=o*
       3sm   NEG=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-IPFV.SG-VIS.YESTP=QUOT

       m-pli-pti-n   **olxol**=*a*   *səkalap*   *x-t*   *lu*
       PRX.O-tell-IPFV.SG-NOMLS   **BUT**=LINK   argue   DO-SIMbreak

       lu   *lu*   *lu*   *lex=a*   *ul-xi-p=li=a*
       break   break   break   long.ago=EMPH   go.up-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=EMPH
       'When he was taking out the roof the children told him: "Our father tells us not to do that", but he argued with them and kept on taking out the roof and climbing up.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

12.4 Clause chaining

Clause chaining is a distinctive feature of Oksapmin, as it is in a number of other Papuan languages (Foley 1986). In Oksapmin, clause chaining consists of one or more medial verb forms (see Chapter 8, §8.3) followed by a final, fully inflected verb form. Medial forms are inflected with one of two medial suffixes: either sequential (12-86), or simultaneous (12-87).

(12-86) *gin*   *nap=ja*   *de=ka*   *o=m-de-**m***
now   ySIB=O   WHICH=place   leave=PRX.O-MAKE-**SEQ**

       əpil=o   *m-pli-n-gop=li*
       come(.PRS.SG)=QUOT   PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       '"Where did you leave your sister and then come (here)?", they told her.' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(12-87) *jæxe*   *nuxul*   *meg=**t***   *xu-l=a*
then   1pEX   speak=(SAY.)**SIM**   go.PFV-PER.YESTP=LINK
'Then, we went along talking.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

The medial forms in Oksapmin participate in various types of clause chaining constructions, some of which more closely resemble verb serialization (see Crowley 2002), some which more closely resemble full clauses which are coordinated or cosubordinated (Foley and Van Valin 1984). Unlike some other Papuan languages, Oksapmin does not mark switch reference, although medial forms are primarily only used for same subject.

Sequential medial clauses vary in the degree of syntactic bond they share with final clauses. This is shown in the following two constructions, both using the same sequential medial verb form of the verb *d-* 'eat'. In the full clause chaining construction, shown in example (12-88)a., the two verbs represent two completely separate actions, and have a looser syntactic bond as shown by the location noun phrase intervening between the two verbs. In the purpose construction (described in §12.4.1) shown in example (12-88)b., however, the two verbs have a stronger syntactic bond: they share a single location, and no constituent can occur between the two verbs without changing the meaning.

(12-88) *a.*   *ux*   *tap*   *d-**m**=a*   *ap*   *nuŋ*   *xu-l*
        3sf   pig   eat-**SEQ**=LINK   house   TO   go.PFV-PER.YESTP
        'She ate pig and then went to the house.'
        #'She went to eat pig at the house.' (Elicited.)

      b.   *ux*   *ap*   *nuŋ*   *tap*   *d-**m***   *xu-l*
        3sf   house   TO   pig   eat-**SEQ**   go.PFV-PER.YESTP
        'She went to the house to eat pig.'
        #'She ate pig and then went to the house.' (Elicited.)

Simultaneous medial verb forms (§12.4.2) always share core arguments with the following final verb, with which they have a strong syntactic bond. An example of a simultaneous medial verb form is shown in (12-89)a. below. No constituent can occur between the medial verb form and the final verb form as shown in example (12-89)b. below for the location *ap mox* 'here at the house'.

(12-89) *a.*   *gul=xe*   *ap*   *m=ox*   *ulaw*   *x-**t***
        2p=FOC   house   DEM.PRX=3sm   properly   DO-**SIM**

        pti=d=a   *pl*
        stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH   tell(.PRS.SG)
        '"Are you (staying) well here at the house?" I told them'
        ("Today" by Palis)

b.　　　*gul=xe　　　ulaw　　　**x-t**　　　　ap　　m=ox
　　　　2p=FOC　　　properly　　**DO-SIM**　　house　DEM.PRX=3sm

　　　　pti=d=a
　　　　stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH

12.4.1　　　Sequential Medial Verb Form Uses

Medial verbs with the sequential suffix (Chapter 8, §8.3.1) may be used in a number of different serialized clause chain constructions. As mentioned above, these vary in the strength of the syntactic bond between the clauses as shown in Table 12-3 below.

Construction	Syntactic bond	Sub-types	Section
Distinct actions	Weaker (prosodic linker present, arguments precede each verb, separate intonational contour for each clause)	-	§12.4.1.1
Components of a single "macro-" action (§12.4.1.2)	Stronger (prosodic linker not present, argument sharing, arguments precede medial verb form, a single intonational contour)	Purpose	§12.4.1.2.1
		Adverbial-type use	§12.4.1.2.2
		Completive aspect	§12.4.1.2.3
		Auditory evidence	§12.4.1.2.4
		Visual-sensory evidence	§12.4.1.2.5

Table 12-3.　　　Clause chaining construction types

12.4.1.1　　Distinct Actions

Medial verbs may occur in a chain of several medial clauses, where each medial verb represents a distinct action. This construction has the following properties:

- the prosodic linker =*a* 'LINK' (see Chapter 11, §11.4.1) is usually present on each medial verb form
- arguments precede the individual medial verb to which they belong semantically
- there is an intonational pause after each medial verb
- the verbs occur in iconic order reflecting the temporal order of actions

Medial verbs may take the prosodic linker =*a* 'LINK' as a way of separating them from the following action. Where a medial verb takes the speech style marker, the arguments of any following verbs cannot precede it.

(12-90) *jæxe*　*nuxul=a*　　　*tæde-m=**a***　　　　　*soŋ*
　　　　then　　1pEX=EMPH　　stand.up-SEQ=**LINK**　　song(Eng)

　　　　x-ti-l=a
　　　　DO-PFV-PER.YESTP=EMPH
　　　　'We stood up and then sang the song.' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

When a medial verb form is used, the subject is usually identical to that of the following final verb. Where the actions are semantically distinct, however, and not part of a single "macro-"event, there is some scope for non-identity of subjects. Although the sequential medial form is overwhelmingly used to indicate identical subjects, it may also be used where:

- the subject of the medial verb is a subset of the subject of the final verb; or
- the subject of the medial verb is a superset of the subject of the final verb; or
- the subject of the medial verb is the object of the final verb
- the object of the medial verb is the subject of the final verb

This is illustrated in the examples below. In example (12-91), the subject of the sequential marked verb *əplis* 'come and…', namely *inəp ux* '(his) wife', is a subset of the subject of the verb which follows *ixlail* 'they'.

(12-91) *inəp*   *ux*   *əpli-**s**=a*   *ixlail*   *tap*   *xit=o*
wife.1/3POSS   3sf   come-**SEQ**=LINK   3p.REFL   pig   meat=EMPH

jox   *de-l*
DEF   eat-IPFV.PER.TODP
'His wife came and then they all ate the pig meat.' ("Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin" by Dasyal Gahan)

Example (12-92) below is a special case of the subject being a subset of the following subject: the subjects of the two medial verbs are both distinct subsets of the superset of the final verb.

(12-92) *kətpe*   *[...]*   *jæx*   *de-**m**=a*   *kətpe* *el*   *de-**m**=a*
some   good make-**SEQ**=LINK   some bad   make-**SEQ**=LINK

pt-sxe
stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL
'Some of us worked well and some of us didn't work well.' ("School" by Kila Dasyal)

In example (12-93) below, the subject of the first verb *ss* 'go and…', *nuxut* 'we two', is a superset of the second subject *em ux* 'my mother'.

(12-93) *jæxe*   *nuxut* *s-**s**=a*   *em*   *ux*
then   1dEX   go-**SEQ**=LINK   mother.1POSS 3sf

s-pel=o   *n-p-n-gop*
go-IF.PL=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG
'Then, both of us$_{i+j}$ went and my mother$_i$ told me$_j$ "Let's go!"' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

The sequential medial form may be used where the subject of the medial verb is the same as the object of the following final verb, as in examples (12-94), (12-95), and (12-96) below, although this occurs fairly rarely. In example (12-95) the subject of the medial clause *ss* 'go and', namely *nox* 'I', is the object of the final verb as indicated by the first or second person object prefix *n-* '1/2.O'.

(12-94) *s-s=a   nox   tom   din   wanxe   n-x-n-gwel*
go-SEQ=LINK   1s   water   thirsty   a.lot   1/2.O-MAKE-PFV-VIS.YESTP
'I went along and then I felt really thirsty.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

(12-95) *jæxe   nox   d-m=o   x-m=a   kin   tim-di-n*
then   1s   eat-SEQ=EMPH   be-SEQ=LINK   eye   sleep-PFV-NOMLS

n-x=a
1/2.O-MAKE-PRS.SG=LINK
'Then I ate and then felt sleepy.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

(12-96) *jæxe   nuxut   təmbe=ja   ot   x-m*
then   1dEX   brother&sister=O   two   be-SEQ

n-p-d-n-gwel[4]
1/2.O-CAUS-eat-PFV-VIS.YESTP
'So, we, a brother and sister, were two and he fed us.' ("Relatives" by Dulum Aleap)

The above suggests that it may actually be topic identity which is monitored in Oksapmin, rather than subject. Thus medial verb forms are used where there is topic continuity (Givón 1983) or topic maintenance (Stirling 1993). This is also known to be the case in other languages, e.g. in Lani (Donohue 2005).

Very rarely, the sequential medial form may be used when the object of the medial verb is the same as the subject of the following verb. This is shown in example (12-97) below where the object of the verb *msum* 'kill it and', namely *nel kuptutul* 'the *kuptutul* bird', is the subject of the final verb *ondongop* 'came down'.

(12-97) *nel   kuptutul   [...]   gem=si   toŋ   li-t-pol=xənox*
bird   bird.variety   arrow=WITH   shoot   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD

m-su-m   odo-n-gop=li
PRX.O-kill-SEQ   come.down-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'When he shot the *kuptutul* bird with an arrow, he killed it and it fell down.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

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[4] Although the medial verb does not have the emphatic marker *=a* here, these appear to be semantically two conjoined separate actions.

A sub-type of semantically distinct actions is characterized by a string of medial verb forms, each with the prosodic linker =*a* 'LINK', followed by the complex predicate *ix=x-* 'do like that'. This construction is most commonly used with iterative or ongoing actions, which are done at roughly the same time in no particular order but still viewed as individual actions, rather than being interpreted as a "macro"-action. This is shown in the examples below.

(12-98) *toŋno-t* *pt-m=a*   *ap* *jox* *a*
    sit.down-SIM stay-SEQ=LINK house DEF HES

    lat *əlpə-**m**=**a***   *naŋ* *xu-**m**=**a***   *uŋ*
    wood cook-**SEQ**=**LINK**   rope twirl-**SEQ**=**LINK**   string.bag

    *x-**m**=**a***   ***ix**=**xi**-m*   *pt-sxe=li*
    DO-**SEQ**=**LINK**   **like.that**=**DO**-SEQ stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
    '(It is said that) they used to stay making fires, spinning rope and making bags.'
    ("Women's House" by Julie James)

(12-99) *jəxe* *nuxut* *niŋ*   *jox* *a-dpakul=a*
    then 1dEX small.mammal DEF BEN-singe.hair(.**SEQ**)=**LINK**

    *loxo-**m**=**a***   *ati* *dek-**m**=**a***
    cook.in.ground.oven-**SEQ**=**LINK** leaf pick-**SEQ**=**LINK**

    ***ix**=**x**-pti*
    like.that=**DO**-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
    'Then, we singed off the hair of the small mammal, put it in the ground oven and covered it with leaves.' ("Small Mammal" by Kila Dasyal)

12.4.1.2 Components of a Single "Macro-"Action

Where medial verbs are components of a single action, the construction has the following properties:

- the prosodic linker =*a* 'LINK' is not present
- arguments are shared between the medial and final verbs, and precede the medial verb
- there is no intonational pause between the medial verb and the final verb
- when actions are sequential, the verbs occur in iconic order (i.e. verb for the action which occurs first precedes verb for the actions which follow in time)

Where the medial verbs represent components of a "macro" event, the arguments of a final verb precede the medial verb and are arguments of the "macro" event, and not of the individual medial verb. This is shown in the example below, where the object *ən* 'arrows' is the object of both verbs but occurs only once preceding the medial verb.

(12-100) *mon*   **ən**   *gət*   *ml*   *sli-sux=li=a*
         son   **arrow**   cut   MAKE(.SEQ)   put-HAB.PER.FP.SG=REP=LINK
         '(It is said that) the son cut arrows and put them away.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

This point is further illustrated in the example below where the *ixit=nuŋ* '3d=O' is an object of the "macro"-action *gəteŋ pl asxatip* 'cut and give (food) to'. It is not possible to interpret *ixit=noŋ* as an object of the complex predicate *gəteŋ pl* 'cut and' alone.

(12-101) *a*   *tap*   *əŋ*   *dap*   *tit*   *a-əlpo-pat=xe*
         HES   pig   spleen   long   INDF   BEN-cook-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD

         ixit=nuŋ   *gəte-ŋ*   *pl*   *a-sxa-ti-p=li*
         3d=O   cut-PNCT   TELL(.SEQ)   BEN-get.food-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
         'After he cooked the spleen for them, he chopped it (in half) and gave it to them.'
         ("Dogs" by Dasyal Gahan)

12.4.1.2.1   *Purpose Plus Motion, Give*

When a sequential medial verb may serve to indicate the purpose or goal of a motion, the construction has the following properties:

-         the medial verb precedes a verb of motion
-         the prosodic linker *=a* 'LINK' is not present
-         arguments of the final verb precede the medial verb
-         there is no intonational pause between the medial verb and the final verb

This construction is the only construction involving medial verbs in which the verbs occur in an order opposite to the order in which the actions occur (12-102).

(12-102) *jæxe*   *lipin=nəp*   *nap*   *mux*   *ux*   *lat*   *dl*
         then   true=VERY   younger.sibling   ANPH   3sf   wood   take(.**SEQ**)

         waj-xi-p=li   *gaten*   *but*   *nuŋ*
         go.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP   garden(Eng)   flat.place   TO
         'Then, truly, the younger sister went down to get the wood, to the garden.'
         ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

As with medial verbs which are viewed as components of a single "macro" action described above, both the arguments of the medial verb and the verb of motion precede the medial verb in this construction as shown in the following examples where the destinations precede the medial verb.

(12-103) *nox*   *ixile*   *aw*   *la-ti-l*   *nuŋ*
          1s   3p.POSS   elder.1POSS   sing.and.dance-PFV-PER.YESTP   TO

          mo-xon   *a-xtol*   **xu-***l=mul=o*
          DEM.PRX-across   BEN-see(**.SEQ**)   **go.PFV-PER**.YESTP=CERT=QUOT

          p-ti-p=li   *nonop*   *mox*
          tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP   eZ.1/3POSS   ANPH
          'The older sister said "I went to the place where they danced across there to have a look at (them)."' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

(12-104) *nox*   *xwel*   *ku=xe*   *naŋ*   *uŋ*   *jox*   *jox*   *rum*
          1s   PN   woman=POSS   rope   a.lot   DEF   TOP   room(Eng)

          dæx   *nuŋ*   *it*   *a-dl*   **loj-***xix*
          inside   TO   again   BEN-take**(.SEQ)**   **enter-**PFV.PER.TODP.SG

          a-dl   **lo-***s=a*
          BEN-take**(.SEQ)**   **enter-**SEQ=LINK
          '…I went into my room again to get the Xwel clan woman's rope. I went in to get it and then…' ("Today" by Julie James)

     The verb *pt-* 'stay' can also occur as the final verb in a purpose construction (12-105).

(12-105) *kol*   *ux*   *apte*   *pa*   *kən*   *ml*   *sl*
          daughter   3sf   village   taro   cooked   DO**(.SEQ)**   put**(.SEQ)**

          pt-*sux*
          stay-HAB.PER.FP.SG
          'The sister used to stay home to cook taro.' ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

12.4.1.2.2   *Adverbial-Type Use*

The complex predicate *po ml-* 'do well' may be used in sequential medial form with an adverbial-type meaning which modifies the final verb as shown in the examples below.

(12-106) *be*   *tiksa*   *ixil=xe* **po**   **ml**   *n-pgi-m=a*
          so   teacher(TP)   3p=FOC **well**   **MAKE(.SEQ)**   1/2.O-show-SEQ=LINK
          'So, our teachers they taught (Lit. showed) us well and…' ("School" by Kila Dasyal)

(12-107) *xanəp*   *jəx*   *got*   *oxe*   *meŋ*   *n-pli-pat*
            person   good   God(Eng)   3sm   speech 1/2.O-tell-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

            xanəp   *jox*   *ox=xe*   *a*   *məmxan*   **po**
            person DEF   3sm=FOC   HES what's.it   **well**

            ml=nəp   *n-pli-pat=a*
            MAKE(.SEQ)=VERY   1/2.O-tell-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=LINK
            'The preacher (Lit. person who tells us the good Lord's word), um, what's it, tells us (the word of God) really well.' ("Church" by Kila Dasyal)

The simultaneous medial verb form is, however, more frequently used with this type of meaning (see §12.4.2.3).

12.4.1.2.3   With mda- *'finish'* and o=ml- *'finish'* – Completive Aspect

The verbs *mda-* and *o=ml-* 'leave, finish' can be used along with a medial verb in the sequential form to indicate that an action was completed (12-108). I analyse this as completive aspect because it is used when the speaker wants to make clear that one event occurred before another.

(12-108) *nuxul=xe*   *s-s*   ***o=ml=a***   *nuxule*
            1pEX=FOC   go-SEQ   **finish=MAKE(.SEQ)=LINK**   1pEX.POSS

            grup=si   *toŋno-ti-l=a*
            group(Eng)=WITH   sit.down-PFV-PER.YESTP=LINK
            'After we had gone too, then we sat down with our group.' ("Yesterday" by Palis)

This construction is commonly used with a series of sequential medial verbs to indicate completive aspect as aspect is not marked on medial verb forms, as in (12-109) and (12-110) below.

(12-109) *ix=x-n*   *ux*   *grep*   *tən*   *tit*   *deka-**m***
            like.that=DO-NOMLS   3sf   fern.variety side INDF cut.leaves-**SEQ**

            mda-m=a   *grep*   *tən*   *tit*   *kak*   *təx*   *jox*
            finish-SEQ=LINK   fern.variety side INDF ground place DEF

            sri-s   *p-ti-p*
            put-PNCT   TELL-PFV-PER.FP.SG
            'So, she cut some *grep* fern leaves and then she put some *grep* fern leaves on the ground.' ("Eagle" by Bitel Palmal)[5]

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[5] This text is by a speaker of the Upper Oksapmin dialect.

(12-110)*a*   *imap*   *ox*   *ma*   *xan*   **pəla**   **ml**
         HES   husband.1/3POSS   3sm   REL   man   **pull**   **MAKE(.SEQ)**

         mda-*m=a*   *xan*   *p-di-p=w=a*
         finish-SEQ=LINK   man   CAUS-eat.PFV-PER.FP.SG=RESP=EMPH
         'Her husband brought all the men across and then he fed them.' ("Rich Girl" by Geno
         Dipin)

12.4.1.2.4   *With Visual-Sensory* x- *'be' – Auditory Evidence*

This construction consists of a sequential medial verb form plus the verb *x*- 'be' in the visual-sensory evidence form, if past tense. It indicates that the speaker has auditory or other non-visual sensory evidence, such as feeling (12-112), that an action is taking place.

(12-111)*blel*   *ot*   *tit*   *api-***s**   ***x****-n-gopa=li*
         child   two   INDF   come-**SEQ**   **be**-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
         '…**they heard** two children coming.' ("Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat" by Geno
         Dipin)

(12-112)*ul-pat-n=a*   *lex*   *blel*   *gwe*   *lel*   *ixil*   *xəm*
         go.up-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   then   child   small   some   3p   down

         jejaŋ   *li-***m**   ***x****-n-gopa=li*
         hang.onto   SAY-**SEQ**   **be**-**PFV-VIS.FP.PL**=REP
         '(It is said that) wile he was climbing up **he felt that** the children were hanging onto
         his legs.' ("Legend" by Savonna Frank)

This construction differs from the construction described in §12.1.3 above in that the verb *x*- 'be' takes a medial verb rather than a complement clause. In addition, it differs semantically in that the time reference of the attested action is identical to the act of perception.

The auditory and other non-visual sensory medial verb construction is used when the speaker wishes to stress that they have auditory or other non-visual sensory evidence. This is demonstrated with the following examples. In (12-113)a., the speaker tells how her mother told her (while the speaker was standing with her) to take some taro up to someone, and uses the visual-sensory far past. In (12-113)b., the speaker is away from her mother at Njari's house and can only hear her mother call out to her.

(12-113)*a.*   *paip-pela*   *pa*   *gwe*   *lel*   *m=ox*   *njari=ja*
　　　　　　five(TP)-ADJ(TP)   taro   small   some   DEM.PRX=3sm   PN=O

　　　　　　a-p-lu-n=o   *[...]*   **li-n-gwel**
　　　　　　BEN-CAUS-go.up-IMP=QUOT   **say-PFV-VIS.YESTP**
　　　　　　'"You take these five small taros up to Njari. [...]", she said.'

　　　　　　[...]

　　　　b.   *djuli=o*   *od-n=o*   *s-pel=o*   *li-**m***
　　　　　　PN=QUOT   come.down-IMP=QUOT   go-IF.PL=QUOT   say-**SEQ**

　　　　　　x-n-gwel
　　　　　　be-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　　　'"Julie! Come down! Let's go!", (I heard that) she said.' ("Yesterday" by
　　　　　　Julie James)

This construction is further demonstrated in the following examples from a single text. In example (12-114)a. the speaker is talking face to face with someone and can both see and hear them talking and thus the visual evidence past tense is used. In example (12-114)b. the speaker can hear men playing cards in the bush but cannot see them, thus the auditory construction is used.

(12-114)*a.*   *tap*   *ox*   *na=pat=xənox*   *it*   *aŋ*   *m-t*
　　　　　　pig   3sm   NEG=stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   again   find   MAKE-SIM

　　　　　　s-ol=o   **li-n-gwel**
　　　　　　go-IPFV.PER.TODP=EMPH   **say-PFV-VIS.YESTP**
　　　　　　'(I saw and heard that) she said "...because the pig wasn't there, (I) went to look for (it)."'

　　　　　　[...]

　　　　b.   *jæxe*   *əpli-pat-n=a*   *mə=ma*   *pəmlo*   *dæx*
　　　　　　then   come-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   DEM.PRX=REL   PN   down

　　　　　　mi-de=x   *[...]*   *xan*   *ixil*   *meg=l*
　　　　　　DEM.PRX-across=3sm   man   3p   speak=SAY(**.SEQ**)

　　　　　　x-n-gwel
　　　　　　be-PFV-VIS.YESTP
　　　　　　'When I came to Pəmlo across here, ... (I heard that) men were talking.'
　　　　　　("Yesterday" by Kerina Mapul)

This construction is not semantically compositional: the meaning of *x-* 'be' is not evident in the English translation, it is simply a marker of this construction. See also M. Lawrence (1987) for a discussion of the use of *x-* 'be' to indicate non-visual sensory evidence.

The use of this construction is further demonstrated by the consecutive examples below from a single text. When the person who is speaking to the main character was visible to him, the visual-sensory past tense is used as shown in (12-115)a. below. When the person who is speaking to the main character was no longer visible to him, as he looked up at the tree, the construction with a sequential verb and *x-* 'be' is used as in example (12-115)c. below

(12-115)*a.*   *mon=a*   *tox*   *n-m-a-m-ti-n=o*
              brother=EMPH   stick   1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-MAKE-PFV-IMP=QUOT

              ***p-n-gop**=li*
              tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
              '"(My possums are always escaping…) Can you poke (the tree) with a stick for me (so that I can catch the possum when it runs down)?", (it is said that) **he saw and heard that** (the old man) told him.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

              […]

    b.   *lipin=nəp*   *ox*   *kin*   *jox*   *i=nuŋ*   *jə-xət*
              true=VERY   3sm   eye   DEF   DEM.DST=TO   DEM.DST-up

              m-xto-t   *pat-n=a*
              PRX.O-see-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
              'Truly, while he was looking up towards there (where the possum comes down), ...'

    c.   *lex*   *aw=o*   *ax*   *blam*   *gət*
              long.ago   grandparent.1POSS=QUOT   axe   flat.round.axe   cut

              gət=o   *m-pl*   ***x-n-gop**=li*
              cut=QUOT   PRX.O-tell(.**SEQ**)   **be-PFV-VIS.FP.SG**=REP
              'Then (it is said that) **he heard** the old man say to him: "Cut round axe! Cut!".' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

For the present (12-116) and future tenses, for which there is no inflectional visual-sensory form, the unmarked (personal-factual) form is used. The visual-sensory clitic (see Chapter 11, §11.1.5) is not used.

(12-116)*nuxlanule*   *lotu*   *ap*   *ka*   *xəm*   *pup*   *pup*
         1pEX.REFL.POSS   church(TP)   house   place   down   blow   blow

         *li-**m***   *xe-ja*
         SAY-**SEQ**   be-**PRS.PL**
         'We heard them blowing (trumpets) down at the church area.' ("Today" by Palis)

12.4.1.2.5   *With Personal-Factual* **x-** *'be' – Visual-Sensory Evidence*

A similar construction uses personal-factual past tenses instead of visual-sensory past tense. As opposed to indicating auditory or other non-visual sensory evidence, as does the construction described in §12.4.1.2.4 above, this construction indicates that the speaker has visual-sensory evidence. This construction is only used when the time reference is the today past imperfective (12-117), or the yesterday past imperfective (12-118).

(12-117)*tit*   *ku*   *nəs*   *ku*   *jox*   *kerina*   *ux=xe*
         another woman nurse(Eng)   woman DEF   PN   3sf=FOC

         ulxe   *ap*   *nuŋ*   *mlo-s*   **x-el**
         3sf.REFL.POSS   house   TO   come.up-SEQ   **be-IPFV.PER.TODP**
         '(I saw that) another woman, the female nurse, Kerina, went up to her own house as well.' ("Today" by Henna Kashat)

(12-118)*toxan*   *a-sxa-pat=xe*   *mə=ma*
         sweet.potato   BEN-look.after-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   DEM.PRX=REL

         gologwe   *plastik*   *tem*   *mə=ma*   *brokoli*
         2s.REFL.POSS   plastic(Eng)   inside   DEM.PRX=REL   broccoli(Eng)

         lin   *uŋ*   *n-a-sli-m*   **x-t**   *max*
         leaf   a.lot   1/2.O-BEN-put-SEQ   **be-IPFV.PER.YESTP**   RECG

         i=ma   *lin*   *uŋ*   *jox=si*   *a-p-lu-xu-l*
         DEM.DST=REL   leaf   bag   DEF=WITH   BEN-CAUS-go.up-PFV-PER.YESTP
         'After I gave him sweet potato, that bag of broccoli leaves which (I saw that) you put in your bag for me yesterday, I took that bag of leaves up for him.' ("Yesterday" by Kila Dasyal)

This construction appears to be semantically equivalent to the today and yesterday past visual-sensory evidence form (see Chapter 8). In some texts speakers switch between the two types of visual-sensory past tense. The exact semantic difference, if there is one, between the use of this construction and the today and yesterday past tense visual-sensory evidence imperfective forms is not clear at this stage of research. In (12-119) below, the speaker first uses the visual-sensory today past form is used, then this construction is used. The reason for the switch is not clear.

(12-119)*a.*   *blel*   *bap*   *gwe*   *stej*   *ux*   *tom*   *di-pol=o*
                  child   small   small   PN   3sf   water   eat.PFV-IF.SG=QUOT

                  *li-**nuŋ***   *jəxe*   *nox*   *tom*   *jox*
                  say-**(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG**   then   1s   water   DEF

                  p-di
                  CAUS-eat.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
                  '…(I saw/heard that) the baby, Stej, wanted to drink water. So, I fed her water.' ("Today" by Julie James)

                  […]

       b.   *wili*   *ox*   *ma*   *hai*   *skul*   *ixle*   *mox*
                  PN   3sm   REL   high(Eng)   school(Eng)   3p.POSS ANPH

                  tsopa   *mox*   *de=ixil*   *əpli-n-gwel=o*
                  helicopter(Eng)   ANPH   WHICH=3p   come-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT

                  li-m   *dəxat*   *x-**m***   ***xe-**l*   *jəxe*
                  say-SEQ   question   DO-**SEQ**   **be-**IPFV.PER.TODP   then

                  nox   *gi=p-ti-l=o*
                  1s   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT
                  '(I saw/heard that) Willy asked me "(did you see) who came in the chopper for the high school?" Then yesterday I told him thus:…' ("Today" by Julie James)

In (12-120)a. below the construction with *x-* 'be' is used. When describing the very same people talking a couple of sentences later (12-120)b., the visual-sensory today past tense form is used. Again, the reason for the switch is not clear.

(12-120)*a.*   *nuxul*   *xənxan=o*   *be*   *pu-s-pti=o*   *li-m*
                  1pEX   forget=QUOT   just   CAUS-go-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT   **say-SEQ**

                  ***xe-**l=a*
                  be-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK
                  '(I saw that) they said they didn't know and were just bringing them anyway.'

                  […]

b. tom   *wanxe=nəp=a*   *lən=nəp*   *wanxe*
    water   a.lot=VERY=EMPH   flood=VERY   a.lot

    xe-l=xejox   *be*   *nuxul=xe*   *kəs*   *x-t*
    DO-IPFV.PER.TODP=SBRD   just   1pEX=FOC   fear   DO-SIM

    olxol   *mde-ja=mul=o*   **li-n-gwe**
    but   come.across-PRS.PL=CERT=QUOT   **say-PFV-VIS.TODP.PL**
    '"The river's really flooded and we were scared but we crossed anyway", (I
    saw that) they said.' ("Today" by Kerina Mapul)

12.4.2   Simultaneous Medial Verb Form Uses

Unlike sequential medial verbs, constructions in which simultaneous medial verb
forms (see Chapter 8, §8.3.2) occur always have a strong syntactic bond, and must
therefore always have exactly the same subject as the following final verb, and can
have no constituent intervening between the medial verb form and the final verb form.
The simultaneous verb form is much less commonly used than the sequential medial
verb form. The simultaneous suffix is used to express:

-       actions which occur simultaneously with an ongoing action (§12.4.2.1)
-       imperfective aspect with *pt-* 'stay' (§12.4.2.2)
-       adverb-like use (§12.4.2.3)
-       completive aspect with *mda-* 'finish' and *o=de-* 'finish' (§12.4.2.4)

Two of the above constructions (adverb-like use and completive aspect) have
parallel sequential medial verb constructions. The exact difference between use of a
sequential form and a medial form in these constructions is not clear at this stage of
research.

12.4.2.1   With Verbs Indicating an Ongoing Action

The simultaneous semantics of this suffix are particularly apparent when they
accompany a final verb with an imperfective or habitual action as shown in the
following examples. This most commonly occurs with a verb of motion as the final
verb.

(12-121) *mətit=a*   *dek-t*   *əpli-sxe=li*
         fern.variety=EMPH   pick-**SIM**   come-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
         'They used to collect *mətit* leaves as they came along.' ("Women's House" by Julie
         James)

(12-122)*kip=wi   dim   dim   m-t   s-s*
           road=ONLY   follow follow MAKE-**SIM**   go-SEQ
           'I went along following the road and then...' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

12.4.2.2   With *pt-* 'Stay' – Imperfective Aspect

The existential verb *pt-* 'stay' is also used in Oksapmin to indicate imperfective aspect. The verb *pt-* 'stay' occurs (in either perfective or imperfective form) after a simultaneous medial form of the verb to indicate that the action is imperfective.

(12-123)*akwe-t   **pat-n=a**   lex   xɘnat*
           wait.and.look-**SIM**   **stay.IPFV.SG**-NOMLS=LINK   long.ago   arrow

           tit   bɘp   jɘ-xɘn   tɘxe
           INDF   so   DEM.DST-across   throw

           m-pli-n-gop=li   jox=o
           PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP   TOP=EMPH
           'While he was waiting watching (for birds), someone suddenly shot an arrow at him.' ("Five Brothers" by Max Elit)

This construction is used for tenses which don't already have an imperfective form such as the far past performative/factual (recall that there is only a habitual and a perfective form in the far past performative/factual). The simultaneous medial form plus *pt-* 'stay' is the only way to encode an ongoing action for this tense/evidentiality combination, as in (12-124) and (12-125) below. Although the use of a perfective verb to mark an imperfective action is logically odd, this is how such actions are expressed in the language.

(12-124)*in   kal   m-ti-p   ka   mox   tɘde-t*
           so   bridge MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG place ANPH stand.up-SIM

           xto-t   edi-p=li
           see-**SIM**   **stay.PFV**-PER.FP.SG=REP
           'So, (it is said that) (he) stayed watching and waiting at the place where (he) had built a bridge.' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

(12-125)*jɘxe   nox   sɘkalɘp x-t   **edi-p***
           then   1s   argue   DO-**SIM**   **stay.PFV**-PER.FP.SG
           'Then, I stayed arguing (with them for a while).' ("First Day of School" by Savonna Frank)

It is possible to have more than one verb marked with the simultaneous marker in a row with the verb *pt-* 'stay' (12-126).

(12-126) *tǝde-**t***   *xto-**t***   *edi-p=li*
       stand-**SIM**   look-**SIM**   stay.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
       '(It is said that) (he) stayed standing and watching.' ("River Butul" by Dulum Aleap)

This construction is also used for a number of verbs which can be interpreted as inchoative, such as *tim-* 'sleep'/'fall asleep', *toŋno-* 'be sitting'/'sit down', *xesup de- ~ ml-* 'be angry'/'get angry', *suxu-* 'collect, put on to carry'/'be carrying', to indicate the non-inchoative meaning as shown in the examples below.

(12-127) *xesup*   *m-de-**t***   ***pat**-gop=li*
       angry   PRX.O-MAKE-**SIM**   **stay.IPFV.SG**-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       'She was angry with him.' (*/? 'She was getting angry with him.') ("Brother and Sister" by Miriam Babyan)

(12-128) *ǝw*   *m-t*   *pulu-pti=xe*   *i=ka*
       mound   MAKE-SIM   pile.up-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=SBRD   DEM.DST=place

       j=ox   *toŋno-**t***   ***pt**-sxe=li*
       DEM.DST=3sm   sit.down-**SIM**   **stay**-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
       'After they had made the piles, they used to stay sitting there.' (*/?'…they used to sit down there') ("Women's House" by Julie James)

(12-129) *lumsan*   *ku=si*   *xan=si*   *mǝ=ma*   *apte*   *ma*   *ixil*
       a.lot.of   woman=CNJ   man=CNJ   DEM.PRX=REL   village   REL   3p

       uŋ   *jox*   *ipe*   *naŋ=si=wi*   *suxu-**n***
       bag   DEF   tree.variety   rope=WITH=ONLY   carry-**SIM**

       pti
       stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'A lot of people here carry string bags made from *ipe* bark only.' (*/? '… keep putting on string bags…') ("String Bags" by Kila Dasyal)

I also have one example in my text corpus where the sequential medial verb form, as opposed to the simultaneous medial verb form, plus the verb *pt-* 'stay' indicates imperfective aspect, shown in (12-130) below.

(12-130) *jǝxe*   *ux*   *gi=p-ti-p=li*   *mal=o*   *nox*
       then   3sf   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP   yes=QUOT   1s

       *jem-**m***   ***pte**-l=o*   *m-p-ti-p=li*
       cry-**SEQ**   **stay**-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT   PRX.O-tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
       'Then, she said to him, "Yes, I've been crying."' ("Waterfall" by Julie James)

12.4.2.3   Adverb-Like Use

Oksapmin does not have many true adverbs. Some of the functional load of adverbs in, say, English is taken up by medial verbs in Oksapmin. In particular, Oksapmin

frequently combines a complex predicate in the simultaneous medial form with another verb. In this way, the complex predicate is used to modify second verb. When the final verb is transitive or ditransitive, a coverb with the light verb *de-* ~ *ml-* 'MAKE' is used. When the final verb is intransitive, a coverb with the light verb *x-* 'DO' is used. This is shown in the following examples where the meanings 'well' (12-131) and 'how' (12-132) are expressed with complex predicates in simultaneous medial form.

(12-131) *ox=a*   *po*   *x-**t***   *pat=a*
     3sm=EMPH   well   DO-**SIM**   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=LINK
     'He is (staying) well.' ("Dropping Xəlit" by Dulum Aleap)

(12-132) *nox*   *kin*   *m-**t***   *li-ti-plox=o*   *li-m=a*
     1s   how   MAKE-**SIM**   say-PFV-TODF.SG=QUOT   say-SEQ=LINK
     'He said "how will I speak?", and then…' ("Paul and the Galatians" by Dulum Aleap)

12.4.2.4   With *mda-* 'Finish' and *o=ml-* 'Finish' – Completive Aspect

The simultaneous medial verb form may occur with the verbs *mda-* 'leave, finish' and *o=ml-* 'leave, finish'[6] to indicate a completed action as shown in the examples below.[7]

(12-133) *loxlox*   *x-pti*   *but*   *ma*   *x-ti-n*
     play   DO-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   flat.place   REL   be-PFV-NOMLS

     *m-**t***   *o=**m-de**-t-pel=xəna*
     MAKE-**SIM**   **finish=PRX.O-MAKE**-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD
     'After they had finished making it like a playground, ...' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

(12-134) *nox*   *xtol*   *jox=a*   *moŋ*   *mox*   *olo*   *x-**t***
     1s   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP=LINK   ground   ANPH   afternoon   be-**SIM**

     mda
     finish(.PRS.SG)
     'I saw that it was already late afternoon.' ("Yesterday" by Julie James)

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[6] Recall that in this type of complex predicate, the light verb has the suppletive alternating forms *de-* and *ml-*.

[7] There is also one example in my text corpus where a simultaneous medial verb plus *o=ml-* 'finish' has a negative meaning:

pitle   *pok*   *jox*   *awxe-t*   *o=de-pti*   *kətpe*   *jox*
one   all   DEF   castrate-SIM   leave=MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   some   DEF
təges   *awxe-pti*
testicles   castrate-IPFV.PL(.PRS) ("Looking after Pigs" by Julie and Joyce James)
'(When the mother pig gives birth to lots of male pigs,) we don't remove the testicles of one and the rest we remove the testicles.'

(12-135) *lo-pti-n*   *lo-pti-n*   *lo-pti-n*
       enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS

       lo-pti-n   *wanxe*   *x-**t***   ***o**=**de**-n-gopa=li*
       enter-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   a.lot   DO-**SIM**   **finish**=**MAKE-**PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
       'They kept going in and going in until there were lots of them.' ("Cassowary" by Max Elit)

Appendix 1. Kusan Jelixtam Clan Origin

This text is spoken by Dasyal Gahan, a ≈ 55 year old male from Kusan Village. It is the clan origin myth for his clan, the Jelix branch of the Kusan clan. A group of five brothers is a commonly occurring motif in Oksapmin myths.

(A1-1) *jelix*   *tam*   *klan*   *nuxule*   *t-dəlpə-t-pa*
        PN   fireplace   clan   1pEX.POSS   MID-begin-PFV-PER.FP.PL

        meg   *jox*
        speech DEF
        'Jelixtam clan ol kamap dispela em toktok bilo ol.'
        'This is the story of how the Jelix sub-clan came to be.'

(A1-2) *nuxule*   *t-dəlpə-t-pa*   *jox*   *bəli*   *je*
        1pEX.POSS   MID-begin-PFV-PER.FP.PL   DEF   PN   mountain

        mə-lo=ma   *tədəptux-ti-p*   *je*   *xəlep*
        DEM.PRX-up=REL   go.up-PFV-PER.FP.SG   mountain   underneath

        dəx   *i-ja=x*
        down   DEM.DST-down=3sm
        'Mipela kamap em antap lo dispela mountain stanup na taunbilo mipela kamap.'
        'Our starting place is from the bottom of mount Bəli going up to its peak.'

(A1-3) *nuxule*   *n-minxe-t-pa*   *gamd*   *jox*
        1pEX.POSS   1/2.O-conceive-PFV-PER.FP.PL   husband&wife   DEF

        məmxan   *putul=si*   *wæsa*   *ixit=a*
        what's.it   PN=CNJ   PN   3d=EMPH
        'Dispela tupela marit em nem bilo tupela em Putul wantaim Wasa…'
        'The couple who begot us are Putul and Wasa.'

(A1-4) *jox*   *məmxan*   *jox*   *putul*   *jox*   *sjap*   *ox=a*
        DEF   what's.it   DEF   PN   DEF   cassowary   3sm=CNJ

        məmxan   *wasa*   *jox*   *niŋ*   *ox=a*
        what's.it   PN   DEF   small.mammal   3sm=CNJ
        '... na Putul em cassowary na Wasa em niŋ rat.'
        'Putul was a cassowary and Wasa was a small mammal.'

(A1-5) *jæxe*   *ixit*   *i-ja=te*   *nain-pela*   *lain*
        then   3d   DEM.DST-below=place   nine(Eng)-ADJ(TP)   family(TP)

        dəlpə-t-pa
        begin-PFV-PER.FP.PL
        'Bihain tupela lo taunbilo tupela kamapim ninepela lain olgeta.'
        'So, at up at the mountain they begot nine children.'

(A1-6)   *jəxe*   *ti*   *jox*   *i=nuŋ*   *i=nuŋ*   *x-m=a*
             then   INDF   TOP   DEM.DST=TO   DEM.DST=TO   DO-SEQ=LINK

             nuxul   *gos=si*   *kusan*   *nuxut*   *i-ja=te*
             1pEX   clan.name=CNJ   PN   1dEX   DEM.DST-below=place

             olxol   *t-dəlpə-m=a*
             BUT   MID-begin-SEQ=LINK
             'Bihain mipela ol Gos wantaim Kusan mipela i stap taunbilo…'
             'So, some (children) left and went to different places and we, the Gos and Kusan clans, came to be at that mountain…'

(A1-7)   *a*   *wa-pti-n*   *lat*   *pal*   *mut=si kopal=si*
             HES   go.down-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   tree   tree.variety   ?=CNJ   red=CNJ

             m-t   *jox*   *gono-t*   *p-wa-pti-n*   *məmxan*
             MAKE-SIM   DEF   grow-SIM   CAUS-go.down-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   what's.it

             xəm   *dupan*   *ap*   *xəm*
             down   PN   village   down
             '...na bihain mipela i go wantiam ol diwai mipela planim wantaim na i go daun kamap wantaim Strickland.'
             '…and then went down to Dupan village planting red *pal* trees along the way.'

(A1-8)   *dupan*   *ap*   *jox*   *tom*   *gət*   *ml*
             PN   village   DEF   water   cut   DO(.SEQ)

             de-pti-n=a
             go.across-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
             'When we crossed the river at Dupan, …'

(A1-9)   *a*   *məmxan*   *tom*   *um*   *eŋ*   *jox*   *gət*   *ml*
             HES   what's.it   water   PN   downriver   DEF   cut   DO(.SEQ)

             mda-m=a   *de-s=a*   *xən*   *tən*
             finish-SEQ=LINK   go.across-SEQ=LINK   across   side
             'Taunbilo lo Strickland mipela kutim dispela wara Strickland River i go kamap lo hapside.'
             'What's it, we crossed the Strickland river and went across to the other side.'

(A1-10) *xən*   *tən*   *a*   *de-pti-n=a*   *umulxa xən*   *ma*
             across   side   HES   go.across-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   PN   across   REL

             ko-t-pa   *jox*
             arrive-PFV-PER.FP.PL   DEF
             '... i go kamap lo hapside wanpela ples ol i kollim Umulxa.'
             'After we crossed to the other side, we arrived at Umulxa.'

(A1-11) *umulxa xən kol=a i=te pti-n=a*
PN   across   arrive(.SEQ)=LINK   DEM.DST=place stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
'Lo hapsait lo umulxa…'
'After we had arrived across at Umulxa and when we were staying there, …'

(A1-12) *it mə=ma bəli je xəlep max*
again   DEM.PRX=REL   PN   mountain   underneath   RECG

ox it mdej-on=o li-m xan wak
3sm   again   come.across-IMP=QUOT say-SEQ   hand   wave

mde-pat-n
come.across-IPFV.PL-NOMLS
'...wanpela man i stap lo dispela sait em wave lo ol lain i stap lo hapsait.'
'…when a man under, you know, Bəli mountain here waved and said to come back across to the other side, …'

(A1-13) *it mde-xi-pa jox*
again   come.across-PFV-PER.FP.PL   DEF
'… we came back across again to this side.'

(A1-14) *it ma it nuŋ mde-xi-pa jox*
again   REL   again   TO   come.across-PFV-PER.FP.PL   TOP
'We came back to the same place again.'

(A1-15) *a umulxa xən mədəp mde-pti-n=a*
HES   PN   across   from   come.across-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
'Ol i kam bek gen lo dispela sait na ol krosim wara umulxa.'
'When we came back across to this side of the river from *umulxa*, …'

(A1-16) *tom gas xəm mde-xi-pa*
water   PN   down   come.across-PFV-PER.FP.PL
'…we crossed down at *gas* river.'

(A1-17) *it um eŋ jox kəket ml*
again   PN   downriver   DEF   cut   DO(.SEQ)

mu=nuŋ mde-xi-pa
DEM.PRX=TO   come.across-PFV-PER.FP.PL
'They cut across the Strickland River again to here.'

(A1-18) *mde-s=a*   *ml-pti-n=a*   *jəlix*
come.across-SEQ=LINK   come.up-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   PN

     i-ja=ma   *i-de=ma*   *pt-sxe*   *jox*
     DEM.DST-below=REL   DEM.DST-across=REL   stay-HAB.PER.FP. PL   DEF
     'Kam akros na kam antap i stap lo jəlix.'
     'They came across and came up to *jəlix* down over there where they stayed.'

(A1-19) *jəlix*   *i-de=x*   *pti-n=a*
     PN   DEM.DST-across=3sm   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
     'I stap lo jəlix…'
     'When (they) stayed across there at *jəlix*, …'

(A1-20) *it*   *ma*   *faiv-pela*   *man*   *mə=ixil*   *ej*
     again   REL   five(Eng)-ADJ(TP)   man(Eng)   DEM.DST=3p   gosh!

     jox   *xanengon*   *xan*   *mə=ixil*   *mde-xi-pa*   *jox*
     DEF   five   man   DEM.PRX=3p   come.across-PFV-PER.FP.PL   DEF
     '…em ol faivpela man tasol i kam i stap lo hap lo jəlix.'
     '…five of the men came back across.'

(A1-21) *mde-pti-n=a*   *it*   *kusdop jax*
     come.across-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   again   PN   below
     'Kam akros gen na…'
     'They came across again and…'

(A1-22) *kusdop jax*   *ma*   *pt-sxe*   *jox*
     PN   below   REL   stay-HAB.PER.FP. PL   DEF
     '…ol i stap taunbilo lo Kusdop.'
     '…stayed down at Kusdop.'

(A1-23) *pti-n=a*
     stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
     'When they were staying…'

(A1-24) *i=te*   *kol-ja*   *jox*   *mde-s*
     DEM.DST=place   arrive-PRS.PL   TOP   come.across-SEQ

     kol-ja   *jox*
     arrive-PRS.PL   TOP
     'Ol kam kamap taunbilo lo Kusdop na…'
     'When they arrived across there, …'

(A1-25) *ku=si   ku   gamd=a   ku   xolxol pja*
woman=CNJ   woman husband&wife=CNJ   woman young big

       tit=a   pat-gop=li
       INDF=EMPH   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
       '...ol i lukim tupela marit wantaim wanpela youngpela draipela meri.'
       '…(it is said that they saw that) a married couple with a huge young woman was there.'

(A1-26) *pti-gopa=li   jəxe*
       stay.IPFV.PL-VIS.FP.PL=REP   then
       '(It is said that they saw that) they were there. Then…'

(A1-27) *ixil   i=te   mədəp ma   xan   kusan jəlix   tam*
       3p   DEM.DST=place from   REL   man   PN   PN   fireplace

       mə=ixil   a   i=te   pt-sxe
       DEM.PRX=3p   HES   DEM.DST=place stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL
       'Ol dispela man Kusan Jəlixtam ol i stap taunbilo lo Kusdop wantaim dispela tripela.'
       'The Kusan Jəlixtam men stayed there.'

(A1-28) *pti-n   xan   muk   jəx   x-t   pt-el*
       stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS   man   group good DO-SIM   stay-IPFV.PER.TODP

       alwap   mə=ma   alwap   oxe   blel   jox
       SS.SIB.1/3POSS DEM.PRX=REL SS.SIB.1/3POSS 3sm.POSS   child   DEF

       xəpul=wi   pt-nipat=li
       die(.SEQ)=ONLY   stay-HAB.VIS.FP.SG=REP
       'Ol i stap gut na brata bilo dispela man pikinini bilo em i save die olgeta taim.'
       'It is said that the group of men stayed there and all was well except that one of the brother's children were always dying.'

(A1-29) *jəxe   olxol   go=kin   təmam n-a-d-pat=o*
       then   3sm.REFL   2s=PROB   sorcery 1/2.O-BEN-eat-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT

       li-m=a
       say-SEQ=LINK
       'Bihain em tok olsem lo brata bilo em: "Ating yu tasol mekim sanguma na killim pikinini"…'
       'Then, he said "It's probably you who did sorcery to me" and then…'

(A1-30) gem   *tixi-tæxe*   *pl=a*   *lowa*
           arrow   REDP-throw   TELL(.SEQ)=LINK   shoot

           de-pat-gop=li
           MAKE-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
           '...*em troimwe spia lo brata bilo em i stap.*"'
           '…he threw spears (at them).'

(A1-31) *jæxe*   *kusan* *mox=o*   *tit*   *ən*   *tæxe* *a-pl=a*
           then   PN   ANPH=EMPH   another arrow throw BEN-TELL(.SEQ)=LINK
           '*Bihain dispela man Kusan em troimwe wanpela spia i go…*'
           'Then, a Kusan clan man threw a spear at (the brother) and…'

(A1-32) *kol*   *mox* *ləwa* *ml=a*   *ol*
           daughter   ANPH shoot DO(.SEQ)=LINK dead

           a-sli-n-gop=li
           BEN-put-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
           '... *na em killim pikinini bilo dispela man.*'
           '…killed his daughter on him and buried her on him.'

(A1-33) *jəxe*   *a-sli-pat*   *jəxe* *alwap*   *ox=xe*   *ixlail*
           then   BEN-put-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   then   SS.SIB.1/3POSS 3sm=FOC   3p.REFL

           ma   *pt-sxe*
           REL   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL
           '*Bihain em killim dispela meri na bihain ol i stap wantaim.*'
           'So he killed her on him and then they all stayed.'

(A1-34) *kol*   *jox*   *ol*   *sl=o*   *pt-el*
            daughter   DEF   dead put(.PRS.SG)=QUOT   stay-IPFV.PER.TODP
           '*Ol putim bodi bilo dispela meri insait lo graun…*'
           'It is said that they buried the daughter's body and then…'

(A1-35) *gəxən* *tap*   *ti*   *kusan* *ixil* *su-t-pa=li*   *jelix*   *tam*
           later   pig   INDF PN   3p   kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP PN   fireplace

           bap   *mə=ixil*
           many   DEM.PRX=3p
           '...*bihain ol lain Kusan ol i killim wanpela pik. Ol Jelixtam.*'
           '…later the Kusan men killed a pig. The Jelixtam (did).'

(A1-36) *tap*   *su-pti*   *alwap*   *ox=nuŋ*
           pig   kill-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   SS.SIB.1/3POSS 3sm=O

           u   *a-t-pa=li*   *jəxe*
           call.out BEN(.SAY)-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP then
           '*Ol i killim pik na ol singautim dispela man pikinini bilo em i dai pinis. Bihain…*'
           'They killed a pig and called out to their brother (to come). Then…'

(A1-37) *alwap*   *ox*   *a*   *na=əpi-n-gop=li*
SS.SIB.1/3POSS 3sm   HES   NEG=come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'...dispela man em i no kam.'
'… (it is said that) the brother did not come (to mourn).'

(A1-38) *inəp*   *ux=nuŋ*   *m-dəlxe-n-gop=li*
wife.1/3POSS   3sf=O   PRX.O-send-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'Em salim meri bilo em tasol i kam.'
'It is said that (he) sent his wife.'

(A1-39) *alwap*   *olxol*   *nox*   *pa*   *ləŋ*
SS.SIB.1/3POSS   3sm.REFL   1s   taro   garden

s-pat=o   *m-p-n-gop=li*
go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'Brata bilo ol yet em tokim ol mi go wok taro gaten.'
'It is said that the brother himself told (them) that he was going to his taro garden.'

(A1-40) *jəxe*   *ox*   *pa*   *ləŋ*   *s-s=a*
then   3sm   taro   garden   go-SEQ=LINK
'So, he went to his taro garden and…'

(A1-41) *a*   *məmxan*   *tap*   *mox*   *alwap-il*   *ixil*
HES   what's.it   pig   ANPH   SS.SIB.1/3POSS-PL   3p

su-l   *inəp*   *ux*   *əpli-s=a*
kill-IPFV.PER.TODP   wife.1/3POSS   3sf   come-SEQ=LINK

ixlail   *tap*   *xit=o*   *jox*   *d-el*
3p.REFL   pig   meat=EMPH   DEF   eat-IPFV.PER.TODP
'Bihain meri bilo dispela man i kam na ol mumu na ol kaikai mit bilo pig i stap.'
'…his brothers killed the pig and his wife came and they all ate the pig meat.'

(A1-42) *jəxe*   *it*   *inəp*   *ux*   *ap*   *xəm*   *s-s*   *ko-ŋ*
then   again   wife.1/3POSS   3sf   house   down   go-SEQ   arrive-PNCT

li   *jox=mul*
say(.PRS.SG)   TOP=CERT
'Bihain meri bilo dispela man i go kamap lo haus na...'
'Then, when the wife left and then arrived down at the house, …'

(A1-43) *kol=o*   *uxe*   *sexix*   *mox*
daughter=QUOT 3sf.POSS   worry   ANPH
'...em lukim man bilo em wari…'
'…(the husband) (was) mourning…'

(A1-44) a   məmxan   a   noxe   kol=xe   pat=naŋ

       HES   what's.it   HES   1s.POSS daughter=FOC   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CNTRF

       '...sapos pikinini bilo em i stap...'

       '…if only my daughter was here too…'

(A1-45) tap   adaw   m=ox   pəlulsi de-pat=naŋ=o

       pig   spine   DEM.PRX=3sm ?share   MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CNTRF=QUOT

       '...mi bai givim sampela hap pik lo em...'

       '…if only she could share this pig meat…'

(A1-46) li-m=a   atol   kiŋ-kaŋ   li-m=a   late

       say-SEQ=LINK   knife   REDP-break   SAY-SEQ=LINK fire

       sl-pat-gop=li

       put-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP

       '...na em kutim bamboo knife na putim lo faia i stap.'

       '… (it is said that) he said and then he broke up (the wood) with a knife and then made a fire.'

(A1-47) jəxe   inəp   ux   wa=de-pat=xe   it

       then   wife.1/3POSS   3sf   see=MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   again

       əpli-s

       come-SEQ

       'Then after the wife was looking, she came and…'

(A1-48) alwap-il   ixil=nuŋ   bos   we   alwan

       SS.SIB.1/3POSS-PL   3p=O   ?   Q   SS.SIB.2POSS

       ox=xe   i=x-pat=xe=xejox

       3sm=FOC   like.that=DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS=BECAUSE

       p-n-gop=li

       tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP

       'Hariap tasol i kam tokim ol brata bilo em, dispela mekim olsem i stap.'

       'It is said that (the wife) told (the husband's brothers) what their brother was doing.'

(A1-49) jəxe   ixil   tap=a   i=ma   jox   d-m=a

       then   3p   pig=CNJ   DEM.DST=REL   DEF   eat-SEQ=LINK

       ixit   pti-n=a

       3d   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK

       'Bihain ol kaikai pik na i stap olsem lilik taim na bihain...'

       'Then they ate the pig and stayed for a time and then…'

(A1-50) kusan   tit   xəpu-n-gop=li   xanengon   xan   mox
         PN   INDF   die-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP   five   man   ANPH
         '...wanpela man Kusan i dai.'
         '…(it is said that) one of the Kusan clan died. (One of) the five brothers.'

(A1-51) jəxe   bəp   tit   ox   xəp-tu-l=o
         then   HES   INDF   3sm   die-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT

         li-pat   jəxe   tit   ox   xəpu-n-gop=li
         say-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   then   INDF   3sm   die-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
         'Faivpela man i stap na wanpela i dai pinis na bihain narapela i dai gen.'
         'It is said that one (of them) died and then another died.'

(A1-52) mox   alwap-il   ixil   da   x-s   mox   kol
         ANPH   SS.SIB.1/3POSS-PL   3p   think   DO-PNCT   ANPH   daughter

         uxe   pe   tit   ni-pat=kin=o   da
         3sf.POSS   end   INDF   1/2.O.kill-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=PROB=QUOT   think

         x-m=a
         DO-SEQ=LINK
         *'Ol brata bilo em ting ting olsem nogut em mekim sampela sampting lo mipela lo sait
         bilo pikinini bilo em na em killim mipela na…'*
         'So, the brothers other two brothers who were left thought that these deaths were
         caused by their brother taking revenge on them for his daughter's death and…'

(A1-53) kət   xan   ixil   wot   xan   tit   gaw
         short   man   3p   two   man   INDF   PN

         jə-xəm   xu-pa   jox   kusan   jelix   tam
         DEM.DST-down   go.PFV-PER.FP.PL   TOP   PN   PN   fireplace

         gaw   jə-xəm=a   pti   jox=a
         PN   DEM.DST-down=EMPH   stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)   DEF=EMPH
         '...ol lusim lo hap na tupela man i go i stap lo Gaw.'
         '…they went down to Gawa and stayed there.'

(A1-54) tit   xan   ml-xi-p   jox   kusan   jelix   tam
         another man   come.up-PFV-PER.FP.SG   TOP   PN   PN   fireplace

         tit   mə=ma   nuxule   a   nuxul=a   tit   nox
         INDF   DEM.PRX=REL   1p.POSS   HES   1pEX=EMPH   INDF   1s

         mə=ma   gin   nox   meŋ   li-pat   jox
         DEM.PRX=REL   now   1s   speech SAY-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   DEF
         'Wanpela man Kusan Jelixtam em kam antap olsem em mipela nau mi tok tok i stap.'
         'One of the brothers (who went down to Gawa) then came up here and founded the
         Jelix sub-clan of the Kusan clan and now I am here and that is my story.'

(A1-55) *ki=w=a*
        enough=RESP=EMPH
        'Em tasol.'
        'The end.'

(A1-55) *ki=w=a*

Appendix 2.   Today

This story is spoken by Julie James, a ≈ 20 year old female from Waulap Village. It describes the activities which she did the morning of the day she told the story. Note the much higher proportion of foreign vocabulary than in the previous story spoken by an older speaker.

(A2-1) *gin   nel   meŋ=si=nəp   jox   nox   bet   ka*
      now   bird   speech=WITH=VERY   DEF   1s   bed(Eng)   place

      mədəp   ms-ol=a   ml-os=a
      FROM   wake-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK   come.outside-SEQ=LINK
      'I got out of bed really early this morning. I came outside and then…'

(A2-2) *ap   insait   nuŋ   əpil   jojox*
      house   inside(Eng)   TO   come(.PRS.SG)   TOP
      '…when I went into the kitchen, ...'

(A2-3) *em=o   blel   kol   ixil   pinat   xim   dus*
      mother.1POSS=CNJ   child   sister   3p   peanut(Eng)   skin   shell

      de-pti   x-m   xe-l=a   pinat   xim
      MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)   be-SEQ   be-IPFV.PER.TODP=LINK   peanut(Eng)   skin

      dus   ml=a
      shell   MAKE(.SEQ)=LINK
      '(I saw that) my mother and sisters were shelling peanuts. They were shelling peanuts and then…'

(A2-4) *nox=xe   əpi-s=a   toŋno-t=a   jəxe*
      1s=FOC   come-SEQ=LINK   sit.down-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK   then
      '…I came into the house and sat with them. Then…'

(A2-5) *blel   bap   gwe   stej   ux   tom   di-pol=o*
      child   small   small   PN   3sf   water   eat.PFV-IF.SG=QUOT

      li-nuŋ   jəxe   nox   tom   jox
      say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG   then   1s   water   DEF

      p-di
      CAUS-eat.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
      '…(I saw that) the baby, Stej, wanted to drink water. So, I fed her water.'

(A2-6) *tom   jox   p-d-pat=xe*
      water   DEF   CAUS-eat-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
      'After I gave her water, …'

(A2-7) tom   san   jox   jox   nox   ap   kus   jə-xət
        water   container   DEF   TOP   1s   house   corner   DEM.DST-up

        sli-l   jəxe   ap   kus   jə-xət   sl-pat-n
        put-IPFV.PER.TODP   then   house   corner   DEM.DST-up   put-IPFV.SG-NOMLS

        ox=o   it   nox   tom   di-plox=mul=o   nox
        no=QUOT   again   1s   water   eat.PFV-TODF.SG=CERT=QUOT   1s

        tom   din   wanxe   n-x-pat=mul=o
        water   thirsty a.lot   1/2.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CERT=QUOT

        li-nuŋ
        say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '…I put the container in the corner. When I put (the water container) in the corner, (I
        saw that) (she) said "No! I have to drink again! I'm really thirsty!"'

(A2-8) jəxe   nox   it   tom   mox   p-di
        then   1s   again   water   ANPH   CAUS-eat.PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
        'So, I gave her more water.'

(A2-9) jəxe   ana   ux   gi=n-pli-nuŋ=o
        then   PN   3sf   THUS=1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=QUOT
        'Then, (I saw that) Anna said to me thus:'

(A2-10) tom   jox   lum   p-d-m   edi-pla=o
        water   DEF   a.lot   CAUS-eat-SEQ   stay.PFV-FF.SG=QUOT

        ake   jox   ox=o   tom=wi   x-ti-plox=xejox
        stomach   DEF   3sm=QUOT   water=ONLY   be-PFV.TODF.SG=BECAUSE

        n-pli-nuŋ
        1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '"Don't give her too much water! Her stomach will fill up with water." (I saw that)
        she told me.'

(A2-11) jəxe   nox   tom   san   jox   lem-s
        then   1s   water   container   DEF   hide-PNCT

        p-t=a   tom   san   jox   lem-s
        TELL-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK   water   container   DEF   hide-PNCT

        pl-pat
        TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'So I hid the water container. After I hid the water container, …'

(A2-12) *it*   *ux*   *tom*   *san*   *jox*   *aŋ*
again   3sf   water   container   DEF   find

m-de-nuŋ   *blel*   *gwe*   *mox*   *aŋ*
PRX.O-MAKE-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG   child   small   ANPH   find

m-de-nuŋ=a   *aŋ*   *m-de-pat*
PRX.O-MAKE-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=LINK   find   PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
'…then (I saw that) she came looking for the water container again. The small child (did). '(I saw that) she looked for it. When she was looking for it, …'

(A2-13) *nox*   *gi=p-t=o*
1s   THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT
'…I said thus:'

(A2-14) *ana*   *go*   *tom*   *san*   *jox=o*   *pja*   *san*
PN   2s   water   container   DEF=QUOT   big   container

tem   *nuŋ*   *ml*   *ipip*   *m-ti-n=mul=o*
inside   TO   MAKE(.SEQ)   pour   MAKE-PFV-IMP=CERT=QUOT
 "Anna, go and pour the water from this container into the big water container!"'

(A2-15) *tom*   *bap*   *gwe*   *kontena*   *jox*   *nonxol*   *rum*
water   small   small   container(Eng)   DEF   1s.REFL   room(Eng)

dəx   *nuŋ*   *p-lo-plox=xejox*   *p-t*
inside   TO   CAUS-enter-TODF.SG=BECAUSE   tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
'"I'll take the small container to my room." I said.'

(A2-16) *jəxe*   *ana*   *ux*   *lipin=nəp*   *tom*   *pja*   *tem*   *nuŋ*
then   PN   3sf   true=VERY   water   big   inside   TO

de-pat   *tom*   *kontena*   *jox*   *nox=nuŋ*
MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   water   container(Eng)   DEF   1s=O

n-apli-nuŋ
1/2.O-give-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
'(I saw that) Anna poured the water into the big water (container) and gave me the (small) water container.'

(A2-17) *nox=nuŋ*   *n-apli-pat=xe*   *nox*   *ap*   *nuŋ*
1s=O   1/2.O-give-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   1s   house   TO

p-loj-xix
CAUS-enter-PFV.PER.TODP.SG
'After she gave me the container, I took it into the house.'

(A2-18) ap   xəm   p-lo-s=a
        house   inside   CAUS-enter-SEQ=LINK
        'I took it into the house and then...'

(A2-19) nox   plastik   em   ux   plastik
        1s   plastic.bag(Eng)   mother.1POSS   3sf   plastic.bag(Eng)

        tit   p-opli-n=o   nox   pinat   san   uŋ   mox   jox
        INDF   CAUS-come-IMP=QUOT   1s   peanut(Eng)   seed   a.lot   ANPH   TOP

        plastik   tem   nuŋ   m-t-pol=o   xa   xəx
        plastic.bag(Eng)   inside   TO   MAKE-PFV-IF.SG=QUOT   HORT   dry

        x-t   idi-n=o   n-pli-nuŋ
        DO-SIM   stay.PFV-IMP=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '"Bring the plastic (bag) here! I want to put the peanut seeds inside so that they can
        dry out." (I saw that) Mum told me.'

(A2-20) jəxe   nox   plastik   jox   a-dl
        then   1s   plastic.bag(Eng)   DEF   BEN-take(.SEQ)

        loj-xix=a   jəxe   plastik   jox   a-dl
        enter-PFV.PER.TODP.SG=LINK   then   plastic(Eng)   DEF   BEN-take(.SEQ)

        p-mlo-pat
        CAUS-exit-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
        'So, I went inside and got the plastic bag for her. So, when I got the plastic (bag) for
        her and came outside, …'

(A2-21) plastik   mox   wa=de   jox   plastik   tit
        plastic(Eng)   ANPH   see=MAKE(.PRS.SG)   TOP   plastic(Eng)   INDF

        mox   bruk   x-ti-n   x-nuŋ
        ANPH   broken(TP)   DO-PFV-NOMLS   be-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '…and (I saw that) the plastic bag was broken.'

(A2-22) jəxe   in   nox   em=ja
        then   so   1s   mother.1POSS=O

        gi=p-t=o
        THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT
        'Then, I told my mother:'

(A2-23) in   wan   n-a-dl   lo-pol=o
        so   different   1/2.O-BEN-take(.SEQ)   enter-IF.SG=QUOT

        p-t
        tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
        '…"So, I'll go inside and get a different one for you", I told her.'

(A2-24)*jəxe   nox   it   wan   a-dl   lo-s=a   it*
then   1s   again   another   BEN-take(.SEQ)   enter-SEQ=LINK   again

plastik   bruk   x-ti-n   mox   it   niu-pela
plastic(Eng)   broken(TP)   DO-PFV-NOMLS ANPH   again   new(Eng)-ADJ(TP)

tem   nuŋ   mox   de-s   p-l-pat=xe
inside   TO   ANPH   MAKE-PNCT   TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'So, I went in and got another one for her and after I put the broken plastic bag inside the new one again, …'

(A2-25)*pinat   uŋ   mox   jojox   d-ti-ja*
peanut(Eng)   a.lot   ANPH   TOP   take-PFV-PER.TODP.PL

jəxe   em   ux   pinat   uŋ   jojox   ale
then   mother.1POSS   3sf   peanut(Eng)   a.lot   TOP   wood.drying.rack

ka   jə-xət   sli-nuŋ
place   DEM.DST-up   put-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
'…we got the peanuts, then (I saw that) my mum put the plastic bag on the rack above the fire place.'

(A2-26)*ale   ka   jə-xət   sl-pat=xe*
wood.rack   place   DEM.DST-up   put-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'After she put in on the wood rack, …'

(A2-27)*nox   xwel   ku=xe   naŋ   uŋ   jox   jox   rum*
1s   PN   woman=POSS   rope   a.lot   DEF   TOP   room(Eng)

dæx   nuŋ   it   a-dl   loj-xix
inside   TO   again   BEN-take(.SEQ)   enter-PFV.PER.TODP.SG

a-dl   lo-s=a
BEN-take(.SEQ)   enter-SEQ=LINK
'…I went into my room again to get the Xwel clan woman's rope. I went in to get it and then…'

(A2-28)*m-a-dli-pat=xe*
PRX.O-BEN-take-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'…after I got it for her, ...'

(A2-29)*plastik   tem   nuŋ   m-a-de-pat=xe*
plastic(Eng)   inside   TO   PRX.O-BEN-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD

p-mloj-xix   jæe
CAUS-exit-PFV.PER.TODP.SG   then
'I put it in the plastic bag and came out. Then…'

(A2-30) *p-mlo-s=a*   *nox*
       CAUS-come.up-SEQ=LINK   1s
       '…I brought it outside and then I…'

(A2-31) *kot*   *ka*   *nuŋ*   *x-t=a*   *kot*   *ka*   *nuŋ*
       outside place   TO   go-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK   outside place   TO

       x-pat   *əpli-pol=o*   *li-m*   *əp-di*
       go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   come-IF.SG=QUOT   say-SEQ come-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
       'I went outside. When I went outside, I decided to come (Lit. said "I will come") and
       then I came.'

(A2-32) *əpli-s=a*   *siŋk*   *dəx*   *jox*
       come-SEQ=LINK   sink(Eng)   inside   DEF
       'I came into the sink.'

(A2-33) *tom*   *siŋk*   *dəx*   *jox*   *nox*   *was*   *x-t*
       water   sink(Eng)   inside   DEF   1s   wash   DO-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
       'I washed in the sink.'

(A2-34) *was*   *x-pat=xe*
       wash(TP)   DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
       'After I washed...'

(A2-35) *a*   *aw*   *ux*   *nox=nuŋ*   *u*
       HES   grandparent.1POSS   3sf   1s=O   call.out

       n-a-nuŋ
       1/2.O-BEN(.SAY)-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
       '(I saw that) my grandmother called out to me.'

(A2-36) *djuli=o*   *djuli=o*   *djuli=o*   *n-pli-nuŋ*
       PN=QUOT   PN= QUOT   PN= QUOT   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
       '"Julie! Julie! Julie!", (I saw that) she said to me.'

(A2-37) *jəxe*   *nox*   *gi=p-t=o*   *kja*   *xan=o*   *nox*
       then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)= QUOT   what   thing= QUOT   1s

       p-t   *jəxe*   *ux*   *gi=li-nuŋ=o*
       tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)   then   3sf   THUS=say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG= QUOT
       'So, I said as follows: "What?", I said to her. Then she said thus:'

(A2-38) *noxe   naŋ   jox   go   kja   xan=o   li-m*
1s.POSS rope   DEF   2s   what   thing=QUOT   say-SEQ

n-m-a-dl   so-l=o
1/2.O-PRX.O-BEN-take(.SEQ)   go-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT

li-nuŋ   jəxe   nox   gi=p-t=o
say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG   then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT
'"Why did you take my rope away?", (I saw that) she said. Then I told her as follows:'

(A2-39) *sori=o   aw=o   nox   kapa*
sorry(Eng)=QUOT   grandparent.1POSS=QUOT   1s   cover(Eng)

ap   mo-xom   n-a-sli-l=mul=o   nox
house   DEM.PRX-inside   1/2.O-BEN-put-IPFV.PER.TODP=CERT=QUOT   1s

p-t
tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
'"Sorry grandmother! I left the rope in the room."'

(A2-40) *jəxe   aw   ux   gi=li-nuŋ=o*
then   grandparent.1POSS   3sf   THUS=say-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=QUOT

n-a-dli-n=a   nonxol   naŋ   xu-t-pol
1/2.O-BEN-take-IMP=EMPH   1s.REFL   rope   twirl-PFV-IF.SG

li-pat=xe=a   n-pli-nuŋ
say-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD=EMPH   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
'"Get my rope for me! I'd like to twist it", (I saw that) she told me.'

(A2-41) *jəxe   nox   gi=p-t=o*
then   1s   THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT
'Then I told her thus:…'

(A2-42) *sori=o   nox   taim   xəx=xejox   let*
sorry(Eng)=QUOT   1s   time(Eng)   DO.PRS.SG=BECAUSE   late(Eng)

xəx=xejox   jəxe   oloxən   jox   n-apli-plox   naŋ
DO.PRS.SG=BECAUSE   then   afternoon   DEF   1/2.O-give-TODF.SG   rope

jox   dl=o   gin   nox   us=o
DEF   take(.PRS.SG)=QUOT   now   1s   go.PRS.SG=QUOT

p-t
tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
'"Sorry, I'm running late. I'll come and give you the rope in the afternoon. Now, I'm going", I told her.'

(A2-43) *jəxe   nox   spet   jox   d-t=a*
then   1s   spade(Eng)   DEF   take-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK
'Then, I took the spade and...'

(A2-44) *pinat   san   uŋ   jox   tipot   tem   nuŋ*
peanut(Eng)   seed   a.lot   DEF   teapot(Eng)   inside   TO

m-de-pat=xe
PRX.O-MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'I put the peanut seeds into the teapot and then...'

(A2-45) *abe   tən   nuŋ   əpi-d*
mountain   side   TO   come-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
'I came towards the mountain.'

(A2-46) *jəxe   nox   əpi-s   kip   jox   əpi-s   kol*
then   1s   come-SEQ   road   DEF   come-SEQ   arrive(.PRS.SG)

jox   xan   pəsel   tit   əpli-pat-nuŋ
TOP   man   old   INDF   come-IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG
'When I came to the road, (I saw that) an old man was coming along.'

(A2-47) *jəxe   ox   gi=n-pli-nuŋ=o*
then   3sm   THUS=1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=QUOT
'(I saw that) he told me thus:…'

(A2-48) *go   de=nuŋ   s-pat=o   n-pli-nuŋ*
2s   WHICH=TO   go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
'"Where are you going?" (I saw that) he told me.'

(A2-49) *jəxe   nox   gi=pl=o   gi=p-t=o*
then   1s   THUS=tell(.PRS.SG)=QUOT   THUS=tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT
'Then I told him thus:…'

(A2-50) *nox   abe   tən   de-pat=o*
1s   mountain   side   go.across-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT
'"I'm going across (the river) to the mountain side.'

(A2-51) *pinat   sl   de-pat=o*
peanut(Eng)   put(.SEQ)   go.across-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=QUOT

p-t
tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
'"I'm going across to plant peanuts", I told him'

(A2-52) *jəxe   nox   əpi-d=a   əpli-pat=xe*
then   1s   come-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=LINK come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'Then when I came (across), …'

(A2-53) *kal   tit   pat-nuŋ   tom   kal*
bridge INDF stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG   water bridge
'…(I saw that) there was a bridge. A bridge over water.'

(A2-54) *tom   kal   tit   pat-nuŋ*
water bridge INDF   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG

jəxe   nox   tom   kal   mox   de-pol=o   li-m
then   1s   water bridge ANPH go.across-IF.SG=QUOT say-SEQ

wa=de   jojox
see=MAKE(.PRS.SG)   TOP
'(I saw that) there was a bridge. So, I decided to cross the bridge (Lit. said "I will cross the bridge") and then when I looked, …'

(A2-55) *nox   hat   de-s   n-pli-nuŋ*
1s   hard(Eng)   MAKE-PNCT   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
'..it was too hard for me.'

(A2-56) *tom   dej-on   kat   jox   hat   de-s*
water go.across-NOMLS   place DEF hard(Eng)   MAKE-PNCT

n-pli-nuŋ   tom   lən   x-t
1/2.O-TELL-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG water flood DO-SIM

pat-nuŋ
stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG
'(I saw that) it was too hard for me at the place for crossing the river. (I saw that) the river was flooded.'

(A2-57) *in   nox   it   əpi-d*
so   1s   again come-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
'So, I came back.'

(A2-58) *əpli-pat=xe   it   kip   ka   nuŋ*
come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   again road place TO

x-pat=xe   ox=xe
DO-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   3sm=FOC

gi=n-pli-nuŋ=o
THUS=1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=QUOT
'When I came, when I went to the road again, (I saw that) (the old man) told me thus:…'

(A2-59) *m*   *tom*   *lən*   *x-t*   *pat=xe*   *go*   *li*
        HES   water   flood   DO-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS 2s   first

        de-pla   *ajan*   *bris*   *mo-xom*   *olxol*
        go.across-FF.SG iron(Eng)   bridge(Eng)   DEM.PRS-down 3sm.REFL

        s-pja=xejox   *n-pli-nuŋ*
        go-TODF.PL=BECAUSE   1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '"(I saw that) it's flooded. Don't cross (there)! We'll go together to the iron bridge.",
        (I saw that) he told me.'

(A2-60) *jəxe*   *nuxut*   *s-s=a*   *s-s=a*
        then   1dEX   go-SEQ=LINK   go-SEQ=LINK
        'So, we went and went and then…'

(A2-61) *ox=xe*   *abe*   *nuŋ*   *uli-nəŋ*
        3sm=FOC   mountain   TO   go.up-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '… (I saw that) (the old man) went up the mountain.'

(A2-62) *nox=xe*   *kip*   *jox*   *əpli-pat-n*   *nox*   *xtol*
        1s=FOC   road   DEF   come-IPFV.SG-NOMLS   1s   see(.PRS.SG)

        jox   *xan*   *tit*   *əpli-pat-nuŋ*   *xtol*   *jox*
        TOP   man   INDF   come-IPFV.SG-VIS.TODP.SG   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP
        'When I came to the road, when I looked, (I saw that) a man was coming along.
        When I looked, …'

(A2-63) *pasta*   *wil*   *jox*   *x-nuŋ*
        pastor(Eng)   PN   DEF   be-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '(I saw that) it was Pastor Will.'

(A2-64) *jəxe*   *nox*   *wili=ja wili*   *wili*   *p-t*
        then   1s   PN=O PN   PN   tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
        'So, I told Willy: "Willy! Willy!"'

(A2-65) *wili=o*   *taim*   *jox*   *kja*   *xan*   *taim=o*
        PN=QUOT   time(Eng)   DEF   what   thing   time(Eng)=QUOT

        p-t   *jəxe*   *ox*   *gi=n-pli-noŋ=o*
        tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)   then   3sm   THUS=1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=QUOT
        '"Willy, what is the time?", I told him. Then (I saw that) he told me thus:…'

(A2-66) *taim*   *jox*   *wan*   *past*   *et=o*
         time(Eng)   DEF   one(Eng)   past(Eng)   eight(Eng)=QUOT

        n-pli-nuŋ
        1/2.O-tell-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG
        '"The time is one past eight.", (I saw that) he told me.'

(A2-67) *in*   *nox*   *wili*   *nuxut*   *əpli-s=a*   *nox*
        so   1s   PN   1dEX   come-SEQ=LINK   1s
        'So, Willy and I came and then I…'

(A2-68) *a*   *pinat*   *san*   *uŋ=si*   *spet*   *jox=si*
        HES   peanut(Eng)   seed   a.lot=WITH   spade(Eng)   DEF=WITH

        a   *spet*   *jox=si*   *gaten*   *but*   *nuŋ*
        HES   spade(Eng)   DEF=WITH   garden(Eng)   flat.place   TO

        lem-m   *waj-xix*
        hide-SEQ   go.down-PFV.PER.TODP.SG
        'I went down with the spade and peanut seeds to hide them in my garden.'

(A2-69) *lem-m*   *wa-pat=xe*   *lem-pat=xe*
        hide-SEQ   go.down-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   hide-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
        'After I went down to hide it, after I hid it, …'

(A2-70) *nox*   *siksti*   *wili=xe*   *kom*   *di*   *de-t*
        1s   quickly(TP)   PN=POSS   back   follow   MAKE-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
        '…I ran after Willy.'

(A2-71) *jæxe*   *wili*   *ox*   *xət*   *but*   *jæxe*   *wili*   *nuxut*   *meŋ*
        then   PN   3sm   up   flat.place   then   PN   1dEX   speech

        s-t   *s-pti-n*   *s-pti-n=a*   *wili*   *nuxut*
        put-SIM go-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   go-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK   PN   1dEX

        meŋ   *s-t*   *stori*   *x-t*   *əpli-pti-n=a*
        speech   put-SIM story(Eng)   DO-SIM   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
        'Then, Willy was up there. Then when Willy and I were talking (Lit. putting talk) as we went along, when Willy and I were telling stories as we came along, ...'

(A2-72) wili   ox   ma   hai   skul   ixle   mox
        PN   3sm   REL   high(Eng)   school(Eng)   3p.POSS ANPH

        tsopa   mox   de=ixil   əpli-n-gwel=o   li-m
        helicopter(Eng) ANPH WHICH=3p come-PFV-VIS.YESTP=QUOT   say-SEQ

        dæxat   x-m   xe-l   jəxe   nox
        question   DO-SEQ   be-IPFV.PER.TODP   then   1s

        gi=p-ti-l=o
        THUS=tell-PFV-PER.YESTP=QUOT
        '(I saw/heard that) Willy asked me "(did you see) who came in the chopper for the high school?" Then yesterday I told him thus:…'

(A2-73) ej   gi-pol=o   a
        sorry   THUS=tell(.PRS.SG)=QUOT   HES
        'Sorry, today I told him thus: …'

(A2-74) məmxan=o   səpeja   ixil   əpli-ja=x=o
        what's.it=QUOT surveyor(Eng) 3p   come-PRS.PL=VIS=QUOT

        hai   skul   mo-xon   ox   səpe
        high(Eng)   school(Eng)   DEM.PRX-across   3sm   survey(Eng)

        m-ti-n   m-t=o   tri-pela   xan
        MAKE-PFV-NOMLS   MAKE-SIM=QUOT   three(TP)-ADJ(TP)   man

        əpli-ja=xe=o
        come-PRS.PL=VIS=QUOT
        '"Um, what's it, (I saw that) the surveyors came. They want to survey for a high school across here so three men came."'

(A2-75) tit   jox=o   sjap   ox=o   sjap=o   sisimin ixil=o
        INDF   TOP=QUOT   PN   3sm=QUOT   PN=QUOT   PN   3p=QUOT
        'One of them is Sjap. Sjap of the Sisimin.'

(A2-76) ox=təp   əpi-d=o   gin   ixil   maso=xe
        3sm=ASSC   come-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)=QUOT now   3p   PN=POSS

        ap   mə-xət   rent-im   de-pti=o
        house   DEM.PRX-up   rent(Eng)-TR(TP)   MAKE-IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT

        i=ap   jox   pti=o   nox
        DEM.DST=house   DEF   stay.IPFV.PL(.PRS)=QUOT   1s

        p-t
        tell-PFV(.PER.TODP.SG)
        '"Him and the other are renting Marshall's house up there.", I told him.'

(A2-77) *jəxe   wili   nuxut   əpli-s=a   nox   əpli-pat=xe*
then   PN   1dEX   come-SEQ=LINK   1s   come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'Willy and I came and then after I came, ...'

(A2-78) *nox   əpli-pat=xe   wili   ox=xe*
1s   come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD   PN   3sm=FOC

i-ja=kat   nuŋ   xəx=xe   nox   əpli-s=a
DEM.DST-below=place TO   DO.PRS.SG=VIS   1s   come-SEQ=LINK
'When I came, (I saw that) Willy went off down below. I came and then…'

(A2-79) *xwel   ku=xe   ap   xwel   kunuŋ   bap   jux   ux=ja   dəxat*
PN   woman=POSS   house   PN   girl   small DEF   3sf=O   question

xəx   jəxe   ux
DO.PRS.SG   then   3sf
'… at the Xwel clan woman's house (I) asked for the small Xwel clan girl. Then she…'

(A2-80) *lotu   xən   s-ol=o   li=xe*
church(TP) across go-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT   say(.PRS.SG)=VIS
'…(I saw that) (she) said that she had gone across to church.'

(A2-81) *lotu   xəm   s-ol=o   li=xe*
church(TP) down   go-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT   say(.PRS.SG)=VIS

sup   ulxap   bebi   gwe=si   ap
mother.3POSS   3sf.ALONE   baby(Eng)   small=WITH   house

jə-xəm   pat=xe
DEM.DST-down stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=VIS
'(I saw that) (she) said that she had gone down to church. (I saw that) the mother was staying down at the house there with the small baby.'

(A2-82) *jəxe   nox   bebi=ja   napkin   tən   tit*
then   1s   baby(Eng)=O   napkin(Eng)   side   INDF

lapil=a
give(.PRS.SG)=LINK
'Then I gave the baby a nappy.'

(A2-83)
a	naŋ	jox	jox	xwel	kunuŋ	bap	jux	ux=ja	naŋ
HES	rope	DEF	TOP	PN	girl	small	DEF	3sf=O	rope

mox	ulxul	jæxe	se	xu-ti-plox=o	li-m
ANPH	3sf.REFL	then	INFR	twist-PFV-TODF.SG=QUOT	say-SEQ

m-a-mda-pat=xe	ml
PRX.O-BEN-leave-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD	come.up(.PRS.SG)

'After I left the rope for the Hwelmin thinking that she would probably twist it later, I came up.'

(A2-84)
mlo-s=a	nox	ap	m=ox
come.up-SEQ=LINK	1s	house	DEM.PRX=3sm

'I came up to this house.'

(A2-85)
nok	nok	pl	jox	robin=o
knock(Eng)	knock(Eng)	TELL(.PRS.SG)	TOP	PN=EMPH

təde-t	pat=xe
stand.up-SIM	stay.IPFV.SG.PRS=VIS

'When I knocked, (I saw that) Robyn was standing (there).'

(A2-86)
jəxe	kam	in	n-pl=xe
then	come(Eng)	in(Eng)	1/2.O-tell(.PRS.SG)=VIS

nox	nok	nok	pl	jox
1s	knock(Eng)	knock(Eng)	TELL(.PRS.SG)	TOP

'(I saw that) she said to come in. When I knocked, …'

(A2-87)
jəxe	nuxut	məmxan	redio=d=a	i=ma
then	1dEX	what's.it	radio(Eng)=PQ=EMPH	DEM.DST=REL

rikoda	jox	ple-im	ml=a	nutate
recorder(Eng)	DEF	play(Eng)-TR(TP)	MAKE(.SEQ)=LINK	1dEX.POSS

stori	wok	jox	stat	xe-ja
story(Eng)	work(TP)	DEF	start(Eng)	DO-PRS.PL

'Then, we played, what's it, the radio, that recorder, and started our story work.'

(A2-88)
noxe	meŋ=xe	jox	pok
1s.POSS	speech=FOC	DEF	all

'That's the end of my story.'

Appendix 3. Echidna, *laxjan* Bird and Bat

This story is spoken by Geno Dipin, a ≈ 45 year old male. It is a tale about how the echidna, the *laxjan* bird and the bat came to be.

(A3-1)
a	*noxe*	*sǝŋ*	*sǝŋan*	*jox*	*li-t-plox*		*jox*	*jox*
HES	1s.POSS	story	myth	DEF	say-PFV-TODF.SG		DEF	TOP

ku	*tǝbe*	*ku*	*tǝbe=a*		*a*	*lǝxjan=o*		*lǝxjan*
woman	OS.SIB	woman	OS.SIB=CNJ		HES	bird.variety=CNJ		bird.variety

timin		*a*	*ixile*	*sǝŋ*	*sǝŋan*	*nox*	*li-ti-plox*
bat.variety		HES	3p.POSS	story	myth	1s	say-PFV-TODF.SG

'This story which I will tell is about a brother and a sister, a bird and a bat.'

(A3-2)
a	*mon*	*ox=a*		*moŋniŋ*	*x-ti-p*
HES	son	3sm=EMPH		echidna	be-PFV-PER.FP.SG

'The brother became an echidna.'

(A3-3)
i=ma	*sǝŋ*	*sǝŋan*	*nox*	*li-ti-plox*
DEM.DST=REL	story	myth	1s	say-PFV-TODF.SG

'I'll tell that story.'

(A3-4)
a	*ku*	*tǝbe*	*tit*	*pt-sxe=li*
HES	woman	OS.SIB	INDF	stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP

'(It is said that) there once lived a brother and sister.'

(A3-5)
ku	*tǝbe*	*tit*	*pti-n=a*
woman	OS.SIB	INDF	stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK

'While the brother and sister were living (happily),...'

(A3-6)
unǝŋ	*ox=a*		*nel*	*tup*	*m-ti-p=li=a*
brother	3sm=EMPH		bird	trap	MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=LINK

jǝxe	*nel*	*tup*	*de-pat*
then	bird	trap	MAKE-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

'The brother made a bird trap. After he made the bird trap, ...'

(A3-7)
tim-ol		*mda-m*	*nel*	*akwel*
sleep-IPFV.PER.TODP		finish-SEQ	bird	wait.and.look(.SEQ)

xu-p=li
go.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP

'... he slept and then went to watch for birds.'

(A3-8)
nel	*akwel*		*s-pat*
bird	wait.and.look(.SEQ)		go-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

'He went to watch for birds and, ...'

(A3-9) *nel* *jə-xət* *akwe-t* *pat-n*
bird DEM.DST-up wait.and.look-SIM stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS
'...while he was watching for birds up there, ...'

(A3-10) *a* *ku* *tit* *əpli-n-gop=li*
HES woman INDF come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'... a woman came.'

(A3-11) *ku* *tit* *əpli-pat=xe*
woman INDF come-IPFV.SG(.PRS)=SBRD
'When the woman came, …'

(A3-12) *uxe* *mas* *mox* *dikə-m* *dikə-m*
3sf.POSS grass.skirt ANPH lift.up-SEQ lift.up-SEQ

dikə-m=a *jəxe*
lift.up-SEQ=LINK then
'… she kept lifting up he skirt and then...'

(A3-13) *a* *mutux* *mutux=nəp* *xəm* *suxu-s* *pl-pat*
HES middle middle=VERY down lift.up-PNCT TELL-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
'...then she lifted up the middle of her skirt and, ...'

(A3-14) *a* *lat* *oxe* *oli-l* *oli-l*
HES tree 3sm.POSS go.up-IPFV.PER.TODP go.up-IPFV.PER.TODP

lat *mox* *jox* *kəkəl* *xəm* *mədəp* *apxo-s*
tree ANPH TOP root down from rub-PNCT

p-n-gop=li *bok* *jox*
TELL-PFV-VIS-FP.SG=REP big.flat DEF
'She rubbed (her vagina) from the roots at the bottom upwards on the tree which he
had climbed up. (On) the trunk.'

(A3-15) *bok* *apxo-t-pol=xənox*
big.flat rub-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
'When (she) rubbed it on the trunk, ...'

(A3-16) *jəxe* *ox* *mox* *kin* *n-x-m* *us=o*
then 3sm ANPH how 1/2.O-MAKE-SEQ go.PRS.SG=QUOT

li-m *mda-m=a*
say-SEQ finish-SEQ=LINK
'...then he wondered what she was doing to him and then, ...'

(A3-17) *ox*   *a*   *təlo-t*   *wa-s*   *mda-m=a*   `   *kak*
         3sm   HES   slide-SIM   go.down-SEQ   finish-SEQ=LINK   ground

         təx   *xəm*   *x-t-pol=xənox*
         place   down   go-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
         '... after he slid down all the way to the ground, ...'

(A3-18) *kak*   *təx*   *xəm*   *ox*   *a*   *moŋniŋ*   *gon*   *it*
         ground   place   down   3sm   HES   echidna   small.round   again

         x-s   *li-ti-p=li*
         be-PNCT   SAY-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
         '... on the ground he became an echidna.'

(A3-19) *jəxe*   *it*   *wəli-s=a*
         then   again   go.up-SEQ=LINK
         'Then he went up again and…'

(A3-20) *nel*   *kal*   *ka*   *nuŋ*   *x-t-pol=xənox*
         bird   bridge   place   TO   DO-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
         'When he went up again to where the bird's shelf was, …'

(A3-21) *it*   *ox*   *a*   *xanəp*   *x-s*
         again   3sm   HES   person   be-PNCT
         '…he became a man again.'

(A3-22) *jəxe*   *it*   *wa-s=a*
         then   again   go.inside-SEQ=LINK
         'Then, he went down to the roots again and then…'

(A3-23) *kəkəl*   *nuŋ*   *x-s*   *li-t-pol=xənox*
         root   to   DO-PNCT   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
         '…when he went down to the roots again, …'

(A3-24) *moŋniŋ*   *x-s*
         echidna   be-PNCT
         '…he became an echidna.'

(A3-25) *wəli-s=a*
         go.up-SEQ=LINK
         'He went up and…'

(A3-26) *kal*   *ka*   *xət*   *x-t-pol=xənox*   *xanəp*   *x-s*
         bridge   place   up   DO-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   person   be-PNCT
         '… when he got up to the shelf, he became a man.'

(A3-27) *ix=xi-m*   *pat-n=a*   *kol=ja*   *u*
like.that=DO-SEQ   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   sister=O   call.out

         a-ti-p=li
         BEN(.SAY)-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
         'That kept going on like that and then he called out to his sister.'

(A3-28) *kol=ja*   *u*   *a-l-pat-n=a*
         sister=O   call.out   BEN-SAY-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
         'When he called out to his sister, ...'

(A3-29) *kol*   *ux*   *əpli-n-gop=li*
         sister   3sf   come-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
         '...his sister came.'

(A3-30) *jəxe*   *mon*   *ox*   *nel*   *kal*   *ka*   *jə-xət*   *mədəp*
         then   brother   3sm   bird   bridge   place   DEM.DST-up   FROM

         gi=p-ti-p=li=a
         THUS=tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=EMPH
         'Then the brother said to her from up at the birds shelf as follows:'

(A3-31) *ku*   *tit*   *əpi-s*   *mda-m=a*   *nox=ja*
         woman   INDF   come-SEQ   finish-SEQ=LINK   1s=O

         ix=n-xəx=xe=mul=a
         like.that=1/2.O-MAKE.PRS.SG=VIS=CERT=EMPH

         i=n-xəx=xe=mul=a
         like.that=1/2.O-MAKE.PRS.SG=VIS=CERT=EMPH

         i=n-xəx=xe=mul=a   *pl-pat*
         like.that=1/2.O-MAKE.PRS.SG=VIS=CERT=EMPH   tell-IPFV.SG(.PRS)
         '"A woman came and then she did this to me. She did this to me. She did this to me.", he told her and then...'

(A3-32) *jəxe*   *ox*   *wa-pat-n=a*
         then   3sm   go.inside-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
         'Then when he went down, …'

(A3-33) *kəkəl*   *ka*   *xəm*   *ko-ŋ*   *li-t-pol=xənox*
         root   place   down   arrive-PNCT   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
         '…when he arrived down at the roots, …'

(A3-34) *lex*   *moŋniŋ*   *gon*   *x-s*
         then   echidna   small.round   be-PNCT
         '…then he became an echidna.'

(A3-35) *moŋniŋ*   *gon*   *x-s*   *li-t-pol=xənox*   *kol*
echidna   small.round   be-PNCT   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD   sister

ux=a   *uŋ*   *m-mi-pat*   *mda-m=a*
3sf=EMPH   string.bag   PRX.O-put.in.bag-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   finish-SEQ=LINK

s-n-gop=li   *itanite*   *təbe*   *ap*   *nuŋ*
go-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP   3d.REFL.POSS   OS.SIB   house   TO
'When he changed into an echidna, she put him in her bag and they went. To their house.'

(A3-36) *ap*   *nuŋ*   *p-s-s*   *mda-m*   *jəxe*   *ox=ja*   *a*   *lat*
house   TO   CAUS-go-SEQ   finish-SEQ   then   3sm=O   HES   tree

gex   *dəx*   *nuŋ*   *de-s*   *p-n-gop=li*
wood.pile   inside   TO   MAKE-PNCT   TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP

moŋniŋ   *gon*
echidna   small.round
'She took him to the house and put him in the wood pile. The echidna.'

(A3-37) *jə-xət*   *pt-sxe=li*
DEM.DST-up   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
'They stayed out there.'

(A3-38) *pti-n*   *pti-n*   *pti-n=a*
stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK

ap   *jox*   *pti-n*   *pti-n=a*
house   DEF   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS   stay.IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK
'When they were staying and staying at the house, …'

(A3-39) *blel*   *ot*   *tit*   *api-s*   *x-n-gopa=li*
child   two   INDF   come-SEQ   be-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'…they heard two children coming.'

(A3-40) *dup*   *ban*   *gwe*   *ot*   *net*   *pl*   *mda-m=a*
bow   bundle   small   two   hold   TELL(.SEQ)   finish-SEQ=LINK

xənat=si   *gwe*   *dokal=xe*   *noxe*   *kəpəx=xe*   *gwe*   *dokal=xe*
arrow=WITH   2s.POSS   hit=VIS   1s.POSS   missed=VIS   2s.POSS   hit=VIS

noxe   *kəpəx=xe*   *li-t*   *əpi-s*   *x-pti*
1s.POSS   missed=VIS   say-SIM   come-SEQ   be-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
'They had their bows with them and they were saying "You missed! I hit one! You missed! I hit one!" as they came along and then...'

(A3-41) *əpli-pti-n*   *əpli-pti-n*   *əpli-pti-n=a*
        come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS   come-IPFV.PL-NOMLS=LINK

        ap   *ka*   *ko-ŋ*   *li-n-gop=li*
        house   place   arrive-PNCT   SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'They kept coming along until they arrived at the house.'

(A3-42) *ap*   *ka*   *mox*   *ko-ŋ*   *li-t-pel=xənox*
        house   place   ANPH   arrive-PNCT   SAY-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD
        'When they arrived at the house, …'

(A3-43) *a*   *blel*   *gwe*   *ot*   *blel*   *gwe*   *ot*   *ko-ŋ*
        HES   child   small   two   child   small   two   arrive-PNCT

        li-t-pel=xənox
        SAY-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD
        '... when the two small children arrived at the house, ...'

(A3-44) *jəxe*   *ux*   *gi=p-ti-p=li=o*
        then   3sf   THUS=tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP=QUOT
        '... then (the sister) told them as follows:'

(A3-45) *a*   *noxe*   *mon*   *mox*   *jox=a*
        HES   1s.POSS brother   ANPH   TOP=EMPH

        i=x-ti-p=mul=a
        like.that=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=LINK

        i=x-ti-p=mul=a   *jəxe*   *moŋniŋ*
        like.that=DO-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=LINK   then   echidna

        x-ti-p=mul=a
        be-PFV-PER.FP.SG=CERT=LINK
        '"As for my brother, such and such happened and he became an echidna."'

(A3-46) *a*   *gin*   *mə=te*   *pat=mul*   *a*
        HES   now   DEM.PRX=place   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=CERT   HES

        p-ti-p=li   *a*   *kol*   *ux*
        tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP HES   sister   3sf
        '"And now he's staying here.", she said, the sister.'

(A3-47) *kol*   *ux*   *gi=po-t-pol=xənox*
        sister   3sf   THUS=tell-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
        'When the sister told them thus, …'

(A3-48) *mə=ma   blel   gwe   ot   mox*
DEM.PRX=REL child   small two   ANPH

gi=m-p-n-gopa=li=a
THUS=PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
'…the two small children told her thus:'

(A3-49) *go   tap=xe   pat=d=a*
2s   pig=FOC   stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)=PQ=EMPH

m-p-n-gopa=li
PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
'"Do you own a pig?", they said to her.'

(A3-50) *jəxe   mal   p-ti-p=li*
then   yes   tell-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
'She said "yes".'

(A3-51) *jəxe   tap   jox   su-ti-pa=li*
then   pig   DEF   kill-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
'Then they killed the pig.'

(A3-52) *tap   jox   su-l   mda-m=a*
pig   DEF   kill-IPFV.PER.TODP   finish-SEQ=LINK
'They killed the pig and then, ...'

(A3-53) *a   po=m-ti-pa=li*
HES   well=MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
'... they did it well.'

(A3-54) *po=m-ti-pel=xənox*
well=MAKE-PFV-IF.PL=SBRD
'When they did it well, …'

(A3-55) *mə=ma   moŋniŋ   x-ti-p   xanəp   mox*
DEM.PRX=REL echidna   be-PFV-PER.FP.SG   person   ANPH

it   xanəp x-s   li-n-gop=li
again person be-PNCT   SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'…the man who had turned into an echidna became a man again.'

(A3-56) *xanəp   x-s   li-t-pol=xənox*
person   be-PNCT   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
'When he turned into a man, ...'

(A3-57) *xanəp   x-s   li-t-pol=xənox*
person   be-PNCT   SAY-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD
'When he turned into a man, ...'

(A3-58) *jəxe   tap   mox   jox   p-d-m   mda-m=a*
       then   pig   ANPH   DEF   CAUS-eat-SEQ   finish-SEQ=LINK
       '…then she finished feeding pig (to the two boys) and then ...'

(A3-59) *a   ixit=ja=xe   a   i=ma   tap   p-de-l*
       HES   3d=O=FOC   HES   DEM.DST=REL   pig   CAUS-eat-IPFV.PER.TODP

       p-d-el   *mda-m=a*   *jəxe*
       CAUS-eat-IPFV.PER.TODP   finish-SEQ=LINK   then
       '…then she finished feeding those two that pig and then ...'

(A3-60) *jox   na=di-pja   na=di-pja*
       DEF   NEG=eat.PFV-TODF.PL   NEG=eat.PFV-TODF.PL

       m-pli-l   *m-pli-l*
       PRX.O-tell-IPFV.PER.TODP   PRX.O-tell-IPFV.PER.TODP
       '…when they told her "We don't want to eat that", …'

(A3-61) *elap   mox   jox   jox   gəteŋ   pli-pti*
       grease   ANPH   DEF   TOP   cut   TELL-IPFV.PL(.PRS)
       'After they cut the really greasy part of the pig, …'

(A3-62) *tit   uxe   kət   kopi   tit   uxe   kət   kopi*
       INDF   3sf.POSS   short   give   INDF   3sf.POSS   short   give

       kol   ux   p-t-pol=xənox
       sister   3sf   SAY-PFV.IF.SG=SBRD
       'After she cut the really greasy part of the pig, when the sister gave each of them a
       piece, …'

(A3-63) *lus   p-n-gopa=li*
       suck   TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.PL=REP
       'They sucked it up.'

(A3-64) *lus   pl-ja   jox*
       suck   TELL-PRS.PL   TOP
       'When they sucked it up, ...'

(A3-65) *timin   ox   tet   tet   tet   tet   tet   tet   li-m*
       bat   3sm   squeak   squeak   squeak   squeak   squeak   squeak   SAY-SEQ

       mda-m=a   *so-l*   *mda-m=a*
       finish-SEQ=LINK   go-IPFV.PER.TODP   finish-SEQ=LINK
       '…the bat squeaked and then after it had flown off, ...'

(A3-66) *putxu   lin   tem   tem   xən   lo-n-gop=li*
banana.variety leaf   inside   inside   across   enter-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'…it went into the leaves of a *putxu* banana tree.'

(A3-67) *jəxe   kak   xən   noŋ   x-t   pat-n=a   nox   abal*
then   head   across   TO   DO-SIM stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   1s   fern

gem=si   sa   nox=ja ləwa   n-x-pli
arrow=WITH   INFR   1s=O   shoot   1/2.O-MAKE-FF.PL

li-n-gop=li   kak   xəm   noŋ   x-t   pat-n
say-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP head   inside   TO   DO-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS
'He hid his head and said "they will kill me with arrows made from fern leaves" and stayed with his head hidden and ...'

(A3-68) *jəxe   tit   ox   laxjan   ox   dukutpətet   dukutpətet*
then   INDF   3sm   bird.variety   3sm   bird.cry   bird.cry

dukutpətet   li-n-gop=li
bird.cry   SAY-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'Then the other one, the *laxjan* bird went "Dukutpətet! Dukutpətet!".'

(A3-69) *nox   nuxut   a   nox=a   toŋno-n*
1s   1dEX   HES   1s=EMPH   sit.down-NOMLS

na=toŋno-pla   be   kət   te   xan   x-t   pt-pla=mul
NEG=sit.down-FF.SG   just   some   place   man   be-SIM   stay-FF.SG=CERT

li-n-gop=a=li
say-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=EMPH=REP
'"As for me sitting, I won't sit down. I'll roam around (Lit. 'be a many place man')."', it said.'

(A3-70) *gin   dil   laxjan=xe   in   ox   na=toŋno-pat*
now   1pIN   bird.variety=FOC   so   3sm   NEG=sit.down-IPFV.SG(.PRS)

jox=a   timin   oxe   kak   xəm   noŋ   x-t
DEF=EMPH   bat.variety   3sm.POSS   head   down   TO   DO-SIM

pat-n=a   dil   gem=si   ləwa
stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   1pIN   arrow=WITH   shoot

de-pti-gwel   max
MAKE-IPFV.PL-VIS.YESTP   RECG
'Now the *laxjan* bird doesn't sit down and the bat hides it's head and we shoot it with arrows.'

(A3-71) *laxjan   oxe   be   kət   te   x-t*
bird.variety   3sm.POSS   just   some   place   DO-SIM

pat-n=a
stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
'The *laxjan* bird just goes from place to place and...'

(A3-72) *na=toŋno-ti-p=a   jox   jox   ox*
NEG=sit.down-PFV-PER.FP.SG=EMPH   DEF   TOP   3sm

no=toŋno-pat   xan   be   kət   te   x-t
NEG=sit.down-IPFV.SG(.PRS)   man   just   some   place   DO-SIM

pat   jox
stay.IPFV.SG(.PRS)   DEF
'…he doesn't sit down. (Lit. As for how he didn't sit down, he is a not-sitting-down man.) He goes from place to place.'

(A3-73) *noxe   səŋ   səŋan=xe   i=ma   pok   li*
1s.POSS story   tumbuna.story=FOC   DEM.DST=REL   all   say(.PRS.SG)

jox
DEF
'What I've just said is my legend.'

Appendix 4.   Five Brothers

This is a well known myth of which I recorded several versions. This version is spoken by Dasyal Gahan, a ≈ 55 year old male from Kusan Village.

(A4-1) *a*   *xan*   *nəgmd-il*   *mox*   *pt-sxe=li*
      HES   man   SS.SIB-PL   ANPH   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP
      'Ol faivpela bratas i stap.'
      'They say there were once five brothers.'

(A4-2) *pt-sxe=li*   *jəxe*
      stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP   then
      'They stayed. Then…'

(A4-3) *a*   *tit*   *sut*   *tit*   *s-s*   *ko-ŋ*   *li*   *jox=a*
      HES   another time   INDF   go-SEQ   arrive-PNCT   SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP=LINK
      'Bihain dipela las born namba faiv em i go kamap…'
      'Then one time when (he) went and arrived somewhere, …'

(A4-4) *a*   *mə=ma*   *xətxət*   *mox*   *ox*   *namba*   *faiv*
      HES   DEM.PRX=REL   little.finger   ANPH   3sm   number(Eng)   five(Eng)

      ox   *s-s*   *ko-ŋ*   *li*   *jox=a*
      3sm   go-SEQ   arrive-PNCT   SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP=LINK
      '… when this fifth brother went and arrived somewhere, …'

(A4-5) *ap*   *tit*   *tux*   *ml-pat-gop=li*
      house   INDF   smoke   come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      '…na lukim wanpela haus em smuk kamap i stap.'
      '…he saw smoke coming up from a house.'

(A4-6) *ap*   *tit*   *tux*   *ml-pat-gop=li*
      house   INDF   smoke   come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP

      jəxe   *ox*   *lo-s*   *ko-ŋ*   *li*   *jox=a*
      then   3sm   enter-SEQ   arrive-PNCT   SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP=LINK

      epe   *kunuŋ*   *bap*   *gwe*   *tit*   *pat-gop=li*
      sorry   girl   small   small   INDF   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'Dispela haus em i go insait na lukim wanpela liklik meri i stap inside.'
      'There was smoke coming up from a house. Then when he went inside, lo and behold, there was a little girl there.'

(A4-7) *jəxe* *a* *em* *ux=o* *a* *məmxan* *mam*
then HES mother.1POSS 3sf=QUOT HES what's.it uncle.1POSS

go *əpil=d=a* *p-n-gop=li*
2s come(.PRS.SG)=PQ=EMPH tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'Bihain em tokim em "uncle yu kam a?"...'
'Then the mother said, "Uncle, you've come?"…'

(A4-8) *em* *ux* *ale* *te* *mə-xət*
mother.3POSS 3sf wood.drying.rack place DEM.PRX-up

toxan *kən* *n-a-sl* *x-el* *a*
sweet.potato cooked 1/2.O-BEN-put(.SEQ) DO-IPFV.PER.TODP HES
'…"Mother put some sweet potato above the fire place for you."'

(A4-9) *ti* *amnən-il* *əpli-si-pja=kin=o*
INDF uncle.2POSS-PL come-PFV.FF.PL=PROB=QUOT
'Em tokim uncle bilo en mama tok olsem nogut ol uncle lain bai kam...'
'"Some of your uncles will probably come."…'

(A4-10) *em* *ux* *toxan* *kən* *ale* *te*
mother.3POSS 3sf sweet.potato cooked wood.drying.rack place

mə-xət *n-a-sl* *x-el*
DEM.PRX-up 1/2.O-BEN-put(.SEQ) DO-IPFV.PER.TODP

p-n-gop=li
tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'...olsem so em putim kaukau antap lo ale bilo yupela.'
'…"so mother put some sweet potato above the fire place for you", she told him.'

(A4-11) *jəxe* *lipin=nəp* *amnəp* *ox* *mə-xət* *kin*
then true=VERY uncle.3POSS 3sm DEM.PRX-up eye

dul *d-t-pol*
accuse(.SEQ) take-PFV-IF.SG
'Uncle bilo em em laik kisim kaukau...'
'Then, truly, her uncle looked up and wanted to get (the sweet potato) and then…'

(A4-12) *kin* *du-ŋ* *li-m=a*
eye accuse-PNCT SAY-SEQ=LINK
'…he looked and then…'

(A4-13) *bes* *ale* *te* *nuŋ* *mə-xət* *de-s*
hand wood.rack place TO DEM.PRX-up MAKE-PNCT
'...em putim han i go antap...'
'… he reached up towards the rack above the fireplace.'

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(A4-14) *lex*   *blel*   *gwe*   *mox*   *ux*   *amnəp*   *təges*   *mak*
then   child   small   ANPH   3sf   uncle.3POSS   testicles   pick

p-s   *p-n-gop=li*
TELL-PNCT   TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'...nogat dispela liklik meri em kutim təges bilo em.'
'Then the little girls pulled off his testicles.'

(A4-15) *jəxe*   *amnəp*   *xəp-tu-p=li*
then   uncle.3POSS   die-PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
'Bihain em i dai.'
'Then her uncle died.'

(A4-16) *jəxe*   *bəp*   *sup*   *ux*   *əpli-s=a*
then   so   mother.3POSS   3sf   come-SEQ=LINK
'Bihain mama bilo em kam na…'
'Then her mother came and…'

(A4-17) *imd-il*   *a*   *ol*   *jox*   *de=nuŋ*
mother&child-PL   HES   dead.body   DEF   WHICH=TO

m-t-pa=li=o
MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP=EMPH
'...dispela bodi bilo em mi no save ol putim lo we…'
'…where did the mother and her children put the body (I don't know).'

(A4-18) *ga=wi*   *dli-s*   *pl=a*
tooth=ONLY   take-PNCT   TELL(.SEQ)=LINK
'...tasol tit bilo em ol kisim na…'
'They took just the jaw bone and…'

(A4-19) *məmxan*   *ale*   *kak*   *tem*   *ka*   *mə-xət*   *xəx*
what's.it   wood.dryingrack   on.top   inside   place   DEM.PRX-up   dry

m-t-pa=li
MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
'...draiim antap lo faiaples.'
'…put it up on the rack used to dry wood above the fireplace.'

(A4-20) *jəxe*   *pt-sxe=li*   *jəxe*   *bəp*   *a*   *tit*   *dax*
then   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL=REP   then   so   HES   INDF   day

it   *a*   *məmxan*   *ej*   *pt-sxe*   *bəs=a*
again   HES   what's.it   oh!   stay-HAB.PER.FP.PL   NEG=EMPH
'Bihain ol i stap…'
'So, they stayed. Then, one day, oops, sorry, not they stayed.'

(A4-21) nap   mox   n=apil=xənox
      y.SS.SIB   ANPH   NEG=come(.PRS.SG)=SBRD
      '...na dispela narapela brata i no kam na …'
      'When the youngest brother didn't return, …'

(A4-22) a   məmxan   a   tit   xan   mox   ox   it   xtol
      HES   what's.it   HES   INDF   man   ANPH   3sm   again   see(.SEQ)

      xu-p=li
      go.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
      '...narapela brata bilo em i go paindim em.'
      '…what's it, the next man went to look for him.'

(A4-23) xtol   s-s   ko-ŋ   li   jox=a
      see(.SEQ)   go-SEQ   arrive-PNCT   SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP=LINK
      'Em i go lukim na…'
      'He went to look and when he arrived, …'

(A4-24) bəp   ap   mox   tux   ml-pat-gop=li
      so   house   ANPH   smoke   come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      '...em lukim smuk kamap lo dispela haus i stap.'
      '…(he saw) a house with smoke coming up (from the chimney).'

(A4-25) jəxe   it   bəp   blel   gwe   pat-gop=li
      then   again   so   child   small   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP

      jəxe   blel   gwe   mox   ux   gi=m-p-n-gop=li
      then   child   small   ANPH   3sf   THUS=PRX.O-TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'Bihain dispela liklik gel i stap. Bihain dispela liklik gel tokim em i…'
      'He saw a little girl (there). Then, the little girl said to him as follows:'

(A4-26) em   ux   toxan   kən=xe   amnən   ox
      mother.1POSS   3sf   sweet.potato   cooked=FOC   uncle.2POSS   3sm

      əpli-si-plox=kin=o   li-m=a   ale
      come-PFV-TODF.SG=PROB=QUOT   say-SEQ=LINK   wood.drying.rack

      te   jə-xət   n-a-sl   xe-l
      place   DEM.DST-up   1/2.O-BEN-put(.SEQ)   be-IPFV.PER.TODP

      p-n-gop=li
      tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      '...mama i tok olsem nogut ol uncle bilo yu bai kam tokim ol mi putim kaukau bilo ol antap.'
      '"My mother said "your uncles will probably come" and put sweet potato up on the wood drying rack for you", she told him.'

(A4-27) *jəxe*   *lipin=nəp*   *bəp*   *a*   *amnəp*   *ox*   *təde-s*
          then   true=VERY   so   HES   uncle.3POSS   3sm   stand.up-PNCT

          li-m   *lipin=kin*   *da*   *x-m*
          SAY-SEQ   true=PROB   thought DO-SEQ
          'Uncle bilo em ting em tru na em stanap na em laik kisim…'
          'Then, truly, her uncle stood up thinking she was telling the truth and …'

(A4-28) *məmxan*   *de-s*
          what's.it   MAKE-PNCT
          '…what's it…'

(A4-29) *lex*   *bəp*   *blel*   *gwe*   *mox*   *ux*   *təges*   *gəte-ŋ*
          long.ago   so   child   small   ANPH   3sf   testicles   cut-PNCT
          '...nogat dispela liklik gel em kutim təges *bilo uncle na…*
          'Then, the little girl cut off his testicles and…'

(A4-30) *amnəp*   *ol*   *bok*
          uncle.3POSS   dead.body   skin
          '...em i dai.'
          '…her uncle fell dead.'

(A4-31) *jəxe*   *it=a*   *a*   *bəp*   *a*   *sup*   *ux*   *kin*
          then   again=EMPH   HES   so   HES   mother.3POSS   3sf   how

          m-t   *a*   *m-t-pa=li*
          MAKE-SIM   HES   MAKE-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
          'Bihain bodi ol mekim wanem…'
          'So, again, (I don't know) what the mother did (with the body).'

(A4-32) *ga*   *jox*   *a*   *məmxan*   *a*   *dl=a*
          jaw   DEF   HES   what's.it   HES   take(.SEQ)=LINK
          '...tasol tit ol kisim na…'
          '(They) took the, what's it, teeth and then…'

(A4-33) *ale*   *te*   *jə-xət*   *ej*   *nap*   *oxe*
          wood.drying.rack   place   DEM.DST-up   gosh!   y.SS.SIB   3sm.POSS

          s-ti-l   *ga*   *te*   *mox*   *s-t-pa=li*
          put-PFV-PER.YESTP   jaw   place   ANPH   put-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
          '...putim klostu lo narapela brata bilo em antap lo ale.'
          '…(they) put it up on the wood drying rack, up above (the fire) in the place where (they) had put the jawbone of the younger brother.'

(A4-34) *jǝxe*   *bǝp*   *mǝmxan*   *a*   *jǝxe*   *namba*   *tri*
          then   so   what's.it   HES   then   number(Eng)   three(Eng)

          mox   *ox*   *xu-p=li*
          ANPH   3sm   go.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP
          'Bihain dispela namba tri em i go.'
           'The, what's it, the third (brother) went.'

(A4-35) *s-s=a*   *bǝp*
          go-SEQ=LINK   so
          'He went and …'

(A4-36) *aŋ*   *m-t*   *xan*   *ot*   *mox*   *tit*   *ox=xe*
          find   MAKE-SIM   man   two   ANPH   INDF   3sm=FOC

          tit   *ox*   *gin*   *mǝ=ma*   *na=ǝpil=o*
          INDF   3sm   now   DEM.PRX=REL   NEG=come(.PRS.SG)=QUOT

          li-m   *aŋ*   *m-t*   *s-s*   *ko-ŋ*
          say-SEQ   find   MAKE-SIM   go-SEQ   arrive-PNCT

          li   *jox=a*
          SAY(.PRS.SG)   TOP=LINK
          'Em i go paindim tupela brata bilo em narapela longtaim em i no kam narapela nau
          em i go lukim…'
           '…he looked for the two brothers the (first) one and the one who hadn't come back
          just recently and when he arrived (somewhere), …'

(A4-37) *ej*   *lex*   *tux*   *ml-pat-gop=li*   *ap*
          gosh   long.ago   smoke   come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP   house

          mox
          ANPH
          '...na smoke kamap lo wanpela haus.'
          '…he saw smoke coming up (from a house).'

(A4-38) *jǝxe*   *bǝp*   *a*   *blel*   *gwe*   *pat-gop=li*
          then   so   HES   child   small   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
          'Bihain insait lo haus wanpela liklik meri i stap.'
          'Then he saw the small child.'

(A4-39) *jəxe*   *em*   *ux*   *bəp*   *toxan*   *kən*
        then   mother.1POSS   3sf   so   sweet.potato   cooked

        ale   *te*   *n-a-sl*   *xe-l=o*
        wood.drying.rack   place   1/2.O-BEN-put(.SEQ)   be-IPFV.PER.TODP=QUOT

        p-n-gop=li
        tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
        'Bihain em tokim em mama putim sampela kaukau bilo yupela antap lo ale.'
        'Then she said that her mother had put sweet potato for him up on the drying rack.'

(A4-40) *jəxe*   *a*   *məmxan*   *a*   *lipin=nəp*   *amnəp*   *ox*
        then   HES   what's.it   HES   true=VERY   uncle.3POSS   3sm

        d-t-pol   *li-pat-n=a*
        take-PFV-IF.SG   say-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
        'Em laik kisim dispela kaukau…'
        'Then, truly, when the uncle went to reach up and get (the sweet potato), …'

(A4-41) *lex*   *bəp*   *a*   *təges*   *mox*   *gəte-ŋ*
        then   so   HES   testicles   ANPH   cut-PNCT
        '...no gat liklik girl kutim testikal bilo em na...'
        '… she cut off his testicles and…'

(A4-42) *amnəp*   *ol*
        uncle.3POSS   dead
        '...em i dai.'
        '…her uncle fell dead.'

(A4-43) *jəxe*   *bəp*   *ol*   *pat-n=a*   *it*   *ga*   *mox*   *bəp*
        then   so   dead   stay.IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK   again   jaw   ANPH   so

        a   *wot*   *xan*   *ot*   *ixte*   *s-ti-l*   *ka*
        HES   two   man   two   3d.POSS   put-PFV-PER.YESTP   place

        mə-xət   *a*   *s-t-pa=li*
        DEM.PRX-up   HES   put-PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
        'Bihain dispela tit ol putim klostu lo dispela tupela man i dai pinis.'
        'When (he) was dead, again they stacked (his) teeth up where they had put the teeth of the other two men.'

(A4-44) *jəxe*   *bəp*   *a*   *məmxan*   *a*   *tri-pela*   *man*
        then   so   HES   what's.it   HES   three(Eng)-ADJ(TP)   man(Eng)

        mox   *n=apl-ja=o*   *li-m=a*
        ANPH   NEG=come-PRS.PL=QUOT   say-SEQ=LINK
        'Dispela tripela man i no kam na…'
        'Then, because the three men hadn't come back, …'

(A4-45) *it   mɘmxan   mox   ox   xu-p=li   a*
      again   what's.it   ANPH   3sm   go.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP   HES

      namba   fo   mox   ox
      number(Eng)   four(Eng)   ANPH   3sm
      '…this one went. The fourth one.'

(A4-46) *s-s=a   aŋ   de-pat-n=a*
      go-SEQ=LINK   find   MAKE-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
      '...dispela fo man i go paindim ol em i go paindim na ...
      '(He) went and when he was looking for (his brothers), …'

(A4-47) *ej   bɘp   tux   ml-pat-gop=li*
      gosh   so   smoke   come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP

      jɘxe   ap   mox   pat-gop=li   kunuŋ   bap   gwe
      then   house   ANPH   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP   girl   small   small
      '...em i lukim smoke kamup lo wanpela haus.'
      '… (he saw) smoke coming up (from the chimney of a house). So, he saw (her) at the house, the little girl.'

(A4-48) *jɘxe   it   bɘp   em   ux   jɘ-xɘt   ox   amnɘn*
      then   again   so   mother.1POSS   3sf   DEM.DST-up   3sm   uncle.2POSS

      ox   ɘpil=xɘnox   a   mɘmxan   toxan   jox
      3sm   come(.PRS.SG)=SBRD   HES   what's.it   sweet.potato   DEF

      xa   de-nuŋ=mul=o   li-m   kɘn
      HORT   eat-(PFV.)VIS.TODP.SG=CERT=QUOT   say-SEQ   cooked

      ml   n-a-sl   xe-l
      MAKE(.SEQ)   1/2.O-BEN-put(.SEQ)   be-IPFV.PER.TODP

      m-p-n-gop=li
      PRX.O-tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
      'Bihain em tokim em gen sapos uncle bilo yu kam yu mus give ol kaukau mi putim antap lo ale, em tokim uncle bilo em olsem.'
      'Then, again, she told him that her mother had told her that if her uncle comes to give him sweet potato to eat that her mother had put above the fire for him.'

(A4-49)
jəxe	*a*	*lipin=nəp*	*ox*	*toxan*	*kən*	*aŋ*
then	HES	true=VERY	3sm	sweet.potato	cooked	find

ml	*ale*	*te*	*nuŋ*	*mə-xət*
MAKE(.SEQ)	wood.drying.place	place	TO	DEM.PRX-up

məmxan	*p-t-pol=xən=a*
what's.it	TELL-PFV-IF.SG=SBRD=LINK

'Tru em laik kisim dispela kaukau i stap antap lo ale…'

'Then, truly, her uncle looked for the sweet potato and when he what's it…'

(A4-50)
lex	*gəte-ŋ*	*p-t*	*təges*	*gəteŋ*
long.ago	cut-PNCT	TELL-SIM	testicle	cut-PNCT

ma	*p-n-gop=li*	*amnəp*	*ol*	*bok*
REL	TELL-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP	uncle.3POSS	dead	big.flat

'...nogat dispela liklik gel kam tasol kutim tages bilo em. Em i dai.'

'Then the small girl cut off his testicles. Her uncle fell dead.'

(A4-51)
jəxe	*bəp*	*gonsi*	*mox=o*	*təp*	*xan*	*bap*
then	so	all	ANPH=QUOT	same	man	many

n=apli-pti=o	*li-m=a*	*las*	*xan*
NEG=come-IPFV.PL=QUOT	say-SEQ=LINK	last(Eng)	man

mox	*ox*	*xu-p=li*
ANPH	3sm	go.PFV-PER.FP.SG=REP

'Bihain olgeta i no kam olsem na dispela last man i go.'

'So, because his relatives hadn't come back, the last man went.'

(A4-52)
s-s	*ko-ŋ*	*li*	*jox=a*
go-SEQ	arrive-PNCT	TELL(.PRS.SG)	TOP=LINK

'Em i go kamap na…'

'When he arrived, …'

(A4-53)
blel	*gwe*	*tux*	*ml-pat-gop=li*
child	small	smoke	come.up-IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP

'...em i lukim dispela liklik girl.'

'…as for the small child, (he saw) the smoke coming up (from the house).'

(A4-54) *jəxe*   *xtol*   *jox*   *a*   *məmxan*   *alwap-il*
then   see(.PRS.SG)   TOP   HES   what's.it   SS.SIB.1/3POSS-PL

          ga   *mox*   *a*   *kak*   *tem*   *gən*   *mə-xət*   *en*
          jaw   ANPH   HES   on.top   hole   high.place   DEM.PRX-up   lined.up

          t-x-t   *pat-gop=li*
          MID-MAKE-SIM   stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
          'Bihain em lukim olgeta tit bilo ol brata bilo em lain ap antap lo ale i stap.'
          'Then, when he looked, his brothers' jaws were lined up on top (of the rack above the fire).'

(A4-55) *a*   *tit*   *bilo*   *ol*   *man*   *oke*
HES   teeth(Eng)   belong(TP)   all(Eng)   man(Eng)   okay(Eng)

          a   *məmxan*   *a*   *kak*   *tem*   *gən*   *mə-xət*
          HES   what's.it   HES   on.top   hole   high.place   DEM.PRX-up

          pat-gop=li   *jəxe*
          stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP   then
          'Tit bilo ol man i stap antap lo ale.'
          'The teeth of all the men were up there. Then…'

(A4-56) *i*   *amnəp*   *ox*   *amnəp*   *ox*   *toxan*   *kən*
gosh!   uncle.3POSS   3sm   uncle.3POSS   3sm   sweet.potato   cooked

          mox   *d-ti-n=o*   *gos-x-m*   *go*
          ANPH   take-PFV-IMP=QUOT   RECP-MAKE-SEQ   2s

          n-a-dli-n=o   *ixit*   *kaŋ*   *gos-x-m*   *kaŋ*
          1/2.O-BEN-take-IMP=QUOT   3d   argue   RECP-MAKE-SEQ   argue

          gos-x-m   *kaŋ*   *gos-x-m*
          RECP-MAKE-SEQ   argue   RECP-MAKE-SEQ
          'Bihain dispela liklik gel tokim em dispela sem toktok tasol em lukim dispela tit bilo brata pinis so em tokim dispela liklik gel olsem, yu go antap kisim kaukau bilo mi, tupela argue i go…'
          'Then she told him to take the sweet potato but he told her to get it for him and they argued saying that back and forth and…'

(A4-57) *go*   *n-a-dli-n=o*   *gos-x-m=a*
2s   1/2.O-BEN-take-IMP=QUOT   RECP-MAKE-SEQ=LINK
'… they said "you get it for me" to each other and then…'

(A4-58) *jəxe*   *gi=p-n-gop=li*
then   THUS=tell-PFV-VIS.FP.SG=REP
'So (he) said thus.'

(A4-59) mox gwe mox nəknətət wəl-pat-n=a
   ANPH small ANPH slowly go.up-IPFV.SG-NOMLS=LINK
   '...na dispela meri isi isi i go antap...'
   'When the little (girl) slowly went up, …'

(A4-60) amnəp ox lum xe-ŋ ol gwe sli-s
   uncle.3POSS 3sm nose break-PNCT dead small put-PNCT
   '...na em killim em...'
   'The uncle killed her. He buried the body.'

(A4-61) a məmxan tap bok tuwam tən m-mi-m
   HES what's.it pig big.flat grease half PRX.O-lift.up-SEQ

   us mox=si a nənip-il alwap-il ga
   go.PRS.SG ANPH=WITH HES eB.3POSS-PL SS.SIB.3POSS-PL jaw

   mox a siŋ-seŋ alwap-il ixil
   ANPH HES REDP-heat.up SS.SIB.3POSS-PL 3p

   ml-pel=xən=a nəgmd-il gon xu-pa=li
   come.up-IF.PL=SBRD=LINK SS.SIB-PL all go.PFV-PER.FP.PL=REP
   '...na em putim hot gris pik lo tit bilo brata na ol kirap bek na ol i go.'
   'The pig fat which he had gone to fetch (and had heated up) fell in hot drops onto his brothers jaw bones. The brothers came back to life and then the brothers all went.'

(A4-62) i=gwe jox i=te ol pat-gop=li
   DEM.DST=small DEF DEM.DST=place dead stay.IPFV.SG-VIS.FP.SG=REP
   'Dispela liklik gel em i dai i stap lo hap.'
   'The little one stayed there dead.'

(A4-63) stori jox
   story(Eng) DEF
   'Em tasol.'
   'The end.'

Appendix 5.   Reconstruction of Emphatic Pronouns

In addition to the regular pronoun series, Oksapmin has a reflexive and an 'alone' series, as shown in Table A5-1 below. Prima facie, the reflexive and 'alone' series appear to be more similar in form to each other than to the regular pronoun series. For example, the first person singular reflexive and 'alone' forms, *nonxol* and *nonxap* respectively, have an addition /n/ segment, which the regular first singular pronoun, *nox*, lacks.

Regular pronouns	Reflexive pronouns	'Alone' pronouns	Gloss
nox	nonxol	nonxap	1s
nuxut	nuxtanut	nuxtalxe	1dEX
nuxul	nuxlanul	nuxlalxe	1pEX
dit	ditadit	ditalxe	1dIN
dil	diladil	dilalxe	1pIN
go	golgol	golgap	2s
gut	gutagut	gutalxe	2d
gul	gulagul	gulalxe	2p
ox	olxol	olxap	3sf
ux	ulxol	ulxap	3sm
ixit	ixtaxit	ixtalxe	3d
ixil	ixlaxil	ixlalxe	3p

Table A5-1.   Regular, reflexive and 'alone' pronoun forms

Indeed, upon careful reconstruction, it appears to be the case that the reflexive and 'alone' pronouns are both derived from a single series, the emphatic series, as shown in Table A5-2 below, plus additional suffixal material.

Reflexive pronouns	'Alone' pronouns	Reconstructed emphatic pronouns	Gloss
nonxol	nonxap	*nol	1s
nuxtanut	nuxtalxe	*nuxtal	1dEX
nuxlanul	nuxlalxe	*nuxlal	1pEX
ditadit	ditalxe	*dital	1dIN
diladil	dilalxe	*dilal	1pIN
golgol	golgap	*gol	2s
gutagut	gutalxe	*gutal	2d
gulagul	gulalxe	*gulal	2p
olxol	olxap	*ol	3sf
ulxol	ulxap	*ul	3sm
ixtaxit	ixtalxe	*ixtal	3d
ixlaxil	ixlalxe	*ixlal	3p

Table A5-2.   Reflexive, 'alone' and reconstructed emphatic pronoun forms

A detailed reconstruction of the development of the reflexive and 'alone' series from the emphatic series follows. All reconstructed forms are marked with an asterisk. All forms not marked by an asterisk are present in modern Oksapmin.

1   Stage 1: Regular and Emphatic

At an early stage there were only two pronoun series in Oksapmin: regular; and emphatic, as shown in Table A5-3 below.

Regular series	Emphatic series	Gloss
nox	*nol	1s
nuxut	*nuxtal	1dEX
nuxul	*nuxlal	1pEX
dit	*dital	1dIN
dil	*dilal	1pIN
go	*gol	2s
gut	*gutal	2d
gul	*gulal	2p
ux	*ol	3sf
ox	*ul	3sm
ixit	*ixtal	3d
ixil	*ixlal	3p

Table A5-3.   Hypothesised stage 1

2   Stage 2: Reflexive and 'Alone' Suffixes

In stage two, emphatic pronouns could be distinguished for reflexive and 'alone' uses by the addition of suffixes. Singular reflexive emphatic pronouns took the suffix *-xol* and plural reflexive emphatic pronouns added on the regular pronoun form as a suffix. For 'alone' uses of emphatic pronouns, the suffix *-xap* was added for singular referents, and the suffix *-xe* was added for plural referents. The resultant forms are shown in Table A5-4 below. Forms which are also synchronically present in the language do not have an asterisk.

Oksapmin reflexive	Oksapmin 'alone' series	Gloss
*nol-xol	*nol-xap	1s
*nuxtal-nuxut	nuxtal-xe	1dEX
*nuxlal-nuxul	nuxlal-xe	1pEX
*dital-dit	dital-xe	1dIN
*dilal-dil	dilal-xe	1pIN
*gol-xol	*gol-xap	2s
*gutal-gut	gutal-xe	2d
*gulal-gul	gulal-xe	2p
ol-xol	ol-xap	3sf
ul-xol	ul-xap	3sm
*ixtal-ixit	ixtal-xe	3d
*ixlal-ixil	ixlal-xe	3p

Table A5-4.   Hypothesised stage 2

3   Stage 3: Reanalysis and Phonological Processes

The forms given in Table A5-4 above are very similar to the modern forms, with a few phonological processes occurring to give rise to the current forms, repeated in Table A5-5 below. Two processes occurred: reduction and assimilation. The forms in bold underwent phonological reduction: all the /l/ segments in unstressed syllables were deleted (eg *ditaldit > ditadit*), and the regular pronoun suffix in certain forms was reduced (eg *nuxtanuxut > nuxtanut*). The italicised forms underwent assimilation: the /l/ in *nolxol* and *nolxap* assimilated to the previous nasal, to become *nonxol* and *nonxap* respectively; the /x/ in *golxol* and *golxap* assimilated to the preceding prenasalised voiced stop, to become *golgol* and *golgap* respectively.

Regular pronouns	Reflexive pronouns	'Alone' pronouns	Gloss
nox	*nonxol*	*nonxap*	1s
nuxut	**nuxtanut**	nuxtalxe	1dEX
nuxul	**nuxlanul**	nuxlalxe	1pEX
dit	**ditadit**	ditalxe	1dIN
dil	**diladil**	dilalxe	1pIN
go	*golgol*	*golgap*	2s
gut	**gutagut**	gutalxe	2d
gul	**gulagul**	gulalxe	2p
ox	olxol	olxap	3sf
ux	ulxol	ulxap	3sm
ixit	**ixtaxit**	ixtalxe	3d
ixil	**ixlaxil**	ixlalxe	3p

Table A5-5.   Modern regular, reflexive and 'alone' pronoun forms

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